Vitae Scholasticae

The Journal of Educational Biography

Volume 27 Number 2
2010

Special Issue on Women's Education

Vitae Scholasticae
Volume 27, Number 2, 2010

Vitae Scholasticae is a refereed journal published by the International Society for Educational Biography.

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ISSN 0735-1909.

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Articles appearing in *Vitae Scholasticae* are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*.

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Guest Editors' Note

This special issue on women's education is a by-product of a meeting in Charlottesville, Virginia, where the American Educational Studies Association (AESA) was hosting its 2005 conference. Three friends of long standing—Susan Douglas Franzosa, 2008 president of AESA; Susan Laird, 2007 president of the Philosophy of Education Society; and Lucy Townsend, executive director of the Country School Association of America—sat down to discuss the status of research on women's education. We all expressed concern that although some of our students wanted to explore women's education, none of us had enough students to offer a class on that topic. What could we—three senior scholars—do to ensure that graduate students had the opportunity to develop a research agenda and pursue scholarship on women and education? By the time the conference was over, we had decided to organize a new academic community.

With small grants from our universities, we met for a week on an island near the coast of Washington in 2006 and held a follow-up meeting in Chicago in 2007. We focused on the following:

- articulating the aims and strategies for our project, which we called *Educating Women: An International, Intergenerational Community of Scholars;*
- identifying potential sources of funding; and
- generating a list of senior scholars who might want to join us.

Our primary aim was to provide inexperienced scholars interested in women's education with structural support through networks that reached beyond our nation's borders. We were particularly eager to include researchers in developing nations, especially those who lacked adequate resources to visit other nations. We decided that our first steps would be to develop a website, establish a nonprofit organization (now The Society for Educating Women or SEW), write grant proposals, hold conferences, and invite senior scholars to serve as mentors. Using the internet and annual conferences, senior scholars would help neophytes research and write papers, present their work at conferences, and/or disseminate the results. We hoped that these efforts would lead to a virtual center for research on women's education that included oral histories, a refereed electronic journal,

and possibly a summer institute. If we lacked the necessary resources to host annual conferences, we would encourage inexperienced scholars and their mentors to present their work at the conferences we usually attended, such as those sponsored by AESA and the International Society for Educational Biography. In addition, senior scholars would be asked to develop symposia that included inexperienced scholars.

A crucial step was to divide the labor. Susan Laird agreed to establish a website (www.educatingwomen.net) and seek nonprofit status for the organization. Lucy Townsend promised to host the inaugural conference and, based on the presentations, to edit two journal issues. Susan Franzosa said that she would organize a conference within the next two years.

As a follow-up, Townsend sent a proposal to ISEB asking for a SEW presentation to be placed on the 2007 conference program. During ISEB's 2007 conference, she explained the project and urged ISEB scholars to participate in the organization if they or their students were interested in research on the education of women. To our surprise and delight, ISEB's Executive Committee informed Townsend that ISEB would contribute $5,000 toward the Educating Women Project. In addition, Naomi Norquay, then editor of *Vitae Scholasticae*; and Rebecca Martusewics, editor of *Educational Studies* (an AESA journal), agreed to allow Lucy to edit special issues of their journals.

In May 2008, approximately seventy people met at the historic Jane Addams Hull-House Museum in Chicago for the first SEW conference. The $5,000 that ISEB had donated enabled the conference team to provide travel funds for four keynote speakers: Ruth Sweetser, president of the American Association of University Women; Kolawole Babatunde, activist for the advancement of girls' and women's education in Nigeria; Gaby Weiner, leading scholar in Sweden and the United Kingdom; Jane Roland Martin, prominent philosopher of education and gender. The conference presentations included a rich array of research on girls' and women's education in the United States, Europe, Pakistan, Japan, and Botswana. The following year, Susan Franzosa hosted the second SEW conference at the University of New Hampshire, Durham.

One product of the first two SEW conferences is this special issue, much of which explores women's challenges when they enter educational territory generally believed to be appropriate only for men. The collection begins with Maike I. Philipsen's "Balancing Personal and Professional Lives: Experiences of Female Faculty across the Career Span," a study of the lives of forty-six academic women in a Mid-Atlantic state. Over one hundred fifty years have passed since American women were first admitted as students to male colleges, yet women continue to be a minority in well-paid, prestigious faculty positions. Philipsen's premise is that the gap between male and

female faculty can be largely explained by the relationship between women's professional and personal lives. To test this proposition, she interviewed forty-six female faculty members at five institutions of higher education in a mid-Atlantic state. She found that despite the women's coping skills, it appears that they are burdened by a multitude of responsibilities inside and outside the Academy. The interviewees have developed a number of effective coping strategies, but Philipsen views these as insufficient. She concludes by asserting that the next generation of academics needs to change "outmoded structures and old-fashioned mind frames."

Following Philipsen's article are the responses of three female academics. Susan Franzosa, dean of the Graduate School of Education and Allied Professions and professor of educational studies at Fairfield University, thinks back over the course of her career to the impediments to career advancement and the ways she and other women have collaborated to remove them. The advice of colleagues did not always sustain her, but she views the support of individual women and groups engaged in collective action as helping her to persevere. She concludes by suggesting that the issues she faced as a young scholar are similar to those female academics face today.

Susan Laird, a full professor at the University of Oklahoma with an influential career, began her academic journey as a full-time secretary in a college. Later, she became a tenure-track faculty member with a clerical worker who typed, answered phone calls, maintained her files, and made travel arrangements. Now, twenty years later, she has little secretarial help. She writes that her life is something "like a hamster wheel that never stops." She is not optimistic about change unless those in higher education value "both the clerical work upon which [the Academy depends] and the women who do it"—for it is in fact women who do most of the clerical work.

Robin Mitchell Stroud, a doctoral candidate at the University of Oklahoma, and the third respondent to the Philipsen article, has decided to delay trying to pursue a tenure-track position until her children are older. When she began her doctoral studies in 2005, she was one of only a few female students with children, and one of her children was under age five. What impeded her professional momentum was the continual pressure to be "a *good student,* a *good employee,* a *good mother,* and a *good partner*." Her solution was two-fold: to seek a better balance in her life and to view her life as a series of chapters, each with its own requirements. This last insight led her to decide that she should not force every component of her life into one space.

Lora Helvie-Mason's "Pivotal Communication: Marion Talbot's Voice for Educational Equity," examines of the career of Marion Talbot (1858-1948), a highly respected dean of women at the University of Chicago (UC). Helvie-

Mason finds that gender inequity soon reared its ugly head at UC following its establishment in 1890. Using academic discourse effectively to address gender inequities is the subject of study. Helvie-Mason notes that the UC officials gradually retreated from egalitarian policies. Using the lens of communication theory, she examines six communication strategies Marion Talbot used to expose injustices to women faculty and students, and to further their opportunities in higher education.

During the early years of the UC, a much-debated issue concerned the proper education of women students. Connie Titone and Lorraine A. Ustaris explore this issue as it arose in Britain in "Fashioning the Ideal Female Student in the Eighteenth Century: Catharine Macaulay on Reading Novels." Titone and Ustaris illuminate the views of historian and political philosopher Catharine Macaulay (1731-1791), whose *Letters on Education with Observations on Religious and Metaphysical Subjects* dealt with the proper education of eighteenth-century Englishwomen. In particular, Macaulay aimed to encourage girls and women to recognize, through critical reading, the false claims of constrained femininity conveyed by many of the popular novels of their day. By way of clarification, Macaulay explored the pedagogical potential of novels by Miguel de Cervantes and Henry Fielding. Macaulay believed that these works, if properly taught, would make a positive contribution to female students' intellectual and moral development.

The ideal curriculum for African Americans and Afro Canadians was the subject of much debate throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Carol B. Conaway, in "Racially Integrated Education: The Antebellum Thought of Mary Ann Shadd Cary and Frederick Douglass," compares and contrasts two powerful activist-journalists who used their newspapers to shape the ideas of their respective communities. Conaway argues persuasively that the differing ideas of Mary Ann Shadd Cary (1823-1893) and Frederick Douglass (1818-1895) were influenced by "the complex relationships of gender, race, and class in antebellum African American and Afro Canadian communities." She draws details from the lives of both spokespersons to explain why their curricular aims were similar but their curricular content was different.

A question often posed when women gain access to educational opportunities is, What will they do after their schooling is ended? Rebecca Pennell, niece of the noted common school reformer Horace Mann, was a member of the first class of the first state normal school at Lexington, Massachusetts. When she accepted a faculty appointment at the coeducational Antioch College in Ohio, she became one of the first women professors in the United States. She was also arguably one of the earliest U.S. women faculty members to be paid the same wages as her male colleagues. This paper by Kelly Ann Kolodny explores the opportunities and challenges she faced due to her

educational opportunities and the gender constraints of the era in which she lived. The paper suggests that Horace Mann, the members of his circle, and a network of women whom Pennell met during her initial studies contributed significantly to her career advancement.

Two other people who had unusual educational opportunities for women of their eras were Jane Addams (1860-1935) and Wangari Maathai (1940-). Despite living in very different generations and cultures, both women received the Nobel Peace Prize for their humanitarian efforts to alleviate world hunger. In "Jane Addams and Wangari Maathai: Nobel Laureates on Educating and Organizing Women for Local Food Security," Dana Cesar traces four common components in each reformer's life and recommends that these elements inform current efforts to ameliorate food injustices.

In the final article, Judith Dorney addresses an issue often swept under the carpet: women teachers' anger. Her study, "Interviewing Women about Anger in the Workplace: Some Implications for Teacher Education," is based on her interviews of women educators in Northeastern public schools. Her aim was to develop a deeper understanding of anger and its expression in schools. Interviewees were encouraged to discuss the situations that sparked their anger, their decisions about how to respond to it, and the contextual factors that suppressed or encouraged the expression of anger. Dorney found that the teachers' responses raise larger questions about how individual teachers and school communities develop emotional knowledge as well as how they express it. She then applied her findings to the development of teachers in teacher education programs.

The book reviews included in this special issue illustrate the rich and diverse work now being done on women educators, women's education, and feminist curricula and pedagogy. Connie Titone's *Gender Equality in the Philosophy of Education: Catherine Macaulay's Forgotten Contribution*, reviewed by Julie M. Davis, reaches back to reclaim the remarkable insights and contributions of the eighteenth-century philosopher Catherine Macaulay. Now largely forgotten, Macaulay responded to the political debates of her time with an argument for gender equality and public coeducation. Susan Birden reviews *The Beecher Sisters* by Barbara A. White. White's comprehensive book tells the compelling stories of the most well known of the Beecher sisters - Harriet Beecher Stowe and Catharine Beecher. But the book also recovers the life and thought of the lesser known resolutely feminist Isabella Beecher Hooker and explores Hooker's activism within the nineteenth-century women's rights movement. Cris Mayo's *Disputing the Subject of Sex: Sexuality and Public School Controversies*, reviewed by Lucy E. Bailey, examines and critiques the exclusionary concepts of community that have contoured public debates over the inclusion of sexual orientation and HIV/AIDS in sex education curricula. Mayo's book explores the transformative potential of alter-

native curricula that would embrace diversities of gender, sexualities, race, and class and nourish rather than repress adolescent identity and female agency. Sarah Marie Stitzlein's *Breaking Bad Habits of Race and Gender*, reviewed by Stephanie Burrell, takes up the question of how identities of gender and race are fostered and enacted in contemporary classrooms. Examining the process of social habituation, Stitzlein argues that teachers can interrupt discriminatory processes that create hierarchy and offers suggestions for pedagogical practices.

Our hope is that the scholarly contributions drawn from the 2008 and 2009 meetings of the Society of Educating Women presented here will foster continuing dialogue on women and education. We look forward to your response.

—Lucy F. Townsend &
Susan Douglas Franzosa

Balancing Personal and Professional Lives:
Experiences of Female Faculty Across the Career Span

Maike Ingrid Philipsen
Virginia Commonwealth University

It has been called "suddenly one of the hottest questions everywhere in higher education"[1]: How can female academics have successful careers and have children too? One might add, how might women successfully combine an academic career and a rich life outside the academy? These questions are not only *hot* and curiously understudied, they are also largely unaddressed by policy. Female faculty continue to dominate the lower-paying, less prestigious, non-tenure-track jobs while being underrepresented in the higher-paying, prestigious, tenure-track positions and higher tenure-track ranks.[2] The premise of the study reported here is that the persisting gender gap has much to do with the relationship between women's professional and personal lives.

Although many women in higher education have long struggled to combine the pursuit of an academic career with parenthood, it was not until recently that the topic began to attract national attention. A 2003 article in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* reported results of what is believed to be the first study based on national data showing what women in academic life have known for a long time: having children can have a devastating impact on the careers of academic women without having the same effect on academic men.[3] Recent publications such as *Mama PhD*[4] reflect the significance of the topic, and research has begun to address related issues such as the bias

against caregiving in the academy,[5] the (mis)use of work/family policies,[6] and others. I have extended this line of research, but broadened it in two ways. First, I included women's experiences across their professional life spans rather than narrowly focusing on those early formative years when tenure decisions and child-bearing tend to collide. Second, I did not limit the study to women with children but incorporated various living arrangements and family constellations.

Gender-based reform in higher education in general is well documented. There has long been a trend to achieve equity by providing women with the same conditions, advancement opportunities, salaries, and so forth, as enjoyed by their male counterparts—equality in the sense of providing the same opportunities, that is. Another trend encompasses efforts to initiate change in the very fabric of the academy and mold it to embrace female ways of doing, knowing, and being—in other words, providing equal opportunities for women without the expectation that they become like men. Literature exists accordingly, addressing how to survive in the academic world,[7] *level the playing field,* assume leadership positions, and generally be successful in a male-dominated environment.[8] Models have been proposed for how to evaluate gender equity in Academe,[9] how to help women become transformative leaders in higher education administration,[10] and how to address institutional barriers for female scientists and engineers.[11] Papers have been published on cross-cultural comparisons of issues pertaining to women and power, how to overcome discrimination in and outside of the academy, and the role of universities in molding different societies' attitudes toward women in general.[12] The list continues. What these studies do not include, however, are first-hand accounts of female academics at different career stages on how their work-life balance may impede their roads to success, and how life-balancing acts play out differently for early-, mid-, and late-career women. This study set out to fill this void and capture the powerful stories of diverse women who told of challenges, failure, and regret, of costs and sacrifices; but who also shared their coping strategies and advice on how the academy needs to change in order not to lose half of its highest potential. Ultimately, my intent was to capture the challenges and responses of female academics across their professional life spans and thus bring to light one of the *dark* sides of Academia, one that inhibits true equal opportunities of all its members, regardless of gender.

Participants

The participants in this study consisted of forty-six female faculty members at five institutions of higher education in a mid-Atlantic state. The colleges and universities were deliberately chosen for the diversity they repre-

sent in size, charter (public or private), and mission. Included were a community college, a large urban research university, a small historically black university, the state's flagship public research university, and a private comprehensive university. Although most faculty were tenure-track, either at the junior or senior level, some were collateral faculty (community colleges, for instance, typically do not grant tenure), and some had administrative duties. The participants were diverse not only in institutional background but also by discipline, working in the sciences, arts, and humanities, as well as professional programs.

Likewise, the women's lifestyles and personal arrangements varied. Many were married, either without children or with children at home, whereas others' children were grown. Living arrangements also included being single with or without children, lesbian with or without partners, and child free. Twenty-nine of the women interviewed were white/Caucasian, nine African American, and eight immigrant scholars from China, Ghana, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, the Netherlands, Pakistan, and Trinidad. The youngest woman interviewed was in her twenties, and the oldest one in her seventies. The vast majority had doctoral degrees; some had master's degrees. All names used in this article are pseudonyms.

Methods

The study's design was qualitative in nature, seeking the narratives about professional personal balancing acts of female academics at various career stages. During the data collection process I used a mixture of what qualitative researchers call *purposeful sampling* and *snowball sampling*. At times, in other words, I sought out specific participants, and at other times relied on the faculty members to recommend who should be interviewed next. About eighty percent of the women who were contacted agreed to participate in the study; a relatively high response rate. I attribute their willingness to a strong desire to talk about issues badly in need of addressing.

The shortest interview —about fifteen minutes—was the only one in the project conducted by phone while the others were conducted in person. They were tape-recorded and lasted about forty-five minutes, with the longest one lasting an hour and a half. The open-ended format gave participants ample opportunity to guide the conversation and talk about what seemed most salient to them. After some small talk, I typically began the interview by formally introducing myself and the project, explaining the purpose of the research, assuring participants of confidentiality and the option not to answer questions, and asking for permission to tape record. The participants provided me with demographic information first, a sketch of their educational and professional histories, as well as the parameters of their personal lives (age,

marital status, children, etc.). I then proceeded with a broad question about how they saw the relationship between their professional and personal lives in general. Most women began talking right away; some asked for clarification. My probe was whether they were generally able to establish a healthy balance between their professional and personal lives, and then to elaborate. This type of open-ended question gave participants ample opportunity to guide the conversation and talk about what seemed most salient to them. They were in the driver's seat, sometimes choosing right away to address questions that I had planned to ask later on. Those included inquiries about the enablers and barriers to balancing their lives. I wanted to know, in other words, what factors helped them balance as well as they did, and what issues stood in their way. These questions were followed by inquiries about coping strategies they had developed. (My favorite responses were "I cry a lot," "I drink a lot," and "I can't tell you on tape!") I also inquired about differences the women perceived when they compared themselves to previous generations of female faculty, and the mid- and late-career participants were asked to make comparisons with newer generations of faculty. I wanted to get at their sense of history and change. The interview concluded with questions about reform and how the academy ought to be changed in order to aid female faculty to better balance their lives.

At the center of my interviews was the desire to understand the women's experiences through the stories they told. As qualitative researcher Irving Seidman writes, "Stories are a way of knowing,"[13] a way for people to reflect on their experiences and give them order. For Seidman, when people tell stories about themselves they are making meaning about their lives by selecting details of their experience from their stream of consciousness. Seidman makes reference to Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky, who argued that every word people use in storytelling constitutes a microcosm of their consciousness.[14] It is this consciousness that provides access to complex social and educational issues "because social and educational issues are abstractions based on the concrete experience of people."[15] The women in this study took time out of their busy schedules to share their narratives about their lives; they made meaning of what had happened to them in the past and sometimes projected these meanings into the future. They thought about the different parts of their lives; older women talked about changes over time and younger women focused on the present and future. They wove together the strands of their experience, building stories that at times had a beginning, middle, and end but at other times were still *under construction*, resembling more a jigsaw puzzle being put together rather than a product. Some women provided narratives that were almost linear in character, with one part neatly flowing from the previous one. Other women spoke of tensions and contradictions, of things that did not necessarily make sense, that did not follow

or add up when you first looked at them. Sometimes they were able to put disjointed pieces in place during the course of the conversation, and sometimes they were not. I was struck by the power of the women's stories, their honesty, and eloquence. I marveled at the trust afforded me and at their courage to let me glance into intimate facets of their lives. Some interviews were quite matter-of-fact in character, but most were not. What I heard was often deeply moving, sometimes shocking or surprising, and hardly ever mundane.

Once data collection ended, I had the interviews transcribed verbatim and sent transcripts to all participants for member checking, meaning that I asked them whether they wanted to make changes. A few did, and two participants even decided to withdraw their participation altogether, asking that their transcripts not be used. After the process of member checking, I began the analysis. Using the software program ATLAS I coded the data and then I analyzed by career stage. For example, I read everything the early career women said about "general balancing" issues or about parenting or about barriers. As themes emerged, the narrative began to almost write itself. The data were so rich, the stories so powerful, the themes so obvious, and the women so articulate that it became clear very soon what the issues were, how they related, how people's experiences resembled each other, and where they differed. Some topics were addressed in each career stage (for example: enablers and coping strategies), whereas others were unique to a certain stage and discussed only once (for example: elder care). The narrative varied between descriptions of general patterns many participants had described and portraits of individual situations. In the last part of the study, finally, I wove together accounts from all career stages in order to make comparisons across generations and to capture the recommendations offered by women across the board. Once completed, the study, in its entirety, was published in April 2008 by Jossey-Bass.

The Author's Story: "I Had to Get Divorced to Find a Healthy Balance in My Life"

For quite a while I debated with myself how to address my own experiences in this study. It was clear that more so than my other research endeavors, this one is intimately connected to my experiences trying to balance the personal and professional aspects of my life. I therefore knew I needed to discipline my subjectivity and do all I could to acknowledge my own biases in order to be able to do justice to the stories told by the women in this study. I did not want to have their accounts colored through my personal lenses, or worse, to use them to advance a personal agenda.

The question was how, exactly, to make my own story known to the

reader so that she or he had a backdrop against which to read the study. I entertained the possibility of interviewing myself but quickly dismissed the idea, given how good I am at self-deception. Then I thought about asking somebody else to conduct an interview with me, using the protocol I had developed. That idea was dismissed as well because I would constantly second-guess the interviewer's skills and approach. Finally I decided to simply write about my journey and make transparent the personal experiences that had a great deal to do with prompting me to undertake this research in the first place. So, here it is, my own personal journey trying to navigate both the professional and the personal world.

I am forty-six years old, a full professor at a research university in a metropolitan area in the southeastern United States. Born and raised in Germany, I received my education in Germany, Canada, and the United States. I came to the United States in 1988, was married and had two sons. One was born while I was in graduate school in the United States, and the other during my fourth year on the tenure-track. A few years ago I got divorced and recently married again.

I care deeply for both my profession and my family but, in a nutshell, I had to get divorced before I was able to find a healthy balance in my life, because then I started having my children only half of the time. My former husband and I share their custody and care. Certainly, my desire for balance was not the reason for the divorce, and yet that's what it took for me to have a sane life that allowed me to have a successful career, have time for myself and my adult relationships, be a good and caring mother, find joy in domestic activities, and stop feeling so incredibly harried.

After my former husband and I separated in 2002, we began to share the care of our children equally. That means that I had *days off* during which I could work long hours, catch up on sleep, go to the gym, and not only feel that I was able to give enough to my profession but also to take care of myself. Incredibly, other professional women occasionally confessed their envy in the face of the arrangement. Here I was, in the throes of a recent separation, and women thought this was enviable? I remembered having felt that way some years prior when my mother told me about my brother's separation from his partner with whom he shared the care of their child. My mother told me, "Right now he is vacationing without children for a while," and I remember thinking, *wow*.

My children are healthy and wonderful people, yet having children and an academic career without a strong support network was incredibly demanding even though my former husband did fifty percent of the domestic work. In fact, at times it was hell. Sleep became a luxury in our house, something we envied and guarded. It took me years not to feel guilty about taking a nap. It always felt as if I were taking something from someone else.

It also took years to overcome the paranoia that took hold of me every time I went to bed, afraid to fall asleep because I knew it would only be a short time before the wailing of the baby would wake me up and it was time to either nurse or soothe or do something for the little one. In the morning it was time to go to work. Well, almost. First was getting the kids ready for babysitters, child care facilities, or, later, school.

At work, however, I never talked about my family other than in superficial terms like, "Yes, they're doing fine." Most of my colleagues at the time were men in their fifties and above or women who either had no children or whose children were grown. Hardly anybody had small kids when I did. So I felt I needed to make my family a non-issue because I knew how people talked about colleagues who had heart attacks or other impediments. They said, "We can't expect such and such of him, he just had a heart attack." I could not afford to have people say, "We can't expect such and such of her because she just had a child." I knew lowered expectations would come back to haunt me at some point, and so I never asked for help, for release time, for maternity leave, or anything else.

My youngest son was born immediately after I taught my last evening class in spring 1997; I went home at 10:00 p.m., and my water broke at midnight. Maternity leave never crossed my mind, and I was back in the classroom the next fall. To my colleagues I talked about my kids as if they were golf or another kind of hobby. I knew playing golf had never gotten in the way of tenure and promotion or perceptions of being hard working and capable. Not being authentic takes its toll. Not asking for support when you need it can be disastrous. I continued to struggle along and succeeded professionally. I got tenure and was seen as the poster child of a successful academic with children. Other women came to me for advice on how to make it. Meanwhile, my marriage fell apart. And I kept thinking, *Why am I the poster child of success? Can't you see that I didn't really make it?*

I remember my transformation once I began having the children only half of the time. I started to cherish their presence. When they came "to my house," I was ready for them. I was rested, I had my work under control, the house was clean, and I wanted my time with them. It was then that I really started to enjoy them, to take the time to listen to them, to love their company. Before, when I was responsible 24/7, I more or less managed them as well as everything else in life. I got through the day. My focus was on getting everything done that needed to get done rather than enjoying life. During my pre-divorce days, my then six-year-old once wrote me a memo while I was grading papers (he knew not to interrupt me while I was working). The memo had a title page stapled to it that read: "to Mommy, from Niklas. Plees reed this." The memo itself said: "Plees lissen to me."

What I have always pondered is whether my experience was unique.

After talking to many women in the academy, I don't think so. In addition, I wondered what it says about Academia, and society at large, that we make it so difficult for women to have a healthy balance between their professional and personal lives. (I do believe this is increasingly true for men also[16]). One should not have to get divorced and share physical custody to have a sane life if one wants both children and a profession. Is it too much to want both? I have seriously heard the argument being made that women, after all, do have a choice: If they want a profession they can choose not to have children. And if they do have children, well, then they ought to just deal with it. Contrary to such narrow visions, I believe that it is a perfectly reasonable stance to want both a fulfilling profession and a rich personal life that may or may not include children. In my case, it did and it does. I spoke to other women who crafted different family constellations as their lifestyles of choice, and nevertheless found it challenging to balance their professional and their personal lives. My personal experiences prompted me to be curious about other academic women's situations. And I soon realized that it's not just female faculty with children who are struggling to find a healthy balance; this is an issue for women in all sorts of personal living arrangements—single women with or without partners and children, lesbian women, and women whose kids are grown. This article is about all of us.

Obviously, I am not a neutral observer of female faculty balancing their professional and personal lives. Instead, although I did not use the women profiled in this study as agents to advance a predetermined agenda, now that the data are in I do in fact have an agenda: to shed light on the obstacles faced by academic women, what they look like at different career stages and for women from diverse backgrounds, and what can be learned and ultimately done about them.

Findings

Challenges

It is clear that exceedingly difficult times often await beginning faculty members or, as previous research put it, the earliest years in a faculty member's career life cycle are likely to be the most difficult ones.[17] Junior faculty members need to establish themselves professionally, and those on the tenure track are often plagued by nebulous and ever increasing expectations of what it means to be worthy of institutional commitment. Many are not clear about how to design a life path that allows them to have both a career and a family, if they so desire. Single women have difficulty finding the time to focus on networking and dating, a problem compounded by the fact that many early-career faculty are recent transplants from far-away places. The

tenure clock, for many, creates its own dilemmas. Here is how assistant professor Calhoun described her situation:

> The thing I worry about the most in terms of this question about balance is the …whole biological clock problem which is that my pre-tenure years are also, for whatever reason, in sync with the years in which I should probably, if I want to have a child, I should be doing it. I will get tenure, provided everything goes all right, when I'm 38. According to a lot of doctors that is getting late to start a family. I haven't found a way to start a family yet while on the tenure track. The one thing that would make a difference to me is if there was a way to make tenure sort of not coincide with one's child producing time. It isn't that I don't want to get tenure. Obviously I do. It would be nice if tenure didn't have to be such a rigid thing. As it stands, I don't feel like I can really prioritize finding a partner and getting pregnant right now. So, I have to sort of roll the dice on whether or not I will ever be able to carry children.

Women who decide to become parents anyway pay a high price trying to do it all. "There is always something falling through the cracks," is how Dr. Miller, a mother of two on the tenure track, summed it up. While individuals in their lives, be they spouses, partners or colleagues, are often major enablers, institutional support is largely nonexistent. Maternity leave has to be individually negotiated rather than being equally available to all, a finding that is true in many institutions, according to other research.[18]

The ramifications of taking leave, or stopping the tenure clock, furthermore, are unclear, and women are haunted by anxiety that their benefits come with a price tag—also mirroring previous studies.[19] For example, will research expectations go up because these women are perceived to have more time before they come up for tenure? Policies that single out one particular group based on such innate characteristics as gender have a tendency to stigmatize and, despite good intentions, create unintended consequences.

Women in situations like Drs. Calhoun's and Miller's would greatly benefit, it seems, if the tenure track were less rigid than it currently is and if their institutions allowed for part-time and/or extended options. Faculty would then be able to devote time not only to their careers but to relationship and family building as well, and would not have to ask for what can be construed as *special accommodations* such as leaves.

Early-career faculty face other issues; one is the dual-career problem. Faculty tend to move geographically to take a position, often long distances. In many cases, their partners are academics also, confronting a highly selective job market and finding themselves unable to relocate as easily as the

wives of former generations of faculty could. The problem is not entirely new, as has been articulated before, and some institutions are taking steps to address it.[20] Yet many faculty, like the ones included in this study, do not benefit from progressive policies and experience primarily token efforts to accommodate the career aspirations of significant others. Assistant professor Dr. Ingersen-Noll considered leaving her institution because it did not accommodate her husband, a scientist in the same field: "They assume you can move people around…without thinking about what their partner is going to do…. And it's a big problem."

Another group worthy of attention on college campuses is an entirely understudied population, the international scholars. Partly an outgrowth of a rapidly globalizing world, increasing numbers of faculty posts are held by foreign nationals. Perhaps because they occupy relatively privileged positions as researchers and faculty, not as much attention is being paid to their well-being as, for instance, to that of international students. What international scholars may go through because of cultural barriers, adjustment problems, and emotional, psychological, social, and legal challenges related to their immigrant status is simply not known. Professor Yong from China said she feels as though she "lived between cultural cracks. Two cultures. My original culture and this culture. Every time I go back to China to visit I don't feel I fit anymore. I have lived in this country for ten years; I feel many times I am never completely accepted."

Her Jamaican colleague Dr. Marx, who worked at a historically Black institution, also suffered from isolation but in her case stemming from a lack of integration into the predominantly African American faculty community: "I'm a foreigner," she said. "We very rarely get integrated in…I'm Black in [an] African American society." Clearly, these concerns deserve attention. Further research is needed to better understand the challenges faced by international scholars so that, ultimately, institutions of higher education are able to better meet their needs.

Mid-career faculty on the tenure track have been able to get out of the shadow cast by the tenure albatross. Yet their stories depict lives that continue to be extremely busy now that they have taken on the responsibilities of senior professors. Said Dr. Foster, "It's only work, work, work." Those with children never get to rest, and largely sacrifice care of self, despite the fact that many benefit from supportive partners who do more at home than *helping out.* Echoing their early-career colleagues, mid-career female faculty reported how little institutional support was available when they started their families, and how little continues to be available for them now. The institutions they portray were indifferent to faculty's balancing issues at best, as summarized by associate professor Schumacher in these terms:

> I think that from the top down the university is hostile and works on a very old and very patriarchal model of what an employee is because they all had wives…or they don't have children themselves…. I don't think my job has suffered in the slightest. The suffering that goes on is the emotional suffering…. I see it sometimes in my oldest daughter when we have to get out the door, and we have a domino effect because she has to be at school at 9:00, and her little sister has to be at school at 9:30, and I have a 10 o'clock meeting. If any of those things gets out of order, I get stressed. When I get stressed, they get stressed. She is four, and she wants to dawdle. On the way to the car she wants to pick a flower and play with a rock. We gotta go. It ramps her stress up which I had vowed I would never do, but I do. I think that the costs are borne by parents and children. I don't see any evidence that the university suffers whatsoever.

Mid-career faculty in this study were working on actively defining their identity and refusing to *play games*. They *came out* in more ways than one. One woman reported revealing her homosexual identity and carving out a space for herself that allows her to be who she is without pretense, and a colleague adjusted how she defines boundaries so that she is able to venture into new professional territory as an administrator. This trajectory appears to continue because late-career faculty almost unequivocally seemed happy with who they were and where they were in life. The relative contentment seeping through the comments of the late-career faculty in this study was palpable. They described their current situation as "very healthy," "a good life,""gotten to the point where I would say, yes, [there is a good balance]," "having control over my life," "feeling very balanced," "do whatever I want, and it's really a good life now," and having reached "that level of self-actualization." This finding, of course, needs to be put in perspective given that the participants in this study represent success stories; they were the ones who made it rather than left the system. Nevertheless, it is heartening to hear how much control they felt they had over how they allocated their time and made choices about what is worth pursuing at work (and what is not), and that they were, finally, in positions to take care of themselves. Some chose to work more, finally able to do so unencumbered, whereas others were happy to have found a level of productivity that allowed a relatively sane life. One group totally merged personal and professional spheres and effortlessly slid back and forth between the two; another group enjoyed finally being able to separate the two without annoying encroachments. Although previous research maintains that in comparison to other work (for example, shift work in a factory) academic work allows for a higher degree of choice as to how flexible and permeable the boundaries between work and life are to be,[21] this

study indicates that there are significant differences across generations, and it may only be late-career faculty who truly enjoy a choice. They were the only group that consistently reported having reached a point in their lives and careers that allowed them to define their life balances in whatever way they saw fit.

It was encouraging to hear late-career women talk about their choices and the healthy state of balance at the present time because so many of them had gone through so much in the past. Their stories abounded with costs and sacrifices unimaginable to many of us in the younger generations. One example is seventy-five year old chemistry professor Dr. Amici whose native country is Italy, where she received her Ph.D. at age twenty-five, having skipped several grades in high school during World War II. She worked in places that were at the top of her field at the time, such as Oxford University and the University of Milano. In 1960, she met an American scientist at an international conference. They were married, and she emigrated to the United States in 1961, where her husband had a university appointment. She was thirty-one years old. "At that time, there were no women in [my field] in the United States," Dr. Amici said. "There were some in Europe, because Europe was about twenty to twenty-five years ahead of the United States in so-called women's rights." She was completely ignored, she recalled, and yet she wanted to keep working. So for fourteen years she worked as an unpaid post-doctorate at her husband's institution, doing research and helping him. She worked essentially full time, she said, but she did not have an academic appointment. The couple wrote books together that gained national recognition, but she was never granted a position at the university. When their youngest child was about two years old, Dr. Amici's husband intervened. She remembered:

> My husband said if you wait any longer, it will be too late for you to start a career again. So, he said, I will spread the word, because he was very well known, that I will move if they give you a position. So he was willing to give up his very well established situation so that I could get a chance. He did get offered an endowed chair at a university, and they offered me a position as a full professor, because I was qualified. Even though I had stopped working, I had papers published and books written.

Other late-career faculty told stories about the subjugation of their careers to family needs, of feeling torn for decades between their personal and professional lives, of difficult losses and heart-felt regrets. They were pioneers who did path-breaking work, not just in scholarly terms but also in terms of what they accomplished for generations of women to come.

Despite their ultimate successes, however, and their relative bliss currently, challenges continue to exist. For one, the *sandwich generation* finds itself squeezed between two needy populations, their children whom they often still support, and their parents who are reaching advanced ages. Elder care was mentioned as a particular challenge. Sixty-year-old Dr. Monet had recently moved her parents from another state to an assisted-living facility in town and said: "We're being tied down more because of my parents….In the last two months, I have picked up new responsibilities…I feel almost like I have two small children again."

Furthermore, although some felt they have reached the peak of their careers, others battled alienation in institutions they feared were changing for the worse and feelings of inferiority because of younger colleagues whom they perceived as better prepared professionally than they ever were. Retirement started to loom on the horizon, and it looked good to some, whereas others worried whether retirement would allow them to stay active, engaged, and connected, and whether they would find the right time to leave. In Dr. Mendela's words:

> I see how inspiring [new hires] are, they are very frisky, they're very excited to teach. I see myself moving out of that. So, one of the things I have to do for sure is make sure I don't stay too long in the classroom, regardless of what happens with health insurance and all that other stuff. I have to leave when it's time to leave; so that's one of the stresses.

Regardless of career stage, female faculty in this study reported not just challenges but enablers as well, ranging from partners, spouses, extended family, and friends to professional colleagues, mentors, other professors, and administrators. To supplement those, the women employed a wide variety of coping strategies, some personal in nature, others involving the way they worked, but all of them instructive for others.

Coping Strategies

Some strategies focus primarily on replenishing their bodies and souls whereas others are practical in nature, intending to *make it all work*. Women mentioned exercise, enjoying the outdoors to "get grounded," and being nurtured by friends and support groups. There was talk about spirituality and prayer as a way to refocus the mind on the purpose of the profession and the people who might benefit from one's work. One woman described self-talk and finding inspiration in "little sayings in my office, words people have sent to me." Self-talk comes in particularly handy, she explained, in dealing with

the *imposter syndrome*, common among academics who often assume they know much less than people expect them to know. Instead, this faculty member worked on "being positive," seeing opportunities, and downplaying negative parts of life.

For some, *refueling* through hobbies and personal pleasures may not come easily. Ms. Ohler sometimes wondered whether she was missing out on social things, given that she was one of those academics she described as "consumed by academic interests" so that it became "sometimes difficult to extricate yourself from that world." Her questions resonated with assistant professor Dr. Calhoun, a single faculty member, who talked about "forcing myself out of the house," "trying to make sure that I take time to do things like actually go see a movie rather than just write about them," and "scheduling that kind of activity…instead of assuming at the end of the day that I'll find something to do." She described being "rigid" with herself about going to the gym on a regular basis and using the workout as a boundary between work and home. This, she emphasized, made it easier for her to release whatever it is she was working on, a way of "sort of becoming free of the work environment." She was then ready to relax, fix dinner, get in touch with friends, and talk on the phone. Talking to people who find themselves in similar situations appeared to be an effective coping strategy, as in the case of Dr. McLeod, who shared both motherhood and a passion for her work with a female colleague at a different institution. She also enjoyed her university's first-year-teacher program, which gave her an outlet to talk to people, get acclimated to the institution, and build bridges outside of her department.

Decompressing at the end of the day with her husband, a scholar in her field, was seen as helpful by Professor Miller. This is how she captured their relationship:

> I find it's been very helpful to have a spouse who knows exactly what I need when I describe a situation, or a problem, or an issue….And he can offer concrete responses and concrete suggestions. That has been immensely useful to have someone to talk to....So I do have an outlet to decompress, and that helps me stay sane.

Her sanity is further aided, she described, by her daughter, who "laughs and you laugh, and for a couple of hours at least before bedtime I can most days put work aside and not think about it. I think that's good for me."

An effective coping strategy shared by some women derives from self-determination and simply making sure to meet deadlines and achieve goals. Women find various ways to remain inspired and on track. Dr. McLeod found it helpful to remind herself that, because she had a family, she could not afford to go off on tangents, and this was her chance to be more effective in

the time she has available to work. She stated, "You're a little more focused because you realize you have constraints." She also embraced the idea of dedicating certain times to doing things that easily become distracting if allowed to consume the entire day. The example she used was reading e-mail only during a child's swim practice, and otherwise "not touching it." Such measures can be used to free up the limited time that faculty members have to be productive.

Ms. Ohler made lists. Carrying around her calendar and her "little notebook," she found it essential to keep lists and, therefore, kept herself organized. Her colleague Dr. Young-Powell sat down every night and planned the next day so as to not "lose sight of my responsibilities." She separated the "has to be's" from the "kind of needs to be's" and "would like to be's." After prioritizing her day, she made peace with the fact that she could not get everything done, and then she told her husband what she needed him to do. She had to work on that last step after her second child was born, and she realized she needed to give up the assumption "that I could do it all."

Getting her husband involved in the care of her newborn was an important coping strategy for Dr. Carver as well, who was trying to carve out periods of time each week when she could "just leave and not think about [the baby's] care." She was planning to hire students to babysit on campus while she was doing work in the office and arrange full-time day care once the child was older.

Dr. Yong pursued very sophisticated motivational strategies. She liked to travel with her son and life partner, and on those trips read and write novels instead of professional literature. She set deadlines for her projects and searched for external motivators; she used the last day of the month of November—national novel writing month—as a deadline, and indeed wrote fifty thousand words. She said, "I set deadlines by looking at something that I really like and make it work." Dr. Yong explained how she used a powerful dialectic between personal and professional writing to increase both her pleasure and her productivity:

> …getting it [the novel] published is not my priority. I try to balance, and reading only academic research articles would drive me crazy. And I feel I'm not productive by only focusing on one thing. Actually, it makes me more productive, like…November, while I was writing my novel, I also wrote an academic peer reviewed article, and it was already accepted. So I'm trying to do both. That part makes me really happy as a person....That's one of the strategies. Find something really interesting that you're good at. And do it.

Another example of a refined coping system was personified by Dr. Lilian,

who masterfully integrated various aspects of her life. She invited her family along on business trips, for example, and while she attended meetings they went sight-seeing. Everybody had dinner together, however, and "just knowing that they were there, and knowing that they were in the hotel..., that was fun." Dr. Lilian combined her work and personal life in other ways as well; she took pleasure, for example, in volunteering in the community fully conscious of the fact that she represents her college. She also combined care of self and family activities by sharing personal pleasures with her daughter:

> I just need to go and do some things that take care of myself. For example, I want to get a pedicure or a manicure, or something simple, you know, and so I find that I have to involve my daughter into those things and make it a fun day. Let's go get our nails done together. So that way, we're spending time together, we're doing things we need to do, and we're doing things we like because we like to reward ourselves with certain little things.

Dr. Lilian was a master at *multitasking*, another coping strategy that helped her manage her busy life as a successful professional and single mother.

> Having an only child, I found that after 9 o'clock I am very productive because at 9 o'clock she is in bed, and I'm not tired and ready to crash myself.... I can be doing a load of laundry, watching television and reading e-mail all at the same time.... And I'm content. I don't feel like I'm burdened to be sitting there reading these e-mails. I'm watching my favorite TV show, I have on my favorite slippers, in about an hour you hear the dryer *ding*, which is fine. I'm doing things that I need to do. What's stressful is if I couldn't do these things, and they'd pile up on me. That's when the stress comes in but as long as I can keep moving and get things done, I'm fine.

When comparing her generation to previous ones, thirty-four-year-old Dr. Lilian found significant differences that enable her to cope with a busy schedule. For one, she described herself as not knowing "anything other than fast pace." Technology was a part of life, a phenomenon accentuated in her daughter's generation, who, at age thirteen, "can already do all those technology programs, PowerPoint, access databases, Excel... because she started with the computer from kindergarten." Technology, she explained, means change, and she found it easier to adapt to change than members of previous generations. This ability to adapt, however, helped her cope:

> If you are accustomed like my mother to dinner every night, and just couldn't imagine walking through the house with dinner in your hand, so I guess for her that would be a big issue to adapt to because you should be sitting at your dinner table at six o'clock. But you can't because the child is still at basketball practice, and basketball practice ends at eight thirty. So then we're going to get home, and we're not going to set the place setting here at the table. We're probably more than likely, if we haven't grabbed something from the gym, we're going to go home and grab something quick. So you're really trading off the personal dinner table time. That can be a big issue.

Making adaptations in routine was not stressful for Dr. Lilian, given her generation's adaptation to a fast-paced life. Again, her lifestyle clashed with that of previous generations:

> And that's what I hear from my grandparents too. My mother just said last week: "Your grandmother's getting kind of upset with you because she hasn't talked to you in two weeks now." So I have to take time…and be sure that I call her as much as she thinks I should call her that week or that I am even answering the phone when she thinks I should be answering the phone because in her mind we're not getting enough sleep because we're always gone. In our mind we're not always gone; we're home a lot. So it's really a generational thing.

Integration was also used as a coping strategy by Dr. McMillan, who employed it primarily to prevent isolation and stress in her professional life. Specifically, she collaborated with people in other departments, reaching out and making connections with scholars who do similar work. She remembered realizing, "I have to be the one to make those connections to allow this thing that I do to work." She described doing a small study with a colleague at a neighboring college as a "tremendous lift. So now I remove myself from my workplace almost every Friday…and we work all day…we can off-load our stuff on each other, then we jump into our work. That is just like the most 'wow' thing for me."

Institutional Reform

It is obvious that women have developed impressive coping strategies. They also enjoy enabling forces in their lives, not merely other women but men—be they spouses, friends, mentors, or colleagues. At the same time, they work in a system that has been able neither to topple its structure built

on male privilege nor shed the remnants of misogynist attitudes and behaviors. They do not doubt that in many ways academic women have come a long way and no longer have to contend with the blatant sexism of previous generations. Both at work and at home, progress is unmistakable. A growing number of institutions have by now adopted so called *family-friendly* policies and programs to help ease the tensions between personal and professional spheres of life (see for instance The University of California-Berkeley, University of Michigan, University of Washington, Boise State University).[22] Yet the many others, including all of the ones employing the women interviewed for this study, have a long way to go toward easing the tension between personal and professional lives. The following recommendations are intended to aid in that regard; all are derived from the testimony provided by this study's participants. According to them, colleges and universities need:

- increased flexibility, such as part-time options on the tenure track;
- junior sabbaticals to help alleviate the stress particularly profound at the pre-tenure level;
- enhanced communication between senior and junior faculty through mentor programs and informal gatherings;
- workload adjustments for junior faculty;
- enhanced child-care provisions that include part-time options, infant and after-school care and care for mildly sick children;
- comprehensive child-leave options that go beyond the Family and Medical Leave Act provisions for both mothers and fathers in case of birth or adoption of a child;
- support of faculty who provide elder care;
- support of immigrant scholars;
- standardization of university policies and services meant to support life-balancing efforts of faculty;
- dual-career support;
- counseling services for faculty at all career stages;
- and enhanced communication of available family-friendly policies and services to all faculty, administrators, and support staff to ensure equity and avoid the perception that family-friendly policies are accommodations for *special cases*.

For faculty at some rather progressive institutions such as the exemplary ones named above, these suggestions for reform may seem *old hat*. The stories of the women in this study, however, are poignant reminders that what some fortunate professionals are meanwhile able to take for granted, many continue to have to do without. Men are increasingly as affected by these challenges as their female counterparts,[23] and it can be expected that their

voices will soon join the chorus of their female colleagues in a call for comprehensive, institutional change in higher education.

Conclusion

Some of the challenges experienced by the women in this study may be indicative of problems that go beyond Academe. Perhaps, as a culture, we are indeed "in over our heads," as psychologist Robert Kegan suggests.[24] He postulates that adults in general may not be equipped for the cultural demands of modern life since these have grown ever more challenging over time. Just as most children cannot handle a school curriculum far above their grade level, adults find themselves unable to handle the *curriculum* imposed on them by an increasingly complicated society that offers choices that, if made, place expectations on people that they are not adequately prepared to meet.

Certainly it seems as if the women in this study at times are "in over their heads." Whether men in Academe share the feeling is just beginning to be explored. [25] Be that as it may, the question is what to do about the situation? Whereas psychology typically focuses on helping people adapt mentally and learn new ways to cope with situations, I am less convinced that women in Academe need to learn new coping skills. As illustrated, they have already developed an amazing array of these. Although such publications as *Balancing Work and Family* published by the American Management Association,[26] may provide many helpful tips on *how to do it,* it is based on the assumption that balancing one's life is solely a matter of individual taste and construction. "You will create true balance in your life only by setting your own standards and fashioning your own definition of balance," the publication insists. I think not.

Certainly, individual standards are important, yet merely having them does not guarantee successful balance. Standards can only be fulfilled within parameters that are conducive to their fulfillment. The women in this study had all sorts of different standards. They were very different individuals, and yet their balancing acts during their early and middle years were precarious because of inflexible institutional frameworks still steeped in patriarchal notions of what it means to be a faculty member. So I submit that we need to locate responsibility where it lies: in outmoded structures and old-fashioned mind frames. This continues to be the task to change so that future generations will be able to draw conclusions significantly different from those of full professor Seidman who, at age sixty, said:

> I think in terms of doing the balancing, the most important person is me. The second-most person is the person I choose to share my

> life with, and the other people with whom I share my life. I think people, after you take a look at what you bring and who we are as individuals, it's the people around you that help you do that balancing.… At the very end, the organization is of the least help in helping you balance.

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Notes

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[19] Ibid.; Kelly Ward and Lisa Wolf-Wendel, "Fear Factor: How Safe Is It To Make Time for Family?" *Academe*, *90,* no. 6 (2004): 28–31; Robert Drago and Carol Colbeck, *Final Report from the Mapping Project: Exploring the Terrain of U.S. Colleges and Universities for Faculty and Families* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2003); Susan Kolker Finkel, Steven Olswang, and N. She, "Childbirth, Tenure, and Promotion for Women Faculty," *Review of Higher Education*: 17, no. 3 (1994): 259-270.

[20] Boise State University is an excellent example of using innovative strategies to accommodate academic couples; see http://www.boisestate.edu/policy/policy_docs/4240_FacultyDual-CareerProgram.pdf (accessed February 13, 2009).

[21] Carol Colbeck , "How Female and Male Faculty with Families Manage Work and Personal Roles," in *The Balancing Act: Gendered Perspectives in Faculty Roles and Work Lives,* eds. S. J. Bracken, J. K. Allen, and D. R. Dean. (Sterling, VA: Stylus, 2006), 31-72.

[22] See, for instance, policies by The University of California-Berkeley, University of Michigan, University of Washington, Boise State University.

[23] Philipsen and Bostic, *Helping Faculty Find Work-Life Balance.*

[24] Robert Kegan, *In Over Our Heads: The Mental Demands of Modern Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994).

[25] Philipsen and Bostic, *Helping Faculty Find Work-Life Balance.*

[26] Ken Lizotte and Barbara A. Liwak, *Balancing Work and Family. American Management Association, TheWorkSmart Series* (New York: Amacom, 1995), 4.

First Response to Philipsen: Building Intergenerational Networks of Support for Women in Academe

Susan Douglas Franzosa
Fairfield University

I graduated from college in 1968—age twenty-one—and eight months pregnant. I think I was the only pregnant graduate at the University of Connecticut (U-Conn) that year although I suppose it would have been hard to tell given those billowing gowns we wore. At least I was the only obviously pregnant graduate and it was, in fact, very obvious. I walked across the platform to accept my diploma from the hands of the same dean who, three years earlier, had told me that I was unsuited to college and should go home, get married, and have children.

No woman in my family had ever been to college. And no woman in two generations—childbearing or not—had ever confined her work to home and family. They worked in factories, hospitals, and restaurants, as telegraph clerks, secretaries, seamstresses, and shop assistants. Great hopes had been pinned on my success at college. Nevertheless, "A girl like you," the dean had said, "doesn't need a college education. You should be a wife and mother." My Aunt Lil, a Rosie the Riveter during World War II, intervened and (shockingly) drove up to campus in best hat and gloves to have a word with the dean. I stayed.

My story, of course, has its own particularities. It was a long time ago. As strange as it often seems to me, I am now, myself, a dean. And that old dean at U-Conn must be long dead. But have the misogynist assumptions from which he operated truly disappeared? I think not. Clearly, some things have improved for women in higher education as well as for students from

ethnic and racial minorities and the working class. Statements like "A girl like you doesn't need an education. You should get married and have children," probably don't roll off the tongues of many deans anymore. But sexism, racism, and classism, as well as religious hatred, homophobia, xenophobia, and ageism are alive and well and continue to contour the national landscape—and, necessarily, our educational institutions. In what follows I've reached back to offer some personal *blast from the past* stories that connect to Maike Philipsen's concern to understand the experiences of women in academe as they attempt to balance the demands of their personal and professional lives.

There was no daycare center at the State University of New York at Buffalo when I started graduate school, so I joined a group of parents who took over a basement in a building on campus and started one. We also demonstrated. And we made the newspapers. A feminist socialist alumna from the 1930s saw the coverage and endowed a daycare center. It was a cooperative—very progressive, intentionally anti-sexist and anti-racist. The student radio station decided to do a story on the center. A student reporter interviewed some of the children. One of the questions was, "What do you want to be when you grow up?" My daughter, Bess, almost three, answered, "I want to be a doctor and have breasts."

At that time, I was directing an urban teaching center, doing my graduate work, and teaching at night in a largely African American community college in an abandoned Catholic school in the inner city. When we were home, if I sat down at my improvised desk to write, Bess would crawl onto my lap. I realized that if I was standing or walking or active in some way, that is, if I had no lap on which to sit, Bess would happily occupy herself in play. The solution? I set up the ironing board and did my writing standing up.

When I became an assistant professor at the University of New Hampshire (UNH) in 1979, I joined a faculty of four women and thirty-six men in the Department of Education. Only one of my four female colleagues had children. (By that time, I had had my graduate school baby, Emily). I was advised by one of my graduate school mentors—also a feminist with children—not to mention my children. I should say, for example, "I have a previous appointment" instead of "I have to take Emily to the doctor." Emily contracted chicken pox my second week of classes—which made things difficult since children with chicken pox can't go to daycare. A retired teacher who worked as a library volunteer at Bess's school saw my distress and offered to have Emily come to her home for the duration. "I remember," she said, "chicken pox is a childcare nightmare." It was thought unwise to refer to my children at my workplace. But within the extended family of my in-laws, it was unwise to refer to anything other than my role as wife and mother, certainly not to discuss my work.

A central aspect of my work was my scholarship. One of my first published articles focused on a case in which a woman denied tenure had charged her university with discrimination. The court had requested notes from the promotion and tenure committee. Its members claimed that the order to surrender their notes was an infringement of their right to academic freedom. When I submitted my carefully argued—bloodless, really—manuscript, the first reader's response was that it was too strident. With encouragement from Jane Martin, a founder of Phaedra, the feminist writing group I had recently joined, I marshaled my courage and wrote back to question the reader's comments. The article was published.

There were only five women full professors at UNH out of a faculty of around 350 at the time, and only one in the Department of Education. She had been promoted the previous year and was actually the first woman ever to achieve the rank of full professor in the department's history. Some male associate professors had yet to come up for promotion largely because they hadn't published in recent years. Hence, when I decided to apply for promotion to full professor, I was advised that it might be seen as too presumptuous. To put myself forward would mean jumping the imaginary queue and would have a negative impact on my case. A senior woman colleague, the director of the Women's Studies Program, Cathryn Adamsky, said, "That's ridiculous and means you'll wait for another decade." Cathryn's encouragement helped me to go ahead.

In 1993, I was elected chair of the Department of Education. I was the first woman to hold that position. I remember one of the first meetings I chaired. I had carefully prepared a summary of existing policies on promotion and tenure. When I finished giving a brief overview of the summary, the man sitting next to me turned, moved in very close, and said loudly and belligerently,"Who says?" Although shaken, I stood my ground and asked calmly if he'd like to share his concerns. But I remember collapsing in frustrated tears once I got home. One of the only other women chairs at the university at the time, Jean Kennard, helped enormously by sharing her own, very similar experiences.

Not all the advice I received from senior women colleagues could be as supportive or wise. For example, a respected older female colleague told me that as chair I should adopt the practice of *buttering-up* one of my senior male colleagues in order to win him over. Essentially—I should flirt instead of having an honest discussion or debate. I wouldn't and couldn't. Besides, my secretary who had overheard the conversation said,"Don't you dare. He can take care of himself."

During my time at UNH, what preserved my sanity and allowed me to persevere were the support and counsel of feminist colleagues and elders both within the academy and the community. I also found support in collec-

tive action. I became a core faculty member in the Women's Studies Program and I worked with university colleagues on the Women's Commission, Diversity Committee, the Campus Climate Committee, and the Committee to End Violence Against Women. These groups accomplished very concrete things: notably, a non-sexist language policy and a sexual harassment policy. During that period, I firmly believed that, with the concentrated work of feminist academics and their allies, the experiences of discrimination I'd had along the way would soon seem like ancient history—at least in the academy. It saddens—sometimes infuriates—me that such hasn't really proven to be the case. Perhaps the incidents I've recalled do seem ancient, but I think, as Maike Philipsen's work illustrates so well, that the same issues remain salient for women in academe today—it's just that the particularities have been updated and reworked. These issues include:

being taken seriously - as a doctor *with* breasts;
balancing the personal and professional;
insisting on a "room of one's own"—not having to set up the ironing board;
working out the concrete logistics of childcare;
refashioning the folkways, policies, and practices of the workplace;
countering and interrupting sexist assumptions;
gaining legitimacy and respect for scholarship on women;
building and sustaining intergenerational networks of support.

The Society for Educating Women was founded to address this last issue—the building of intergenerational networks of support—which I see as imperative for progress on all the other issues women academics face. In my own case, it was the connection to other feminists, their wisdom, support, and interventions that made things possible for me. Sharing our stories, as Maike Philipsen's research suggests, allows us to see that we are not alone and helps us to counter the complex forms of gender discrimination still embedded within academic institutions. Acknowledging the contributions that other women have made to our academic lives within those stories is a powerful way of making intergenerational connections work.

Second Response to Philipsen:
Balancing Academic Work–and Clerical Work–and Personal Life

Susan Laird
The University of Oklahoma

"Balancing Personal and Professional Lives" is so good and so important I instantly wanted permission to photocopy it and pass it out to everyone in my college, including administration, faculty, staff, and students. Maike Ingrid Philipsen's own autobiographical contribution to her study is profoundly moving. It could stand alone as a short piece by itself, but her extensive research underscores her own story's broader significance and illuminates other serious difficulties academic women experience as well. Her article makes clear that the challenge of balance in higher education is gendered, complicated, and huge. I regard such social research on academic women's lives as one politically necessary genre of educational biography, a kind of *collective biography*, beyond the individual biography that we usually think of as biography, a way of knowing and telling the truths about academic women's lives–truths otherwise seemingly invisible and inaudible, lost to public consciousness.

Philipsen's study of women faculty's life struggles has made me think of graduate-student mothers who have organized recently an Oklahoma Mothers and Educators Collaborative (see OMEC on *facebook*) to address their own balancing struggles both creatively and collectively, issue by issue: to pursue *family-friendly* campus reforms that consider challenges facing women students no less than those facing women faculty. Philipsen's study demonstrates that, without doubt, these students can expect their struggles to continue long past completion of their graduate degrees. Clearly, too, her

study shows the immense value that activism like theirs may have for both women faculty and women students.

With kudos to Philipsen for taking women faculty's lives seriously in a way that cannot fail to resonate thus with women graduate students' lives, I cannot resist responding to this article myself–by citing another complicating concern in the sexual politics of higher education's challenges to women's lives. In view of this study's apt observation of universities being organized around men with wives, I am surprised that one particular recent historical development in patriarchal academe did not surface in Philipsen's oral data, a relevant issue that may merit separate future investigation. This concern is the status of clerical support in higher education and its consequences for women's lives.

Clerical support for higher education remains predominantly female–a semiotic feature of higher education and its class structure that backgrounds the struggles of women faculty whose stories Philipsen has cited. Like the office workers in Dolly Parton's hilariously thought-provoking film *Nine To Five,* women providing clerical support for higher education face balance issues too, which their employers (including women faculty) have seldom acknowledged as worthy of *family-friendly* attention. At the same time, clerical support for faculty has diminished markedly since women began to join the professoriate in significant numbers. Even though numbers of faculty and students have grown, often numbers of clerical workers have not, for new technologies have displaced much of their former work to faculty. Sometimes I wonder what changes in higher education might be possible to relieve balance issues if academic women began to study our own challenges in light of related diverse challenges and possibilities for women of all ranks and social classes in colleges and universities. Philipsen's own study would have been rendered unwieldy by such expansion, but I think it might well spark a collective research program of such broad scope not possible in this lone study.

Perhaps I notice this issue because, following my graduation from college, I began my self-reliant working life as a full-time secretary in a college. I felt myself lucky to get my secretarial job with just a baccalaureate degree because in that college and university town countless campus secretaries were women who had completed the Ph.D.! My secretarial job did not impress my family, but it was meaningful and valuable to me. Although I had no financial support from my family while I was paying off my student loan and trying to figure out what I wanted to do with the rest of my life, I was young, healthy, childless, and single; so the meager wages did not necessitate my moonlighting as a waitress or supermarket cashier, as office workers in higher education sometimes must do just to pay their household bills. Moonlighting only a little as a typist-translator-editor for international grad-

uate students whom I met through my job, I was able to save a little money to travel to Spain entirely on my own for my brief vacation, and I relished my total economic and social independence, such as my own college-educated mother had never known. I was lucky also in that I worked for several (mostly African American) women educators and thus encountered neither demeaning sexist humor nor sexual harassment from my bosses such as office workers in higher education do still suffer, often in helpless and desperate silence. Not only did I get to take a course for free each semester, I also became involved in meaningful voluntary community service for social justice through encouragement from the people I served. Because the women I worked for were dedicated and inspiring educators, smart self-made women who cared about young people, I had access also to mentoring such as I had never expected, and learned something enormously valuable both about various possible working lives in colleges and about how colleges work. Because I admired my bosses and took actual pride in doing my secretarial work well, I learned something also about my own novitiate capacities for public service, efficiency, organization, and human relations–as well as my own deep hunger to do much more. Clerical work in higher education need neither be meaningless nor dead-end work, and academic women can take the lead to ensure that it is meaningful and educative for the many women and few men who get paid to do it. The mentoring and learning that I experienced through secretarial service to those educating women gave me confidence and a sense of purpose that my Seven-Sisters honors degree in English and Art had somehow not given me in the early 1970s–to go to graduate school, finally, and get access to work as a professional educator, something like the work of the people I served as secretary in that college.

But now, three decades later, I find that a surprisingly, though largely taken-for-granted, large portion of my job as a *full* professor in a leading public research university is not professional academic work, but clerical work–work of a kind and in a volume such as I used to get paid for doing full-time as a secretary. Only now it is not my primary job, and should not be, nor is it even explicitly acknowledged as part of my job, though of course it should be, because the primary parts of my job that are acknowledged require implicitly that I do it. This circumstance, common to most if not all universities is perhaps especially significant, both historically and pragmatically, in the face of balance issues like those Philipsen has narrated. The work side of the life balancing act is itself a juggling act between increased clerical labors and the in-itself sufficiently challenging academic juggle of research, teaching, and service.

In my first year as a faculty member–in the B.E.C.P. era (Before Email and Cell Phones)–twenty-some years ago, each clerical worker in the college at the public comprehensive university where I then worked was assigned to

support five faculty members. These staff members answered the phone and fielded messages for us, typed and made copies for us, handled correspondence for us, processed bureaucratic forms for us, managed our professional travel arrangements, maintained many of our files, kept our calendars, reminded us of deadlines, renewed our library books, monitored all sorts of demands from students, colleagues, et al., and made our responses to them all efficient and manageable. I wonder what such an arrangement might do to improve the lives of the women whom Philipsen interviewed.

Now, like most faculty everywhere, I have comparatively little clerical support. Only college and department administrators can expect support of the sort and to the extent I enjoyed as I began my academic career. I know academic women who hire clerical support for themselves out of their own pockets, and I understand why. With my self-financed cell phone I am on call 24/7, it seems, by email, text, and phone–fielding a huge volume of junk messages without missing important ones, while trying to prioritize multiple meaningful contacts, as well as the time-consuming and frustrating challenges of coordinating meeting schedules with numerous others in small groups, somehow without falling into the familiar double-booking trap. With my laptop wirelessly connected to a printer in my department's office, I am my own typist and have many electronic files to manage. Without anyone to help do my paper filing, I work out of accordion files (one for each class, committee, project, etc.) that I carry everywhere and park in a basket by the front door of my house for easy grabbing on the go and dropping as I drag myself home. I don't have time to manage file cabinets as I used to manage them when I was a secretary. And then add to all these clerical responsibilities, which used to make up the substance of my job as a secretary in a college, the fact that faculty are expected also to manage our programs' websites, while a growing culture of educational *accountability* is generating countless new clerical demands for documents, reports, files, and forms to an extent that I scarcely imagined thirty years ago. And, oh yes: *also* teach and mentor, do research and scholarship, *and* serve and lead! And *then* there's the personal-life piece of the puzzle that Philipsen has so eloquently narrated.

It's as if, as soon as a critical mass of women entered the professoriate in certain sectors, our culture wanted us still to be secretaries but do all the academic labor too, with no one to protect our time or care for our efficiency except ourselves. Having been a conscientious college secretary, I know what kind of difference such work well done can make. But secretaries in higher education have become *administrative* assistants and managers. I love my faculty work in research, teaching, and service; so right now I cannot imagine becoming a university administrator, but sometimes I contemplate such a move in a furious fit of fantasizing what it might be like to have access again to efficient, caring clerical support like that which administrative assistants

and managers do give to higher education's administrators. Comparative research on faculty men and women in relation to higher education's clerical labors could be illuminating. Having been a very good secretary, I know that I am not very good at juggling clerical work against my academic work, and that efficiency would be much better served if others could be paid to help with it–and also meaningfully rewarded for their competent clerical labors in the same sorts of educative ways that I was rewarded for mine thirty years ago. Packing all my secretarial labors into my job also full of research, teaching, and service, I find the work that I have to balance against my life full of family health crises is something like a hamster wheel that never stops, except that it's not my body that this particular hamster wheel is exercising! Like women Philipsen interviewed, though, I do find physical exercise perhaps *the* most indispensable coping strategy in my own struggle for balance.

Another related problem is most universities' failure to study systematically any questions about their own taken-for-granted inefficiencies, which add substantial stress to women's already stressful struggle for balance in higher education. Something accomplished at work always seems to mean something else not accomplished, whether at work or at home, too often simply because of campus calendar chaos that disrupts the plans by which we try to make our juggling act possible. I would amend the list of reforms Philipsen has suggested with serious, systematic efforts at rationally organized scheduling of those standard elements of most professors' work that too often unnecessarily and annoyingly conflict. Such efforts might make the balancing act much less unpredictable and stressful, especially for those also juggling child-care or elder-care, dual-career or long-distance partnerships. With computer technologies and highly developed efficiency sciences now available, campus calendar mayhem that causes imbalances should be remediable and not be taking the huge chunks out of our lives that it does.

Such innovations in higher education are not likely to happen, however, until higher education values both the clerical work upon which it depends and the women who do it, whether those women are faculty or administrative assistants. That major shift in governing values is unlikely unless academic women can begin to acknowledge that, as in *Nine to Five,* most office staff are still women with work-life balance issues too–perhaps not entirely different from those issues which Philipsen has documented in academic women's lives. Socioeconomic class can obscure important shared issues among women in higher education. Academic women's recognition of that fact could initiate much-needed consciousness-raising across class lines, about the gendered semiotics of clerical labors. Perhaps by encouraging office workers' voices and by challenging the continuing feminized character of clerical work with some new *educational* ways of thinking about it, we can learn much more about aspects of work in higher education that need not

and should not threaten its balance with women's personal lives to the oppressive extent that it does. Philipsen's autobiographically grounded, informative, and sensitive study of academic women's lives has the power, if we will claim it and use it, to open a historically and ethically significant conversation vital for all women in higher education.

Third Response to Philipsen
Learning to Live One Chapter at a Time

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The University of Oklahoma

I wish that I had read an article like Maike Ingrid Philipsen's starkly honest "Balancing Personal and Professional Lives: Experiences of Female Faculty Across the Career Span" at the beginning of my doctoral journey. It may have helped me not to feel so alone in those early painful struggles of learning to balance academics, work, and family. The female faculty experiences that Philipsen highlights—including some of her own—reflect the primary reason that I have chosen **not** to pursue a tenure-track position until my children are older, specifically, the continual tension of trying to balance academic expectations and family life such that one is not overly emphasized at the expense of the other.

When I entered a doctoral program in 2005, I was one of two female students with children and the only one with children under the age of five. While I had a very supportive female faculty advisor, she had never raised children and had counseled early on that I should seek out other faculty mentors to help in this area. One such opportunity came by means of a brown bag session that was offered to graduate students in our college. A seasoned faculty member was on hand to share strategies that had helped him to successfully navigate this difficult terrain. I knew and respected him both as a person and a professional. I also knew that he was father to a middle-school-aged child, so I was anxious to hear his thoughts on the subject.

One strategy that he emphasized was the importance of a disciplined daily schedule, including an established and ideally uninterrupted writing time. While I appreciated the wisdom behind this strategy, I had failed sever-

al times when attempting to apply it to my own schedule, which, despite the incredible support of a very capable partner, was frequently interrupted by little ones who did not understand or care that "Mommy has to study." So I asked the individual how he was able to manage all the unexpected things that come up when one has a child, not to mention the planned activities, housework, etc. He responded, "Well, my wife takes care of those things for our family." It proved to be an "aha" moment for me and I half-joked, "I want a wife too!" While he was generous in his empathy for female graduate students with children and was an extraordinary academic mentor in other areas, I learned that his experiences at balancing work and family life were not going to be like my own.

For two and a half years, I continued to struggle with how to get it all done–how to be a *good student*, a *good employee*, a *good mother*, and a *good partner* (regretfully in that order). I felt continual dissonance over what I should be doing. I should be writing that paper, I should be working on that project, I should be playing with my children, I should be spending more time with my husband, and I should be figuring out how to balance all of these things at the same time. The *shoulds* increased when I added a graduate assistantship to my plate as well as a leadership role in a graduate student association. I realized I was living in *survival mode*, working hard at learning to be a well-balanced academic, but letting my parenting and relationships suffer. The diminished time with my children was particularly distressing because my own mother worked long hours to help our family survive, and I grew up feeling cheated by her absence.

I realized two things during this turbulent time. First, I knew I needed to make changes so that my life experiences could become better balanced and I could truly honor my relationships—particularly those with my husband and children. Second, I knew that I could not pursue a full-time position in academia until my children grew older. I simply could not envision a way to do all and be all without some violence to my conscience. I made these decisions with the aim of being healthier, and yet, could not help feeling that "healthier" also meant "failure" on some level.

It was about this time that I saw an interview on television with Maria Shriver who was recounting her own struggles with trying to do all and be all, and feeling that she was constantly falling short and/or that she was spread too thin. One day, she expressed her frustrations to her mother who assured her, "The problem, Maria, is that you are trying to live the entire book of your life in one chapter. It's okay to live one chapter at a time." Another "aha" moment for me! Shriver felt heartened and empowered by that bit of wisdom from her mother, and so did I. I suddenly realized that I could be a working mother and part-time academic in this chapter of my life (understanding there would be both advantages and disadvantages at play), with

the aim of flipping this dynamic in the next chapter to more fully pursue life in academia. But I wonder if a tenure-track position is really a possibility in the next chapter. Just last week, I attended an event on campus comprised of female panelists titled, "You Shouldn't Have to Choose: A Conversation About Strategies to Balance Work and Family." *Shouldn't* was the key word to me. If I work to keep my academic muscles in shape, I wonder if that will be enough to overcome the kinds of institutional barriers that are highlighted by Philipsen and the women academics who so generously shared their stories.

Pivotal Communication:
Marion Talbot's Voice for Educational Equity

Lora Helvie-Mason

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Marion Talbot (1858 - 1948) was an activist, a co-founder of the American Association of University Women, and the dean of women at the newly established University of Chicago (UC) from 1892 to 1925. She was influential in the domestic sciences discipline while serving as a leading voice for female faculty members and students. At the forefront of the coeducation movement, she held unprecedented power for a female as dean of women.[1] She was an avid communicator who utilized persuasive tactics and collective communication to advocate for women's equality in higher education.

This paper explores the professional communication of Marion Talbot as she navigated the male-dominated culture of American higher education during the late 1800s and early 1900s. It examines the communication strategies she used in her professional life. Combining communication analysis with biography expands existing scholarship on Talbot, which is confined primarily to her accomplishments as a dean of women. This paper shows how she used communication through her insider/outsider status in higher education. It also expands our historical knowledge about women's negotiation of place as faculty and administrators in higher education.

Nidiffer noted that the presence of female deans in higher education exemplified women's access and *place* in higher education.[2] In fact, Nidiffer noted, early deans of women "held very little authority and were usually outside the formal administrative structure of the institution."[3] Nidiffer goes on to say, "This situation changed precipitously in 1892 when Marion Talbot was hired at the brand-new University of Chicago."[4] Talbot's tenure as dean of

women brought change for women in higher education. Through analysis of her communication during this time, we better understand women's *place* at the turn of the last century in higher education.[5] Talbot worked to include women faculty members as equal players with equal voices within faculty circles. By looking at the strategic communication choices Talbot made as she pushed for Academia's inclusion of women, we become more informed about her life and women's educational journey. The paper first describes Talbot's general collective communicative approach with a brief overview of her career. Secondly, content analysis and a framework of standpoint theory are described for this project. Next, the paper uncovers six persuasive tactics utilized by Talbot before examining her specific use of communication as a weapon against sex discrimination. It concludes with a brief note about the significance of communication within biographical work when examining women's presence in higher education.

The communication discipline offers a unique lens to examine Talbot's life and career. Communication is "a process during which a source (individual) initiates a message using verbal and nonverbal symbols and contextual cues to express meaning by transmitting information in such a way that similar or parallel understandings are constructed by the intended receivers."[6] Studying her life and work paints a picture of her communicative approach (or how she expressed meaning) and adds depth to biographical information about her life. How one creates verbal and nonverbal messages is just as important as the content of the message. Situating this study within a biographical context informs both the intent and purpose of Talbot's words. The tone in one's communication can drive the analysis of content. *Tone*, the vocal pitch and volume used to express meaning and emotion in oral communication, is a term used throughout this paper to describe Talbot's intended purpose for her communication. Lee and Peterson describe tone as a cognitive style that sheds light on how the subject thinks.[7] Content analysis was used to examine samples of verbal/textual materials situated in a historical context.

The Collective Communicator

Marion Talbot left a lasting imprint on the U.S. landscape of higher education. Known for her belief that women's education should be "no more, no less"[8] than men's education, Talbot was at the forefront of the UC's experiments into coeducation. She became known as the national authority on coeducation[9] and as *the* dean of women (1892 - 1925). Dierenfield described her as "the most powerful female academic at a major American university."[10] Talbot's efforts primarily benefitted those women who had some access to higher education, but little is written on her vision of equal education for all people, including women of color.

Marion Talbot was born into an upper-class, New England family whose top priority was their children's education. Talbot's own pursuit of educational equity came directly from her childhood with Boston social reformers who believed in the independence and education of women. She was born in what Palmieri described as the "era of reform for women's higher education, 1860-1890."[11] This era involved the opening of women's colleges and debates about women's access to higher education. Talbot's parents shaped her love for education through their staunch reform activities.[12] Her parents, Israel Tisdale Talbot (1829 - 1899) and Emily Fairbanks Talbot (1834 - 1902), shared company with Julia Ward Howe and the Alcott family. Emily Talbot fought for equal educational rights for Marion and her sister, raising Marion to study traditionally male subjects in male-dominated institutions. Marion received education in sciences, languages; and, if schools denied her access to certain academic subjects, her parents employed private tutors.[13] Both parents were avid lovers of learning who believed in the empowering nature of education for men and women.[14] As Marion grew, her parents fought for her right to attend the institutions which would lead to a college degree, resulting in her matriculation in male-dominated Chauncy Hall School and entry into Boston University in 1876. Talbot earned her B.A. in 1880.

Much of the research on Talbot focuses on her work uniting educated women through the development of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA, later known as the American Association of University Women or AAUW). Talbot's participation in ACA led to the opportunity to study sanitary science at MIT with Ellen Richards.[15] There the two women examined chemistry, public health, and nutrition. After her studies, Talbot taught domestic science at Wellesley College[16] before being recruited by Alice Freeman Palmer for a faculty position at the newly established University of Chicago.

Professionally, Talbot became known as a formidable woman, using her role within the university and ACA to advocate for women's educational equality not just as students, but as faculty and administrators.[17] What is less known about Talbot is that she built on the lessons from reformists in her childhood to develop a unique communication style called a *collective voice*. Collective voice refers to a singular message expressed by a group of people. This voice yielded results in Talbot's struggle for educational equity for women in the ACA and the University of Chicago during her thirty-three years as dean of women.

Analyzing Pivotal Communication

As was previously noted, content analysis was used to explore the nuances in Talbot's communication style. Frey, Botan, and Kreps define content analysis as "a form of textual analysis used to identify, enumerate, and

analyze occurrences of specific messages and message characteristics embedded in relevant texts."[18] Studying Talbot's communication offers a glimpse into the techniques she utilized in her role as an advocate for women. I specifically sought to investigate characteristics of persuasion during episodes of what I term *pivotal communication* to understand Talbot's professional communication in Academia. Pivotal communication episodes include events she considered to be difficult; decisions likely to have a lasting impact on the University of Chicago, including its life as a community; and occurrences she viewed as significant in other ways. I reviewed original communication and the recollection of the event by Talbot or other witnesses to the event. Specific documents included *More Than Lore,*[19] *The Education of Women,*[20] correspondence acquired from the Special Collections of the University of Chicago archives, and the records of the National Association for Deans of Women. I analyzed texts related to each key incident for constructs such as her claims, her goals, the opposition, their argument, her argument, her persuasive tactics, their persuasive tactics, and the results.

The Standpoint of Pivotal Communication

Standpoint theory was used as a theoretical framework to examine Talbot's communication.[21] According to this theory, discrimination is related to one's social location embodied in part through race, gender, and class; however, it is not always known to those outside of that social location. Those who hold power in society may not see the inequities visited upon those who experience discrimination. Hence, the standpoint of the one experiencing discrimination adds unique insight about both those within the social location experiencing discrimination and those outside of the social location who do not experience a particular inequity.[22]

Using standpoint theory allows examination of Talbot's communication from her perspective as part of the female minority within higher education. People outside her academic world granted her a measure of respect due to her upper-class status, and her minority peers in the Academy held her in high regard due to her many accomplishments. Yet she had to struggle to gain respect from the academic male majority. Standpoint theory suggests that people outside of the dominant culture are most likely to examine social power. This theory suggests that male positions of power and access to education meant that many men were unable to see inequity in women's education. Standpoint theory, therefore, situates this research from Talbot's subjugated position as a subordinated member of the academic world—one who saw injustice and inequality and fought to change it.

According to feminist theorist Hartsock, people with marginalized status gain a deeper knowledge of the dominant group than those people within

the dominant group. Hartsock called this knowledge *duality of levels of reality,* which carries with it the power to know the audience one is attempting to persuade.[23] Talbot used her perspective grounded in a marginalized status to develop communicative tactics to persuade those in the dominant group to see women in higher education as she did and thus to open doors for resources, recognition, and increased visibility.[24]

Positionality and Image: The ACA

Talbot learned key communicative lessons during her affiliation with the ACA—lessons of public image, personal positionality, and unified communication. In 1882, her communication endeavors moved from her private life to a public position when she co-created ACA which became the AAUW in 1921. The ACA has been described as the most influential women's higher education organization,[25] and it was known as a *lobbying presence* in matters ranging from curriculum to pay.[26] At Emily Talbot's urging, Talbot co-established the ACA with Ellen Swallow Richards, a Vassar graduate and first female graduate student in chemistry at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. ACA activities involved connecting women graduates while supporting those in school with textbook borrowing programs and scholarships.

The women found solidarity, support, and friendship in the organization. Bretschneider said the group served as one of the first formal female networking avenues within higher education.[27] In this capacity, the ACA inched open doors for women. As a leader in the ACA, Talbot crafted her communication to establish an equitable place for women in higher education. She selected her words in view of how those words and activities would look to the public. Trained and at times restrained by experienced women during the early years of the ACA, she was cautioned to think of the public response to her activities. For example, Richards encouraged her to keep activities small at the inception of the ACA to "avoid any criticisms of strong-minded women rallying for untoward reasons outside their proper sphere."[28] In the 1880s, Talbot was eager to focus on her ability to "cultivate favorable public opinion"[29] as her mother and mentors had done in their activism. This consciousness of the public reaction to educated women led to her ability to choose her words wisely.

Talbot's positionality emerged as someone who understood both her world (women marginalized within higher education) and the world beyond (a male-dominated system[30]). This necessity for those in the marginalized population to be somewhat bicultural is common in standpoint theory. The *Other* is a conceptual descriptor for groups often excluded or made subordinate to a dominant culture. As a member of the female marginalized group, the *Other* in higher education, she used her bicultural insight into the domi-

nant culture to choose her words. Talbot shaped her message with an ability to see herself and her organizations and colleagues from the vantage of the male-dominated view and adapt accordingly. For example, Talbot pushed for the election of Mrs. Jane Field Bashford as ACA's first president. This decision was strategic, a direct display of adapting to potential public opinion. Bashford was one of two married members of ACA. Along with mentors Ellen Richards and Alice Freeman (later Palmer), Talbot saw Bashford's election as an argument against critics of a group consisting entirely of educated women. Her mentors urged her to recognize the importance of public opinion; thus, she joined them in arguing that a married woman should lead the ACA initially in order to "obviate negative press."[31] Her communication during this time unfolded as a balance between position and image, but it remained central to her mission. This tendency to consider image when constructing her communication continued throughout her life.

Talbot, as ACA secretary, was an integral component in connecting women. This office gave her communicative power, which she recognized as a tool in the promotion of ACA to the public. Talbot's advice was sought to recommend women to fill positions, for Talbot had a taste now for the power of the many united behind a single cause. She was described as "the founder, the contact person, the bureau of information, for the first and only national association of experts on women's higher education, the alumnae themselves."[32] She worked continually to foster change on the inside while avoiding extremist appearances from the outside. She was a true public relations aficionado, whose skills would be necessary as Talbot entered another pivotal time in her communicative development: her tenure at the UC.

Between 1890 and 1892, Alice Freeman Palmer, former President of Wellesley College and ACA member, told UC President Harper that she would accept a faculty position only if Marion Talbot were also hired, too. Palmer's acceptance was negotiated to involve her presence in Chicago for only three months of the year. For that reason, she wanted a capable woman to work with her who had a similar non-competitive, collegial view of women's education. Thus, Talbot found herself at the UC's Sociology Department with William Rainey Harper as her President and John D. Rockefeller as the University's funder. The ACA had allowed Talbot to cultivate a network of educated women. The position at Chicago gave her a chance to develop powerful persuasive tactics to enact changes in one of the most influential universities in the nation.

Tactics of Persuasion

Persuasion is "the art of gaining fair and favorable consideration for our point of view."[33] Talbot used persuasive communication to benefit women in

higher education. *Advocate* communication is intent on persuading for the benefit of a group of people. It is intriguing to view Talbot's use of persuasive communication from her marginalized position. She used key tactics to attain her goals and she not only navigated the culture of higher education but shaped the environment at the UC. I focus on communication endeavors during pivotal times to highlight her persuasive tactics.

The Use of Accepted *Practices for Young Women*

Talbot used social etiquette as a means to support her claims for what women should and should not be allowed to do, particularly during 1893 - 1900 when the university navigated its first years. She used the male-dominated vision of *acceptable* practices for women, such as a separate social time and an individual space for physical activity to lobby for more resources for women, including dormitories, rooms of recreation, studying areas, gymnasium space, and dining facilities. Doing so, therefore, she gained equal and equitable policies and places for the women. As standpoint theory suggests, those in the minority group learn to find opportunities to turn something oppressive into a chance to move their group forward in a positive manner.[34] To this end, Talbot also used such *accepted* practices as a means to control the image of her women students. The way women were seen to be delicate, to be demure, or to be of service worked to her advantage as a means for the women to offer service, situating themselves as a much-needed part of the university image and community—particularly during World War I. Members of the media were ready critics and in many situations, Talbot controlled the public relations endeavors with tact. In one piece of communication, Talbot halted a social event during which a young woman invited other female students to help "drink up"[35] leftover party wine. Talbot did not like the idea of her young charges being known as going to a party only to drink—what would the papers say?[36] The women who had initially accepted invitations went to Talbot, who responded,

> "Of course," was my reply, "it surely cannot be that a group of graduate women in the new University, who are already under rather severe inspection and criticism, will gather for the sole purpose of drinking. I will see Miss….and you may consider yourselves free from your pledge [to attend]."[37]

Standpoint theory can be applied to understand such a tactic: Talbot knew the needs of those women marginalized within higher education and knew the accepted social norms the dominant male culture expected. She used this knowledge to persuade the young women to desist with the wine

function as it was "very damaging to the University and the status of women scholars if it should be known that such a gathering…were to take place."[38] Talbot repeatedly made notes justifying such actions as "against the ends we were seeking,"[39] never losing sight of that goal and holding all others in line with it.

The Appeal to Responsibility

Another example of her persuasive approach was Talbot's work to corral boisterous young women finding their freedom at the university. She chose not to do this through a list of rules because she believed formal rules caused the downfall of many deans of women.[40] Instead she claimed it was better to guide, suggest, and "advise"[41] those around her. She appealed to the women's sense of duty as representatives of all women in higher education, such as the time the UC President Judson placed restrictions on the women's halls after the campus became increasingly *social*. For example, in 1910 Talbot recalled an incident in which she advised young women against attending a dance which might hurt the image of the women of the university.[42] She also advised against club initiations which led to women roaming the campus in unsuitable clothing. She told the young women some people were critical of the new university "and especially of the women, and we could not afford to tolerate conduct" which devalued the women of the university.[43] In order to save the remaining rights of the women, Talbot discussed these "serious threats"[44] with her charges and noted, "The women accepted the challenge and worked out a plan by which more positive measures could be taken to inform the fast-succeeding groups of newcomers of the standards of the University."[45] The women utilized "vigilance" as well as "high morale" in appreciation of the "true freedom that comes through self control."[46] She appealed to their marginalized status—and their good fortune as those seeking to raise their situation through education—to compel the behavior she desired. As she fought for her own department in sanitary sciences, Talbot's unique standpoint as a minority in higher education allowed her to see opportunity even in male, dominant efforts to segregate the women of the university. In one instance, President Harper pushed to segregate the women by corralling scientific study to sanitary science or household studies. Talbot used the decision as "an opportunity to expand women's curricular options and her own influence."[47] She built the sanitary science program, developed a separate department with more students, and funded roles for women scholars. Her action resulted in larger influence on more scholars, and an inroad to non-traditional roles in the future. She appealed to women to take such actions and use their status and spheres to broaden their prospects.

This tactic was also used when appealing to men for resources or recog-

nition. She began advocating for women in the field of sanitation sciences by claiming women not only had the right to study in that field, but had the upper hand over men, as women carried the necessary moral responsibility of domesticity.[48] Such a claim meshed with the segregation of women faculty in the Sociology Department at Chicago, who, as Deegan noted, used their separate area to create jobs for women, pull in more women faculty members, and use their separate sphere to enjoy "considerable leeway" to define the work they wanted to do.[49] This is also an example of emphasizing the minority's characteristics to gain a hold within the dominant culture. She highlighted traits such as moral responsibility and domesticity that the dominant culture conferred as labels, and she used them to move the group forward. Soon she was the head of her department, managing faculty and shaping her entire discipline.

Timing

In her communication between 1892 and 1925, Talbot noted often that "the time was ripe"[50] for certain actions beneficial to her charges. In fact, she sought the right timing to approach, to suggest, and to recommend – timing that would be more likely to yield desired results. For example, she described persuading the busy President Harper to allow women more activities on campus. She would wait until he was "under pressure of work"[51] to suggest the Women's Club could relieve him of a task or responsibility, or to allow a female faculty member to "help" organize an event (and thereby have full control over it). By approaching Harper when he was busy and needing assistance, she opened more opportunities for the women. This tactic was effective, demonstrating her patience in working toward a larger goal.

Networking

In order to persuade others, Talbot used the collective communication tactic of bringing as many people to an issue as she could. "Talbot linked people" serving as a catalyst and centralizing force.[52] She dropped names, pulled strings, and discussed her plight with men and women of power and position. She strategically invited "the leader of Chicago society"[53] to attend an event hosted by the Women of the University propelling the organization's efforts by notoriety. She nearly always had multiple groups and organizations behind her work. Such endeavors were pre-planned. She was "careful to discuss questions of administration very frankly and fully with my colleagues in advance of action"[54] to ensure their united vision and success. As she stated in her 1945 greeting to the AAUW, "Little drops of water, little grains of sand, made the mighty ocean and a pleasant land"[55] noting how the

AAUW grew from a few passionate people into a powerful national entity. Using such groups gave a unified front, compelled others to take her seriously, and offered new lines of connectivity to future endeavors.

Public Persona

The public persona by which Talbot communicated was beneficial to her persuasive tactics. She was polite, offering empathy where appropriate, and using sound logic to argue for her case. She wrote and spoke clearly, noting her claims, desires, justifications, and professionalism. Even frustrated and agitated, she simply sounded forceful,[56] not embittered. All of her efforts were backed with data from her network of students and ACA colleagues. In her letter detailing the inequities of women at the university and the changes the women were demanding, she noted,

> We believe that the measures here proposed will work advantageously in raising the status of young women students in college activities and that they will tend to produce even more women graduates of distinction and a body of women whose influences on boys and men through the school and home will bring to the enrichment of the university a stream of young and able youth.[57]

The tone of this passage, particularly the words "influences on boys and men through the school and home" reveal concern for the male dominant culture and the belief that helping the women would truly benefit men. This approach made those in power more likely to agree with her. Because of this, many people, including President Harper, saw her as a professional and a member of the university.

Persistence

Even though these persuasive tactics were used to bolster Talbot's efforts to succeed, many would not have taken place without her dogged persistence. She was described as having an "insistent refrain" which "nothing would silence."[58] She was noted for asking for things "year after year"[59] and for not giving up.[60] Further, she had the "priceless quality of knowing how to keep her course.… She has always seemed to know what her ultimate goal [was] and has steered toward it, undiverted."[61] Talbot was known as relentless.[62] When denied, she simply pushed harder by repeating her requests, using new forums for those requests, and moving up the hierarchy until getting the answer she wanted. Talbot "scarcely missed an opportunity to remind the president of the necessity of additional institutional support."[63]

Dierenfield noted she would "flood" and "swamp" people with letters of support from leaders in varying fields.[64] The sheer volume of her letters often led those standing against Talbot to begrudgingly relinquish power. She was a true believer in her work and did that work with determination.

Advocate Communication

In reviewing Talbot's work, we can see someone who used *advocate communication*. I use this term to describe communication on behalf of a marginalized population toward a specific goal to benefit that population. Advocate communication shares all the elements of persuasive communication, but bears a burden of positionality and can come from two sources: a person or group that is more powerful or from a source on equal footing (in terms of power) as those for whom they advocate. By proffering communication for a marginalized group from an equally marginalized position, we see the advocate's voice as one which navigates personal position, professional power or lack thereof, and the high pressure for success to better her larger cause, the equitable treatment of female students in the academy. Marion Talbot was one such person.

Advocacy is typically studied as a subset of medical or social work fields: communication between patient advocates and the dying, for example. In this particular research, advocacy is used to describe Talbot's communicative efforts throughout her career as the voice of women students and faculty members. Advocacy within persuasion may involve four roles: spanning boundaries (such as faculty and administration), advocating (for those with less power), managing relationships (as an insider/outsider), and propagandist (exposing issues of concern for women).[65] She utilized such roles in order to reach her goals for women in higher education.

Talbot relied on her reformist upbringing in her communication approaches during her tenure in Chicago. Understanding these persuasive tactics clarifies her communicative choices made at pivotal times during her career, which is explored in the next section of this paper.

In 1936 after a decade away from Chicago, Talbot remarked that she had recognized her role as a mouthpiece for the women at her institution and therefore utilized careful crafting of her communication as well as the strategic use of speech.

Negotiations: The Chicago Experiment

The opening of the University of Chicago led to an environment ripe for experimentation at a key time of educational reform. It was within this context, filled with possibility and new ideas that Talbot's communication

shifted from an image-oriented public figure at the ACA to that of a negotiator.[66] Chicago was a place of many changes with President William R. Harper's vision of an open academic environment. Rury noted, "Harper had recruited an outstanding faculty, a significant number of whom were supportive of advanced graduate training for women. In persuading Talbot to come to Chicago, moreover, Harper had made a commitment to educating women at the new institution."[67] Talbot and Freeman moved to Chicago where they fostered grassroots change.

> For those women choosing academic careers, they advised advanced degrees. For those already holding academic positions, they urged them to recommend other qualified women be hired alongside them. Freemen and Talbot stressed the word "qualified" because they opposed endorsing any job candidate simply because she was a woman just as they opposed sanctioning any institution simply because it admitted women.[68]

Both women sought quality. The University of Chicago community would learn they had hired women who were direct in speech and expected that quality from everyone, which was evident the moment Talbot accepted Harper's offer. Talbot's first communicative foray with Harper happened with her negotiation of his offer. She included in a letter of August 13, 1892 a list of requests such as the creation of a Department of Public Health, the "imperative" need for a laboratory, and the title of "Resident dean of the graduate department and university colleges." She continued, "I realize that only the beginnings of such a department could be made at present but it seems to me imperative that its cornerstone should be laid at once."[69] In this, her initial communication with President Harper, she was negotiating, putting items on the table she hoped to see while working to set a clear tone. She sought additional living expenses and a higher rank in order that her "very responsible and difficult dual appointment could be carried out with more care as well as dignity."[70] She closed with logic and confidence, writing, "I trust I have written in such a way that you can take formal and immediate action."[71]

This style of communication is important for several reasons. It demonstrates Talbot's belief in speaking up for her needs, and it shows her willingness to assert her ideas to those in power. She was able to disagree tactfully with those in power while pushing her own agenda. This letter also serves as an ideal example of her strategic, goal-oriented negotiation. Lastly, this example showed Talbot's desire to assert herself from her first moments with the University and her desire for women to receive the same benefits the male faculty members and administrators received. Her own resources and

position were an important part of any future changes she would undertake. These requests were "forceful"[72] but President Harper avoided most in his vague way by putting off these items in light of issues more important to the institution in its initial years of operation. Despite this, Harper greatly valued Talbot and gave her a vast authority with far-reaching power—more than women in other coeducational institutions experienced at that time. She felt fairly optimistic about the future and her ability to make change at Chicago.

Talbot felt women must cultivate alliances with supportive men to attain advances in education. She knew the significance of a sympathetic male voice in getting heard. To achieve her goals, she sought the voices and resources of like-minded friends, including men. Women accounted for twenty-five percent of the enrollment at Chicago; Harper put them in integrated classes, welcomed them into departments, and gave them fellowships.

The experiment of coeducation at UC meant there were many eyes watching the women and awaiting the result of Harper's actions. Talbot knew this and speaking for others became characteristic of Talbot's communicative style immediately at Chicago (1892 - 1925). She walked in with a distinct plan and a long-term vision. She knew Chicago was under a microscope and the women were the focal point of the investigation in the face of charges of weak intellect, bodies hurt by the pursuit of education, and the suicide of the entire human race.[73] After retiring, she remarked, "Women students and faculty alike were on trial."[74] She claimed, "Women had to be constantly on their guard lest some misstep might harm the whole undertaking."[75] Though she saw this as unfair, she recognized the need to balance perceptions of critics with the fight for equity. She noted, "Women had the same rights as men to do anything creditable, but no right at all to do anything discreditable, even if the majority of the men set the example."[76] She was strict in order to keep young women in line—even reprimanding Harper's daughter for her clothing. Talbot's job was to uphold the high academic and moral standards of her women and she took it seriously. She was described as having an "imperial demeanor"[77] and was intimidating to the new female students, who later would come to love and respect her.

Her negotiations at the University of Chicago during the first ten years centered on equity in access to courses, resources, equipment, materials, and in recognition (scholarships, grants, fellowships). The work mounted for Talbot. She had to balance her administrative roles, teaching five days a week, advising her women, holding down the position of dean, and fighting for housing, funding, space, and recognition. She continued to seek more women faculty in sociology while fighting for her discipline to be given its own home. She went beyond the basic responsibilities of her job by taking her students to Hull-House to learn first-hand of reform and present-day concerns with Jane Addams. She became a one-woman fund-raising

machine for items she wanted."Socializing and networking were a major part of Talbot's duties."[78]

Negotiations were constant in the beginning years at Chicago. Key among them was her campaign for equitable terminology for her students. College males were called *college men*, but the female students were called *girls* or *coeds*. Talbot noted she was "much impressed when Professor [Lucy Maynard] Salmon of Vassar College pointed out how disadvantageous it was to women to use the terms *college men* and *college girls*.[79] Her understanding of the power of words and their ability to shape perceptions was clear in her efforts to avoid such labels. Talbot lobbied faculty members and students to use the term *women* and lent weight to the issue with it ending up squarely in the student newspaper with *coeds* being discussed as a vulgar and discourteous term. She rejoiced. Finally, the administration adopted the term *women of the university*.

Talbot's use of communicative persuasive tact stretched to the women's free time, their activities, and her constant fear that discrediting one woman would endanger coeducation itself at the university. By pushing her female students to be active and involved in the community, she was bringing a new public image of the educated woman to the outside world through activities she determined and controlled. She wrote in *More than Lore* in 1936 that she was at UC to "protect the good name of the women of the University"[80] and expected the help of the young women. This angered several young women who lodged complaints[81] against Talbot for curbing dress and social functions. This was true as early as 1893,[82] when Talbot angered a student who sought to have women over for wine. Talbot noted, "She [the female student] must not think that her acts as an individual were independent of us as a community. I could imagine nothing much worse than the fact that one of the fellows of the university, a woman, had deliberately chosen a wine supper in her room as a suitable and congenial kind of social engagement for the older women of the University."[83] But she fought for her students, too, noting that they should be allowed to dance—a practice in danger of being outlawed on campus, for their equitable clubs, and use of campus space. All of this, though, was built around her responsibility for the reputation of the new university as she noted, "Our real business, our most absorbing interest, was, of course, helping to get the academic program of the University under way."[84]

This unified vision for the university did not divert her attention from scant funding, lack of resources, and unfair treatment of women. When President Harper proposed a plan for gender segregation at the university, Talbot's voice became more insistent on behalf of her female colleagues and students. Historian Rosalind Rosenberg writes, "Of all of the younger sociologists and psychologists who opposed segregation, the most vigorous was

Marion Talbot, who mounted a campaign to defeat Harper's proposal."[85]

Inequity existed within the extra-curricular arena as well. As men and women celebrated student life through parties and late hours, it was the Women's Halls which were taxed with restrictions. Years later, Talbot recalled this period of inconsistent treatment as she noted,"It may be noted again that Eve was to be held solely responsible!"[86] She was not silent at the time. She responded by taking the problem directly to the people. She reported the situation to those sharing her belief in educational equity for women, including community members, fellow faculty members, ACA contacts and quickly began organizing her young female charges to create a counter-plan and present it to the President. Describing the situation as solemn, she noted that the women pulled together to maintain the standards of the university and bring no more ire upon the women's residences. She was strict at holding women in line, noting that her plans called for "constant watchfulness"[87] by her house representatives to ensure that no further restrictions befell the women through their poor behavior or choices of the few.

As the female students thrived, Talbot's notoriety grew but coeducation was facing serious hurdles. By the early 1900s, she had become known for her well-run population of young women scholars. In fact, she was noted as "the national authority on coeducation."[88] The press called her place at Chicago "Miss Talbot's University"[89] – a threat to the male dominance in the institution. Her tactics had worked to provide a successful forum for her students, though in the true negotiation spirit she often saw success even when some of her demands were unmet. The success of her female charges fueled segregationists' arguments that women outnumbered men at the university and had begun to outperform them as well. In 1902, Harper proposed sex-segregation at the university. He refused to hire any other women or pay the few Talbot had (such as Sophinisba Breckinridge) despite Talbot's repeated demands for the hiring of more female professors, more raises and promotions, and for increased recognition of their achievements. Talbot herself had been promoted in 1904 and received a pay raise after years of stalling from Harper, but Harper was under pressure and slowly proposed the removal of scholarships for females, of women in the choirs, and of fellowships for females.[90]

Advocacy and Action: Fighting Against the Backlash of Coeducation

In 1902, Talbot faced a growing backlash against coeducation, and her communicative tactics became increasingly important as women's education was threatened. As Solomon noted,

> The University of Chicago, originally so proud of its commitment to women, became a storm center of controversy in 1902. Within one decade of its opening, the percentage of women rose from 24 to 52 percent, and between 1892 and 1902 women received a majority (56.3 percent) of the Phi Beta Kappa awards. An alarmed President Harper, speaking for the majority of the faculty and undoubtedly for most of the male students, sought retreat from full coeducation.[91]

Harper's discussion of segregated education led to Talbot's torrent of "scathing" letters in response to Harper's claim that funds would be removed from the institution if he did not segregate. In 1902, she noted, "No gift of money no matter how large would compensate for the injury done to the cause of women's education in this community and this country."[92] As her primary concern—equal treatment of women in higher education—was being dismantled she moved from the negotiator to the leader of a campaign for equal access. Harper's removal of women's access to buildings, enforcement of restrictive rules, and the continued denial of equal pay for graduates and faculty was coupled with separation of women from certain courses on campus. Talbot's communication style remained focused on collaborative and collective measures, but she used every available resource to ensure the women's voices were heard and to protect what she had built at Chicago.

Talbot wrote and provided letters supporting women's education and demanded reconsideration, claiming the steady removal of resources and unfair treatment of women was "a serious setback to the course of higher education." However, Harper prevailed and single-sex classes began in 1903. Yet Harper's plan was derailed by a lack of faculty buy-in and a lack of resources. Soon the attempt at segregation at UC faded; however, Harper's goals for separate spheres of education for the sexes were not officially retracted and many believed the segregation continued.

Striking change occurred during this time, as Talbot shifted from a tentative crafting of her words and public image to a resounding voice demanding to be heard. She kept the successful communicative strategies of the past and continued to rely upon ACA members to show a unified voice of equity. Yet she needed to shift to strengthen range and penetration of her arguments because of the threat to women's higher education. Her need to use her voice in such endeavors would continue as the backlash resulted in cuts to female faculty and student funding. Her voice extended to the larger field of education. In 1910 Talbot wrote, "Salaries for women school teachers are avowedly small, disproportionately small as compared with those of men; many subjects they are not permitted to teach, and many positions are closed because of their sex."[93]

Talbot was now notorious in Chicago and beyond; and as the environ-

ment shifted, so too did her communication. She grew tired of waiting for promised changes based on her repeated request. Thus, she pushed harder for what she wanted. Her communication pulled more fully on her connections, involving newspapers, alumni, and society members. Indeed, Talbot had to become more vocal in these years as the efforts toward segregation raged within the University of Chicago and lessened equity between the sexes. Though she remained professional in her communication, she spoke up and out more often, using multiple venues to communicate her feelings. Historian Rosalind Rosenberg summed up Talbot's impact on the university, "As a dean, Talbot was a thorn in the side of the administration, keeping it uncomfortably aware of the fact that, despite its Charter provisions, education at Chicago was not provided on equal terms to women and men."[94]

Despite challenges, she continued with her persuasive tactic of persistence, requesting more women faculty members, promotions, and more equitable female fellowships. Repeated demands for equity and continued denials led directly to her withdrawal from her position, but at least some results were seen in the women's building approved in 1914 and opened to students in 1916.[95] This was a victory that was years in the making.[96]

As Talbot saw it, the University of Chicago, particularly from 1905 - 1920, did not live up to the promise of innovative higher education or as a warm welcome for women scholars. Talbot wanted full access for her scholars, but not if it cost them quality, and her language changed to protect the resources they still had. She did not want different experiences for the women but rather "no more, no less" than the male educational experience. She fought using a collective female voice as women in coeducational institutions experienced a backlash that emerged as women won The Vote.[97] Her use of collective voice throughout her life was a constant in her communication style and was utilized in full force during the tumultuous years leading up to 1920. She was willing to take a personal risk and stand alone, but preferred to communicate with many as she often saw faster results. During this phase of her career, she used grassroots campaigning and outreach to maintain her collective voice. She tackled everything from housing to recreational activities to regulations and scholarships.

After the women of the University donated substantial hours of time to the World War I effort in a vast array of activities, Talbot used tactical communication as a tool for equity in this time of decreased funding for females. She flooded people with requests for funding and involved colleagues' support. For example, in 1918 a scholarship fund was set up for those who had served in the Army in any capacity and descendants of service personnel. Talbot bemoaned that the instructions for the scholarship application were for males noting, "men," "he," and "his" when referring to applicants. She said,

> I straightaway wrote to the Dean in charge of the fund, asking if women were eligible. He replied with his characteristically blunt way, "No," with the idea "how absurd" permeating the seeming ultimatum. I then inquired directly of the War and Navy departments as to whether women had served in the war in the Army or Navy and was informed officially they had served in both. Before these replies came, I kept the question open by correspondence with the Dean and other authorities, feeling perhaps unduly confident that I was showing more moderation in my phrases than was my correspondent. The matter was closed to my satisfaction by an official administrative ruling that there would be no distinction of sex either in progenitor or scion.[98]

This effort demonstrates Talbot's communication at the time. It further reveals her communication style as persistent, logical, and professional when the question of equitable treatment arose. Her reasons were supported with well-thought out arguments full of evidence not easily disputed. The consistency and frequency of her requests, often coupled with so many letters of support, eventually led to the results she hoped to achieve.

Leaving Chicago

From 1920 to 1925, Talbot raised her voice more forcefully, claiming,"I do not hesitate to express my opinions on any subject which may be presented."[99] Her demands for equity rang out in letters, speeches, and talks. She admonished Harper for falling short on his leadership of the university, as women were crowded into cramped rooms and were given limited access to extracurricular events on campus. She also questioned restricted curriculum proposals.

Her actions during her last few years at Chicago (1920-1925) showed how Talbot positioned herself vocally against the male powers of her university. She led a campaign which highlighted positive attributes, experiences, and elements of coeducation to fight Harper's policy. Talbot's willingness to speak out and use her voice did not change over time; however, it did shift as her status, power, and impact on the community grew. She moved from an advocate to a leader.

Talbot fought, often long hours and often without recognition, for the equal opportunities Harper promised at Chicago, described as a "self-appointed advocate for female faculty"[100] pushing boundaries for equal facilities and salaries. But, after decades of work she grew tired of watching prominent, more qualified, and more published women lag behind the males. She watched her work being unwoven[101] as female faculty positions

were slowly eradicated. Finally, Talbot, collaboratively with the women faculty members at Chicago, sent a letter to the new President DeWitt and the board of trustees in 1924 charging in her clear, direct manner the "discriminatory and exclusionary practices towards women."[102]

> Gentlemen, the undersigned women members of the university senate beg leave to call certain matters to your attention and ask your consideration with plans for the future development of the university. Their deep interest in the university and their loyalty may be measured in part by the ninety-five years of their joint connection with it…these objects seem to us to be not adequately fulfilled in the following respect:
> - There is no woman on the board of trustees
> - The faculties of arts, liberal and science have on their teaching staff too small a proportion of women, not even furnishing a sufficient number to fill the position of deans and heads of houses
> - Women receive only about 20% of the fellowships
> - Promotions and increases of salary are awarded to women more slowly than to men[103]

Talbot's collaborative communication efforts uniting female faculty members, alumnae, and supportive males could not overcome the backlash and forces this time. She retired in 1925 as an "extraordinary administrator"[104] and it took twenty-three people to replace her.[105] Talbot left with a legacy of achievements, but with her primary vision of equity still unrealized.

As we can see, Talbot was a purposeful and persuasive communicator in a time of severe opposition to her goals. Review of her correspondence showed she consistently used a collective voice, the power of a unified goal, a focus on the public response to actions, and the power within her position. She relied upon a collective voice to lend weight to her ideas and actions, pulling likeminded social, academic, and interested parties into her causes. Though she remained a minority with limited ability to alter the majority course of action, her collective communication tactics were empowering. Her power and impact grew as she brought allies in the fight for equality in higher education together. Through this unique advocacy communication tactic, she was able to enact change and serve as a leader in higher education reform.

Conclusion

Marion Talbot used her reformist background, her networking and past ties with women alongside her high expectations and skilled organization to

rally women in her life. She mentored and was mentored, she learned and she led, she was pushed and she pushed back, she used her marginalized standpoint and collaborative communication while managing a position that forced attention both to an internal audience at the university and a highly scrutinizing external audience.

Talbot's communication in pivotal times of her career shows her thoughtful navigation of higher education in a complex time when women struggled to be included as colleagues in the Academy. Understanding her choices has shaped my career path as a new faculty member and as a female. Moreover, it has refreshed my comprehension of powerful professional voice within our daily communication. Talbot utilized the dominant culture's belief about acceptable female roles, the appeal to female responsibility on the path to equality, timing, networking, and sheer persistence as persuasive tactics to foster change within higher education. She managed these skills from the perspective of a member of a marginalized population utilizing the rules of the dominant male culture. She employed collective communication, persuasive tactics, and awareness of her own positionality in the social context to have a lasting impact on the landscape of higher education.

Notes

[1] Kathleen Dierenfield, "Marion Talbot: The Dean of Educated Women" (PhD Diss., University of Virginia, 2001), ii.

[2] Jana Nidiffer, *Pioneering Deans of Women: More than Wise and Pious Matrons* (New York, NY: Teachers College Columbia University, 2000).

[3] Jana Nidiffer, 2002, "The First Deans of Women and What We Can Learn from Them," *About Campus,* 6, no. 6 (2002): 12.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Nidiffer, *Pioneering Deans of Women.*

[6] Margaret DeFleur, Patricia Kearney, Timothy Plax, and Melvin DeFleur, *Fundamentals of Human Communication* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2005), 8.

[7] Fiona Lee, and Christopher Peterson, "Content Analysis of Archival Data," *Journal of Counseling and Clinical Psychology,* 65, no. 6 (1997): 959-969.

[8] University of Chicago Faculty: A Centennial View, "Marion Talbot, Household Administration," University of Chicago, http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/spcl/centcat/fac/facch05_01.html (accessed January 22, 2007).

[9] Dierenfield, *Dean of Educated Women.*

[10] Ibid, ii.

[11] Patricia Palmieri, "From Republican Motherhood to Race Suicide: Arguments on the Higher Education of Women in the United States, 1820-1920," in *The History of Higher Education*, ed. Lester Goodchild and Harold Wechsler (Boston: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 173-182.

[12] Ellen Fitzpatrick, "For the 'Women of the University'" in *Lone Voyagers: Academic*

Women in Coeducational Institutions, 1870-1937, ed. Geraldine J. Clifford (New York: The Feminist Press, 1989), 85-124.

[13] Ibid., 88.

[14] Edson and Saunders wrote,"Marion Talbot acquired many of the humanitarian and intellectual credos that inspired her parents toward social activism. As a child, Marion experienced a milieu of progressive optimism and social responsibility as her parents strove to give life to their ardent faith in the ameliorative powers of educational and institutional reform." C.H. Edson and D. B. Saunders,"Marion Talbot," in *Women Educators in the United States 1820-1993: A Bio-bibliographical Sourcebook,* ed. Maxine Sellers (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 480-489.

[15] Marion Talbot,"Sanitation and Sociology," *The American Journal of Sociology,* 2, no. 1 (1896): 74-81.

[16] Patricia Palmieri, *In Adam's Eden: The Community of Women Faculty at Wellesley* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995).

[17] Dierenfield, *Dean of Educated Women,* ii.

[18] Lawrence Frey, Carl Botan, and Gary Kreps, *Investigating Communication: An Introduction to Research Methods* (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 2000), 413.

[19] Marion Talbot, *More than Lore: Reminiscences of Marion Talbot* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936).

[20] Marion Talbot, *The Education of Women* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1910).

[21] Nancy Hartsock,"The Feminist Standpoint" in *Discovering Reality*, ed. Sandra Harding and M. B. Hintikka (Holland; Boston; London: D. Riedel Publishing Company): 283-310.

[22] Marion Meyers, "The Academy: Toward a Feminine Speech Community," *International Communication Association Annual Meeting* (2008): 1-24.

[23] Glenn McClish, and Jacqueline Bacon,"Telling the Story Her Own Way: The Role of Feminist Standpoint Theory in Rhetorical Studies," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (2002): 27-55.

[24] Interestingly, Marion's view of equality in these areas avoided adopting the characteristics of the male dominant majority,"To Talbot, equality in resources did not mean adopting a masculine outlook, morality, or way of being." Quoted in Mary Jo Deegan,"Dear Love, Dear Love: Feminist Pragmatism and the Chicago Female World of Love and Ritual," *Gender & Society,* 10, no. 5 (1996): 596.

[25] Pamela J. Bretschneider,"Marion Talbot and the Professionalization of Women in Higher Education" (PhD diss., Boston College, 1998).

[26] Christine Lunardini, *What Every American Should Know about Women's History: 200 Events that Shaped Our Destiny* (Holbrook, MA: Bob Adams Inc., 1994), 112.

[27] Bretschneider, *Professionalization of Women.*

[28] Dierenfield, *Dean of Educated Women,* 335.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Jana Nidiffer,"The First Deans of Women and What We Can Learn from Them," *About Campus,* 6, no. 6 (2002): 10-16.

[31] Dierenfield, *Dean of Educated Women,* 337.

[32] Ibid., 341; see also M. Carey Thomas to Marion Talbot, January 7, 1885, University of Chicago Library Department of Special Collections, Chicago, Illinois,

Folder 5, Box 1.

[33] Michael Osborn, Suzanne Osborn and Randall Osborn, *Public Speaking* (Boston: Pearson, 2009), 340.

[34] Sandra Harding, *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual & Political Controversies* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 1-15.

[35] Talbot, *More than Lore*, 66.

[36] Marion was concerned with public image and wrote that the newspapers "got hold of the incident and made up a story" (Talbot, *More than Lore*, 62) and noted that the papers "misrepresented" (Ibid., 63) issues and thus detailed her concern about the dominant culture's perception of the women of the university.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., 66-67.

[39] Ibid., 90.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid., 162.

[42] Ibid., 62.

[43] Ibid., 162.

[44] Ibid., 124.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid., 125.

[47] Dierenfield, *Dean of Educated Women,* 622.

[48] Ibid, 250.

[49] Mary Jo Deegan, *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892-1918* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1986), 192-196.

[50] Ibid., 86.

[51] Ibid., 85.

[52] Pamela J. Bretschneider, "Marion Talbot and the Professionalization of Women in Higher Education" (PhD diss., Boston College, 1998), 361.

[53] Talbot, *More than Lore,* 86.

[54] Ibid., 161.

[55] Marion Talbot, "'Greeting'" from the 'Meeting of the Minds, Not of Persons'" transcript of speech, from American Association of University Women web site http://www.aauw.org/aauw125th/documents/mtalbottranscript.pdf (accessed March 1, 2008), paragraph 3.

[56] Fitzpatrick, *For the "Women of the University,"* 95.

[57] Ibid, 139.

[58] Fitzpatrick, "For the Women of the University," 92.

[59] Dierenfield, *Dean of Educated Women,* 468.

[60] University of Chicago Presidential Papers: Marion Talbot to William R. Harper, January 14, 1895 (Folder 13, Box 63) and Marion Talbot to William R. Harper, December 16, 1896 (Folder 12, Box 24).

[61] Elizabeth Wallace retirement speech, University of Chicago Library Department of Special Collections, Chicago, Illinois, Folder 6, Box 9.

[62] Dierenfield, *Dean of Educated Women,* 686.

[63] Fitzpatrick, *For the "Women of the University,"* p. 92.

[64] Dierenfield, *Dean of Educated Women,* 550.

[65] Johanna Fawkes, "Public Relations Models and Persuasion Ethics; A New Approach," *Journal of Communication Management* 11, no. 4 (2007): 313-331.

[66] Virginia Fish, "More than Lore: Marion Talbot and Her Role in the Founding Years of the University of Chicago," *International Journal of Women's Studies* 8, no. 3 (1985): 228-249.

[67] John Rury, "Sophonisba Breckinridge," in *Women Educators in the United States 1820-1993; A bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook,* ed. Maxine Seller (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 63-69.

[68] Dierenfield, *Dean of Educated Women,* 423; Marion Talbot and Lois Rosenberry, *The History of the American Association of University Women, 1881-1931* (Cambridge, MA: Houghton-Mifflin, 1931) and AAUW, "In Memoriam, Miss Marion Talbot 1858-1949," *News Bulletin*, AAUW-Illinois State Division, 66 (1949), 1-10.

[69] Marion Talbot to William Rainey Harper, August 13, 1892, University of Chicago Library, Department of Special Collections, Chicago, Illinois.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Dierenfield, *Dean of Educated Women,* 468.

[73] Palmieri, "From Republican Motherhood to Race Suicide," 173.

[74] Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 85-98, and Richard Storr, *Harper's University: The Beginnings* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 109-115.

[75] Talbot, *More than Lore,* 71.

[76] Ibid., 162.

[77] Dierenfield, *Dean of Educated Women,* 457.

[78] Ibid., 484.

[79] Talbot, *More than Lore,* 163.

[80] Ibid., 67.

[81] Complaints range from personal accounts of frustration or disagreement about dress or activities to Esther Mercy's lawsuit for slander after Marion and four other professors at Chicago in 1912. See Harriet Tuve, *The Girl with the Hat—Esther Mercy vs. Marion Talbot* (San Diego: Tuve, 2000).

[82] Ibid., 64-68, regarding women's behavior as appropriate social decorum.

[83] Marion Talbot, letter to family, October 12, 1892, University of Chicago Library, Department of Special Collections, Chicago, Illinois, Folder 14, Box 1; Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education.*

[84] Ibid., 107.

[85] Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), 47.

[86] Talbot, *More than Lore,* 124.

[87] Ibid., 125.

[88] Dierenfield, *Dean of Educated Women,* 513.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Robert A. Schwartz, "Reconceptualizing the Leadership Roles of Women in Higher Education: A Brief History on the Importance of Deans of Women." *Journal of Higher Education 68*, no. 5 (1997): 502-522.

[91] Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and*

Higher Education in America (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 58.

[92] Ibid., 575.

[93] Talbot, *The Education of Women*, 245.

[94] Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres,* 47.

[95] Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed, *A History of the University of Chicago, Founded by John D. Rockefeller: The First Quarter-Century (*Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1916), 440-444.

[96] Marion Talbot Papers, University of Chicago Library, Department of Special Collections, Chicago, Illinois, Folder 12, Box 4.

[97] National Association of Deans of Women (NADW), *Yearbook of the National Association of Deans of Women* (1927, 1928, 1934, 1936), microfiche, Ball State University.

[98] Talbot, *More than Lore,* 214-215.

[99] Marion Talbot to her mother, February 16, 1896, University of Chicago Library, Department of Special Collections, Chicago, Illinois, Folder 2, Box 2; Dierenfield, *Dean of Educated Women,* 550.

[100] C.H. Edson and D.B. Saudners, "Marion Talbot" in *Women Educators in the United States 1820-1993: A Bio-bibliographical Sourcebook,* ed. Maxine Seller (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 480-489.

[101] Mary Deegan, "Dear Love, Dear Love," 590-607.

[102] Talbot, *More than Lore,* 137.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 103.

[105] Bretschneider, *Professionalization of Women*, 170.

Fashioning the Ideal Female Student in the Eighteenth Century:
Catharine Macaulay on Reading Novels

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Catharine Macaulay (1731 – 1791) has been called the first female British historian. Her eight-volume history of England, which had great popularity during her lifetime, inaugurated her influential career as a radical political thinker and historian. She published a number of highly regarded political and philosophical works, including challenges to Edmund Burke and support for the French Revolution. She cultivated relationships with the leaders of the American Revolution, visited George Washington and his family in 1785, and corresponded with him throughout the rest of her life. Less well-known are her writings on the ideally educated woman. In *Letters on Education with Observations on Religious and Metaphysical Subjects*,[1] Macaulay argued that the weakness of the typical eighteenth-century Englishwoman was due to her mis-education, which she gained in part by reading popular novels. Novel reading was often decried as immoral and wasteful, but it became the reading choice of many women in the British Isles and the newly established

Republic of America. According to Macaulay, most of these novels expressed narrowly traditional, often gender-biased, public sentiments that represented a counter-productive, often dangerous public voice antithetical to the development of the ideal student. However, she acknowledged the pedagogical potential of novels by Miguel de Cervantes and Henry Fielding. She believed that their works made a positive contribution to the ideal curriculum for the eighteenth century female student, not only by fulfilling her special requirements for good fiction, but also by buttressing the educational aim of producing a virtuous and complete person—female or male.

Literature was a central component of Macaulay's curriculum. In *Letters on Education with Observations on Religious and Metaphysical Subjects*, she included reviews of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela: Or, Virtue Rewarded*, and *Clarissa: Or the History of a Young Lady*, as well as Frances Burney's *Cecilia: Or Memoirs of an Heiress*.[2] She expressed serious reservations about the inclusion of such novels in her proposed curriculum. She wanted female students to learn to recognize and critique the voice of the novel rather than accept its opinions uncritically. Her assessment is strikingly similar to those of many contemporary scholars of British literature. Paul G. Bator, for example, writes that "the fear of the professors was the common fear that persisted as the ranks of novelists grew: that young men and women would be unable to dissociate their own passionate identities from those of the characters whose lives they were following."[3]

The young men and women Macaulay envisioned were aged ten through twenty-one, males and females, of all social classes. The curriculum for these youths was intended to prevent crime and increase happiness. She explained that students between the ages of twelve and nineteen would move from non-reading to reading standard texts and writing in four languages. She believed they should be isolated from voices of authority, including those of novels, until they were ready. Her curriculum was designed to produce the ideal adult of either gender whose mind had been brought to "such a height of perfection as shall induce the practice of the best morals."[4] By contrast, the typical education for girls in England at the time consisted of governesses instructing girls in the reading of fairy tales, romances, and the Bible.[5] Many girls and young women also read novels in their spare time. Macaulay believed that too often these writings failed to dramatize actions she believed to be of the highest moral character. Yet she did not reject all fictional narrative. She acknowledged the pedagogical potential, which she called the *beauties,*[6] in some fictional works. Two that garnered her unwavering approval were Cervantes' *Don Quixote* and Fielding's *Joseph Andrews.*[7] Cervantes' and Fielding's works made a positive contribution to Macaulay's curriculum not only by fulfilling special requirements for good fiction, but also by buttressing her educational aim of

producing a virtuous and complete person who thought critically and creatively, and could critique the public voice of the novel.[8]

Macaulay's Public Voice

Within the eighteenth-century English novel, Macaulay heard a mesmeric public voice that echoed society's social norms for males and females. When Macaulay used the phrase *public voice*,[9] she referred to society's conventional wisdom—the unquestioned, customary assumptions or "sentiments [that] change[d] according to those in power."[10] She believed the public voice limited the student's natural ability to evolve intellectually and morally and to gain enlightenment because it disseminated a particular gendered ideal which, once internalized, confined the young person's thinking and behavior.[11]

Macaulay argued that society's most prevalent expectation for a girl perpetuated a restrained female consciousness that fostered a coquettish focus on attracting suitable mates. Conventional rules of conduct allowed society to produce a population of women who exemplified weakness, passivity, and emotion; and men who embodied strength, activity, and reasoning ability.[12] Popular novels like Richardson's *Pamela* and *Clarissa,* as well as Burney's *Cecilia,* reinforced these views on gender. Their storylines featured few if any learned female protagonists and often centered on women whose actions were limited to romantic love, marriage, sex, seduction, or betrayal.[13]

In *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel*, Nancy Armstrong argues that, like schools for girls and young women, the novel became a staunch instrument of social control that covertly suppressed women's behavior and quelled their advancement.[14] She explains:

> If the production of a specifically female curriculum was an important moment of our political history, then the inclusion of novels within the female curriculum was also significant…. [I]n the last decades of that [eighteenth] century, certain novels were found fit to occupy the idle hours of women, children and servants. At that point, the novel provided a means of displacing and containing long-standing symbolic practices—especially those that maintained a sense of collective identity.[15]

Macaulay focused on reigning in the gender identity propaganda that circulated throughout the popular novels to which Armstrong refers. She wrote,"When love creeps into the bosom, the empire of reason is at an end."[16] Thus, when the novel romanticized love and marriage, endowing them with a value beyond any other, a young female reader might seek to trade on only

the beauty and pleasure of a physical reality in order to secure an idealistic marriage. In the course of that effort, she might sacrifice her independence as well as her intellectual and moral life. Correspondingly, the untutored male reader was likely to accept the female's self-sacrifice as natural behavior. Since Macaulay sought to produce a balance of reason and tenderness, which she named *virtue* in the human psyche, she could not recommend anything for any girl or boy that hindered the development of "the empire of reason" and concomitantly impeded the development of virtue.

Much of Macaulay's problem with the consumption of fiction hinged on the fact that young people read it too early in life and were largely unsupervised. Few parents or teachers provided a systematized critique of society's perceptions of gender roles as presented in the novels, and they made little or no attempt to provide readers with any structured, critical guidance to help them question a text's cultural content.[17] Macaulay feared that this lack of instruction led to residual learning that reinforced the idea that a popular novel mirrored a natural and divine plan for the sexes. A remedy for this problem was a rigorous curriculum relying on an ideal and judicious teacher-tutor able to undertake the responsibility of guiding students morally and intellectually toward becoming "rational agents" who engaged freely in "original thinking."[18]

The Beauties of Don Quixote *and* Joseph Andrews

Macaulay argued that we "owe to the blunders of art"[19] much of the imperfection expressed in the human experience. She asserted that the impressionistic art in most novels immortalized a picture of society that sentenced individuals to an existence defined by limitation, and thus undermined the human being's potential for expansion and ultimate perfection. She expressed her skepticism about the ability of fiction to capture the fullness of human nature and experience:

> To draw a great variety of characters according to life, it is requisite to have a comprehensive knowledge of the human mind or a peculiar dexterity in piercing through the veil which custom, and a regard for character, puts on. And it is the difficulty of copying Nature with exactness, and the circle of moral consequences, as they really exist, which occasions novel writers to draw situations unnaturally, and to give forced and exaggerated sentiments to their characters, and particularly to their hero and heroine.[20]

In contrast, Macaulay distinguished "Cervantes .... and Fielding [as] undoubtedly strict copiers of Nature"[21] who were also capable of delighting a

reader. She further asserted that "*Don Quixote* may be read at every period of life, without leaving any mischievous impression on the mind"[22] and that "*Joseph Andrews* is so admirably conducted, and the hero is a character of such true virtue and simplicity, that this work may be read with safety, and even with improvement by youth."[23] These brief distinctions that Macaulay bestowed upon the texts of Cervantes and Fielding are the only details that clarify her concept of the beauties possible in a carefully conceived work of fiction.[24] How, then, were Cervantes and Fielding embodiments of Macaulay's ideal teacher-tutors, and how did they bolster Macaulay's arguments?

Macaulay, Cervantes, and Fielding on the Novel's Pedagogical Purpose

Macaulay believed that the teacher-tutor and the novelist should share a common purpose: both should expose student-readers to Macaulay's view of an accurate portrayal of human nature, one that inspired redemptive thinking and morally virtuous action. Macaulay emphasized that the model teacher should not conceal humanity's vices. Instead, he or she should "penetrate through the veil of prejudice."[25] Macaulay's teacher achieved success if the enlightened students recognized the limited portrayals of human beings in most novels and came to question the advisability of patterning their own lives after those found in the benighted storylines. She instructed the teacher to strive to develop appropriately moral associations in students' minds. Addressing the aspiring teacher-tutor directly, Macaulay wrote:

> Always annex the epithets of beautiful, charming, and lively, to good actions; and of hideous, frightful, and deformed, to evil ones.... Thus the maxims of the Stoics, that the wise man alone is beautiful, will in some measure be felt in the child's sentiment.[26]

Macaulay mirrored the expectations of her ideal teacher-tutor in her description of the novelist. She wrote that he or she must not merely entertain or satisfy the reader's imagination but must also possess "a peculiar dexterity in piercing through the veil which custom … puts on."[27] Her emphasis on the critical importance of judicious teacher-tutors capable of teaching her ideal curriculum intersects with her conviction of the need for insightful writers able to craft lessons about human nature within their compositions. Macaulay valued the works of Cervantes and Fielding because both authors acted as Macaulean-like teacher-tutors.

Don Quixote and *Joseph Andrews* are satirical works. *Don Quixote* aims to "demolish the whole false, irrational network of those chivalric romances"[28] while *Joseph Andrews* is Fielding's follow-up to *Shamela*, his first satire against

Richardson's *Pamela*. Although surface readings of Cervantes' and Fielding's novels seem to overemphasize the importance of love and marriage for their characters, it is clear that this overemphasis functions as a powerful critique.

Both Cervantes and Fielding considered their novels literary compositions that instructed and entertained. They offered "true mirror[s]"[29] that reflected human society by "strictly [copying] nature"[30] and exhorted the male or female readers to make independent judgments about the truth of what they were reading. Fielding, for example, explained that because he wanted his reader to be able to observe the human predicament of temptation and redemption, and of foolishness and wisdom, he created characters that caused readers to "contemplate their deformity, and endeavor to reduce it, and thus by suffering private mortification avoid public shame."[31] This idea closely relates to Macaulay's beliefs regarding the development of virtuous individuals.

Perhaps most indicative of these two authors' dedication to and awareness of their pedagogical responsibilities within each of their novels is their rejection of the traditional role of a *voiceless* or invisible author. They both explicitly claimed the new role of guardian or parent to their creations. Within the first paragraph of his prologue, Cervantes said that his book was "born out of [his] own brain"[32]; however, he also extended his parental duties to his readers. He further explained:

> Sometimes a father has an ugly child, utterly unlovely, but love drapes a veil over his eyes so he's blind to its faults and sees them as wit and charm and describes them to his friends as clever and graceful. But though I may seem to be Don Quixote's parent, I'm only his stepfather, and I'm not interested in saying things just because everybody else does, or in begging you[,] dearest reader… to please forgive or overlook my child's faults—because… you can make up your mind for yourself, with the best of them, and by God, you're the boss in your own house.[33]

This self-labeling of an author, acting as a parent who invites readers to look under the veil and make their own judgments, fits neatly with Macaulay's view of the teacher-tutor who loves and improves his or her student in much the same way that a parent does a child. She wants her teacher-tutor to guide the student, to let discipline be a part of her relating when necessary, but to discipline with tenderness and with the good of the child in mind. In Book III of *Joseph Andrews*, Fielding takes a similar stance and labels himself a satirist resembling a parent who "privately corrects the fault [of the child] for the benefit of the person."[34] Like Cervantes, Fielding also parented by encouraging his reader to be "the boss" in his or her experi-

ence of *Joseph Andrews*.

Fielding was fully present as an astute mentor who pointed the reader towards resting places for reflection. He told the reader that "those little spaces between our chapters may be looked upon as an inn or resting place when [you] may stop…and consider of what [you] hath seen in the parts already passed through…."[35] Fielding cleverly provided these "vacant pages"[36] throughout his novel to serve as signposts telling the reader, assisted by the encouragement of the narrator, that he or she should take the time to fill the unwritten page with his or her own original thought. With this, Fielding not only recommended to the reader that he or she slow the pace of story's consuming action in order to reflect upon the characters' journeys, but also invited the reader to begin his or her own conscious journey toward capturing the reality of moral consequence within the human predicament.

Cervantes also crafted a complex narrative structure dependent upon narrators and characters who acted as additional Macaulean-like teacher-tutors. The plot of *Don Quixote* includes an intricate network of authors and narrators who also served as characters within their own narratives, and characters who, at times, narrated their own stories. Though initially disorienting, ultimately Cervantes' narrative style results in the beginning of the reader's journey towards an enlightening disenchantment. Macaulay acknowledges that although at first exhaustive, the learner's experience with an ideal curriculum challenges a student to reexamine his or her belief systems by identifying, contemplating, and analyzing false societal views, which, in the end, result in the learner's edification.[37] Likewise, through his purposefully problematical narrative style, Cervantes makes requisite his readers' active involvement in questioning the text's increasingly dubious foundations—a questioning that Cervantes wanted readers to extend to their consumption of "false, irrational"[38] chivalric romances. Macaulay expressed a similar desire. She wanted her ideal students to identify the false, irrational public voice of the widely read novels and reject their characters as models for shaping their own lives if they limited the full development of women and men. Perhaps these personal directions from Cervantes and Fielding are what distinguish them from the eighteenth-century didactic novelists whom Sarah Raff, in "Quixotes, Precepts, and Galateas: the Didactic Novel in Eighteenth-Century Britain," accuses of "dott[ing] their works with instructive generalizations not so that they could avoid seducing and promoting quixotism in their readers, but rather in order to do so."[39]

Because Cervantes and Fielding did not carry out their pedagogical ambitions by seducing their readers, but instead enlightened readers by exposing them to the complexities of the world, they fulfilled the enormous responsibilities Macaulay assigned to the parent and the teacher-tutor. Both authors constructed novels that portrayed the natural convergence of the

principal concepts of virtue, gender, education, and the reliability of fiction within the lives and values of their characters.

The Minds of Young Students: Moral Virtue and Honorable Simplicity

Macaulay believed that "[a] common observer must be sufficiently acquainted with the human mind to know that it is quite passive in receiving impressions […] and the purity of the mind must chiefly depend on the discretion of those with whom we are entrusted in our youth."[40] She also advised that"to preserve as much as possible the independence of the mind; let us be very sparing of our precept to the credulous ears of infancy."[41] Almost as if in direct accordance with these guidelines, Cervantes and Fielding seemed to consciously control their authorial power of suggestion within their satires[42] and compose texts that preserved the purity and originality of their readers' minds. They did not indoctrinate their readers with lectures that communicated their social and moral belief systems, but instead freed their readers to draw their own inferences from the juxtapositions of the upright Don Quixote and Parson Adams with the"tru[ly] ridiculous"[43] and problematical fictional microcosms in which these two characters existed.

Macaulay, in one of her principal prescriptions for the learner's education about human nature, urged that students "should be taught to consider mankind as they really are, in masquerade."[44] This theme of masquerade is apparent in Cervantes' and Fielding's plans to pierce the veil worn by human society through plots centered on the journeys of two earnest heroes who challenged their fictional worlds inhabited by individuals who lacked their moral sensibilities.

In *Don Quixote,* Cervantes introduced readers to the educated gentleman Alonso Quijano, who unknowingly contracted a "knighthood sickness"[45] upon the consumption of an excessive amount of chivalric romances. As a result, he felt compelled to recreate himself as a knight named Don Quixote of La Mancha. The remainder of the novel recounts Don Quixote's travels after donning a makeshift suit of armor that he wore not with the intention to deceive, but with the sincere resolve to make his existence meaningful through chivalrous actions aimed at rectifying the wrongs in a La Mancha populated by other characters motivated by a preoccupation with the words "thine and mine."[46]

By identifying Don Quixote as "that shining light, that true mirror of knight errantry"[47] in his prologue, Cervantes primed his readers to reflect on Don Quixote's purpose as an anachronistic chivalric hero out of place in a society that followed codes that were more pragmatic but no more virtuous than those followed by his disillusioned knight. Incidentally, the query that

Cervantes established through this juxtaposition both reflects and challenges Macaulay's critique of the teachings on benevolence, sympathy, and moral virtue imparted in encouraging a young boy to practice that "romantic notion of playing the knight errant and acting criminally on a principle of honor."[48]

Because Macaulay conferred credit upon Cervantes for writing a novel that did not inculcate the receptive minds of young students with any "mischievous impression,"[49] she likely recognized the lessons that could be learned when a reader meditated on the heroic circumstances of the chivalric Quixote. His knightly quest led him to chase grandly imagined and seemingly foolish adventures that included battles against windmills imagined as giants, royal visits to inns he perceives as castles, and duels in the name of his fantasized love for a princess whom he calls Dulcinea del Toboso. Yet Don Quixote, in his rusty armor and wooden sword, shone amidst a bevy of opportunistic La Manchans whose hunger for opportunities in economic advancement replaced their abilities to recognize the value of honor and good works. In many ways, the fictitious Don Quixote realized Macaulay's vision of the morally virtuous person who feels sympathy and consequently acts in furthering equity.[50] Macaulay believed that benevolence is the first step to moral virtue, and benevolence infused with sympathy provides the individual with the impetus for moral action.[51] Still, she observed that most individuals in her society never progressed beyond the initial stage of benevolence because they understood the concept as a maxim—individuals merely need to adopt a disposition or a mental state projecting goodwill without ever having to act in accordance with their benevolent thoughts.[52] Thus, in contrast with both Macaulay's contemporaries and most of his La Manchan neighbors, Don Quixote was dynamically singular because his relentless quest to dismantle his present society and restore a past of honorable simplicity and virtue is one that demonstrates the kind of resilience and active moral virtue that Macaulay wanted in her students.

Like Don Quixote, Fielding's endearingly unsuspecting Parson Adams, a hero on an inspired moral mission, unintentionally followed an earthly path bent towards the most absurd of accidents and the most precarious situations. The vast number of outrageous incidents that befall him—including receiving a shower of pig's blood, nearly losing his clothing to the voracious teeth of dogs, and falling into a pig sty—make it apparent that Parson Adams served as the comedic center and hero of *Joseph Andrews.* In several ways, Parson Adams was a "standing lesson to all his acquaintance"[53] who exhibited some of the qualities Macaulay sought in an ideal teacher-tutor capable of teaching a curriculum founded upon the central claim that all human minds can and should be educated towards perfection. Despite his absentmindedness, he never forgot his moral platform and his unrelenting commitment to confront and attempt to repair injustice. He embodied the moral locus of

Fielding's aims: assisting in the development of virtuous humanity.

Of *Joseph Andrews*, Macaulay wrote that "the hero is a character of such true virtue and simplicity, that this work may be read with safety, and even with improvement by youth."[54] In a similar vein, Fielding distinguished Parson Adams:

> As to the character of Adams,[…] It is designed a character of perfect simplicity; as so the goodness of his heart will recommend him to the good-natured, so I hope it will excuse me to the gentlemen of his cloth; for whom, while they are worthy of their sacred order, no man can possibly have a greater respect. They will therefore excuse me, notwithstanding the low adventures in which he is engaged, that I have made him a clergyman, since no other office could have given him so many opportunities of displaying his worthy inclinations.[55]

Social Influence and Gender Identity

The storylines in Cervantes' and Fielding's novels tell of the adventures of Don Quixote and Parson Adams as they tackled their cumbersome heroic tasks of rescuing their worlds from social conventions that warranted unsympathetic dispositions and selfish actions. Two other characters—Don Quixote's princess Dulcinea and Parson Adams' student, Joseph Andrews—are immensely significant to these literary works. Both were initially intended to counter the gendered traditions that Cervantes and Fielding observed in most of the novels circulating during their respective eras. More importantly, Dulcinea and Joseph Andrews conveyed views on the manifestations of gender that were so important to Macaulay.

In *Letters on Education* Macaulay asserted, "The principles and nature of virtue, which is never properly explained to boys, is kept quite a mystery to girls….Certain it is, that the admiration of the other sex is held out to women as the highest honour they can attain."[56] Cervantes' knight errant operated in accordance with the very conventions that Macaulay strove to remove from the minds of her male and female students. Along with the standards for knightly virtue and honor, Don Quixote adopted the code of chivalry that dictated views about men and women within the ideals of courtly love. Don Quixote proclaimed:

> I hereby affirm that there cannot be a knight errant who has no lady, because it is as fitting and natural for them to be in love as it is for the sky to have stars, and I know perfectly well I have never seen the history of a knight errant which shows him without love affairs,

> which is exactly the reason, too, that were they in fact without ladies, no one would believe they were legitimate knights [….][57]

Adhering to the necessity of romantic love, Don Quixote committed himself to a mission of rescuing women. Yet, in spite of this, Cervantes populated his knight's world with no women in need of rescuing, and in doing so, satirized the ideals of courtly love. In his book, *Who Was Dulcinea*?, Javier Herrero writes:

> [Don Quixote is] somewhat ridiculous. Ridiculous, that is, with a comic force that makes of [his] lofty passion a parody of love itself, a stylized contraption that belongs to a genre (and a world) that is going away and that Cervantes is helping into the grave with a final blow: laughter.[58]

Cervantes' *parody of love* and emphasis on the limitations on human nature circumscribed by society's gendered mores are evident in his choice for his novel's central female figure, a woman atypical of the fairer, weaker depictions of the ladies of the court of love. Don Quixote's helpless Princess Dulcinea was a beautiful illusion who never became physically present in La Mancha. In consequence to this plot detail, readers must assess Dulcinea's symbolism through the descriptions of her provided by others. Exalting her physicality and reputation, Don Quixote said of his lady love, "Whether as to beauty or to nobility… Helen of Troy can't match her."[59] However, Sancho Panza, Don Quixote's squire, disclosed that Dulcinea was not a princess but an illiterate peasant girl who worked the fields of her family's farms and knew nothing of her knight's loyal devotion. Don Quixote's squire described her as "well built and straight as an arrow, and as strong and brave as they come, and she can get any knight errant, or anyone trying to be a knight errant, out of any tight spots."[60]

These facets of the character of Dulcinea reveal that the princess Don Quixote was determined to save was a woman who could save herself as well as the men around her. With such a characterization, Cervantes asked his student-readers to re-examine society's vision of women and men. Don Quixote and Sancho Panza's contrasting descriptions of Duclinea bring into being a composite that moved toward Macaulay's conceptualization of the dual-gendered human person—male or female—as a being with one femino-masculine nature. In *Letters on Education* Macaulay defined the perfect man as "a woman formed from a coarser mold."[61] Thus, she revealed that the ultimate hope of her educational project—to produce strong, benevolent, and reasonable women and men who have lost none of their feeling and tenderness, yet remain free to develop their intellectual gifts.[62]

As Campbell writes of the "unresolved dualties"[63] that Fielding used to fashion the character of Joseph Andrews:

> [Fielding values] "feminine" feeling as well as "masculine" reason [...] to frame his complex response to Richardson in Joseph Andrews. His parody of Richardson begins, of course, by inverting the genders in Pamela's central situation, and through allusion, description, and narrative event the novel sustains and extends Joseph's implications in feminine roles[....] Fielding's construction of a compromised gender identity for his title character becomes not just a device of comedy but a vehicle for the imaginative reconciliation of opposite allegiances traditionally systematized by gender.[64]

From the very beginning of *Joseph Andrews*, Fielding underscored the marriage of femininity and masculinity in the nature of Parson Adams' ever virtuous and devoted student. The attractive Joseph Andrews was not described as having simply manly or strapping good looks, but was instead described as a "pretty fellow"[65] with a physicality of "great elegance, and no less strength"[66] and an uncorrupted soul "as full of sweetness as of fire."[67] Fielding also endowed him with a voice "so extremely musical that it rather allured the birds."[68]

Despite having attributes typically thought indicative of debility in a woman's mind and nature, Joseph Andrews was fortified with sensitivities that made him just as prone to respond to emotional moments with an overflow of tears as he was to react to injustice or immorality with tempered aggression. Fielding's decision to include a representation of an admirable character who possessed ambiguous feminine or masculine identities adheres directly to Macaulay's belief that ideal men and women can attain perfection by acknowledging and nurturing the femino-masculine completeness in human nature.

Discerning the Differences Between Life and Art

For Macaulay, the principal instrument of moral and intellectual perfection is education. However, in *Letters on Education*, she argued that the power inherent in education can result in negative and absurd consequences[69] if the learner is not a critical consumer. Cervantes in *Don Quixote* and Fielding in *Joseph Andrews* evaluated the educations that have helped their central characters cultivate a moral sensibility and consciousness—or lack thereof. Although Don Quixote and Parson Adams are characters who believed they practiced the best morals, they had to learn to fully interrogate the stories which have inspired their moral missions by employing an enlightened rea-

son and a questioning rationality. This process is a model for the reader, as it reveals the challenge of sustaining consistent rational engagement with one's personal belief system in the course of lived experience.

In his preface to *Joseph Andrews*, Fielding indicated that he created characters who not only appear to breathe but also to think.[70] Fielding depicted his hero Parson Adams not only as a student, but also as mentor to Joseph Andrews, making Parson Adams paramount to the discussion of education's role in the realization of the potential of human nature. Fielding thus previewed wholeheartedly Macaulay's goal of yielding real thinking women and men from her schoolroom in the character of Parson Adams, whose encounters forced him to express his beliefs and rationalize his positions. Parson Adams' dual role of student and mentor raises a question that is of tremendous import to Macaulay's philosophy: Who/What should guide the student through his/her learning? Parson Adams delivered the first words spoken by a character in *Joseph Andrews* and alluded to the magnitude of the issues related to education in general, and to reading in particular, throughout the remainder of the novel. He said, "I wish some who have read many more good books, nay, and some who have written books themselves, had profited so much by them."[71] Parson Adams attributed his education to the guidance that he found in his books; he was adamant that the reading of books is key to, and perhaps the sole source of, moral and academic learning and the attainment of life experience.

Several thinking characters in *Joseph Andrews* challenged his belief about the power of books. At one point, Parson Adams had to defend his belief to the host at an inn and declared, "I will inform thee; the traveling I mean is in books, the only way of traveling by which any knowledge is to be acquired."[72] However, in remaining resolute in his (personally unexamined) conviction at the end of the novel, Parson Adams, though in many ways a paradigm of charity and virtue, also remained "entirely ignorant of the ways of this world as an infant just entered into it could possibly be."[73]

Like Parson Adams, Don Quixote had a childlike susceptibility throughout the novel. Although he was fifty years old and purportedly educated, by Macaulay's educational standards, he lacked a reason enlightened and prepared enough to read sensational stories with proper discernment. The reading of books and tales of chivalry consumed Don Quixote's mind to such an extent that he was unable to distinguish the difference between art and life.

For most of the novel, Don Quixote did not reflect upon the purpose of his chivalric actions or the implications of the chivalric code; instead, other characters became involved in assessing their friend's psychological and educational well-being. Don Quixote's niece, priest, and barber attempted to organize several Macaulean-like interventions.[74] The first was a thorough inquisition on Don Quixote's extensive library of chivalric romances. While

Don Quixote slept in another room, Cervantes' inquisitors critiqued their friend's books and one at a time determined whether each text, personified as a heretic on trial, would be pardoned or condemned to exile or death by fire. Another intervention also occurred while Don Quixote slept. At an inn, the priest and barber began a discussion about literature with the innkeeper and his travelers. In this exchange, Cervantes' characters, concerned about their friend's eccentric behavior, sought to determine what makes a book good or bad. After the innkeeper defended the literary accounts of chivalric heroism that had inspired Don Quixote and expressed his belief that the government would not have allowed the publication of harmful falsehoods, the priest offered this explanation: "All this is to amuse our lazy minds…they [the government] let such books be printed, believing—and surely it's true—that no one could be so stupid as to take any of these books for the literal truth."[75] In this quote, the priest seemed to echo Macaulay's admonition against books that express the public voice and cause the unprepared reader to become lazy and ineffective.

In contrast to these events from Volume 1 of *Don Quixote*, the second half of the novel recounts the beginning of its title character's newfound curiosity concerning the nature of novels that have educated his life—Don Quixote became a thinking character. Of particular importance is a metafictive conversation within which Don Quixote conveyed points coinciding with Macaulay's observation that the complicated situation of fiction composition causes writers "to draw situations unnaturally and to give forced and exaggerated sentiments to their characters, and particularly to their hero and heroine."[76] In a rare moment of clarity, Don Quixote considered the books that had been written to account for his knightly adventures and provoked the reader to consider how a novel writer attempting to record a truthful history must factor in time: "[Don Quixote] could not convince himself that any such book [about himself] could really exist, seeing that there had not been time for his enemies' blood to dry on his sword blade."[77] This articulation of suspicion over the accuracy of his portrayal prompts Don Quixote's renewed moral and intellectual journey throughout the second volume of Cervantes' novel. In seeking to control the pen that had otherwise controlled him, Don Quixote began to take control of the evolution of his own identity.

Conclusion

In *Letters on Education*, Macaulay noted: "It has been shrewdly observed by some writers, that we could be brought by education to adopt the greatest absurdities, as easily as the most reasonable propositions."[78] As has been shown, she thought that most eighteenth-century novels painted an unnecessarily absurd picture of womanhood (and manhood) for the reader.

Cervantes and Fielding, however, proved to be two writers whose novels not only contained observations on education's consequence in the lives of individuals journeying towards moral and intellectual perfection, but also provided the sort of ideal education Macaulay believed students needed in order to preserve their originality of thought and also sharpen their discernment of false ideology. In creating main characters who initially lacked what Macaulay called enlightened reason—which had an impact on feelings and behaviors while filtering the views of the false public voice—and setting these characters off on journeys that required them to become thinking characters interacting with the few other thinking characters who inhabited their fictional worlds, Cervantes and Fielding conveyed the fundamental importance of reason, as well as feeling and tenderness, in the lives of thinking individuals striving towards moral and intellectual perfection.

This paper has illuminated some of *the beauties* in the two works of fiction that garnered Macaulay's approval for inclusion in her ideal educational curriculum. As authors of *Don Quixote* and *Joseph Andrews*, Cervantes and Fielding each fulfilled Macaulay's vision of the ideal novelist and teacher-tutor. In particular, Macaulay aimed to encourage girls and women to understand the false claim of constrained femininity. In her article, "'The Exact Picture of His Mother': Recognizing *Joseph Andrews*," Jill Campbell names the pedagogical method that Fielding utilized within his novel, "Critics have admired, in Fielding's fiction, his willingness to sustain 'unresolved dualities' or to 'wrestle with central contradictions…only to a standoff.'"[79] This assertion may also be extended to Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, which Fielding acknowledged in his original title for *Joseph Andrews—The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews, and his Friend Mr. Abraham Adams. Written in imitation of the Manner of Cervantes, Author of Don Quixote*. Cervantes' and Fielding's deliberate use of "unresolved dualities" rendered the complexities intrinsic to the workings of the world and the workings of the human mind.

By embedding their novels with *unresolved dualities* that make requisite their student readers' cognitive participation, Cervantes and Fielding merit Macaulay's commendation that "*Don Quixote* may be read at every period of life, without leaving any mischievous impression on the mind"[80] and that "*Joseph Andrews* […] may be read with safety, and even with improvement by youth."[81] Also, the meaning behind Macaulay's assertion that "Cervantes […] and Fielding are undoubtedly strict copiers of Nature"[82] is evident in the congruencies among Macaulay's, Cervantes' and Fielding's perspectives on the nature of the morally virtuous individual and conceptualizations of the completeness inherent in the dual-gendered *nature* of the human person.

It follows that if Macaulay's reading of the two works was similar to that of Campbell, she would recommend them to her ideal students. Despite Cervantes' and Fielding's accomplishments, however, it is important to note

that both *Don Quixote* and *Joseph Andrews* are works that showcase male figures as their central characters. And, although these novels earned Macaulay's endorsement, her *Letters on Education* still posed a challenge to eighteenth-century writers for the creation of reading material that explicitly fashioned the female in the way Macaulay had in mind. She may have wanted her students to avoid contemplating the women portrayed in works like *Pamela*, *Clarissa*, or *Cecilia*, precisely because the female protagonists in those works were insufficiently resolved about their social roles or prospects.[83] A Macaulean heroine like Cervantes' invisible femino-masculine Dulcinea or a female counterpart to Fielding's Joseph Andrews stronger than Richardson's Pamela had not yet appeared in a work of fiction[31] as had contemporary critiques of the genre. The world would have to wait for the pens of Mary Wollstonecraft, Judith Sargent Murray, and others to produce such models for a more liberated, Macaulean female reader to emulate.[84]

Notes

[1] Catharine Macaulay, *Letters on Education* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1790).

[2] Samuel Richardson, *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded* (London: printed for C. Rivington; and J. Osborn, 1740); Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa, or, the History of a Young Lady* (London : Printed by S. Richardson, 1748); Fanny Burney, *Cecilia, or, Memoirs of an Heiress* (London, T. Payne and son and T. Cadell, 1782).

[3] Paul G. Bator, "Rhetoric and the Novel in the Eighteenth-Century British University Curriculum," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 30, no. 2 (1997), 173-195, 183.

[4] Macaulay, *Letters on Education,* 173.

[5] For a longer discussion on the history of women's education and specifically on how girls and women were educated in this time and place, see, for example, Myra Reynolds, *The Learned Lady in England: 1650-1760* (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920).

[6] Macaulay, *Letters on Education,* 148.

[7] Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote: A Norton Critical Edition*, ed. Diana de Armas Wilson, trans. Burton Raffel (1605; New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1999), 11. All subsequent references to this book will be indicated as "Cervantes, 1999," followed by the page number. Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews* (1642; Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2001), x. All subsequent references to this book will be indicated as "Fielding, 2001," followed by the page number. Macaulay also examined a third novel, Andrew Michael Ramsay's *Cyrus's Travels* (1727), which we have not included in this paper because the themes in *Cyrus's Travels* could be better discussed in a paper more focused on those parts of Catharine Macaulay's philosophy of education dealing with readings appropriate to the religious education of the young person.

[8] Macaulay's goals for education applied to both male and female students, but the focus of this paper is on the education of women.

[9] Others scholars who have written works on Macaulay from the perspective of political science or political history interpret the *public voice* in a very different way

than we do here. Our sense of the phrase comes directly from Macaulay's work, and it emerges from a psycho-social context within the discipline of educational theory. For another interpretation of the phrase, see, for example, Kate Davies' *Catharine Macaulay and Mercy Otis Warren: The Revolutionary Atlantic and the Politics of Gender* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[10] Macaulay, *Letters on Education,* 152-153.

[11] Ibid., 204-206.

[12] Macaulay, *Letters on Education* Part I, Letter XXII); see also John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* (London : Printed for Awnsham Churchill ..., 1690).

[13] Ibid., 145-148.

[14] Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 17.

[15] Ibid., 17-18.

[16] Ibid., 218.

[17] Myra Reynolds, *The Learned Lady in England: 1650-1760* (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920), 258-260.

[18] Macaulay, *Letters on Education,* 127.

[19] Ibid., 186.

[20] Ibid., 143.

[21] Ibid., 144.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., 145.

[24] Macaulay also included Le Sage in the distinction she gave to Cervantes and Fielding; however, her opinion of Le Sage's *Gil Blas* significantly differed from her utter and unguarded recommendation of *Don Quixote* and *Joseph Andrews* for students at any stage of their educational development. She wrote that *Gil Blas* demonstrates "indeed an admirable picture of the deceit, roguery, folly, and vice, which is to found in every rank in society; and as such, is capable of affording very instructive lessons to those who[,] hav[e] *finished their education*" (Ibid., 144, italics, our emphasis).

[25] Ibid., 105.

[26] Ibid., 178.

[27] Ibid., 143.

[28] Cervantes, *Don Quijote,* 11.

[29] Ibid., 9.

[30] Fielding, *Joseph Andrews,* x.

[31] Ibid., 128.

[32] Ibid., 7

[33] Ibid.

[34] Fielding, *Joseph Andrews,* 128.

[35] Ibid., 53.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Connie Titone, *Gender Equality in the Philosophy of Education: Catharine Macaulay's Forgotten Contribution* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2004), 104.

[38] Cervantes, *Don Quijote,* 11.

[39] Raff, "Quixotes, Precepts, and Galateas," 476.

[40] Macaulay, *Letters on Education,* 163-164.

[41] Ibid., 128.

[42] We would like to note that a writer's intent when writing a satire may not be completely sparing of the writer's personal opinions or beliefs since the impetus of a satire is a strong opinion or belief for or against something needing to be satirized. For this paper we are reading in light of Macaulay's aims of education.

[43] Fielding, *Joseph Andrews,* xii.

[44] Macaulay, *Letters on Education,* 186.

[45] Cervantes, *Don Quijote,* 38.

[46] Ibid., 59.

[47] Ibid., 9.

[48] Macaulay, *Letters on Education,* 142.

[49] Ibid., 144.

[50] Titone, *Gender Equality in the Philosophy of Education*, 46.

[51] Connie Titone, "Virtue, Reason, and the Public Voice," *Educational Philosophy and Theory* (forthcoming).

[52] Ibid.

[53] Fielding, *Joseph Andrews,* 1.

[54] Macaulay, *Letters on Education,* 145.

[55] Fielding, *Joseph Andrews,* xiv.

[56] Macaulay, *Letters on Education,* 208.

[57] Cervantes, *Don Quijote,* 70.

[58] Javier Herrero, "Who was Dulcinea?" in Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote: A Norton Critical Edition*, ed. Diana de Armas Wilson, trans. Burton Raffel (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1999), 785.

[59] Cervantes, *Don Quijote,* 157.

[60] Ibid., 156.

[61] Macaulay, *Letters on Education,* 204.

[62] Macaulay did not accept the assumption that intelligence is naturally masculine or that tenderness is naturally feminine but rather asserted that these labels have been artificially and socially constructed and assigned.

[63] Jill Campbell, "'The Exact Picture of his Mother': Recognizing Joseph Andrews," *ELH* 55, no. 3 (1988): 643.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Fielding, *Joseph Andrews,* 7.

[66] Ibid., 16.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid., 3.

[69] Macaulay, *Letters on Education,* 127.

[70] Fielding, *Joseph Andrews,* xi.

[71] Ibid., 6.

[72] Ibid., 124.

[73] Ibid., 4.

[74] Macaulay provided her own inquisition in which she said, "It may be unnecessary to say, that there are many pieces even of the moral Pope, very improper for the perusal of youth. His Abelard and Eloisa is only fit for the autumnal season of life; and though it is painful to suppress the productions of genius and of labour, it would

have been better if his imitations of Chaucer had been committed to the flames" (Macaulay, 1790, p. 131).

[75] Cervantes, *Don Quijote,* 213.

[76] Macaulay, *Letters on Education,* 143.

[77] Cervantes, *Don Quijote,* 374.

[78] Macaulay, *Letters on Education,* 127.

[79] Campbell, "'The Exact Picture of his Mother,'" 643.

[80] Macaulay, *Letters on Education,* 144.

[81] Ibid., 145.

[82] Ibid., 144.

[83] For a way of reading the eighteenth-century domestic novel and the idea of its being a "representation of woman's compliance," which Macaulay might have embraced, see Helen Thompson's brilliant book, *Ingenuous Subjection: Compliance and Power in the Eighteenth-Century Domestic Novel* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

[84] For Wollstonecraft's recommendations for her early curriculum for girls, including her ambivalence about using novels, see Susan Laird's *Mary Wollstonecraft: Philosophical Mother of Coeducation* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2008). Macaulay's critique was answered one year after her death. In 1792, in the United States, Judith Sargent Murray's published *The Story of Margaretta,* and produced an important work demonstrating the novel's curricular value for the developing student.

Racially Integrated Education:
The Antebellum Thought of Mary Ann Shadd Cary and Frederick Douglass

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Approximately one hundred years before the landmark case *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that segregated schools were unconstitutional, two black activist-journalists, Mary Ann Shadd Cary and Frederick Douglass, published articles advocating racially integrated education. While they agreed that such schools constituted the ideal educational setting for black students, they disagreed on the type of education these students should acquire. Their differing ideas were shaped by the complex relationships of gender, race, and class in antebellum African American and Afro Canadian communities. Their views of these relationships are reflected in the curricula they proposed for racially integrated schools. This essay explores the contours and complexities of their lives and their thoughts on black education as revealed between 1852 and 1857 in their abolitionist newspapers, the *Provincial Freeman* and *Frederick Douglass' Paper*.[1]

Shadd Cary, editor of the *Provincial Freeman* (1854-1861), published her newspaper in what is now the province of Ontario, Canada. Douglass published his from 1851-1860 in Rochester, New York. The *Provincial Freeman* was the first newspaper Shadd Cary owned and edited, though many of her letters to the editor, as well as a small pamphlet, had been published in the newspapers of Douglass and other African Americans. Douglass had signifi-

cant journalistic experience before founding the *Frederick Douglass' Paper.* From 1847 to 1851, he published a black abolitionist weekly called the *North Star*. Shadd Cary and Douglass well understood the power of the press in developing an awareness of the issues and in fostering debates and social progress for black people on both sides of the Canadian-American border.

Most black male and female activists spoke and wrote about the responsibility of their race to raise itself from poverty to prosperity and to move from slavery and its devastating consequences to middle-class status and its entitlements. Black community leaders stressed that education, strong moral values, honest labor, thrift, and so forth would change the myths that whites had about blacks' inferiority. Essentially, this meant the ascent from ignorance to literacy. Shadd Cary and Douglass were also strong advocates for the advancement of black people through self-help, which largely meant changing blacks' social and economic status through education. They agreed that racially integrated education would promote racial uplift, but why did they disagree on school curricula? The response to that question is apparent when their differing biographies are considered in conjunction with the sexism, racism, and classism that confronted both individuals.

The Formative Years of Shadd Cary

Mary Ann Camberton Shadd Cary (1823-1893) was an African American/Afro Canadian woman born into a multiple-race, middle class family in Wilmington, Delaware. The Shadds were staunch abolitionists, and their home was a *stop* on the Underground Railroad. Shadd Cary, despite her light skin color and class, was denied an education in Delaware because of her race and gender. Seeing no way to educate their eldest daughter in Delaware, the Shadds moved to West Chester, Pennsylvania, near Philadelphia, when Shadd Cary was ten years old. At the time black children were not admitted to West Chester's eleven public schools, but Shadd Cary was given a private education for six years by Quakers at Miss Phoebe Darlington's school.[2] According to biographer and historian Jane Rhodes, she very likely received instruction in religion and philosophy, literature, writing, basic mathematics, Latin and French, the mechanical arts, and the values of the Society of Friends.[3] When her formal education ended, Shadd Cary left the Philadelphia area to teach in a school for black children in Delaware, and later taught in schools in black areas of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York City.

Throughout her childhood and adolescence, Shadd Cary also received a great deal of political education from her parents, particularly her father, Abraham Shadd. The Shadds were members of the Philadelphia-area black elite—a circle that later helped to support Shadd Cary with fundraising

events for her newspaper. Abraham Shadd was a widely respected and influential black community leader. He attended numerous antislavery meetings and conventions during the 1840s, and often took his daughter with him. While there, he urged Shadd Cary to speak publicly regarding black liberation and to voice her criticisms of black leaders.[4] Very few women attended these events, and those who did were mostly silent. Shadd Cary took the floor to publicly debate men or deliver impassioned speeches on the failure of black leadership to inspire middle-class blacks to imitate the positive traits of middle-class whites.[5]

Toward the end of the 1840s, Shadd and his daughter turned their attention to the emigrationist movement. Black emigrationists, the majority of whom were separatists in the 1840s, argued that the only way for blacks to liberate themselves fully was to leave "the racist Yankee republic" and settle in another country in North America, Latin America, the Caribbean, or Africa.[6] Increasingly pessimistic about any possibility of black liberation and racial integration in the United States, the Shadd family thought that emigration to Canada represented the best opportunity for blacks. English was Canada's primary spoken language. Canada's climate resembled that of the northern United States, and the country offered rich farmland and virginal forests. Most importantly, blacks had been free in Canada since 1833, when slavery was abolished across the British Commonwealth.

Initially there was much African American resistance to emigration. However, the passage of the federal Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 in the United States changed their opposition. The new legislation stipulated that runaway slaves, if caught, had to be returned to their owners. The chilling implication of the Fugitive Slave Law was that even free black persons in the North might be subject to arrest and extradition to the South.[7] Realizing that the very public Shadds were likely to be arrested and sent to the South, Shadd Cary and her brother crossed the border into Canada in 1852. Other family members followed later.

As a recently arrived émigré, Shadd Cary sought introductions to the black leadership. At one social event, she met Henry Bibb and his wife, Mary. The Bibbs were abolitionist activists and the editors of a black newspaper called the *Voice of the Fugitive*. Impressed by Shadd Cary, they invited her to teach school in Windsor, Canada. She accepted their offer and began teaching in a very small school for the children of black refugees from the American South.

Shortly thereafter, the American Missionary Society (AMA) offered Shadd Cary the opportunity to open her own school in Chatham, Canada West. Soon after she had settled there, however, she began an intense ideological campaign against the Bibbs, the AMA, and the Refugee Home Society (RHS). The RHS was a group comprising the Bibbs and other members of the

black Canadian male establishment who advocated and/or provided charity for fugitives from the United States. Shadd Cary contended that the AMA focused the sights of blacks on heaven and overlooked the reality of their lives on earth. She accused the RHS of fostering the mentality of *begging* (her term for accepting charity) when it provided poor refugees with food, clothing, and shelter after their arrival from America. In letters to the Bibbs' newspaper, the *Voice of the Fugitive*, Shadd Cary accused both the AMA and the RHS of catering to the slave mentality developed by those who were owned by white Christians. She argued that these organizations should be demanding that the new arrivals become independent as quickly as possible. She believed that white citizens would never respect or accept former slaves if they were living on charity.

Shadd Cary deemed the black separatists' campaign for racially segregated education and settlements in Canada West far worse than advocating the acceptance of charity. As opponents of integrated education, Henry Bibb and other separatists argued that black, racially exclusive education in all-black Canadian settlements was the best antislavery weapon blacks could wield. They believed that black success with no help or interference from whites would provide indisputable evidence of black self-reliance and achievement for skeptical whites, including those who were members of the Colonizationist Movement. Colonizationist Movement members such as Harriet Beecher Stowe (author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*) wanted to repatriate blacks to Liberia.[8]

As an assimilationist, Shadd Cary promulgated the opposite position. She argued vehemently that blacks could overcome the arguments of white racists only through self-help and rapid assimilation into white Canadian society.[9] She believed that blacks and whites would benefit from being exposed to each other, because only exposure would guarantee each race's appreciation of and respect for the other. As Shirley J. Yee (1997) notes, "[Shadd Cary] denounced racial separatism in any form, which challenged both segregationist practices in the larger society and black nationalist views about how the black community should be constructed."[10]

The Bibbs, in turn, considered Shadd Cary a public disgrace and a nuisance for her attacks on the black male establishment. She had transgressed gender boundaries by stepping into a male-dominated public sphere.[11] The black male establishment and even some black women denounced Shadd Cary for conduct considered *improper* for a black woman and member of the black elite, because she had a particular set of ideas and assumptions that were middle-class, reformist, and Christian.[12]

When Shadd Cary realized that the Bibbs' *Voice of the Fugitive* was censoring her letters to the editor, if they published them at all, she decided to found her own newspaper. She closed her school at the end of December,

1852. In March of the next year, she announced in a prospectus that she and her highly respected associates, the Reverend Samuel Ringgold Ward and Alexander McArthur, would publish the *Provincial Freeman*. The first issue of her weekly broadsheet was published in March 1854.[13] While the publication was primarily an abolitionist newspaper, it also dealt with issues such as temperance, immigration, the conditions of slaves, and current events. Shadd Cary acknowledged herself only as "publishing agent," but the Afro Canadian and African American communities knew that she was the newspaper's editor, which failed to improve her standing in either community.

With regard to her activism on behalf of integration, Shadd Cary worked assiduously to insert herself into the male world of political leadership. Shirley J. Yee interprets Shadd Cary's vision of *integration* as being two-fold: encompassing both racial and gender integration. Her concept of integration was as much about her securing a place for herself in the movement as it was about finding a safe haven for fugitive blacks.[14] By and large, it was easier to find a new geographical location for blacks than it was for her to be accepted as an equal by the black male leadership of Canada West.

Shadd Cary was able to engage in the black male public conversation regarding integrated or segregated education, because she was a liminal figure in the male-dominated Afro Canadian society.[15] Female self-assertion lay outside the boundaries of appropriate behavior for a black woman in the 1850s, but Shadd Cary was not consciously self-limited or socially limited by traditional gender roles. She ignored social boundaries and she no longer cared about power and privilege, role, status, law, or institutions. Groomed for leadership since her early childhood, Shadd Cary assumed a dominant position in the community. She stood on principle and courageously pursued life as an activist working solely for the good of the community. Her father's tutelage and influence, her private schooling, the world of ideas, a strong moral conviction, and a cosmopolitan view were evident in Shadd Cary's activism. In her utopian world view, men and women, black and white, were equals who recognized the humanity of the other.

The Formative Years of Douglass

The biography of Frederick Douglass (1813-1895) stands in marked contrast to that of Shadd Cary. He was born a slave in Talbot County, Maryland. His mother, whom he described as "quite dark,"[16] was a slave on another plantation. Douglass saw her only four or five times before she died when he was seven years old. It was rumored that his father was the white plantation owner. Douglass lived in a cabin with his maternal grandmother (also a slave) on the outskirts of the plantation.

Douglass was taught to read by the mistress of one of his *families* and he

learned how to write by working in a shipyard, copying letters, and tricking literate people into teaching him. Douglass wrote in his 1845 autobiography that "my copy-book was the board fence, brick wall, and pavement; my pen and ink was a lump of chalk."[17] He worked at literacy until he could forge his master's handwriting. In his autobiography, Douglass described his epiphany after a violent altercation with his sadistic last master:

> It was the turning-point in my career as a slave. It rekindled the few expiring embers of freedom, and revived within me a sense of my own manhood. It recalled the departed self-confidence, and inspired me again [to vow that those who] succeed in whipping me, must also succeed in killing me.[18]

In 1838, Douglass succeeded in his second escape attempt, and made his way to New York.[19]

Although he was literate, racial discrimination prevented him from finding employment that required literacy. His first job was stowing a sloop with a load of oil. When he attempted to find a second job caulking, he was confronted with the racial prejudice of white caulkers, who refused to work with him. Seeing no future for himself in New York, Douglass moved to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where a sympathetic white man hired him to perform a less menial job.[20]

Soon after his arrival in New Bedford, he began to read William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist newspaper, the *Liberator*. It quickly became his "meat and drink."[21] Influenced by Garrison's stands on "the principles, measures, and spirit of the anti-slavery reform," he took up the abolitionist cause, pleading the case of those who were still enslaved.[22] Douglass addressed antislavery meetings and was hired as a lecturer by Garrisonian abolitionists. In May of 1845, he published his first autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*.[23] From 1845 to 1847, he traveled in Great Britain as an abolitionist lecturer. Establishing his family in Rochester, New York, he published the first issue of his weekly newspaper, the *North Star*, in 1848. According to his own account, he broke with white Garrisonian abolitionists between May and June of 1851, and revamped his newspaper into a vehicle for the Liberty Party, calling it *Frederick Douglass' Paper*.

Douglass strongly advocated racial integration in every aspect of American life, including education. Like other black leaders, he believed that education was the linchpin of racial uplift and equality. However, Douglass also was realistic about the power of white racism in the United States and elsewhere. What good would even the finest education be, if racism continued to deny blacks their rightful place in any occupation, professional or vocational? Although Douglass respected all forms of labor, he regarded

menial labor—another form of slavery—as a state from which one should escape as soon as possible.[24]

The Roots of Shadd Cary and Douglass' Educational Views

Shadd Cary and Douglass' theories of racially integrated education were rooted in their gender, race, and class differences, which affected their worldviews, experiences, and thought in different ways. While both Shadd Cary and Douglass experienced white racism, Shadd Cary was born into a family that was free. She did not know the sting of the lash and the sound of the whip. White Quakers educated Shadd Cary and partially shaped who she was; Douglass was taught to read by the mistress of the family that enslaved him. Although Shadd Cary was of mixed race, her gender, class, and education made it possible for her to be employed as a teacher—a job generally reserved for whites. Douglass was forced to accept menial employment because of his race, sex, former slave status, and class. Shadd Cary was lauded by her family and her elite circle for aspiring to have white mores, values, and behaviors, while Douglass struggled to overcome his former status as a slave. Shadd Cary's light skin color may have led her to believe that any black person could achieve what she had accomplished. Douglass' darker hue may have made it easier for him to understand the difficulties of dark-skinned blacks, who were discriminated against by both whites and light-skinned blacks.

Sexism was as crucial an oppression as racism and classism in the antebellum years. Because Shadd Cary was female, the black leadership of Canada harshly criticized her for her participation in the public sphere. But African Americans praised Douglass' leadership because he was acting within his gender role as a black male community leader. Shadd Cary's memory of the sexism that, in part, prevented her from obtaining an education in Delaware influenced her feminist position on the necessity of education for girls and women. As a male, Douglass encountered no such prejudice.

Analysis of Shadd Cary's and Douglass' Backgrounds

A common thread among African Americans and Afro Canadians in the antebellum years was their strong desire to dispel the pernicious mythologies about black inferiority, bestiality, and hypersexuality. On both sides of the border, most black people aspired to improve the status of their race by any means possible, but especially through education. Shadd Cary and Douglass agreed that the route to equality and assimilation lay in black education. In this respect, Afro Canadians were better positioned than African Americans in the struggle for education prohibited by whites, because Afro Canadians

were citizens of their adopted country.

Shadd Cary's education served as her model for the intellectual curriculum she advocated. However, her model curriculum was best suited for—and only available to—the black middle- and upper-middle classes of the 1850s. Former slaves were not well regarded by some of the black elite unless they aspired to the Protestant ethic. This meant that Shadd Cary's theory was classist. However, her personal experiences with racism and gender discrimination at an early age in Delaware, and her struggle to overcome both, surely led her to believe that racism and sexism could be eradicated with intellectual education comprising literature, languages, arts, and sciences. She thought that if *she* could succeed, so could others. What Shadd Cary failed to consider was her class privilege, including not having to fight for survival. Her model curriculum assumed that blacks had assimilated successfully and were preparing to enter the professions.

Douglass' curricular theories were far more inclusive than those of Shadd Cary. As his plans for the American Industrial School demonstrate, Douglass was an egalitarian of the first order. The school was to admit any student, regardless of complexional distinction, class, or gender. Douglass' egalitarianism was rooted in his past. His memories of his former enslavement and early days of freedom influenced his later thought on the education blacks needed for their survival. Thus, Douglass' theory of what a good black education should comprise was not only the literature, languages, arts, and sciences that Shadd Cary proposed, but also a vocation such as agriculture, cooking, sewing, and other such occupations so that students would always be able to earn a living, even if racial discrimination barred them from the professions. His was a curriculum based upon honing the intellect and learning how to survive in a racist society.

Douglass and Shadd Cary's Newspaper Discourse on the Education of Blacks

Douglass thought that African Americans' status as slaves was due to both white and black ignorance, and that education—whether integrated or segregated—was central to the progress of black people. In a speech made on August 10, 1852 at the successful black settlement in Buxton, Canada West, he emphasized the relationship between ignorance and slavery:

> Ignorance is another evil of, and indispensable to slavery. Knowledge enlightens and expands the mind, elevates the thoughts, and makes the slave dissatisfied with his condition and to pant after liberty. Hence, in all the slaveholding States, the most stringent laws are enacted, the violation of which entails the severest punishment,

> to forbid the slave, either to read or to write, aye, to forbid even to learn the nature and existence of that God who breathed into him the breath of life.[25]

Douglass extolled the pleasures and pursuits of the trained mind such as participation in literary societies. He strongly believed that human dignity lay in the cultivation of the intellect and understanding of one's ethical and spiritual obligations.[26]

Shadd Cary concurred with Douglass regarding ignorance and thought that the remedy for it lay in integrated education and assimilation. Writing about affairs in the state of Kentucky in her editorial, "White and Black Slavery," she argued:

> It is essential that the [black] youth [of Kentucky] should all be educated.... Slavery prevents this being done. What do the few wealth[y] planters in the State care for the education of the masses? Nothing at all. Their sons at college, their daughters at boarding school, [wealthy whites] control the legislation of the State, and take care to see, that taxes for educational purposes, do not, bear too hardly upon them. They seek to monopolize the intelligence, as they monopolize the wealth of the State.[27]

Shadd Cary surmised that whites, especially Southern plantation owners, would not support education for the black masses, primarily because education put the entire slavocracy at risk. In providing this pointed rationale for the ignorance of the black masses, Shadd Cary buttressed her pessimism with her belief that the prospect of slave liberation and black assimilation in the United States was delusional. Although some black separatists such as Martin Delany and Henry Highland Garnet were convinced that it would be only a matter of time before the United States annexed Canada and re-institutionalized slavery there, Shadd Cary believed that Canada would remain the bastion of black freedom and equality in North America.[28]

Douglass held a more cautious view of what lay ahead for both free and enslaved black people. He recalled the prejudice that he had suffered before being accepted as a literate person, and surmised that black people would need two types of education: intellectual and vocational. Whether obtained clandestinely in slave cabins and black churches or openly in free public schools, African Americans, he believed, had the goal of achieving some level of literacy. Ultimately, Douglass hoped that integrated rather than segregated education would lead to assimilation. He considered segregated institutions of any kind to be detrimental to human progress. However, Douglass recognized that separate black institutions might be necessary in view of the

ferocity of entrenched white racism. As Douglass wrote in his article, "Equal School Rights":

> The subject of exclusive organizations among our people is one, in which we have long been interested. As a general thing, we consider them detrimental to our interests, having a tendency to foment the spirit of proscription where it does not. But we can easily conceive of certain exigencies, in which they may be absolutely necessary to our well being. We would not have our people support a colored school, or colored church, in these places, where they can procure admission into schools and churches, in which there are not complexional distinctions, where they will be in the possession of the same rights and privileges, that others enjoy. This is our private opinion, publicly expressed.[29]

His acknowledgement that segregated institutions such as schools and churches might continue to be segregated is evidence of Douglass' fears for the future of blacks in the United States.

Shadd Cary, on the other hand, seemed to ignore the increasing racism in the provisionally racially integrated society of Canada. She believed that blacks alone were responsible for surmounting whatever challenges lay before them in obtaining an education. In a *Provincial Freeman* editorial (no title) published on January 20, 1854, Shadd Cary praised the virtues of former slave William Wells Brown, who had given a series of lectures "embracing other topics than the anti-slavery subject" in Philadelphia. Commenting on Brown's lecture on "The Humble Origin of Great Men," she wrote that he "spoke of the beauties of several noted places in London and Paris. ['Humble Origin'] was well-chosen, as it was calculated to inspire the colored people with energy, and cause them to surmount difficulties to educate themselves." Shadd Cary thought that Brown was an excellent example of her philosophy of self-education: blacks would have to lift themselves up by their bootstraps and educate themselves and their children, despite racism.

Douglass also believed that blacks were compelled to be responsible for procuring their education. As he stated in his editorial, "This Age": "The colored man must no longer depend upon his white friends for intellectual resources with his hat in his hand, and head towards the earth….it is time that intellectual effort be sustained by the people of color themselves."[30] But while Douglass alluded to the importance of an intellectual education, he adamantly espoused a type of education that he thought was more practical for blacks of the 1850s. As he wrote in his article, "The Industrial School":

> As to a mere knowledge of books, I have no faith in it. I do not say

> that I undervalue education, for I think that every child should be kept in school till twelve or fourteen years old, at least. But a mere knowledge of books, without a trade of some kind is useless, as the colored people are situated now.[31]

To survive in the dominant society, Douglass believed that African Americans required an education that stressed vocational skills as well as intellectual development.

Shadd Cary's newspaper rhetoric suggests that a rudimentary *intellectual* education was not sufficient for racial uplift. As she stated in her response to a Letter to the Editor:

> All labor is respectable, yet we must not be content to be a class of common laborers; we have fair portion of these already. What we want, and what we must have, is a fair proportion of other classes among us. Some fitted for School Teachers, Lawyers, Doctors, Merchants, &c. We must educate ourselves and educate our children.[32]

Shadd Cary's position on the necessity for a purely liberal arts education did not waver in the 1850s. If anything, she was even more insistent that Afro Canadians obtain an intellectual education as quickly as possible, leaving behind menial skills. On May 6, 1854, Shadd Cary published a reader's Letter to the Editor that stated,"We must devote a portion of our time to mental cultures; we must become a reading people."[33] Shadd Cary responded thusly:

> We must dip or pry into the fine arts and sciences; we must become painters, sculptors, architects; in short, scientific and it must be by our own exertions. When we have ended our collegiate course, we are not truly wise, but must become so by research afterwards.[34]

Although Douglass was a staunch feminist and advocated the education of black girls and women, Shadd Cary was an even more committed proponent of black female education. As she wrote in her article "Miscellaneous" concerning the education of black girls: "Whatever your position in society, educate your daughter for some business in her life, educate her according to your means and condition, according to her tastes, and capacity."[35] This statement suggests that Shadd Cary was hearkening back to her own education, both formal and informal, as a young girl and adolescent. Shadd Cary may have attributed her temerity and activism to her unusual education, which was not available to most girls. As she continued in "Miscellaneous":

> The "sphere of woman," which has always reduced far below the hemisphere which all accord her as a right, includes the whole range of teaching—in letters, in science, in music, and drawing, and whatever else is learned in our schools. [Women's mission] surely is to teach.[36]

In other words, educated women were the key to the future of black advancement.

One of Shadd Cary's most impassioned editorials, "Female Education," was inspired by her zeal for educating girls:

> Oh, it is a burning shame that our women are not educated to a greater vigor of body and mind! If the world were mine, and I could educate by one sex, it should be the girls. I could make a greater and better world of the next generation by educating girls of this.… Strengthen the woman-heart, and you strengthen the world. Give me a nation of noble women, and I will give you a noble nation. Cultivate the woman-mind if you would cultivate the race.[37]

The above statements reflect more than Shadd Cary's upbringing and her strong identification with her father's teachings. They also reflect the indignities she had suffered as a female activist, whose case for gender equality was tried constantly in black communities on both sides of the Canadian-American border.

Shadd Cary enthusiastically envisioned a future that included not only women's education, but also the integration of blacks and whites in the same classroom. Her faith in her integrationist theory is exemplified in her editorial "The Future of the Colored Canadians."[38] "The Future" begins with her exceptionally optimistic assumption that racism was merely a product of ignorance, and that the coeducation of blacks and whites would remove racism from Canadian society. She argued that the missing factor in the equality equation was a quality liberal arts education in racially integrated schools. Shadd Cary envisioned a learning environment in which blacks and whites would reveal their best qualities, and from that intimacy grow to appreciate one another. Without such an environment, she believed, blacks and whites were indeed laying the groundwork for a separatist future. As she wrote in "The Future of the Colored Canadians":

> The position of the colored people in Canada will ultimately be the same as that of their white fellow citizens. A perfect equality among the people of different nations in this country is the will of God.... Our position in and relations to the country will help to bring about

> such a result. The increasing influence of our piety, our intelligence, and wealth, will fix the fact irrevocably. Our children will as certainly seek and find their level, which will be the white boys and girls of their generation, as water finds its level and wind its equilibrium![39]

Shadd Cary hoped that the contemporary black adult population would acquire a certain amount of wealth from agriculture, and that they would use that wealth to fund their children's education. This would make it possible for the next generation to eventually become educated professionals.

Douglass contended that menial occupations might be necessary for blacks to survive in the racist culture of the United States. African-Americans performed almost all of the menial work in American society at that time, because that was what they were permitted to do. Douglass therefore maintained that blacks must receive a vocational education in addition to a classical education, just to stay alive and free.

Acting on this belief, Douglass took steps to establish the American Industrial School, a school that would be open to all, regardless of race. The American Industrial School was to be financed by the black community and located one hundred miles from Erie, Pennsylvania, an area that had been hospitable to blacks and that was rural enough for training in agriculture, animal husbandry, etc. Douglass announced his plans for the school in a speech he gave to a group of black leaders in the spring of 1854 in Rochester, New York:

> The American Industrial School is to be established by the colored people of this country as soon as they can raise $30,000 to do it with. It is to be based on a farm of not less than two hundred acres, one hundred and fifty of them sacredly reserved for Agriculture; males and females to be equally employed as teachers and received as pupils; no distinctions of exclusions to be made on account of color; the school is to be managed by fifteen trustees, six of them appointed by the Committee on education of the National Council and nine chosen by the stockholders.[40]

Douglass described the proposed curriculum in his article, and stipulated quite clearly what he expected the American Industrial School to accomplish:

> (1) For every branch of Literature taught, there shall be one branch of handicraft also taught in the school. (2) Each pupil shall occupy one half of his time, when at school, in work at some handicraft or on the farm. (3) The handicrafts shall be such that their products will be articles salable for money's worth at a market within easy access

> from the school.…If it can be established on the principles here set forth, the colored people of this country will have a better seminary than the whites have.[41]

Shadd Cary assumed that slavery had taught blacks everything about farming, but Douglass knew that the slaves had not acquired the critical skills for owning and managing their own farms. Slave owners, as a rule, did not educate blacks formally in agriculture or animal husbandry. If blacks were ever to profit from performing menial tasks, they had to acquire excellent skills and exceed the expectations of their white employers. Competent teachers of any race were necessary if blacks were to be more than cooks and barbers. As Douglass wrote in his article,

> The colored race has been severely and to some extent justly arraigned for their general addiction to servile employment; but this reproach must be tempered by the fact that while they can easily find instructors in cooking, shaving, grooming, coat brushing, etc., it is generally difficult for a black man to find any competent person who will tack [sic] him how to build or paint houses, forge or weld iron, print or bind books or even make their own clothes and shoes. Let us help them to have a chance to learn the more honored handicrafts, and then if they will stick to scouring knives and blacking boots, we'll help denounce them for it to the best of our ability.[42]

Douglass thought that blacks would not be taken seriously or make a definitive physical and intellectual statement until whites accepted the fact that blacks could educate themselves—and whites, as well. He was convinced that the establishment of the American Industrial School would prove that blacks were capable of spending money wisely, and that they were willing to invest in their self-help efforts without the assistance of even the most sympathetic whites.

Shadd Cary and Douglass agreed that black literacy rates were woefully small in both Canada and the United States. According to Douglass, however, there existed a small cadre of educated blacks in the United States who were living proof of the importance of honing the intellect and cutting away the chains:

> Once it was a curiosity to see the Negro read; and a book was formerly written to prove that it was not a sin to baptize a Negro but now we behold the sable brow redolent with intellect, and uplifted under the inspiring influence of the highest and noblest thoughts. Need he mention the Garnets, the Cromwells, the Smiths, the

> Wards, and a host of others, who are not considered unworthy to pace the platform with the most learned and eloquent Divines of the day.
>
> We have among us, Doctors of Law and Medicine, Editors, Ministers and Lawyers, and in every way we are progressing, though comparatively slow, owing to the great prejudice existing in the public mind against our color.[43]

As Shadd Cary stated, "What intellectually we most need, and the absence of which we most feel, is the knowledge of the white man."[44]

Conclusion

Both Shadd Cary and Douglass were advocates of racially integrated education; but their differing ideas about curriculum were shaped by the complex relationships of gender, race, and class in antebellum African American and Afro Canadian communities. Shadd Cary's emphasis on intellectual education pertained primarily to the black elite of the 1850s—i.e., those middle- and upper-middle-class blacks who already were poised to take advantage of an intellectual education comprising the humanities rather than vocational education. Her theory was not at all conducive to the needs of most black people in the lower and enslaved classes. As such, her theory was elitist and racist. It may be argued that Shadd Cary thought those blacks who emigrated to Canada had the wherewithal to become members of the fledgling Afro Canadian middle class quickly—as her statements on *begging*, self-education, feminism, and racial integration demonstrate. However, she must have been aware that most of the refugees were nowhere near to having the qualities and resources necessary to achieve middle-class status when they crossed the border into Canada. Shadd Cary's class and race privilege, in addition to her unadulterated optimism, exaggerated her sense of the possible. She did not address the issue of basic survival. As her newspaper articles reveal, Shadd Cary was communicating with those who were ready for, or who already had attained, middle- or upper-middle-class status—not those who were struggling to survive.

Douglass' theory about the curriculum for racially integrated schools and what the short-term and long-term future held for African Americans and Afro Canadians was sensitive to the plight and status of all blacks. He well understood that former slaves like himself faced a future of struggling against more white racism once they were free, and his theory of the appropriate curriculum drew upon his personal experiences as a slave and as a free black man. It was only his faith in America's fundamental principles of liberty and

equality that made him believe blacks would need to learn a trade only for the short term; he thought America's future was promising for African Americans. Once blacks were able to survive and thrive, intellectual education would be their sole goal. In other words, *survival* is the word that best describes his curriculum.

While these debates were waged among the black elite, the black masses were struggling to survive from day to day. Even in Canada, the Afro Canadian community had the challenge of taming the wilderness and establishing settlements. It is informative that black separatists in both countries did not want integrated schools or communities.[45] One reason for this self-segregation was that blacks did not want to be educated with the people who had enslaved them. Neither Shadd Cary nor Douglass accepted the separatists' arguments, although Douglass understood that segregated institutions might be necessary for some time to come because of institutionalized racism. Shadd Cary did not find arguments for segregated schools or segregated Canadian settlements at all acceptable, no matter what the reason. She espoused a racially integrated Canada where even intermarriage would aid assimilation.

Neither Shadd Cary nor Douglass lived to experience the horror of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the decision by the U.S. Supreme Court that the racist institution of *separate but equal* was constitutional. That decision was not overturned until *Brown* in 1954. When considering the cases of Shadd Cary and Douglass, one might be reminded of the differing educational thought of post-bellum theorists W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington. Although DuBois' and Washington's debates do not exactly parallel those of Shadd Cary and Douglass, there are enough motifs in common that we can understand the very roots from which the theories of DuBois and Washington stem. The history of antebellum black education in America and Canada and its influence on the twentieth and twenty-first centuries cannot be underestimated.

Notes

[1] Although plagiarism by newspaper journalists was very common from the 1850s onward, Mary Ann Shadd Cary and Frederick Douglass so often cited the sources of their editorial and articles that it is very likely that the editorials and articles discussed in this article were their original works. See Robert Macfarlane's study of nineteenth century plagiarism in literature: *Original Copy: Plagiarism and Originality in Nineteenth-Century Literature*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. Macfarlane argues that "ideas surrounding the theory and practice of originality were unmistakably reshaped during the second half of the nineteenth century (p. 14)." There were intense debates among intellectuals as to what was the constitution of original works which had been *borrowed* from unattributed sources.

[2] Jane Rhodes, *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1998), 17. According to Jane Rhodes, Abraham Shadd "reported that one day school and one Sabbath school served the small black population of West Chester in 1837." My conclusion is that Shadd Cary's Quaker teachers at Phoebe Darlington's school were probably white.

[3] Rhodes also notes that the Society of Friends inculcated the principle of taking "the moral high ground" in political and social issues at an early age in their students (*Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century*, 1998, 17). Shadd Cary's life showed the influence of her early training.

[4] Rhodes, *Mary Ann Shadd Cary*, 17, 19.

[5] Ibid., 22. Rhodes, throughout her biography of Shadd Cary, points to instances in which Shadd Cary excoriated middle-class black people for wasting money on finery in an attempt to imitate whites' rituals. She abhored gaudy displays in funeral processions and believed blacks should imitate whites in progressive ways such as practicing thrift and seeking an education.

[6] C. Peter Ripley, Mary Alice Herrle, and Paul A. Cimbala, *The Black Abolitionist Papers, II: Canada, 1830-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 6. According to C. Peter Ripley et al., Canada's reputation among blacks as being a haven for them was based upon three conditions: "the absence of slavery, protection from extradition, and the civil rights Canada offered to all its citizens regardless of color."

[7] Rhodes, *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century.* Ripley et al. estimate that three thousand free blacks crossed the border into Canada in the fall of 1850 (*The Black Abolitionist Papers Volume II: Canada, 1830-1865*).

[8] Those who most supported the position that blacks should be repatriated to West Africa were the majority of white members of the Colonization Movement. The colonizationists held that blacks who already were free, and those to be freed from slavery in the future, should be repatriated to countries in West Africa, particularly Liberia. Two prominent abolitionists who were colonizationists and who supported the goals of the movement were Harriet Beecher Stowe and William Lloyd Garrison. The movement provoked fierce debates within the black abolitionist movement, because assimilationist leaders such as Douglass believed that the destiny of North American blacks lay in remaining in the United States.

[9] Rhodes, *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century*.

[10] Shirley J. Yee, "Finding a Place: Mary Ann Shadd Cary and the Dilemmas of Black Migration to Canada, 1850-1870," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 18 (1997): 2.

[11] See Frankie Hutton, *The Early Black Press in America, 1827-1860* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), on the black male establishment's control of the press.

[12] Yee, *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies,* 3.

[13] Rhodes, *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century*.

[14] Yee, *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies*, 1.

[15] See Victor Turner, "Liminal to Liminoid, in Play, Flow, and Ritual: An Essay in Comparative Symbology," *Rice University Studies* 60 (1974): 53-92, about his theory of

liminality. See also Carla Peterson, *Doers of the Word: African-American Women Speakers and Writers in the North (1830-1880)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), about her theory regarding Shadd Cary's liminality.

[16] Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), 13.

[17] Ibid., 37.

[18] Ibid., 54.

[19] New York was hardly a bastion of black liberation when Douglass sought refuge there. The state was rife with institutionalized racism, especially in rural areas.

[20] Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*, 80.

[21] Ibid., 80.

[22] Ibid., 80.

[23] Douglass' 1845 biographical narrative was the first of three such narratives published during Douglass' lifetime.

[24] Gayle McKeen, "Whose Rights? Whose Responsibility? Self-Help in African-American Thought," *Polity*, 34(2002): 418.

[25] "Speech of Frederick Douglass from *Frederick Douglass' Paper*," *Chatham Western Planet*, August 18, 1854.

[26] John W. Blassingame, ed., *The Frederick Douglass Papers,* Series One: Speeches, Debate, and Interviews, Vol. 2, 1847-54 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982). Douglass favored intellectual labor for black people over labor of the arms or legs. He derived a great deal of pleasure and political acumen from reading. See also Gayle McKeen, "Whose Rights? Whose Responsibility? Self-Help in African-American Thought," *Polity*, 34(2002): 409-432, for further discussion of Douglass' bias toward the cultivation of the mind rather than the performance of menial labor.

[27] *Provincial Freeman*, December 29, 1855.

[28] Rhodes, *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century*, x.

[29] *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, April 13, 1855. Free Northern blacks had to contest school racial segregation laws in places such as Boston and New York.

[30] *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, April 13, 1855.

[31] "The Industrial School," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, May 19, 1854. Douglass gave the speech in the spring of 1854. The *New York Tribune* (date unknown) published the speech. Douglass saw this account of his speech and reported it in *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. At the end of the article, he noted that the source was the *New York Times*.

[32] "Mr. Editor: Education, Wealth, Numbers," Letter to the Editor, *Provincial Freeman*, April 22, 1854.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] *Provincial Freeman*, November 4, 1854.

[36] Ibid.

[37] *Provincial Freeman*, June 7, 1856.

[38] "The Future of the Colored Canadians," *Provincial Freeman*, October 20, 1855.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Douglass later published his speech in the *Frederick Douglass' Paper* (May 19, 1854).

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Rhodes, *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century*, 21.

[45] Carter Godwin Woodson, *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861: A History of the Education of the Colored People of the United States from the Beginning of Slavery to the Civil War* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915).

The Social Networks of Rebecca Pennell:
An Early Woman College Professor to Have Equal Pay with Her Male Colleagues

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The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were a time of great change in terms of the evolving social, economic, and governmental structures in the United States. Two major wars occurred, the American Revolution and the War of 1812. The economy shifted from a barter market to a cash one. As a result of these and other changes, education received greater emphasis. Americans viewed the ability to read, write, and compute mathematical equations as necessary to take part in modern society. Likewise, the new nation needed an informed citizenry. Education was seen as a means to achieve these ambitions. It was during this time that women, usually elite white women, gained access to a variety of higher educational opportunities. Hundreds of academies and seminaries, coeducational and single-sex, shaped the landscape.[1] In addition, state normal schools opened and flourished.[2]

It was at the first state normal school established in Lexington, Massachusetts in 1839 that Rebecca Pennell began her studies and thereafter launched her professional career in Massachusetts' common schools.[3] According to historians Robert Riegel, Lucile Addison Pollard, and Paul Buchanan, Pennell became one of the first women professors in the United States when she taught at the coeducational Antioch College in Ohio.[4] She

also was one of the earliest women faculty members in the United States to earn equal pay with her male colleagues.[5] Before her retirement, Pennell also had a ten-year career at the Mary Institute at Washington University in St. Louis.[6] In addition to the groundwork that Pennell laid in the advancement of women in higher education, she was described as strong and innovative in the area of sciences.[7] This paper explores Pennell's remarkable life experiences and the opportunities and challenges she encountered as she held positions historically denied to most women. The paper suggests that Horace Mann, a notable educator and relative, along with members of his circle, supported Pennell's career; and she was further sustained by a network of women whom she met during her initial studies. This paper considers these various social affiliations in an effort to make sense of and view more broadly Pennell's undertakings and advancement in the education profession.

Childhood

Rebecca Pennell was born in 1821 in Utica, New York, the daughter of Rebecca Mann Pennell and Calvin Pennell, who married in 1815.[8] She had three siblings—an older brother, Calvin, and two younger sisters, Eliza and Marcia. As a young child, she lived in Deerfield, New York, which was an area of growing commerce. When Pennell was four years old, her father died and her mother moved back to her childhood home in Franklin, Massachusetts.[9]

Rebecca's mother was the sister of the prominent Horace Mann and had a strong relationship with him. She faithfully listened to Mann recite his lessons from a Noah Webster grammar book when he was a child, typically while she undertook her chores.[10] Mann took a particular interest in the education of his nieces and nephew after their father's death, and provided them with financial support.[11] Pennell remembered him as a loving figure during her childhood years, someone she and her siblings fiercely admired, though this also was a time when Mann was busy beginning a law career. Pennell's mother once wrote to Mann, "I do not wish anyone to love you more than my children do."[12]

During Pennell's childhood Mann married his first wife, Charlotte Messer, who was the daughter of the president of Brown University. Messer died two years later at the age of twenty-three.[13] This was a tragic period for Mann, though Pennell recalled that he continued his career which led to his appointment as Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education in 1837, leadership in the common school movement, and the development of many normal schools.[14] These events not only shaped Mann's life, but Pennell's as well.

Teacher Training Experiences

On November, 18, 1839, at the age of eighteen, Pennell began her studies at the first state normal school, along with her younger sister, Eliza.[15] This institution, as well as the others that followed, were established to provide regulated teacher preparation and produce an assemblage of trained educators to meet the needs of the growing common school movement. Mann introduced Pennell to the normal school as he was involved in the school's founding and was a regular visitor. Pennell, who had started to work as a substitute teacher at the age of fourteen, was eager to continue her studies there.[16]

The school, located in the center of the town of Lexington, was a two-story, white building topped with an attic.[17] In front of the building stood a tall granite monument that had been erected in memory of the American Revolution. A Unitarian church was located nearby as well as a tavern. The setting was a quintessential nineteenth century New England village.

Courtesy of the Framingham State University Archives

Lexington Normal School

On her first day of enrollment, Pennell participated in natural and mental philosophy classes as well as physiology. She met the school principal and teacher, Cyrus Peirce, as well as his wife, Harriet. Pennell also was introduced to other members of the first class of students, including Mary Swift, Lydia Stow, and Louisa Harris, with whom she quickly formed a social network.[18] These young students, from Quaker, Unitarian, and Congregationalist backgrounds, were intrigued by their studies. They also were extremely aware of the role of their class within the larger normal school movement. Indeed,

Norton noted, "A bitter controversy raged about these institutions [normal schools] during their early years, and especially during the years 1839-1842. Their success in Massachusetts was uncertain; hence they were set up at first merely as a three-year experiment."[19]

In addition to participating in the study of core academic subjects, Pennell studied the art and science of teaching. She took part in the model school, located on the first floor of the normal school building, where she taught children practice lessons. In the evenings, she participated in study periods, sewing circles, and reading groups. Pennell's grounding in science dated back to her normal school education, when she learned about botany with Harriet Peirce, wife of Cyrus Peirce. Mrs. Peirce, a kind woman with dark, penetrating eyes, was well liked by the students.[20] She had a keen interest in botany, which was one of the most popular scientific studies at this time. Female writers explored the subject in books such as *Botanical Catechism* by Jane Welsh and *Wild Flowers, Drawn and Colored from Nature* by Almira H. L. Phelps.[21] Though Harriett Peirce was not officially a normal school teacher, she interacted with the students on a recurring basis. Pennell also studied other science courses such as natural philosophy and astronomy with Cyrus Peirce. The middle of the nineteenth century was marked by an increased interest in the sciences, an area in which Pennell excelled.[22]

Scripture was woven into the daily prospectus for normal school students. It was typical for Cyrus Peirce to start each day with a reflection on a reading of the Bible. In addition, the students listened to lectures on transcendentalism and phrenology that were facilitated by leading educators such as George Combe, author of *The Constitution of Man in Relation to External Objects* and *Moral Philosophy*.[23] Students also visited the common schools at which their peers were offered positions, traveled with them, and stayed with their families. Pennell, along with her sister, Eliza, stayed with Lydia Stow's family on one such occasion. The following entry was recorded in Stow's journal:

> August 12th 1839
>
> A bright morning has dawned upon us and how many happy hearts are beating. The stage arrives and is soon filled and on its way. Misses Pennell and Harris & Wyman & myself called upon Miss Stodder. She invited us to accompany her to Mr. Parker's…. At half past three the Misses Pennell and myself were seated in the cars for Dedham. Reached home with great delight. Found my friends all saying the greatest of earthly things – health. Rebecca and Eliza passed the night with me and remained the next afternoon when they left for Wrentham.[24]

Cyrus Peirce encouraged the students "to live to the truth," a statement the students embraced and often repeated during the years that followed.[25] As the bonds grew among the students, they captured and incorporated Peirce's philosophical ideas into their sense of sisterhood.

For fourteen months, Pennell arose each day at 6 a.m., attended to chores, studied and taught, walked with normal school students for physical exercise on breaks, as well as participated in appropriate, albeit limited leisure activities. On December 22, 1840 she completed the program, unsure of the future course of her life. Her sister, Eliza, had been sick during the weeks prior to the completion of their studies, adding to a sense of unsettledness. Perhaps, however, there was some foreshadowing as to where Pennell's path would lead. On December 2, 1840, a few weeks prior to her departure from the normal school, Peirce commented on Acts 11:26 of the New Testament. "All the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch." Though Pennell did not yet know it, she too would come to know her own Antioch located in Yellow Springs, Ohio – a place where she would serve as professor. After Peirce had read the scripture, Pennell offered a sentiment. "Goodness without greatness is better than greatness without goodness."[26] Pennell, however, perhaps did not envision how one's life trajectory could be marked by both.

Teacher in the Common Schools

After finishing her normal school studies, Pennell and her sister, Eliza, eventually secured joint positions at a school in New Bedford, a growing Massachusetts city with a thriving whaling industry. Pennell was recommended for that position by Cyrus Peirce, who considered her a superior student.

> March 12, 1842
>
> My dear Miss Pennell,
> Mr. George W. Baker of New Bedford called on me yesterday in pursuit of a teacher for a District School. I referred him to one Rebecca M. Pennell of Wrentham. Saying at the same time that he would find in her "everything he wished." No doubt you'll hear from him before this reaches you – and now, my Jewel, you are going to a province, populous, wealthy….You will <u>not</u> fail, I need not be anxious.[27]

Pennell did not immediately accept the position, but instead waited for consultation with her mother and "Uncle," as suggested in a letter from George Baker to Horace Mann.

> March 14, 1842
>
> By request of our committee, I yesterday went to Lexington in pursuit of a teacher.…My friend Peirce named to me Rebecca M. Pennell (who I have since learned is a niece of Horace)….I proceeded yesterday afternoon to South Walpole where I found the young lady and had a few minutes conversation with her on the subject. She told me that she did not like to engage till she had consulted her mother & her uncle.[28]

Pennell's family was a powerful network in her life. In the case of this career opportunity, Mann negotiated a salary of two hundred dollars for Pennell, and after a series of conversations she also was named the principal of the school which served ninety girls. Pennell's sister, Eliza, became an assistant teacher.[29] Pennell also taught in positions in Franklin, Mansfield, and Walpole. Her teaching evaluations were consistently excellent and noted as such in school committee reports.[30]

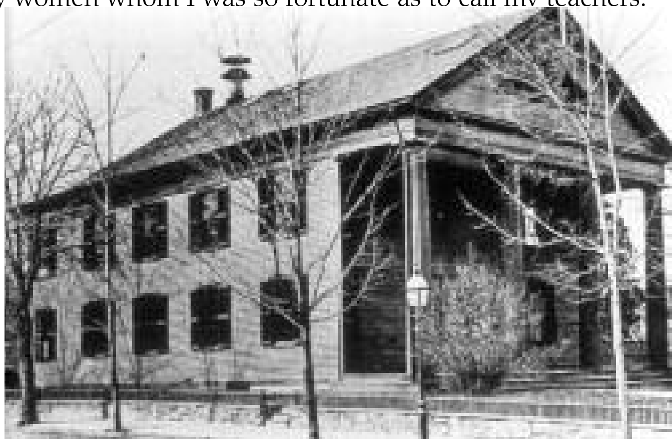
Horace Mann and the individuals with whom he formed new relationships also mentored Pennell. In 1843, Mann became engaged and married a second wife, Mary Peabody.[31] After a year-long honeymoon abroad, they set up house and lived in West Newton. Through Mann's marriage, Pennell furthered her connections to notable educators of the time. Mary Peabody Mann was the sister of Elizabeth Peabody, a teacher and founder of the kindergarten movement in the United States. Mary also was the sister of Sophia Peabody, a painter, who married Nathaniel Hawthorne.[32] Following their honeymoon, Horace Mann and Mary began a family which yielded three sons—Horace, George and Benjamin. Pennell met and interacted with members of Mann's extended family and in the process was exposed to nineteenth century ideas about a variety of topics, including education.

Teacher in the Normal Schools

In October of 1846 Pennell transitioned to teaching in the coeducational Westfield Normal School, which was the second state normal school established in Massachusetts. Pennell worked with a small number of other faculty members under the leadership of Principal David Rowe.[33] Rothermel, a Westfield historian, described the coeducational environment at Westfield as one where teachers, regardless of gender, were seen as "molders of community – as shapers of moral and civic consensus – in and out of the classroom."[34] At Westfield the idea of teacher as nurturer ran alongside the idea of teacher as intellect.[35] Students undertook advanced work in subjects such as

philosophy, natural sciences, and rhetoric. These were subjects that Pennell had studied when she was a student at the normal school in Lexington. Pennell continued her work at Westfield until 1849. She then joined the faculty of the West Newton Normal School where she taught until 1853.

The West Newton Normal School, located near the Mann residence, actually was the first state normal school at which she initially had studied. It relocated from Lexington to West Newton as a larger building was needed for the students. The location in West Newton also was promising as it was near a train station. For a short time, Pennell may have worked with Cyrus Peirce, who resigned from the school in 1849. She then worked with the new principal, Eben Stearns, who tightened the admission requirements. It was at West Newton Normal School that Pennell taught and then later worked with Lucretia Crocker, a gifted student and colleague. Indeed, when Stearns took a leave of absence from the school for health reasons, Pennell and Crocker along with another faculty member, Ms. Whittemore, were left in charge of the normal school.[36] One student reflected on them as a "trio of gifted and lovely women whom I was so fortunate as to call my teachers."[37]



Courtesy of the Framingham State University Archives

West Newton Normal School

During Pennell's tenure at the West Newton Normal School, she resided with Mann and his family. Her mother died in 1850 and Pennell turned to Mann increasingly as a father figure. This proved to be a difficult living arrangement, however, as Mary Mann was upset over Horace Mann's affectionate inquiries about Pennell.[38] Mary Mann also was guarded about Pennell's interactions with her own children, as suggested in a letter that she wrote to Horace Mann regarding Pennell's travels with their son, George.

> December 6, 1852
>
> Dearest,
> I received no letter from you this morning, and no Rebecca & Georgie have appeared tonight – So I feel exceedingly anxious for she sent me a note, which I received this morning, saying that her face is inflamed & if she did not come this afternoon, I might know that she was detained by it. I expected them so certainly that I cannot well bear the disappointment if she is detained by illness, how shall I get my baby back again? He is very well off there, I suppose, but I long to see the little thing again.[39]

This difficulty between Mary Mann and Pennell was a preview for more that would develop between them.

During this time, Catharine Beecher and Henry Ward Beecher were guests at the Mann household. Their visits enabled Pennell to interact with notable educators and further exposed her to diverse ideas about the role of women in education. Catharine Beecher, for example, believed that single women could express their feminine virtues by teaching. She further believed that women were natural teachers. Beecher's sentiments about the role of women in education were similar to those of Horace Mann.

Pennell's Move to Antioch College and Work as a Professor

In 1848 Horace Mann resigned from his post as Secretary of Education and became a member of the United States House of Representatives. In 1852 he accepted the role of president of the newly founded coeducational Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio. Mann initially was unsure about accepting the post, cautioned by friends such as Catharine Beecher who was wary of the quality of the students the college would attract. Mann, however, lost a gubernatorial election in Massachusetts during this time and was searching for a new career.[40] Once he accepted the role of president of Antioch, he appointed Rebecca Pennell and her brother, Calvin, as professors. On April 10, 1853, Louisa Harris, one of Pennell's normal school peers, visited her at the Mann residence and discussed Pennell's future work at Antioch, as well as considered relocating herself.

> Since my last entry I have been out to W. Newton with Adie and Hannah D. [two other normal school students] to visit our friend and classmate Rebecca Pennell who has been honored with a professorship in Antioch College. Mr. Mann who is President invited us

> to join the institution which I for one would very gladly do if such a thing was practicable for me. How I would like to put off the pedagogue for a season and become a pupil again. I build air castles to that effect sometimes but I am confident they can never become substantial fabrics.[41]

Though thirteen years had passed since they had completed their normal school studies, they continued to meet and support each other.

Calvin also wrote to his sister at this time regarding his expectations for joining Antioch and reservations about his professorship.

> Sunday, October 17th 1852
>
> My Dear Sister
> I should want them to pay me a thousand for going. I consider it a great sacrifice. We certainly should be obliged to be on salt pork and wear cow hide shoes. When anyone speaks of his going, they say well, I suppose he will have a much handsome salary. I say nothing. You have a new institution like that is of slow growth and probably would not increase for some time.[42]

Pennell was appointed to the college with excellent teaching evaluations; however, those of her brother were less exemplary. For example, in 1848, he was accused of whipping one of his students.[43]

As the first woman college professor on the faculty at Antioch, and likely one of the first women professors in the United States, Pennell, at age thirty-one, taught physical geography, natural history, civil history, didactics, and drawing. Her selection of courses expanded over time to include subjects such as botany and zoology.[44] As a result of Mann's negotiations with the trustees, Pennell was one of the earliest women college professors in the United States to be awarded the same salary as her male colleagues. Equal salaries at Antioch College, however, were not to be a reality for other woman faculty who joined the institution, an inequality which Pennell noticed. The trustees suggested that the men be paid eight hundred dollars a year, and the women faculty, only five hundred.[45]

According to historians John Rury and Glenn Harper, "Coeducation at Antioch was to be a 'Great Experiment' in correcting the wrongs that women's education had suffered."[46] This, however, did not mean that men and women were educated as equals. Mann, influenced by his Calvinistic upbringing, developed rules to "govern the relationships of men and women students, which abrogated much of the spirit of coeducation even if it did not affect formal matters of curriculum or what occurred in classrooms."[47]

Women, for example, were not allowed to travel to the village by themselves, nor were they allowed to exercise on the men's gymnastic equipment. In addition, the expectation was that men and women would form separate literary societies. "The decision not to permit men and women to meet together in the same literary society aroused a good deal of hard feeling, particularly on the part of women students."[48] For Pennell, this was a sharp contrast to her experiences at Westfield Normal School where male and female students participated together in the literary society. Indeed, Rothermel noted, "In its early years Westfield offered its female members significant opportunities to participate in mixed company in typically masculine rhetorical activities like public debate."[49] The literary society at Westfield later became a more gender-conscious organization that closely resembled that of Antioch.

In general, Pennell's teaching evaluations at Antioch were excellent. Her science classes were particularly innovative. She often would take her students outside where they would examine plant specimens. Though Pennell's work at Antioch primarily focused on teaching, she also assisted with the recruitment of new faculty. In August 1854, she wrote to Mann from New York to let him know that a Mr. Craig had agreed to join the faculty.

> New York
> August 4th _54
>
> My Dear Uncle,
> I had a long talk with Mr. Craig & said everything I could think of, to make him regard Yellow Springs as a pleasant field of labor, because it promises rich harvests of usefulness. At first he seemed to think it would be entirely out of the question.... I thought his feelings changed somewhat before he left & have since heard that he concluded to accept the invitation to go to Antioch.[50]

This letter pleased Mann as he admired Craig and his religious ideals. He also thought that Craig would make an excellent president of Antioch at a future time.[51] Pennell was joined at Antioch by her former student and colleague from the West Newton Normal School, Lucretia Crocker, who became the head of the mathematics department.[52] Pennell undoubtedly facilitated Crocker's introduction to the college. In recruiting some of the faculty, Pennell drew on the social networks she had formed with other normal school peers.

Pennell's Marriage

At the age of thirty-four and to the surprise of her family and peers,

Pennell married the assistant treasurer of Antioch, Amos Dean. From the beginning, the Mann family thought he was not suitable for Rebecca. Indeed, on the day of Pennell's wedding, Mann was visibly upset.[53] His relationship with Pennell's husband continued to deteriorate.[54]

Though Pennell was content with her choice of a marriage partner, her life was filled with tension during this time. Disagreements arose between the religious groups at Antioch College, which led to a general sense of unsettledness. There also were tremendous financial problems, which led to a lack of regular salaries for the faculty.[55] The financial worries consumed Pennell, even while she traveled overseas with her husband during the summer of 1856, following their wedding. Pennell wrote home with possible suggestions for fundraising.

> June 22, 1856
>
> Dear Ones at Home,
> You will be glad to know that I am…on board, & feeling wonderfully calm…informed…that every teacher had refused to return…& that the only hope of avoiding the catastrophe of suspending the college for the fall term was control on his staying & raising money….What do you think of trying for some money in London?[56]

During this stressful period, Pennell's husband was accused of falsifying financial records. His commissions were scrutinized and probed. Subsequently the reputation of Pennell was questioned which led to conflict between Pennell and Mann and subsequently between Pennell and Mary Mann. Some questioned whether Pennell, and not Mann, served as president of the college.[57] Pennell, it was suggested, grew accustomed to speaking for her uncle, expressing his wishes and apprehensions, even when not requested by Mann to do this.

Pennell's stress also was accompanied by great grief. Pennell's sister, Eliza, and her husband, Gardiner Blake, along with their child, Henry, moved to the college from 1855-1856 from their home in Brooklyn, New York. Mann hired Eliza's husband to serve as the assistant treasurer of the college.[58] Shortly thereafter, in 1857, at age thirty-five, Eliza died. Pennell adopted her son and began to raise the child.[59] Pennell wanted a child and once confided to her sister that she would be unhappy not to have children. She feared that she might lose the chance.[60]

Pressures at Antioch continued to increase. Horace Mann became worn out from the worries that resulted from his work at the college. Due to the debt it was unclear whether the college would remain open. At times, Mann's speech was slurred. His weariness led to fever and chills. Then, in

1859, he died.[61] Along with Mary and his children, Pennell was at his bedside during his final hours. She recorded notes about his death in which she reflected on how he asked for the rate of his pulse, the words that he spoke to his wife suggesting that there was enough money for her and the children, and his final words to family and friends.[62] Mary Mann, in contrast, wrote a biting letter to her sister, Sophia Hawthorne, regarding Pennell's interactions with Mann during his final hours.

> September 5, 1859
>
> My Dear Sophia,
> Since I received your letter I have reviewed those last days to give you some account of them.…From the delight or … time allocated with some of the peculiar trials. Rebecca was very ill part of the time & could not come in & when she got a little better she could not stay in the room because all the windows were open. This was fortunate for him because she was so absorbed in her own troubles that she could not help recurring [sic] them & reporting to him unpleasant remarks made in the neighborhood & then her husband was always as near to her as her shadow & the sight of him was most distracting to us both. My beloved knew how I detested the man beside [sic] not wishing to see him or hear him talk about things that can not be remedied.[63]

After Mann's death, Mary Mann returned to Massachusetts and resided in Concord. She was through with all communication with Rebecca. Pennell left Antioch College and relocated to St. Louis where she worked at the Mary Institute in Washington University. Her brother, Calvin, secured a job there as school principal, enticed by the promise of a larger salary. Indeed, a historical publication of the Mary Institute reported, "In the very year that Mary Institute was founded there died, at Yellow Springs, Ohio, the seat of Antioch College, one of the greatest educational reformers that America has known."[64]

Transition to the Mary Institute and Washington University in St. Louis and Retirement

The Mary Institute, a school for girls, was founded by William Greenleaf Eliot, a Unitarian minister in St. Louis who cofounded Washington University in 1853. A goal of the school was to provide an education that equaled what men received at that time, as well as prepared women for college. Access of women to higher education was a theme that had permeated Pennell's own

schooling. The school's mission appealed to her. Though married, Pennell continued to teach, her husband following her to the new position. At the Mary Institute, Pennell drew on her experiences at Antioch and developed a strong science curriculum. The catalogues from 1859 to 1868 listed her as a teacher of physiology, natural sciences, natural history and drawing.[65]

Though Pennell enjoyed her teaching at the Mary Institute, the Civil War transpired which led to a period of tension and unsettledness. A centennial publication of the Mary Institute recorded, "St. Louis in 1861 was not the most orderly of cities, for it was torn by the tempers and partisanship of the Civil War."[66] Pennell's husband, who became a captain, died. Pennell continued to teach until 1868, at which time she resigned. She then relocated to St. Paul, Minnesota where she lived with her nephew, Henry, whom she had adopted.

Pennell's interest in science, in botany in particular, was sustained. She acquired a large botanical collection from Samuel Botsford Buckley, a naturalist. After keeping the collection for years, she sold it to the Missouri Botanical Garden in St. Louis, Missouri. It represented "one-third to one-half of the entire collection."[67] Pennell remembered the education in botany that she had received from Harriet Peirce and remained in communication with her about the subject. Upon Harriet Peirce's death, it was written:

> To the last, her chief intellectual delight was in botany which she studied from a girl of sixteen, when with a few others her own age, she began to collect, observe, and record her conclusions. At eighty-four she helped to form and joined a new botanical class. I have before me a valuable contribution written by her, at that time and read at the meeting; and this summer, at the age of ninety, rare specimens brought from Minnesota by loving hands were received and examined with great delight.[68]

These specimens undoubtedly were brought by Pennell's hands, for she lived in Minnesota at that time.

Pennell's Social Networks Throughout Her Career

Pennell's teaching and subsequent career trajectory were remarkable. She was a student in the first class of the first state normal school, as well as a teacher at this institution at a later time. She was a teacher at the first coeducational state normal school at Westfield. When she transitioned to Antioch College, she was among the first women to serve as a professional in a coeducational college, where she and her male colleagues received equal pay. She excelled in the sciences. As Pennell progressed on this journey, her sense of

self unfolded. She moved from the role of student to one of exemplary teacher. She moved from one about whom negotiations were made to one who became a skillful negotiator. Though Pennell encountered challenges, her career was remarkable in all of these respects.

Pennell's career was influenced by individuals in her social networks. Her connections with her uncle, Horace Mann, and those in his circle were central to her studies and career advancement. Mann enrolled her in the normal school, settled her salaries and offered her teaching positions. Mann's marriage to Mary Peabody further connected Pennell to a wider circle of notable individuals. If not for Pennell's connections to Mann and his circle of acquaintances, it is questionable whether she would have become a professor. In some respects, nepotism functioned during Pennell's journey. Though Pennell consistently was described as a superior teacher, she was still the niece of Horace Mann.

Pennell's work also was shaped and supported through her associations with a more quiet but strong group of women whom she met during studies at the first state normal school, a group of women who often are placed on the margins, if they appear at all, in the discussion of educational history. This network of students also is a prism through which to explore and consider Pennell's journey.

The first group of women who studied in Lexington pursued significant endeavors following their studies. Mary Swift, one of Pennell's normal school peers, went on to teach at the Perkins Institution with Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe and was the primary teacher of Laura Dewey Bridgman, a deaf and blind student who became known world-wide for her success in learning to communicate. Swift later wrote a book about her work with Bridgman. Swift also met with Helen Keller and was credited with encouraging her to pursue oral communication.[69]

Lydia Stow, another peer of Pennell, became involved with the abolitionist movement. She housed individuals such as Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, and William Garrison at her house in Fall River. She was a founder of the Fall River Women's Union which was an organization that provided educational opportunities, housing and daycare for the working women in the city mills. Other normal school peers, such as Louisa Harris and Adeline Ireson, taught in a variety of positions for the remainder of their lives.[70]

This group of women provided Pennell with an identity. As an eighteen-year-old student, she became a normalite. Normalites not only supported each other during their studies, but became friends, and wrote letters and poems to each other. Pennell, for example, wrote one such poem to a normal school peer regarding an album she was given.

Remember love, there is an album

That thou can't only fill;
Unto thee, it is committed
To improve with outmost [sic] skill.

By thee only can be guided
By thee kept from sorrows shall
Every line by thee indicted
Every page marginal.

With great care may you preserve it.
Free from errors, baneful strife
That fair album is thy life.

Your affectionate normal sister, Rebecca M. Pennell.[71]

Though the focus of the poem is not significant, the signature is. Pennell suggested that she felt a sense of sisterhood with the other normal school students. They became a social network to which she belonged. It was through this group that they shared their joy of teaching as well as enthusiasm for particular academic subjects. If Harriet Peirce is considered an adjunct member of this group, it is clearly seen that she was an influence in the development of Pennell's love of botany. If Lucretia Crocker is considered an adjunct normal-school peer, as a student of Pennell and then colleague, it is seen that she too had academic aspirations like those of Pennell.

This group of women was an important source in Pennell's life experiences. This is evident through her participation in class reunions that occurred even when she was older in life and the distance required to travel to such events was significant. She took part in the first reunion in 1850 when she lived in West Newton and then again in 1852. In 1874, she traveled to a reunion from St. Paul, Minnesota and then again in 1884 from the same location. In 1889, she was one of the eight members of the surviving eleven to take part in the semi-centennial celebration and was described as one of the most honored guests.[72] Like Pennell, normal school students encountered controversy with their undertakings, experiences that they shared in their letters and during visits and in meetings.

Conclusion

Pennell was an early woman faculty member in a coeducational college who received pay that was equal to that of her male colleagues. Her teaching techniques were excellent and her curriculum, particularly in the field of science, was innovative. Her access to higher education began as a member of

the first class of the first state normal school in Lexington, Massachusetts. It evolved into work as a founding faculty member of Antioch College in Ohio in 1853. It concluded with a ten-year career at the Mary Institute at Washington University. It was a life of opportunity and challenge, supported and sustained by a variety of networks. She had the benefits of strong mentors during her life and subsequently became an exemplar in educational history.

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Jane Addams and Wangari Maathai:
Nobel Laureates on Educating and Organizing Women for Local Food Security

Dana Cesar

Independent Researcher and Writer

President of the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity, Peiro Sardo, wrote that during the "golden age of *Homo sapiens,*" when people hunted and gathered, they fed on "at least 8,000 plant species."[1] Today, industrialized agriculture has whittled seven thousand varieties of apples to less than fourteen hundred. India's three hundred thousand rice varieties have dwindled to fewer than one hundred.[2] Microorganisms in the soil account for a "major portion" of biodiversity, yet fertilizers are killing the natural flora and fauna of the soil in which plants grow.[3] Nitrogen applications must double every twenty years just to maintain yield, creating what Tasch has referred to as *peak soil*—that point at which earth becomes increasingly sterile of nutrients.[4]

Further, analysts predict a continued decline in energy in the form of oil that is used in everything from dinnerware, to plastic grocery bags, to preservatives, and from planting to harvesting, canning, transporting, and refrigerating food. Lester Brown, head of the Earth Policy Institute, has detailed the precarious fusion of food and fuel economies and reports a thirty-two percent drop in energy availability by 2020.[5] Many nations have already experienced *peak oil*—that point in oil production that reaches a pinnacle on a bell curve. "Among the post-peak countries was the United States, which peaked at 9.6 million barrels a day in 1970." Brown asserts, "The only world we have known is one where oil production is rising. In this new world, where oil

production is no longer expanding, one country can get more oil only if another gets less."[6]

The correlation between energy, environmental depletion, hunger, and civil conflict has been widely documented.[7] Notwithstanding modern *addictions* for fuel from seed to table, soil sterilization, and the extinction of food species, hunger and food-related disease are not unique to the human experience. Yet the leadership and education of women by other women has played a pivotal role in reversing the momentum of starvation and food related pandemics. The Nobel Foundation illuminated the important role of women when it awarded the Peace Prize in 1931 to American Jane Addams and in 2004 to Kenyan Wangari Maathai, to honor their distinguished contributions to securing communal and international peace through food security. The education of women through women's organizations was central to their efforts.

The autobiographical accounts of Jane Addams and Wangari Maathai reflect common components important to educating women and girls for self-sufficiency in food production and are instructive of a contemporary response to the threats that peak oil, peak soil, and pollution present to the global food supply. Specifically, their lived experiences reveal broad implications for 1) the provision of rich, sensory, early-childhood experiences; 2) the preservation of cultural myths with an ultimate basis in science; 3) the importance of women's organizations to securing peace through food production; and 4) the importance of protecting the aboriginal links between land, food, language, culture, education, and national and personal identity. Educating women and girls with these common elements in mind may facilitate a strong, localized, and gendered response with the potential to interrupt the momentum of environmental degradation, hunger, malnutrition, pandemics, civil conflict, and war.

Early Childhood and the Roots of Social Activism

Bronfenbrenner, Erikson, Montessori, Piaget, and many others[8] have established the profound significance of early childhood education to human development. Yet early childhood biographies of world leaders are largely absent from educational and historical research. Jane Addams and Wangari Maathai, both of whom wrote memoirs, point to experiences in early childhood as the roots of their social activism in adulthood.

Addams began a chronicle of her social work in inner-city settlement housing with the speculation that people's "genuine impulses" could be traced to their childhood experiences. She identified her father, a miller by trade and a United States senator under President Lincoln, as the "distinctly dominant influence" in her life.[9] She admitted that her "veneration and pride

in [her] father manifested itself in curious ways,"[10] including a "doglike affection" and desire to imitate him as far as possible. Her father, a Quaker with a reputation as an incorruptible public servant, adorned the walls of their home with no fewer than three photos of Lincoln, and Jane recalled among her earliest memories black flags raised on the walk leading to their door and her father crying at the death of the President. Although she was only four years old at the time of the assassination, she asserted that children "who were born about the time of the Civil War have recollections unlike those" of other children as the "great war touched children in many ways."[11] Specifically, Addams and her contemporaries were reminded of their neighbors' heroism when they passed the farmhouses of families who had lost fathers and sometimes many sons to free the slaves.[12]

In addition to her father's public service, Jane reported associating the mill with her father's activities. She viewed him as a self-made man, and she wished she could comprehend the hardships he must have endured as a miller's apprentice.[13] She confessed a "consuming ambition to possess a miller's thumb"[14] and named her "earliest recollection . . . of being held up in a pair of dusty hands," powdered with wheat flour "to see the heavy stone mill wheels go round." She added,

> The happiest occupation of my childhood was to watch the old foaming water wheel turning in the back of the mill. I could tell by the sound of the mill when the old wheel was used, which occurred occasionally long after the turbines were established. Watching the foaming water my childish mind followed the masses of hard yellow wheat through the processes of grinding and bolting into the piled drifts of white flour and sometimes further into myriad bowls of bread and milk.[15]

Addams' father, by exhibiting a spirit of public service and working for the provision of flour for bread, may be credited with providing his daughter with a spiritual imprint that found expression in the political arena and that eventually led to her recognition by the Norwegian Nobel Committee.

Over a century later, Nobel Laureate Wangari Maathai had a similar experience with a mill. She recalled, from the opposite side of the globe, going on errands to Mukarara in order to buy maize, beans, and bananas. She also walked eight miles to a mill by the Gura River.

> At that time, all the grinding mills in our area were driven by water, so when I went to have our maize ground into flour I would often spend all day playing with other children while we waited our turn. The waters of the Gura River were fast and clean. The stones

> beneath the water were black and round. Therefore, the waters appeared black but had a lot of foam.[16]

Like Addams, Maathai attributed such early sensorial impressions as having a defining influence on her later work with international food justice, yet Maathai had a more elemental relationship with food and motherhood than Addams. She spent long passages in her memoir, *Unbowed*, describing how she wound through the maize and wheat fields of her childhood which were Mr. Neylan's farm. He owned the ancestral lands upon which Wangari's family were considered squatters. She wrote, "As a young child, I went with my mother into the fields…. She would put us down on the ground near her, and we spent the day playing in the soil and chattering among ourselves. I also watched my mother work. She planted seeds, tilled the soil, plucked weeds, and harvested the crops."[17] Later, Maathai's mother gave her a garden to tend herself and modeled for her how to look after "cows, goats, and chickens—just enough to provide for our household needs."[18]

After meeting the basic needs of her family, her mother at day's end gathered her children about her. Maathai "loved the calm, warm atmosphere as we sat and listened to the women—mothers, aunts, grandmothers (Men did not tell stories)."[19] In this way, Maathai's mother served as a particularly important influence on her daughter's growing awareness that she was one of innumerable beings balanced within an ecosystem. Later, Maathai wrote, "How you translate the life you see, feel, smell, and touch as you grow up—the water you drink, the air you breathe, and the food you eat—are what you become."[20]

Science, Myth, and the Politics of Soil

As adults, both Addams and Maathai appeared to draw great political strength and personal courage from a spiritual appreciation of earth or soil, perhaps developed out of the strong sensory impressions of childhood. Addams, in the well-settled urban frontier of Illinois, took a "great deal of comfort" from James George Frazer's 1890 publication, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, whose comparison of world religions consistently finds feminine "Spirits of the Corn" in nearly every culture. Addams reflected, "Myths centering about the Corn Mother but dimly foreshadowed what careful scientific researches have later verified and developed." She also found personal and political significance in anthropologists' premise that the first agriculturalists were women who carried not only babies, but seeds and transplants on their backs in order to propagate as they went. Addams suggested that women harvested these early subsistence crops as part of their migratory patterns in order that their young might be fed. Such a historical

precedent for community development, "if it were attached to her domestic routine" or "daily habit," established for Addams the importance of women's participation in international politics wherever "milk and premature labor are concerned."[21]

Maathai's mother, for whom subsistence farming was far more than a part of her daily habit, instilled in her daughter a deep spiritual reverence for nature. As her first teacher in food provision for the community, Maathai's mother instructed her daughter, above all, to respect the fig tree. This was the tree of god, and Maathai was taught not to collect the "dry wood out of the fig tree or even around it." Her mother told her, "'We don't use it. We don't cut it. We don't burn it.'" In her memoir, Maathai recalled dutifully obeying and playing perhaps two hundred yards from the tree at the source of a river where arrowroots grew, a local food source that was cooked like potatoes. She would hide under the lush foliage of the arrowroots and play with frogs' eggs "like black pearls."[22] Many years later, Maathai was a United States educated scientist who understood the connection between the root system of the fig tree and the underground water reservoirs. She wrote,

> The roots burrowed deep into the ground, breaking through the rocks beneath the surface soil and diving into the underground water table. The water traveled up along the roots until it hit a depression or weak place in the ground and gushed out as a spring. Indeed, wherever these trees stood, there were likely to be streams. The reverence the community had for the fig tree helped preserve the stream and the tadpoles that so captivated me.

The trees also reduced erosion and so protected against landslides. By passing on the traditional folklore of the tribe, her mother protected the "cultural and spiritual practices [that] contributed to the conservation of biodiversity."[23]

In her own work, Maathai explained the link between Kenyan spiritual myth and environmental conservation. For example, in her "2005 Inaugural World Food Law Distinguished Lecture," delivered at Howard University, she noted the dangers of detaching cultural myth from science and explained how an interruption of the water cycle in certain areas of Kenya was caused by the transplantation of indigenous forests and crops with imported tea, coffee, and pine lumber. The result was water runoff and drought.

Next, she said that consequent drought-induced famine might draw several responses. One response might be that of the Kenyan Minister of Agriculture who would seek food aid from the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization as a temporary solution. Another response, by "ordinary Kenyan woman, [would be to reply when asked] why the rains did

not come,…'God has not yet brought the rain, and we must pray so that God brings us the rain.'" Maathai implied that this extending of empty hands to the Food and Agriculture Organization for food and to God for rain are both equally mythical, yet erroneous responses to famine. She stated, "If the rains don't come, it has nothing to do with God. It has everything to do with the way [the people of Kenya] are managing their environment." [24]

Maathai continued to suggest that a more appropriate spiritual response—one founded on the laws of nature—would be that certain religious leaders would tell the farmers the importance of relating the Book of Genesis to environmental conditions. They should urge the people to be good stewards of their Garden of Eden, and wait for God to bring rain.

> So that [the] faithful [farmer], whether he can read the Bible or not, or maybe at best can only read the Bible in his own language, is motivated to go out, dig a hole, and plant a tree. Or, is motivated to go and create a terrace, or a trench, so that the next time the rains come, they do not take away his topsoil, so that when he plants a seed it will germinate because there is water in the ground and the fertile topsoil has not been carried away.[25]

In this way, Maathai implied, science would be used to preserve the Garden of Eden that was God's gift to humanity. As this lecture reveals, Maathai used her spiritual appreciation of earth and soil to motivate people to conserve and replenish the world's natural resources.

Organizing and Educating Women

The Nobel Peace Prize was established to honor "the person who shall have done the most or the best work for fraternity between nations, for the abolition or reduction of standing armies and for the holding and promotion of peace congresses."[26] Jane Addams' promotion of peace and international harmony culminated in her work as president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)—originally the Women's Peace Party (WPP)—established to consensually develop among women of belligerent and allied nations an alternative to World War I.[27] In this pursuit Addams lectured widely; and she found that women's organizations and collegiate audiences, in particular, were as "eager for knowledge as to all the international devices which had been established for substituting rational negotiation for war." Yet they were completely lacking in an organized response to the conflict abroad.[28] Working in the same spirit of Protestant revivalism that had wrought abolition, temperance, and demonstrations for the franchise, Addams urged women to coordinate anti-war activities into one powerful,

international effort. She stated to a group of educationists, "There has never been a greater chance for women to work [for the humanitarian cause of world peace], than now."[29]

Despite the women's earnestness in seeking an organized alternative, it was not until the third annual meeting of the WPP—the last held before the U.S. entered World War I—that the WPP identified war-engendered famine as the issue that might serve to unite the global community. Addams wrote that food shortages were primarily the result of war rather than the bad harvests of 1916. Forty million men were in the military, and twenty million of both genders were involved in war industries, like shipbuilding. The European fields, worked by women and children, and in certain sections by war prisoners, were lacking in fertilizers that could not be brought from remote ports nor be manufactured as usual in Europe, because nitrates and other such materials essential to ammunition were being diverted to that use.[30]

Many people later understood war to be the cause of food scarcity, but at the time, Addams found it surprisingly difficult to advance hunger as a social cause. She wrote of women's difficulty in "finding their place" when they tried to address war-induced famine. One source of this difficulty was what Bendroth has called "the theological rationale for subordinating women—and elevating men." Bendroth attributed this obstacle to female activism to the "revivalist traditions" that were overcome by fundamentalism's "Gentlemen's Movement."[31]

Many of those associated with Hull-House and advocating for peace came to fear retribution as pacifists. Generally, Addams recounted media reports that constantly "coupled the words traitor and pro-German with the word pacifist, as if they described one and the same person." [32] As early as 1913, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported former President Roosevelt's comparison of pacifists to the "secessionists" of the Civil War, saying, "I emphatically advise you not to join such an organization [the WPP]. The platform…seems to me both silly and base…. There is nothing more repulsive than to see people agitating for general righteousness in the abstract when they dare not stand up against wickedness in the concrete."[33]

Emily Greene Balch, Addams' close WPP colleague and a 1946 Nobel Laureate, was among the many women who experienced "increasingly virulent attacks after the armistice." Balch was dismissed from her position as professor at Wellesley because of her activism. Deegan writes, "A 'Red Scare' in 1919, triggered by the unstable economy and unemployed veterans, made both women—and their sister pacifists—the victims of nativist hysteria. Both Addams and Balch became the 'two most dangerous people in America,' and their names topped a long list of 'conspirators' linked in a 'spider web' to overthrow the government," that included several women who worked for Hull-

House and were fellow delegates to the 1915 International Women's Peace Congress at The Hague.[34] Addams' sustained attention to the central role of women in cultivating international peace and community development may have been the cause of her continued persecution. For example, in 1926 Senator Thomas Bayard of Delaware stated before Congress,

> It is of utmost significance that practically all the radicalism started among women in the United States centers about Hull-House, Chicago, and the Children's Bureau at Washington…with a dynasty of Hull-House graduates in charge of it since its creation…. It has been shown that both the legislative program and the economic program—"social welfare" legislation and "bread and peace" propaganda for internationalization of the food, farms, and raw materials of the world—find their chief expression in persons, organizations, and bureaus connected with Hull-House.[35]

Despite the hysteria, Addams persevered with her reforms. She was greatly relieved when Congress finally established a Department of Food Administration, its purpose being to provide European civilians affected by World War I with food. She wrote, "Certainly here is a line of activity into which we might throw ourselves with enthusiasm, and if we were not too conspicuous we might be permitted to work without challenge."[36] She was invited to tour Europe as part of Herbert Hoover's Department of Food Administration under President Wilson and witnessed the effects of war-induced hunger on children. She later recalled visiting Serbia, where three-fourths of the population had died of diseases exacerbated by "continued privations"; and Armenia, a nation devastated by pestilence and famine.

> And perhaps the crowning horror of all, the 'Way of the Cross'—so called by the Russians because it was easily traced by the continuous crosses raised over the hastily dug graves—beginning with the Galician thoroughfares, and stretching south and east for fourteen hundred miles, upon which a distracted peasantry ran breathlessly until stopped by the Caspian Sea…only to come back again because there was no food there.[37]

Soon after Addams began her association with the Department of Food Administration (DFA), so many groups wanted her to speak that she could not meet the demand. She particularly enjoyed the opportunity to speak to women's organizations. While she asserted that famine should be resolved by the humanitarian action of governments, she believed that women played a distinctive role in responding to the food crisis by producing food abundant-

ly and conserving it wisely. This belief had not changed despite her involvement in the DFA.[38]

Like Addams, Maathai believed food was both an antidote to and preventive of war, and, in her mind, a critical mass of organized and educated women were to play a key role in the administration of justice through sustenance. She became aware of a serious problem in the early 1970s when she was a zoology professor at the University of Nairobi. She was examining ticks to determine the cause of East Coast fever in cattle, and in that effort she collected samples in the rural areas outside Nairobi where she had lived as a girl. She was surprised to discover that the rivers had become muddy with silt as a result of erosion. She noticed that in addition to cattle failure, "the people, too, looked undernourished and poor." This observation contradicted Maathai's memories of childhood when "there was more than enough food, the food itself was nutritious and wholesome, people were healthy and strong, and there was always enough firewood to cook with."[39] Like Addams, she was stirred by graphic images of malnourished children, women who labored to carry water and firewood long distances, and the tribal conflicts she believed were created by "limited arable land and adequate food," but that were encouraged by the government.[40]

Maathai decided to establish what came to be known as the Green Belt Movement (GBM), an organization that encouraged grassroots investigation of environmental and cultural degradation as the source of local hunger and poverty. Like Addams, she challenged her government's policies by organizing women subsistence farmers and goatherds, and training them as activists capable of taking individual responsibility for the conservation of their aboriginal lands, thereby securing food for their families. Civic and environmental seminars became the cornerstone of the Green Belt Movement, and women's organizations were essential to its conception and central to its mission.[41]

Maathai sought association with other women by attending a lecture of the National Council of Women in Kenya (NCWK), an organization dedicated to unifying women's groups throughout Kenya.[42] At the meeting, a female researcher delivered empirical findings confirming Maathai's observations that diseases related to malnutrition were plaguing children in central Kenya. Maathai believed that increasing the tree population would help to alleviate the problem of hunger. Working somewhat circuitously yet decisively, she established inside her home a tree nursery and provided a financial incentive of two cents to women for every tree they cultivated for three months. She found that this small inducement encouraged women who had no other source of income to be very resourceful in ensuring the survival of many trees using "old pots or cans with holes punched in them to water their seedlings."[43] She encouraged the women to share their innovations with each

other, "and before we knew it," she wrote, "tree nurseries were springing up on farms and public land around the country."[44]

Maathai reported the continued growth of a critical mass of Kenyans eager for alternatives in community development. "By late 1977, news of the tree-planting initiatives had spread throughout the NCWK networks; and soon farmers, schools, and churches were eager to set up their own programs."[45] By the early 1990s, participants in the Green Belt Movement had planted around ten million indigenous trees, involving up to eighty thousand Kenyan women in reforestation.[46] What may be most striking about Maathai's mobilization of poor, rural women for environmental conservation is that it signifies a central political issue of the 21st century—democratic use of the commons, or shared resources vital to community survival, that include not only soil, but water and seed.[47] Due to a shortage of arable land, Maathai's grassroots cultivation of unplanned green belts and guerilla reforestation of public lands was in direct opposition to the corruption and land graft of the Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi.

During Moi's tenure (1978 – 2002), Kenya struggled with large-scale land disputes between individuals and among communities. Southall argues that the conflicts resulted from the population's almost total dependence on "peasant agriculture," which produced around fifty percent of the nation's agricultural output, and because few other opportunities for employment existed. Access to arable land was "critical to popular well-being," and here lay the problem. Moi grabbed land to reward politicians, judges, civil servants, and military officers as well as their families and corporations."[48] Moi's corruption encouraged, and was encouraged by, a growing land shortage. Overpopulation complicated his gross mismanagement of land so that in 2006, the *Boston Globe* reported that Kenya had "less than 2 percent forest coverage,...well below the UN recommended minimum of 10 percent."[49] Deforestation continued to snowball as "the proportion of forested land in sub-Saharan Africa dropped by three percent, from 29 per cent to 26 per cent" between 1990 and 2005.[50] In July 2009, *The Daily Nation*, Kenya's only independent newspaper, linked deforestation with a growing food shortage.[51] As early as the 1970s, Maathai identified the particular burden of malnutrition for women, particularly mothers, and attempted to use women's organizations to challenge Moi's mismanagement of the nation's natural resources. In the 1980s, for example, she failed to raise grass-roots support of women's organizations to block Moi's attempt to build a skyscraper in a Nairobi public park. Yet she did manage to gain sufficient international support to defeat Moi's plans. The President retaliated by ruling "that foreign assistance to women's development projects must be channeled through the state women's organization," thereby "cutting off outside aid to the Green Belt Movement."[52] The *National Geographic* reported that Maathai's challenge to

Moi "assured her the eternal enmity of the ruling party, in particular Moi and the government-owned newspaper and television stations, which were to have gotten luxurious new offices in the building."[53] Similar to Colonel Roosevelt's comments regarding the WPP during World War I, Moi stated in the press after the defeat of his proposal to co-opt the public park for personal gain that Maathai had "insects in her head." He later addressed an applauding crowd, "I ask you women, can't you discipline one of your own?"[54]

Maathai experienced social and political isolation subsequent to Moi's speech, and even her close friends avoided contact with her.[55] Udvardy reports that Maathai began to realize the negative impact of her political activities on the Green Belt Movement; thus, she tried to keep her political activities in a separate category. Nevertheless, the movement had suffered some damage to its "remarkably flexible organization."[56] Udvardy suggests further that Maathai's failure to secure grassroots support of women in her protest against Moi's building can be attributed to an inability to communicate how the loss of the public park might eventually affect women as a demographic group. Women's mobilization, Udvardy asserts, is often times more effective when it serves more immediate, practical purposes than when faced with defending "Kenyan women's strategic gender interests."[57]

Later, the women of Kenya fully supported Maathai during a subsequent protest of Moi's administration. This protest was initiated by a group of elderly mothers demonstrating for the release of their sons detained by the government. After Maathai was beaten and imprisoned by the police, a group called "Mothers in Action" rallied in her support. At her court hearing from which Maathai had to be carried because of debilitating pain, the mothers "wailed and wept" carrying a banner that read, "WANGARI, BRAVE DAUGHTER OF KENYA,..YOU WILL NEVER WALK ALONE AGAIN."[58] The inconsistency in the level of political cohesion among Kenyan women highlights the important role of collaboration and education in women's activism. This may be particularly important to global food supply issues when the population does not immediately feel the consequences of policies affecting food safety and production.

Regardless of her political difficulties, Maathai, like Addams and Balch, honed a "fighting spirit" in herself and her followers. She stated, in an interview for the *Guardian*,

> Over the years, Green Belt members have been beaten, jailed and harassed. But rather than being deterred, we have been energised to take action. We have seen change come—most visibly, for example, the millions of trees planted on private land in Kenya that have made it possible for rural communities to meet some of their basic needs.[59]

Maathai continues to initiate projects in support of environmental justice and food security. In August 2009, she, along with Norwegian Prime Minister Jen Stoltenberg, deposited the first "of an estimated two billion" seeds in an underground vault in Svalbard, Norway. The vault, protected from all kinds of natural and human disasters, is expected to store seeds for all known crops used for food.[60] The current practice is to patent genetically modified seed as if it were intellectual property; thus, the seed bank is designed to preserve many aspects of the food web, including cultural history and food traditions as well as biodiversity for environmental sustainability.

Protecting Aboriginal Links of Food

Like Maathai, Addams strove to protect aboriginal networks among women. Her early work was expressed through the programs and "cooperative experiments" at Hull-House. She was especially interested in preserving the indigenous cultures of the immigrants of Chicago and, in particular, strengthening the special bond between mothers and daughters. By establishing a hands-on labor museum, she hoped to replace the embarrassment of American-born daughters with pride in their immigrant mothers' cooking and skill in cottage industries. She referred to the profound loss for humanity when cultural food links are broken and wrote of a "yearning to recover for the household arts something of their early sanctity and meaning."

After sharing Passover with a Jewish family in the neighborhood, she again wrote in sensorial terms of the mother who preserved cultural food links by weaving ancient religious ceremonies, delivered in Hebrew, with the preparation of kosher foods and the use and care of traditional utensils, all of which linked the family back to their homeland. The ceremony evoked for Addams ethnic food images "with which travel makes one familiar." In particular,

> Indian women grinding grain outside of their huts as they sing praises to the sun and rain; a file of white-clad Moorish women whom I had once seen waiting their turn at a well in Tangiers;…the milking, the gardening, the marketing in thousands of hamlets, which are such direct expressions of the solicitude and affection at the basis of all family life.[61]

Addams illustrates here the links and vital need of humanity for biological, cultural, and spiritual fulfillment through food, women's work representing an important element in the integrity of sustainable local food systems.[62] Like Addams, Maathai prized intergenerational cohesion to food traditions, and she argued that the origins of famine were found in the denial of one's

ancestors. She explained in her memoir that when her tribe, the Kikuyus, abandoned their oral traditions and language and instead adopted the Bible and the English language, they also exchanged millet for maize. Cash crops replaced the arrowroot, sugarcane, and managu that grew naturally in the area. Wangari's family became squatters on Mr. Neylan's farm that had once been the tribe's ancestral lands. "As the crops changed, so did the tools used for agriculture and cooking: Corrugated iron pots replaced earthen ones, plates and cups replaced calabashes, spoons replaced fingers and sticks." Due to the adoption of the cash crop economy imported by colonials, "women were feeding their families processed foods like white bread, maize flour, and white rice, all of which are high in carbohydrates but relatively low in vitamins, proteins, and minerals."[63] Maathai explained, "With the conversion of values into a cash economy…[e]verything was perceived as having a monetary value. As we were to learn, if you can sell it, you can forget about protecting it."[64]

In the 1990s, the Green Belt Movement invested more heavily in the prevention of ancestral forgetfulness. Green Belt leaders expanded village meetings into community seminars that were conducted in tribal languages. Participants explored indigenous and colonial Kenyan history and democratic land stewardship. Central to these seminars were "human rights, gender and power," issues that Maathai believed were intricately connected to basic food provision.[65] In describing the importance of protecting aboriginal links in the food web, Maathai utilized the familiar metaphor of the traditional African stool.

> A traditional African stool is actually made from one log and then three legs are chiseled out and a seat is also chiseled out in the middle so that when you sit, you sit on this basin, which rests on three legs….One leg is that of peace. The other is that of democratic space, where rights are respected—women's rights, human rights, environmental rights, children's rights, where there is space for everybody, where minorities and the marginalized can find space. The third leg is the environment, that needs to be managed sustainably, equitably, and in a transparent way, the resources of which also need to be shared equitably.[66]

With the triangulation of three pillars, Maathai continued, communities large and small are safe and at peace. To maintain "long-term balance" of the three pillars, Maathai suggested, it is necessary to understand that the "environment is in an intricate way joined, is related, is intertwined, in our lives on an everyday basis…. We need to take this concept and make it holistic,… Learn that if we destroy the mountain, the waters, when they take the soil, they take

away the soil in which the farmer plants his seed."[67]

Addams, who was more concerned with creating communal peace through food distribution than environmental preservation, nevertheless similarly illuminated the important relationship between equal access to food and democratic use of land when she wrote of the plight of the Russian soldiers. She noted, "In the Russian peasant's dread of war there has always been a passive resistance to the reduction of the food supply, because he well knows that when a man is fighting he ceases to produce food and that the world will at length be in danger of starvation." The political discourse among Russian and Prussian soldiers during the war was to "free the land," "bread labor" being an "unerring" human instinct according to Addams. Revolt on the part of the Russian soldier represented a natural compulsion for a man "To go back to his village, to claim his share of food, [and] till the ground as quickly as possible."[68] However, she noted, peasant women "all the world over, are still doing such a large part of the work connected with the growing and preparation of foods."[69]

Reminisent of Maathai's three-legged stool, she wrote of the dialectical nature between food provision and peace, hunger and conflict, and reported,

> Two [warring] governments fell avowedly over the sudden rise in the price of bread which had been subsidized and sold at a fraction of its cost. The demand for food was…being met in piecemeal fashion while a much needed change in the world's affairs threatened to occur under the leadership of men driven desperate by hunger. In point of fact, the demand could only be met adequately if the situation were treated on an international basis, the nations working together whole-heartedly to fulfill a world obligation."[70]

Although access to land was central to full citizenship and to self-sufficiency and food security in both Kenya and Europe, there lay a distinction between Addams and Maathai in determining what role the famine-stricken might play in food justice. As a product of that missionary society that gave women "confidence and skill" in advancing social causes, and prior to the Green Revolution that brought genetically modified foods and industrial farming on a global scale, Addams envisioned food aid as "the function of a recognized international Economic Council for the control of food stuffs and raw material, the world-wide fuel shortage, the effect of mal-nutrition on powers of production."[71] She considered it "deplorable that this great human experiment should be entrusted solely to those who must appeal to the desperate need of the hungry to feed themselves."[72] Addams argued that the humanitarian action of the governments of the Allied Nations should address global famine. For Maathai, there were few governmental or munic-

ipal allies for the hungry during the Kenyan land crisis. Regardless of the culpability of the government, she urged hungry women, themselves, to accept responsibility for the degradation of their resources.[73]

Conclusion

Many of the conditions that prompted Addams and Maathai to mobilize women persist in our current global food system. For example, in 2003, Russia faced "a rise in bread prices of more than 20 percent."[74] The BBC reported in April 2008 on Walmart's rationing of rice, saying that with a sixty-eight percent rise in international rice prices, "Rice-producing countries like Vietnam and India have curbed exports to keep domestic prices under control."[75] The *Wall Street Journal* reported in summer 2008 that cereal prices were rising by more than eight percent a year. "Milk, cheese, bananas and even peanut butter: They're all up by more than 10%. Eggs have rocketed up 30% in a year…."[76] Similar to Addams' observation of the fall of warring governments over the price of bread, an increasing number of nation-states—like Afghanistan, Somalia, and Sudan—are failing over loss of environmental resources, the rising price of food, and civil conflict.

Without a change in the production, transport, and preservation of food, the challenge of food scarcity is likely to intensify. In 2009, more than four hundred scientists from over one hundred countries, in conjunction with private and non-governmental organizations, issued the influential IAASTD report advocating for the reformation of industrial agriculture. Defining the world's global food supply as a "predicament" that cannot be "escaped" if left to "rely on the aggregation of individual choices," the report argued for many of the common components reflected in the autobiographical accounts of Addams and Maathai. Addressing "the needs of small-scale farms" that are run primarily by women,[77] the report argued for the protection of aboriginal links within the food web and the preservation of traditional and local knowledge, like that cultivated and passed on to Maathai by her mother. The IAASTD authors encouraged incentives for collaborations among indigenous people and researchers, providing for opportunities to biodiversify food crops, keep cultural food practices intact, and discern the scientific underpinnings of cultural myth.[78]

The report also identified women's organizations and educational needs as vital, particularly in areas where severe trade disadvantages and marginalized social groups have benefited the least from AKST. Because of unequal access to agricultural assets—land, water, energy, financing, communication—the report suggested that context-specific women's organizations could offer a level of resilience for women farmers.[79]

The single feature shared by the Laureates but not addressed in the

IAASTD report was sensorial experiences in early childhood, identified by Addams and Maathai as having a formative influence on their work in international food justice. Although the importance of early childhood education has been widely documented as crucial to human development, the IAASTD only mentions the education of women. In order to ensure food security in the twenty-first century, food and educational policy must address the need for rich, sensorial early childhood experiences in food provision, proven especially crucial to the early formation of two women from different eras and nations—Jane Addams and Wangari Maathai.

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Interviewing Women Teachers about Anger in the Workplace:
Some Implications for Teacher Education

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Over time.... What was once a sign of girls' strength and resiliency—their capacity to feel their anger, to know its source, and to respond directly—becomes a liability, at least in those places where white, middle-class values and conventions of femininity prevail.[1]

In the cause of silence, each one of us draws the face of her own fear—fear of contempt, of censure, or some judgment, or recognition, of challenge, of annihilation. But most of all, I think, we fear the very visibility without which we also cannot truly live.... And that visibility which makes us most vulnerable is that which also is the source of our greatest strength, because the machine will try to grind you into dust anyway, whether we speak or not.[2]

Introduction

This qualitative study investigates the understanding and experience of anger in the work of women educators in public schools in the Northeast. I undertook this study for a few reasons. First, I am very interested in Parker Palmer's claim that the person of the teacher matters; that the psychological, emotional, and spiritual development of teachers has an impact on their pedagogical and disciplinary expertise and that this development influences what is communicated to students in classrooms and schools.[3] Palmer's assertion has resonance for me as a former high school teacher and now as a

teacher educator. Secondly, I have conducted a number of teacher retreats and workshops focused on exploring gender messages communicated to students. The retreats and workshops invariably have involved discussion of the participants' gender development, and it is in this context that women teachers indicated that anger is frequently a barrier in their relationships with colleagues and administrators and, at times, serves to derail the women's efforts to address problems in their schools. These retreat and workshop encounters underscore the significance of Palmer's views. They have also led me to explore, through the vehicle of interviews, how women teachers develop their understanding and expression of anger and consider what influence anger may have on their work. This essay focuses on the interviews of three of the twenty-seven teachers involved in this project. In addition to demonstrating the kinds of situations that spark their anger in their schools, the interviews reveal what is at stake for these women when they decide to act on or silence their workplace anger. Ultimately, I reflect on implications for the development of teachers through teacher education.

Women, Anger, and Self-esteem

Psychologists within the last three decades have identified the repression of women's anger and examined how this silencing has influenced the development of girls, women, and their relationships in both private and public worlds.[4] These psychologists, along with poet and essayist Audre Lorde and theologian Beverly Harrison, have reinterpreted anger as an essential relational and political emotion because of its potential to instigate change in relationships and to address imbalances in power. Ethicist Sharon Welch illustrates the connection between anger and action in her examination of African American women's literature. Welch identifies an ethic employed by black women in the United States to confront the injustice of racism that uses anger as a source of knowledge. The *ethic of risk*, which she contrasts with an *ethic of control*, is dependent upon anger as a touchstone providing information about the insidious nature and persistent presence of social injustice, particularly in the form of racism. This ethic of risk, sparked by anger, recognizes the need for and practice of long-term communal responses to injustice.[5]

The association of anger with action illuminates the frequent conflation of anger and aggression. A distinction must be made between the emotion and the action. Aggression can be expressed both creatively and destructively, and may be sparked in response to a feeling of anger. But the conflation of anger and aggression has made an appreciation of each more challenging.[6]

Sonia Nieto's *What Keeps Teachers Going?* illustrates some of the ambiguity in competing interpretations of anger. Her work with public

school educators reveals that anger over social injustice can be one of the motivating forces for teachers in public education. However, she closes the discussion about anger as a source of motivation with this statement, "*Anger, then, is not always a negative emotion,* [emphasis mine] especially if it is motivated by a deep caring for students, a hope for the future, and a vision of how it could be otherwise."[7] While Nieto acknowledges that anger can serve as a sustaining force for some teachers, she views it as generally a *negative* emotion.

In their efforts to redress conventional notions of anger, these scholars reveal the deeply entrenched conventional belief that anger is bad. Each strives to redefine and reclaim anger for women, both its acknowledgement and expression. While they do not always explicitly link a woman's ability to know and express her anger with self-esteem, I wish to highlight that connection. In their exploration of self-esteem, Margaret Saylor and Gayle Denham note the connection between self-esteem and a sense of capability and power. "The sense of being competent, a widely recognized part of self-esteem, implies an awareness that we have choices…. It reflects the notion of a sense of being in control of one's own actions and reactions, and of being able to attain goals one has laid out." In connecting self-esteem with choice, Saylor and Denham expose an irony in women's capacity for self-esteem. If women are denied the option of acknowledging and expressing anger one likely result is the diminishment of their self-esteem.[8]

Psychologist Dana Jack reminds us that self-esteem, like anger, is very much a relational reality. Jack asserts that when an individual's self-esteem is strong there is likely to be a positive relational web promoting that person, an environment of support, encouragement, and affirmation. Conversely, when self-esteem is fragile or lacking it generally signals that the individual has experienced a more demeaning and hostile environment.[9] Clearly, self-esteem has major implications for how one connects with other beings, one's ability to set goals and take strategic action. These capacities are certainly relevant for and desirable in educators. In light of Jack's reminder that self-esteem is inextricably linked to one's relational environment, the examination of anger and its impact on self-esteem in educators requires an attentiveness to the educational environments in which the educators work.

The Study

The women involved in this study were teaching primarily in public school settings in an area of upstate New York. The teachers worked in rural, suburban, and urban schools. Pseudonyms are used throughout in reference to the women and their colleagues. The participants were recommended to me by colleagues and friends who knew of this study. Some of the

participants also volunteered the names of colleagues for me to contact.

Each woman was interviewed with a protocol designed to get at her understanding of anger and its meaning for her. Questions asked for memories of anger in childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood as well as messages received about anger through family or the larger culture. The focal questions targeted specific situations in their work when each woman experienced anger and took action and when each experienced anger and did not take action. Follow-up questions were posed in response to these stories and included discussion of what enabled them to act, what prevented them from acting, and what they felt was gained and lost in each situation.

There were a few reasons for my decision to focus this essay on the narratives of Cynthia, Jean, and Gwen. In their stories of anger, these women clearly situate their anger in a relational context. While their stories are individual insofar as they pertain to and describe their own development and relationship with anger, they are also stories about cultures that clearly discourage the exercise of voices that question or challenge the status quo. These narratives have a particular resonance for me as I recall my experience as a high school teacher and as I reflect on my current work as a professor at a state university. These women identify the experience of wanting to speak up and/or of actually speaking only to find that when they do so they are often alone or subject to sanction. Listening to and addressing their anger at work involves both resistance and risk.

These three women also represent diversity in terms of age, race, and experience. Two of the women identify as African American and one as European American. The ages range from forty to sixty and experience as teachers covers three years to over two decades. This diversity allows for variety in standpoints. For example, the women of color in the larger study of twenty-seven women teachers were the only ones to identify race in relation to experiences of anger in their work. One of those stories is contained in this essay. The untenured status of one of the teachers is also a factor in her decision about whether and how to address her anger. This status is influenced as well by her racial identity in a department where twenty of the twenty-two members are white. These cases have also been useful to me in my work as a teacher educator. They have helped students to understand some of the ordinary but difficult decisions and struggles teachers face and to consider the challenges of confronting a culture within a school that may be entrenched in attitudes and behaviors that discourage or punish questions and disagreement.

Analysis of the interviews drew on three strategies. The first utilized a methodology described in the *Listening Guide for Self and Relational Voices*. The second strategy was the creation of narrative summaries as a way to manage data and identify themes. The third method involved the creation of concep-

tually clustered matrices described in Miles and Huberman's *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods,* which calls for matrix making around a specific topic or question (e.g., early memories of anger) in order to identify themes across data.[10]

Listening to the Women

My interviews with three women educators—Cynthia, Jean, and Gwen—illustrate connections among anger, self-esteem, activism, and school culture and offer thoughtful commentary and in some cases a larger cultural critique. Their stories are integrally tied to a norm of compliance that appears to dominate their schools. The women's stories point to larger questions about hierarchical relationships in schools and the ways in which understandings of normative female behavior are embedded in school relations. If we agree with Lerner and others that anger is a signal that something is wrong or feels wrong, it makes sense that finding a way to take action on that signal and alter the situation would provide a sense of agency and thus a positive feeling about oneself. But it is useful to bear in mind the caveat offered by Dana Jack that we not locate this agency only in the individual.[11] We need to look also at the system of support available for that person, the culture within which the person develops and lives.

Cynthia

Cynthia is African American and told me early in the interview that one of her reasons for entering the teaching profession, after retiring from a previous job, was to provide black students with a teacher who looked like them. At the time of the interview, Cynthia was fifty-three years old and she had been teaching for three years in an urban high school. She sat at my kitchen table and related a recurring situation in the teachers' lounge. Each time she found herself in this position she felt unable to act. In her school many of her department colleagues met during their free time in the lounge. She said that the conversation that was the repeated source of her anger was a conversation about how bad the students were and how much the teachers didn't like teaching them. Some colleagues referred to their students as "dumb" and as "animals," words she felt were code words for students of color. Cynthia, feeling very disturbed, noted that she found it likely that these attitudes would carry over into the teachers' classroom interactions and relationships with their students.

The student population of Cynthia's school is predominantly African American and Latino. She noted that during the first two years of teaching, her department had only two African Americans of a total of twenty-three teachers. A third black teacher had recently been hired. Cynthia's awareness

of racism was part of her concern when she heard these comments about students because she felt the name calling and put downs were codes for how these colleagues felt about and saw their students of color. Her anger was double edged. She was angry with her colleagues because, "somehow that kind of talk to me affects your teaching and kids, and kids are picking up on that, and that's a bad thing....I know you can destroy their spirit with that kind of attitude." She was also angry with herself because she did not speak up to challenge that language. She would like to be able to speak to her colleagues in a way that is "not emotional, not screaming and yelling, but in a way that will effect change." She spoke of a graduate class she had recently taken where the term *deficit thinking* was discussed. She felt that this term was helpful in identifying the language of her colleagues. She was hopeful that her knowledge of this term would assist her in addressing them in a less *emotional* way. However, when asked what would enable her to take action, Cynthia cited a lack of confidence as the source of her inability to act. This response became more layered as she described her varied concerns in relation to her inability to act. Cynthia noted that another factor in her silence was her desire not to hurt, embarrass, or cause discomfort to anyone. In fact, she added, she would rather be the person hurt in a situation than hurt someone else. This was, of course, part of what was happening. Not surprisingly, she noted that she also wanted her colleagues to like her.

Cynthia stood in a different place in relation to her peer teachers in several ways. At the time of the interview she was a relatively new teacher while most in her department were close to retirement. She was also very much in the minority racially and spoke of the pressure she felt to represent all black people.

> ...If I mess up here no other Black person is going to be hired. That's what I carry and so I don't want to come in as being angry and combative and all those things....It's more about are they gonna like me, uh, am I going to be thought of as a problem and now my whole race is going to be thought of that way.

Cynthia used the word *troublemaker* twice in this context: the desire not to be seen this way, the fear that this was how she would be perceived. Cynthia repeatedly faced this moral dilemma. If she spoke up she felt she might alienate her colleagues and close off opportunities for other African American teachers who were so desperately needed in her school. If she continued not to speak she lost a great deal as well. "What's lost is what's in me. I don't feel good about me when I do that, when I don't stand up for what I think is the right thing to do. I feel lousy about it...feel like I've betrayed somebody here. Maybe it's the kids. I don't know. Maybe it's my

true self or God or somebody...so I don't feel good about me."

I feel a heavy heart when I reflect on Cynthia's situation. There are a few elements of this story that seem particularly poignant. First, I am awed by the sense of responsibility Cynthia feels toward so many, even unknown people. This is not a phenomenon that is completely unfamiliar to me. The commitment to lift as one climbs is well documented in the stories and lives of African Americans and in the ethic of risk described by Sharon Welch.[12] Nevertheless, I am struck by the fact that either way Cynthia feels she is letting down others of her race who need her to maintain her position in order to be able to help them move forward.

The second feature of Cynthia's story that touches me is that initially she mentioned that she didn't take action because of a lack of confidence. While her continuing response illustrates that there are deeper levels of conflict as well, her first words need to be taken seriously. Ironically, when she identified what was lost when she didn't act, she spoke in terms that underscored a loss of self esteem: she lost something of herself. Her words suggest something of a vicious circle. The situation reinforced an already existing feeling of powerlessness. The fact that this position is one Cynthia found herself in repeatedly is a third disturbing element in her narrative. It points to a pattern of speech and action in the school environment. Certainly, this dilemma was framed by individual and institutional racism. Cynthia's anger was a form of righteous indignation at language that boldly asserted contempt for students. It is perhaps language that indicates another level of teachers' feelings of frustration or lack of support for their work with students who faced challenges many of these teachers had never known. Nevertheless, the teachers' language and the attitudes their language illuminates are problematic; thus, Cynthia's feelings of anger are most appropriate. Given all this, it seems vital to find a way to support Cynthia in an appreciation of the validity of her anger and the knowledge it contains, and then to assist in finding a way to bring it to voice.

Jean

Jean is a striking woman who identified herself as African American in her first response to a request for a self description. She did not tell her age. Based on the teaching experience she described, I estimated Jean to be in her late fifties. She has been teaching for twenty-two years in a rural public school and was presently teaching in a middle school alternative program within that school. Prior to this work in the public schools, she had been both a founding member and a teacher in a parent-run school in her community. She described herself as an educator with a great deal of alternative school experience, and I sensed some pride in this acknowledgement. Jean had also been active in the National SEED Project on Inclusive Curriculum,

a program of teacher-led faculty development dealing with issues of equity, and as such she had worked with teachers from around the country. She described herself as someone who loves learning but found her colleagues in her current school and district to be lacking in intellectual curiosity and even in "any discussion about what's right for children."

> I feel like for the most part the people I work with, even though they don't, I don't think they would identify themselves this way, are mostly like – they work isolated from each other and they also are like what are in my mind, clerks or technicians, because they just basically, there's no free thinking or challenging necessarily the curriculum or the institution.

Since she had not worked in any other public school, Jean initially acknowledged that this situation might be somewhat particular to her district. Yet she later noted that in her work on the National SEED Project, she has found teachers from other schools in other states who had similar views.

> …. I think in some ways the majority of people I've met in public schools are people who follow rather than lead….I feel there are some dynamic individuals but they're not, most people want to be quote/unquote *good people,* [who do] not make waves. Um, they may be unhappy about something but they won't necessarily bring it to the surface. But it goes underground.

Jean suggested that perhaps it was the "nature of public schools" not to "nurture creative thinking or problem solving" and thus, ironically, undermine human potential. Intentionally or not, Jean coupled her experience of schools inhabited by adults who do not want to "make waves" in their efforts to be "good" and the capacity of these adults to "nurture creative thinking and problem solving."

Early in the interview, in discussing lessons learned about anger in her own development, Jean spoke of her mother who had tremendous anger and who exercised that anger, through verbal abuse, toward her children. Jean attributed this familial experience to her fear that anything she said could trigger anger in another. Thus, Jean developed an anxiety about anger and an understanding that authority could not be questioned. When, in an argument with a family member, the adult Jean acknowledged that she too had anger like her mother, she was able to break through her long-term fear of being like her mother and, to some extent, also of being angry. She has been working since then to integrate her anger into her life in a different way than her mother did, and to understand how she had masked her anger for so

many years. She asserted that her anger is not explosive. Then she added, "But I know injustice and I think that triggers off that kind of default line." While prior to this personal work, Jean thought that anger was only bad, she now claims that she is not afraid of it, preferring it because it is "a real thing and I'm much more comfortable now with realness than people pretending."

When asked to describe a time when she was angry in her work and took action, Jean discussed an experience with her assistant superintendent. She described him as a man who began his teaching career as a science teacher in a "traditional classroom," and who, she felt, did not understand the alternative program within her school of which she was a part. Furthermore, based on previous experience with and observation of him, Jean felt he did not deal well with women. The situation that evoked her anger occurred around a proposal allowing in-service credit for teachers to design their own independent study projects. The in-service credit proposal had been approved district wide, but each individual or small group proposal had to be approved by the assistant superintendent. Jean and a few other women teachers, also within her alternative program, presented their proposal to the assistant superintendent and he rejected it two years in a row. Jean, who had seen a number of successful proposals, was stunned. She felt certain theirs had met the criteria for approval. In the second year, the assistant superintendent offered suggestions as to how they might change the proposal. Jean disagreed with his suggestions and told him so. He then made an insulting remark. She and her colleagues left that meeting with their second rejection and a sense that their assistant superintendent did not understand or support their work. Six months later Jean initiated contact with him by phone and asked to meet with him about his rejection of their proposal. Jean said she had requested the meeting because, "I felt like I had to do it for me. That it was more about me being an authentic person in my interactions with him and the ways that I dealt with him." During the meeting Jean tried to build a connection but also wanted to communicate that she felt frustrated and misunderstood. The assistant superintendent asked her to verbally explain the proposal, and when she had finished he approved it. She said, "And it was like, I'm looking at him in disbelief, but I always knew that he was never looking at what we had on paper." Jean attributed his shift in position to the fact that she had met with him one-on-one: "There was no audience." She believed that since she was alone with him, he may have been more willing to ask for clarification. In a face-to-face situation, he had less to lose. When I asked her what she had gained besides the in-service credit, Jean replied, "My own self worth and my belief that I can learn how to interact with people."

Jean began the interview by describing her colleagues as people who "follow rather than lead" who don't want to "make waves" or challenge policies or practices. While she identified this as a problem in individuals, when

I asked her if she thought the fault was with the individuals or the institutions, she noted that the problem is located in both. She added,

> I have become aware of my anger about being disappointed that schools are not real places for learning about life, and I find it's very frustrating because I feel of all the places, I feel education is the real key to making a difference in the life of a child, and I feel that schools aren't about that.

Jean discussed at length her personal struggle in adulthood to claim anger as a legitimate emotion. This struggle has played a part in her frustration and anger in the work place not only because of her family experience with anger, which she internalized as a maxim against challenging authority, but also because she has not experienced colleagues who would join her: "they work isolated from each other." She spoke to this directly when asked an additional question about her experience of anger in her work. Jean replied,

> When I feel angry in my work, I feel frustrated. You know, like, I feel so many barriers, and then, silence. Like do I speak out? It feels very isolating, too. And people don't want to hear what you have to say if what you're saying implies more work. You know, I just feel frustrated and uh, silence.

This distress at being in the solitary position of speaking up and speaking out is one I heard from a number of the African American participants and certainly something evident in Cynthia's story as well.

The fact that Jean and other African American women who participated in this study note that they often feel isolated in respect to speaking out or challenging policy or practice in schools underscores the point made earlier about the culture of schools being largely an embodiment of white, middle-class femininity such that the ethic is about being *good*, and not *making waves*. These women bring into relief a norm of compliance which raises critical questions about what kind of learning can really happen in a school where the capacity for the critical thinking and voices of teachers are so repressed. The last woman discussed in this paper, Gwen, raises these questions as well and thus joins Cynthia and Jean in charging us to look very carefully at the culture within schools and its impact on women teachers.

Gwen

Gwen described herself as a "hard working … self-reflective, progressive person, as a teacher and otherwise." Gwen is a white woman, just forty, who has been teaching in public schools for over ten years. She teaches first grade

in her suburban/rural elementary school. She is currently feeling some "disillusionment" in her work. A large part of that can be attributed to the fact that she finds very little to inspire her in her current school. In other schools she has been able to have "somebody I would like to grow up and be like." But in this setting she encounters more of a *vacant lot*. She notes that the days she is the "grouchiest" are the days she has her grade level meetings.

> I'm in with my colleagues, there's the grade level coordinator saying, "The message from the principal is do this, do this, do this, we're changing that." And again, no voice in it because we're just being told this is the way it is. And you know and then I take that stuff and I'm back and then I'm across the hall in my classroom and I just feel really tight and you know, edgy, edgy, not so angry, but edgy so I feel more vulnerable to being angry.

Gwen made a distinction between the edginess and the anger she felt in response to the lack of voice she was able to exercise at times and the anger that had propelled her into teaching. In this she echoes Sonia Nieto's finding that anger is a source of motivation for some teachers.[13]

> I think, I think I actually became a teacher because I was angry about certain things and you can thank Jonathan Kozol for that, who lit the fire, you know when I read *Death at an Early Age….* But anyway that book had a strong impact on me. And I, so, that was like the activist anger, like I'm gonna get out there and I'm gonna learn about the anti-bias curriculum and I'm gonna, you know, be there to let the students shine and show themselves and grow and prosper and you know that sort of thing. So that's where my anger used to be, you know…. And it is there still,…like when I stand up at the Board of Education it's not just cause I'm a grumpy old teacher. It's there because they're about to do something asinine and I'm there because I'm an activist and I think that's one of the reasons I go to the meetings and other people don't.

In our interview Gwen shifted between political anger and anger resulting from her depletion in a school community where female colleagues had been "socialized little girls to just do what daddy says, you know, and just try to be, you know, oh, yes, I'll help and I'll be cooperative, yes, I'll do the right things, I'll be the good little girl." She used these words to discuss a situation in which she was one of fourteen people being forced by the interim principal to move into another position in her building for social as opposed to educational reasons. Gwen was moved from second grade to first grade.

Such moves are protected by their contracts, but in this case no one else openly objected to being moved. Gwen was the only one who objected "on record" by taking an involuntary transfer. According to Gwen, the fact that others did not ask the union for the involuntary transfer was not a sign of their pleasure with the move as much as it was a desire not to disturb or be seen as a *troublemaker*. She charted a number of situations where colleagues did not speak up. She referred to one in particular with a colleague who did have a tendency to be vocal, but who said to Gwen prior to a faculty meeting, "You have to sit on me if I start to talk." Gwen's response was, "I'm going to applaud you if you speak." But Gwen went on to note that there are legitimate reasons for people's fear. "And people are worried about being labeled a troublemaker or an outspoken person…. In our particular school some people have been written up for speaking out at a faculty meeting…. Called in with your union rep[resentative]…. There's definitely the message that you don't want to be labeled as a troublemaker. And if you speak out, you are a troublemaker." So while Gwen wishes for her teaching to be fueled by the kind of anger that propelled her into teaching, she finds herself drained by and angry at the silencing of teacher's voices by administrators as well as the compliance of her colleagues and, at times, herself.

Although Gwen noted that she appreciates many of her colleagues despite their silence and acknowledged her own struggle at times to speak out, our interview is rife with examples when she spoke up at school board meetings, with individuals and colleagues, and even numerous times with the district superintendent. The situation she described in response to the time when she felt angry and took action was one of these interactions with the superintendent.

One of her highly respected colleagues was going to be married and applied for a year's unpaid leave of absence. This leave would require, if granted, that the school find an interim teacher to replace her for the year. The school principal approved the leave, but the superintendent turned it down. Gwen felt that something more substantive should be done to show support for her colleague and to enable her to return after a year's leave. Gwen believed it was a mistake to refuse the leave to a teacher who was really "impeccable" in her work. Gwen asked the woman if she would mind if Gwen contacted the superintendent. Her colleague did not mind, so Gwen called the superintendent. He discussed Gwen's concerns but maintained his original position. When I asked what had enabled her to make this contact and register her protest she said, "I think a certain level of confidence and maybe a sort of belief that's slowly in place or it's in place at times that I'm not going to be swallowed up by the earth, that really bad things aren't going to happen to me." The implication here is that in speaking up something "really bad" could happen to her. In response to the question about what was

gained by this action, Gwen's comment was an affirmation of her own commitment to activism.

> Um, well just that I, it's part of my relearning process, of what I can do around anger. And what I can do around activism. And also, I guess, there's still this part of me that wants to believe that you know, if you're a forceful enough thorn, one thorn might be all that it takes sometimes. You know, that you don't need the whole bush maybe, if it's one big fucking thorn in your side. Maybe you will listen….You know, so I don't, I guess maybe I feel someday it really will work. Or maybe somebody's watching. Maybe another colleague will be empowered, who won't feel so alone.

While Gwen stated that "confidence" was behind her ability to initiate the contact with the superintendent, there was still the hint of a threat. Her description of herself as "being a forceful enough thorn," and suggesting that perhaps "another colleague [would] feel empowered," present a picture of a woman who believed her actions could matter in spite of the obstacles. She did act but there was some danger of reprisals from administrators.

Like Jean, Gwen presents a rather solitary image of a teacher. Both women said that they would welcome more action from their colleagues, but they managed to speak up and seemed to find the capacity to act primarily within themselves. While there is something admirable in Jean's and Gwen's strength as individuals, the sense of isolation they have experienced is problematic. Sharon Welch, in discussing the ethic of risk she sees at work in the literature of African American women, notes the importance of community members who support risk-taking by engaging in constructive activism themselves. The presence of such a community enables the action to have a more powerful effect, it offers support and inspiration, and it can offer comfort and rest when the risk of speaking or acting seems too great.[14] But these women appear to have no such support. I recall Gwen's words that in her school there was no one "[she] would like to grow up and be like."

The literature on women, anger, and self esteem tends to emphasize the value of a woman's ability to identify and address her anger. The focus is on individual psychological strength and health. The stories of the three women in this study underscore the importance of that message, but they also illuminate the role that school contexts play in working against the women's expression of anger, urging them to remain silent and thus not to cause trouble. The consequences they face have quite a range, including the potential denial of tenure, the non-hiring of other African American teachers, the isolation faced when one is the only oppositional voice, and, of course, the loss of self-esteem if they don't give voice to their anger.

I began this study with the intention of learning from women teachers about the situations in schools that make them angry. I was also curious about the circumstances that enabled them to take action on their anger and those that impeded action or voice. While I did engage these questions with the women in this study, I also learned about the importance of the relational culture of schools.

The stories Cynthia, Jean, and Gwen tell are not particularly dramatic or sweeping. The occasions in which the women must decide to act or to refrain from action are commonplace. But therein lays their sinister quality. These stories spotlight the ways in which they have to struggle to maintain their energy and commitment to their work in order to be true to themselves and do something of value for students or colleagues in their schools. Certainly, such moments are likely to occur more frequently in school environments where institutional sexism, racism, and hierarchical power structures are unexamined.

Some Considerations for Teacher Education

These interviews with Cynthia, Jean, and Gwen reinforce the research on women and anger. They illustrate how the anger these teachers experience helps them identify something wrong in their relationships. Their creative aggression in addressing their anger signals some forward movement in their relationships with superiors, their heightened self respect, and in Jean's case the approval of a previously rejected proposal for teacher development. The teachers' inability to address their anger results in the triumph of the status quo. Cynthia also suffers an assault on her self-esteem and a sense that she is an ineffective student advocate. However, the interviews also extend the research on women and anger by highlighting the ways in which social relations within institutions and institutional expectations for women's behavior operate to discourage women from knowing their anger and acting on that knowledge. Cynthia's fear concerns not receiving tenure and of limiting opportunities for other African American teachers. Gwen reveals that teachers have been written up for speaking out at faculty meetings, and the effect on the faculty has been chilling. The costs are clear and the women feel silenced. Their stories challenge me to consider how we prepare teachers, who are largely female, to fully and thoughtfully bring their emotional knowledge into their work.

Much of what these three women share revolves around the issue of speaking up when they experience anger.[15] As Jack argues, speaking up is a form of creative aggression in response to anger. It is also a form of advocacy, one of the qualities many teacher education programs are likely to wish to develop in their candidates. The teacher stories suggest that it is important

for women educators to be in touch with their anger and to have the ability to discern how to creatively respond to it. But these are precisely the capacities many females, especially white, middle-class females, do not learn or in some cases unlearn as they move into adolescence.[16] Mindful of a gendered taboo against anger, Jean Baker Miller suggests there is "a need to create empowering relational contexts where anger can be practiced and acknowledged."[17] I think Miller is right. Programs preparing teachers should be places where women and men can rehearse their anger about educational issues and the relational dynamics that may interfere with productive educational practice.

Cynthia, Jean, and Gwen additionally illustrate how a norm of compliance within their schools reinforces their struggles to identify and respond to their anger. We are reminded of this in the implicit and sometimes explicit labeling of one who speaks out against a school practice or attitude as problematic. In one portion of her narrative, Gwen used the word *troublemaker* three times to illustrate her colleagues' negative reaction toward anyone who challenged or raised questions. Cynthia also explained how the power of this pejorative label, coupled with her vulnerable position in the school as untenured and one of three African American teachers, contributed to her silence and consequently her bad feelings about herself.

Dana Jack identifies the power dynamics that shape the tendency to label and punish one who asserts her will in the workplace. She argues that "conflict, saying no, standing one's ground are ways of being connected to others; they are simply ways that hold more force and 'self' than compliant disappearance. But they signal insubordination within a model of gender relations based on male dominance."[18] Cynthia, Jean, and Gwen identify this struggle in their schools, enabling us to see something of the school cultures that work to silence them.

The recognition that these individual stories illuminate larger school cultures recalls an additional insight of Dana Jack that self-esteem is not created by the individual alone.[19] The ability to recognize one's anger and to choose whether and how to construct a response to it are connected to a woman's ability to see herself as a subject. Cynthia, Jean, and Gwen attest to this connection as they describe feelings of confidence and self-esteem when they are able to address the situations leading to their anger. Consequently, contexts where women feel subject to sanctions for addressing their anger are likely to have a negative impact on how the women see themselves. I doubt that any school administrator would be happy to hear that his or her school culture plays a part in diminishing the self-esteem of its female teachers. But this is the case for Cynthia, Jean, and Gwen.

In the early nineties, Kathleen Casey interviewed progressive women activists who had left the teaching profession. She wanted to discover their

motivation for leaving a field to which they had once felt deeply committed. She wrote, "According to these narratives, the trouble with American education is not its teachers, but the oppressive system within which they must work. In conjunction with the larger social structure, the educational organization generates problems which are then blamed on its victims."[20]

Casey's conclusion is similar to mine. I feel great sadness to think of the number of passionate, competent women who became discouraged and resigned or chose to leave teaching because of the awareness that they could not bring their full knowledge and voice into their work and their schools. In reflecting on ways to assist women educators, it is also necessary to consider how we might facilitate the ability of all educators to hear and respond to the anger of others. I think particularly of Cynthia, who assessed a situation in which teachers were making disrespectful and racist remarks about students. She did not speak up to her colleagues because she did not feel confident that her critique would be received as legitimate. One additional factor for Cynthia was her African American identity. She measured her anger not only in relation to her gender but also in relation to her race. Indeed, Cynthia and Jean interrogated their anger intensely in order not to be dismissed as just *another angry black woman*.

In considering how to introduce teacher candidates and other educators to the desirability of being open to the anger of others, it may be useful to draw on a distinction made by Francis Seeburger in his identification of *defensive anger*. This form of anger is likely to be at work when one's position, power, or dominance is challenged. Defensive anger is about defending privilege, tends to be triggered through fear, and is often a response to words or actions arising from another's indignation or sense of injustice.[21] For example, Cynthia's anger about the disrespectful comments toward students would be considered an *anger of indignation*. If she addressed her colleagues and they insulted her, dismissed her, or put her down for her remarks, indicating an inability to receive/listen to/take seriously her position, their behavior would be an effort to defend their comments or their right to make them. Since this incident occurred within a larger context of institutional racism, the privilege of the dominant group would be reasserted. Defensive anger is often at work in the larger culture and is reflected in the school culture as well. Ann Berlak and Sekani Moyenda write about the tensions between the anger of the underrepresented and oppressed versus the anger of the dominant group in classrooms and schools.

> Denigration of the passionate expression of anger by those who set and reinforce social norms weakens dissent and drains the energy from challenges to the status quo. But because they are so ubiquitous in our society, prohibitions against expressing anger eventually

> come to seem normal, and the ways in which they are embedded in power relations are shaped by and serve the racial, ethnic, gender, class and academic hierarchies and have become invisible.[22]

The melding of defensive anger and conventional ideas of what constitutes a hospitable classroom or school environment can work to silence the anger of indignation on the part of teachers and students, forcing the knowledge carried within this kind of anger underground or allowing for its dismissal as the ranting of irrationality. Thus the critique is lost and the status quo is unchallenged. Indeed, Cynthia said she wished to be able to speak to her colleagues in a way that was "not emotional, not screaming and yelling, but in a way that would effect change." This statement revealed her awareness of the delicacy she needed to frame her words in order not to upset those with more power. While it is certainly valuable to help all teacher candidates discern how to express their anger most effectively, it is equally essential to assist these candidates in understanding their own potential defensive anger and its power to silence those whose voices have historically been underrepresented.

The stories of Cynthia, Jean, Gwen, and the other women I interviewed both sadden and inspire me. I marvel at the resiliency of teachers and at the many compromises they feel they must make in their work. These compromises impact them personally and professionally. They also affect students. While these narratives about anger in schools come from individual women, they signal larger concerns. The interviews raise issues of emotional knowledge, how it is developed and expressed within individuals and communities, namely in school communities. The interviews also raise questions about how school cultures are constructed to reinforce existing practices and power dynamics. Both the individual and social dimensions of these stories have relevance for the preparation of teachers. At the least I hope the voices of Cynthia, Jean, and Gwen will help teacher candidates reassess the norms in schools that define voices of conflict by women as problematic.

Notes

[1] Lyn Mikel Brown, *Raising Their Voices: The Politics of Girls' Anger* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 12.

[2] Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider* (Trumansburg, New York: The Crossing Feminist Press, 1984), 21-22.

[3] Parker Palmer, *To Know as We Are Known: Education as Spiritual Journey* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 107.

[4] See Anita Barrows, "The Light of Outrage: Women, Anger, and Buddhist Practice," in *Buddhist Women on the Edge*, ed. Marianne Dresser (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 1996), 51-56; Mary Field Belenky, *Women's Ways of Knowing* (New

York: Basic Books, 1986); Theresa Bernardez, "Women and Anger: Cultural Prohibitions and the Feminine Ideal" (work in progress, no. 31) Wellesley, MA: Stone Center Working Paper Series, 1988; Lyn Mikel Brown, *Raising Their Voices: The Politics of Girls' Anger* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Lyn Mikel Brown and Carol Gilligan, *Meeting at the Crossroads* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992); Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982); Carol Gilligan, "Joining the Resistance: Psychology, Politics, Girls, and Women," in *Michigan Quarterly Review* 24, no. 4 (Fall 1990) : 501-436.

[5] Lorde, *Sister Outsider*, 127; Beverly Harrison, *Making the Connection: Essays in Feminist Social Thought* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985); Sharon Welch, *A Feminist Ethic of Risk* (Minneapolis, MN : Fortress Press, 2000), 70.

[6] Dana Jack, *Behind the Mask: Destruction and Creativity in Women's Aggression* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999. Drawing on Frances Seeburger's *Emotional Literacy: Keeping Your Heart* (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1997 (1997), Megan Boler differentiates between two forms of anger: the anger of indignation and the anger of defensiveness. The former is felt when one perceives something as an injustice against oneself or some other person. The latter emerges in response to fear, a sense that one is threatened, that one's beliefs or identity is being challenged. This form of anger is likely to be activated when one's privilege, power, or dominance is defied or attacked. The key difference is that an anger of defensiveness is about defending privilege. While these distinctions may feel somewhat slippery, they can assist in the scrutiny of anger, thus helping to recognize its complexities and safeguard against its dismissal, denunciation, or idealization. See Megan Boler, *Feeling Power: Emotions and Education* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 190-192.

[7] Sonia Nieto, *What Keeps Teachers Going?* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2003), 74.

[8] Margaret Saylor and Gayle Denham, "Women's Anger and Self-esteem, in *Women and Anger*, ed. Sandra Thomas (New York: Springer Publishing Company, 1993), 92.

[9] Jack, *Behind the Mask,* 241.

[10] *The Listening Guide* calls for multiple readings of each interview. Each reading focuses on a particular voice of the narrator, i.e. the self, and demands close attention to language, images, repetitions, and recorded reactions of the reader's/listener's response to the narrator's/speaker's words and story. These multiple approaches offer various ways to discern and check emerging themes against each other. See Carol Gilligan, Renee Spencer, M. Katherine Weinberg, and Tatiana Bertsch, *On the Listening Guide* in *Qualitative Research in Psychology: Expanding Perspectives in Methodology and Design*, eds. Paul M. Camic, Jean E. Rhodes, and Lucy Yardley (American Psychological Association, 2003). See also Barbara Miller, "Adolescent Friendship: A Pilot Study," unpublished qualifying paper, Harvard Graduate School of Education, Cambridge, MA, 1988; Matthew B. Miles and Michael Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1984).

[11] Gerda Lerner, *The Dance of Anger* (New York: Harper & Row, 1985); Jack, *Behind the Mask,* 241.

[12] Sharon Welch, *A Feminist Ethic of Risk* (Minneapolis, MN : Fortress Press, 2000), 70.

[13] Nieto, *What Keeps Teachers Going?,* 65.

[14] Welch, *A Feminist Ethic of Risk,* 8.

[15] Jack, *Behind the Mask*, 46.

[16] Lyn Mikel Brown and Carol Gilligan, *Meeting at the Crossroads*; Lyn Mikel Brown, *Raising Their Voices: The Politics of Girls' Anger* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

[17] Jean Baker Miller,"The Construction of Anger in Women and Men," in *Womens' Growth in Connection*, ed. Judith V. Jordan (New York: The Guilford Press, 1991), 193.

[18] Jack, *Behind the Mask,* 245.

[19] Ibid., 241.

[20] Kathleen Casey, *I Answer with My Life: Life Histories of Women Teachers Working for Social Change* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 192.

[21] Francis Seeberger, *Emotional Literacy: Keeping Your Heart* (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1997), 47.

[22] Ann Berlak and Sekani Moyenda, *Taking It Personally: Racism in the Classroom from Kindergarten to College* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 108. This text offers a rich exploration of how an anger of indignation and defensive anger interact in a graduate education classroom.

Note to Readers:

The book reviews that follow include reviews of both current and older works selected by the Guest Editors of this Special Issue. The books reviewed represent literature of potential interest to writers who specialize in biography related to the theme of this Special Issue.

Book Review:

Titone, *Gender Equality in the Philosophy of Education: Catherine Macaulay's Forgotten Contribution*

Julie M. Davis

The University of Oklahoma

Connie Titone. *Gender Equality in the Philosophy of Education: Catherine Macaulay's Forgotten Contribution.* New York: Peter Lang, 2004. ISBN: 0-8204-5174-6. 173 pages.

"The very word respect brings Mrs. Macaulay to my remembrance. The woman of the greatest abilities, undoubtedly, that this country has ever produced.—And yet, this woman has been suffered to die without sufficient respect being paid to her memory. Prosperity, however, will be more just . . ."–Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman,* 1792

Over 200 years after Mary Wollstonecraft expressed her appreciation for Catherine Macaulay, Connie Titone's *Gender Equality in the Philosophy of Education: Catherine Macaulay's Forgotten Contribution* (2004) has helped to ensure that Macaulay's contribution to educational philosophy will be recognized.[1] Titone's reclamation of Macaulay's treatise on educational thought—*Letters on Education with Observations on Religious and Metaphysical Subjects* (1790)—is an act with greater intentionality than simply remembering. It presents a deliberate, provocative call to credit the originality of Macaulay's

appeal for public, coeducational schools and gender equity and to re-examine the spiritual premise of her educational thought. Titone invites us to critically examine the reasons why Macaulay's contributions have largely been discounted and forgotten. Why is there so little written about her? Why are reproductions of her work not widely available in critical reading editions? There is a dearth of primary and secondary sources for Macaulay researchers, which this engrossing book begins to redress.

Given Macaulay's obscurity in the historical record of what is largely a male-authored cannon of western, educational thought, the impact of her ideas in shaping late modern notions of coeducation is inestimable—we cannot know the Enlightenment and 19th century pedagogical thought that responded directly or indirectly to Macaulay when so little mention of her work is credited. Perhaps Macaulay is overlooked for the same reason that Wollstonecraft's coeducational philosophy went largely unclaimed for almost 200 years—Macaulay, like Wollstonecraft, died a *scandalous* woman. A noble woman by birth, Macaulay was largely self-educated in philosophy and history after being taught to read literature befitting a girl of her social class—"fairy tales, romances, and the Bible."[2] After marrying her first husband at age 29 and giving birth to her daughter, she began her career as a historian with the publication in 1763 of the first book in her eight-volume history of England. At this point, Macaulay was accepted as a public intellectual and political voice, renowned for the "manly" strength of her thinking.[3] Up through the time of her second marriage at age 47 to a man 26 years her junior of a questionable background, Macaulay was a lauded if somewhat eccentric public figure. After her second marriage, although she continued to travel, write, and correspond with leading political figures,[4] she was judged by her contemporaries to be a *manly* woman—a virago—certainly not a person whose educational thought for children was worthy of merit.

Titone presents what she terms Macaulay's proto-feminist thought both in the detailed excerpts from *Letters* she helpfully includes and in a charged, imaginary three-way debate she constructs among Macaulay and two well-respected contemporary women writers, Hester Chapone and Stephanie de Genlis, on the proper role and form of education for young girls. This imagined conversation clarifies Macaulay's thought, making it more accessible to late modern readers and revealing what can be described as a Christian-feminist cosmological perspective. Macaulay's idea is that humanity's true potential can only be grasped when we recognize that we are all, male and female, reflections of a perfect, gender-transcendent God. In response to Rousseau's *Emile,* which Chapone and Genlis thought well of, Macaulay criticizes his plan for separate, gender-defined educational experiences. She declares that Rousseau's premise that it takes a man and woman together to equal one whole, moral person"insults God."[5] Recalling the contributions of education-

al philosopher Jane Roland Martin, Titone concludes that teaching a history of western educational thought that describes the influence of Rousseau while neglecting mention of Macaulay's response creates a false, linear sense of development in western Educational Philosophy.[6]

Titone ends her book with a focus on what a study of Macaulay's *Letters* may bring to teacher education. She asks us to consider what might happen if teachers began with Macaulay's assumption that children came into their care not as lacking but as whole persons, reflective of divine perfection. "If we were committed to shaping our approach and practices to bring this vision into the clear, as Macaulay suggests, how radically different might our approaches and outcomes be?"[7] Titone does not assert a delimiting religious perspective when she asks this question. Rather, she suggests that the inclusion of primary sources like Macaulay's *Letters* in pre-service teacher education may redress the "narrowing and stultifying effect" of studying what is taken for granted as the foundational cannon of educational philosophy.[8] "Engaging primary source materials and illustrating forgotten or formerly invisible lines of reasoning that express divergent perspectives provide an almost foolproof way of initiating and sustaining the preservice teacher's process of intellectual and identity transformation."[9] In her call for the recognition of Macaulay's letters as a *legitimate* work of western educational philosophy and its inclusion in teacher education, Titone is calling for a denial of persistent, discriminatory behaviors and a rejection of the thesis that gender-divisions are a natural human condition.

Notes

[1] Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman.* Sylvia Tomaselli, ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 188.

[2] Connie Titone, *Gender Equality in the Philosophy of Education: Catherine Macaulay's Forgotten Contribution* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 18.

[3] Titone, 20.

[4] Titone, 21.

[5] Titone, 75.

[6] Titone, 138.

[7] Titone, 147-148.

[8] Titone, 152.

[9] Titone, 152.

Book Review:
White, *The Beecher Sisters*

Susan Birden
Buffalo State College

Barbara A. White. *The Beecher Sisters*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003, ISBN: 0-300-09927-4. 399 pages.

While a title like *The Beecher Sisters* may sound like just another dry academic biography, nothing could be further from the case in Barbara A. White's depiction of the large and famous family of Puritan minister Lyman Beecher. The book is meticulously researched and eminently scholarly, but the story of these larger-than-life characters is so skillfully and engagingly rendered that it reads like a novel. Admittedly, White received a great deal of help from the Beechers themselves. Not only were they one of the United States' most influential families of the nineteenth century, but Lyman Beecher and most of his four daughters and seven sons were embroiled in many of the public controversies that rocked the nation. In forums, books, and newspapers they wrangled over doctrine, abolitionism, women's rights, and immigration, contending with religious leaders, statesmen, the *literati,* and frequently, one another. In private, and sometimes in embarrassingly public ways, the siblings debated one another's beliefs, integrity, and on occasion, sanity.

Catharine Beecher, the oldest of the Beecher siblings, was referred to by Lyman Beecher as "the best of my boys." Departing from her Calvinist upbringing, Catharine lamented women's exclusion from the ministry, the profession which all of her seven brothers entered. Catharine poured her energies into women's education, founding three academies for girls, and

arguing through her many books, articles, and frequent speaking tours that "women's ministry" was found in teaching, homemaking, and nursing. Catharine herself performed none of these roles, since she never married or kept a home, and preferred educational administration over teaching. This irony was not lost on her detractors, particularly the men in her own family. Catharine's success as an author also thrust her into the limelight as a commentator on national affairs, but her socially conservative views often set her in direct opposition to her sisters and other family members.

Catharine Beecher's confident public persona found expression within her family as a much-loved, but exasperating, meddler. She often arrived unexpectedly at family members' homes for extended visits, and once, without consulting the niece with whom Catharine was staying, fired the entire household staff. Occasionally Catharine promised financial help to one sibling, but then billed each family member for his/her share. Although well-intentioned, Catharine's single-mindedness and self-assurance made her a dreaded houseguest and constant disruption to family harmony.

Of the four Beecher sisters, only Mary Beecher Perkins, the second of Lyman Beecher's daughters, lived predominantly out of the public eye. Mary seemed content in the traditional role of homemaker and mother. That said, her more famous sisters sought her advice and counsel throughout their lives.

The third Beecher daughter, Harriet Beecher Stowe, turned her early interest in literature into a prolific publishing career, often serving as the primary breadwinner for her husband and children. Harriet, like many of the Beechers, initially opposed abolitionism, but the passage of the infamous Fugitive Slave Law outraged even conservative northerners. At the suggestion of a sister-in-law, Harriet agreed to write a book showing the wrongs of slavery. The result was *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* published in 1852. The uproar the book caused was immediate and the fledgling author was completely unprepared for both the praise and denunciations. Harriet became a national and international celebrity, but was also the target of stinging editorials. Although none of her later works gained the same popularity, she wrote dozens of novels and was credited with pioneering the women's tradition of local color realism.

White's book intertwines the lives and fortunes of all the Beechers, but the starring role undoubtedly belongs to the youngest of the sisters, the lesser-known Isabella Beecher Hooker. Isabella converted to the cause of abolitionism long before her sisters, primarily through the informal education she received from, and with, her husband, John Hooker. Because of John's poor eyesight, Isabella read for him in the evenings. Together they studied the law, conceptualized arguments against slavery, and became active in the abolitionist movement. When the end of the Civil War brought eman-

cipation for slaves, Isabella suddenly became a Beecher without a cause. Her search eventually led her to the women's rights movement where Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were only too happy to place her in a leadership position because of the influential Beecher name. Isabella spent the rest of her life speaking, organizing, writing, and lobbying for women's property rights, equal treatment under the law, and suffrage, constantly supported by John's legal mind and advocacy.

Eccentric and self-aggrandizing, in Isabella's later years she frequently was thought insane, by both friends and foes. Indeed, her steadfast support of the vilified spiritualist, suffragist, and "free love" advocate, Victoria Woodhull, nearly landed Isabella in an asylum. When Woodhull accused Isabella's brother, Henry Ward Beecher, the most famous minister of the nineteenth century, of having affairs with women in his congregation, Isabella championed Woodhull and urged Henry to confess. The Beecher brothers closed ranks against Isabella, publicly denounced her, and were almost successful in having her committed. Backing the infamous Woodhull against a male family member and minister of Beecher's stature, and in the face of vehement opposition from her family, brought both public and private humiliation and ostracism. Her sisters ultimately forgave her, but not all in her family did likewise.

The Woodhull crisis not only very nearly ruined Isabella Beecher Hooker's life, but it marred the women's rights movement for years afterward. Yet, Isabella remained a passionate advocate for equality and democracy, and unlike many of her colleagues, she refused to set women's suffrage in opposition to male immigrants' search for the ballot, believing that both were necessary and just. Her death in 1907 preceded the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment by thirteen years.

Barbara White's decision to weave the stories of all the Beecher sisters into one book emphasizes the extent to which each of these women was shaped not only by her various public activities, but by the Beecher family expectations for mutual support, social responsibility, and intellectual engagement, even as these qualities often were overlaid with bourgeois arrogance. The four Beecher sisters illustrate the nineteenth century's competing conceptions of womanhood and the inquiry into women's rightful roles in education and politics. Barbara A. White is to be commended for rendering a research project of this scope into a fascinating family portrait that is lively, thoughtful, often humorous, and unfailingly candid.

Book Review:
Mayo, *Disputing the Subject of Sex: Sexuality and Public School Controversies*

Lucy E. Bailey
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Cris Mayo. *Disputing the Subject of Sex: Sexuality and Public School Controversies*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004. ISBN 0-7425-2658-5. 176 pages.

In *Disputing the Subject of Sex,* Cris Mayo utilizes poststructuralist and social constructionist theories to critique how youth are subjected to, and can become Subjects in, discourses and practices that constitute contemporary sex education. She grounds her analysis in case studies of HIV/AIDS education and multicultural curriculum during the late 1980s and early 1990s in which conceptions of "community membership, schooling and sexuality collided" (xiii), and in the process, highlights the complex forces shaping citizens' battles over what constitutes appropriate sex education for American youth. As critical scholars have noted, funding, state policy, school boards and local communities in a given setting profoundly shape the education, practices, and identities available to its youth. The context in which Mayo situates her analysis is curricular debates in New York State, yet the usefulness of her poststructuralist animation of power relations in sex education and identification of spaces of resistance in schools extend well beyond the local controversies under study. To Mayo, citizenship rights are at stake in youth's access to a "broader understanding of sexual meaning, practices and identities" (xiv) that can aid them in becoming the Subjects of their own sexual lives.

Mayo's theoretically-rich scrutiny of discourses, curricula, and practices

enriches scholarship intended to advance more socially just visions of sex education. Her analysis is grounded in substantive critiques of conventional approaches to sex education: its mechanistic preoccupation with abstinence, disease and risk; its disconnection from the lived experiences of contemporary youth; its gendered silences that construct females as passive subjects rather than sexual agents; and its staunch and constitutive hetero-normative orientation that privileges heterosexuality, renders sexual minorities invisible, and concretizes static understandings of sexual identities and practices. Just as Pillow argues that pregnant and mothering teens don't "fit" in contemporary educational spaces,[1] Mayo demonstrates that schools and standard curricula offer few spaces for diverse sexual identities, meanings, and practices to flourish. What curriculum too often "neglects to consider," Mayo insists, is, "how adolescents themselves arrange and understand their own sexual lives" (xix).

In Part I of her text, "Identity, Sexuality and Theory," Mayo details the rationale for her theoretical allegiances. She acknowledges sexual minorities' "debt" (4) to liberal and communitarian theories, yet she suggests liberalism's dependence on a stable subject and focus on individual rights in the private sphere is insufficient for the public issue of sex education. More useful to Mayo is the poststructuralist focus on the constitution of particular identities and practices through power relations and its destabilizing of the notion of a unified subject or "natural" or "authentic" sexualities. To Mayo, Foucault and Butler's theories of the subject as contingent, partial and fluid create spaces of resistance in schools that tend to "demarcat[e] proper from improper identity" and to "inscrib[e] boundaries around particular identities and activities" (28). Students, she cautions, must take care in "how they understand themselves through categories" (28) because embracing such essences can normalize rather than liberate.

Similarly, Mayo provides significant support for her argument that communitarian theories' privileging of commonalities can foreclose diversity, difference, and disputes within communities, thereby silencing minority interests. In Part II, she analyzes "Curricular Definitions of 'Community' and 'Sex'" in HIV/AIDS curriculum in New York State that limit identities, practices, and meanings. She argues that the *AIDS Instructional Guide* (1987) and its creators enact a "heterosexual community" in which "a particular form of sex activity constantly [takes over] the meaning of sex" (85). Boards' tailoring of "sex and HIV education to suit the [dominant] character of their communities" (38) can enact conceptions of "community" that legitimize particular perspectives and members, such as school officials, clergy and "concerned parents," (48) while delegitimizing those of sexually-active students, sexual minorities, and those who advocate including topics dominant community members deem "offensive."

Significantly, such discursive machinations do not simply silence dissenters, but render them, including diverse youth, as outsiders to the community. Indeed, parents' right to "opt out" of "offensive" material in effect undermines their children's rights to access information at odds with parents' values or those of the broader "community." If "children differ substantially in identity from their parents," if they "do not conform to their community's norms," Mayo argues, then there may be "no one to represent their needs as part of the community" (39). Parents too often "prioritize" their own rights, freedoms, and comfort rather than "cultivating future freedoms for children" (9).

In Part III, "Complex Identity and Curricular Debates," Mayo analyzes public debate surrounding efforts to include sexual orientation in New York City's multicultural curriculum and additional curricula initiatives that nourish new forms of sexuality and identity. Maintaining a broad view of curriculum, she explores the nuances of multicultural debates, including the relational, unstable, and mutually-constituting elements of identity categories (e.g. gay/straight), the fears that including material about LGBT issues in curricula impel youth to become gay, and conservatives' cooptation of minority status to protest gays' increasing visibility. Mayo reminds us that debates concerning whether sexual minorities are as entitled to "legitimate" minority status and curricular representation as ethnic minorities pit minority groups against each other and depend on artificial binaries that whiten gay sexuality and "heterosexualize race" (xx).

Mayo locates subversive potential for youth in school spaces such as Gay-Straight alliances and curricula that creates new forms of sexuality and identity. Particularly compelling in this section is Mayo's reading of practices such as "abstinence oaths" and "secondary virginity" as emergent forms of identity and sexuality that "bring talk about sex into public spaces" even as they encourage youth to utter public refusals to engage in sex (119). To Mayo, these public articulations and "productive refusals" (139) produce a kind of sexual speech that curricula and classrooms often foreclose, and provide promising avenues to nourish female agency and new adolescent identities and subjectivities (138). Similarly, she views Gay-Straight Alliances (GSAs) as particularly productive arenas for adolescents to question normative messages about gender and sexuality, take up varied identities and practices, forge new associations, and develop forms of ethicality rooted in difference (160).

Mayo's insightful analysis reveals that the anticipation of controversy in schooling too often nourishes power relations that undermine the transformative potential of curriculum and subjugate minority interests to the understandings of the dominant. Yet, like many critical scholars of sex education, Mayo's audience may well be limited to those who share her critical spirit and

dissatisfaction with enduring inadequacies and injustices of sex curricula. Even as poststructuralist analyses artfully trace the intricacies of power relations, they inevitably collide with a positivist and realist field busy tallying teen pregnancies, welfare costs, and sexually transmitted diseases.

The funding and politics that fuel the prominence of abstinence-only education continue to pose formidable challenges to educators to provide relevant sex education for youth and to scholars to provide critical tools that will help navigate this complex and polarizing terrain. In this mission, Mayo's text serves as a useful model for examining sexuality-based power dynamics, controversies, initiatives—and spaces of resistance—in multiple contexts.

[1]W. Pillow, *Unfit Subjects: Education policy and the teen mother*. (New York: Routledge, 2004).

Book Review:
Stitzlein, *Breaking Bad Habits of Race and Gender*

Stephanie Burrell
Fairfield University

Sarah Marie Stitzlein. *Breaking Bad Habits of Race and Gender*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008. ISBN 978-0742563599. 144 pages.

In December 2006, six Black youth were charged with attempted murder after a White student was assaulted during a school fight in Louisiana. The story of the Jena Six provides a powerful example of racial tension in schools and society. In *Breaking Bad Habits of Race and Gender*, Sarah Stitzlein provides a compelling analysis of how schools can be instrumental in helping students learn to embody their race and gender in flexible ways to alleviate conflicts in schools. The author uses a pragmatist and poststructuralist lens to describe and analyze John Dewey's conceptualization of habits and Judith Butler's work on gender performativity to construct her theoretical framework. Her work provides readers with both a revealing examination of identity in schools and a conceptual framework to explain the impact of inflexible habits in actual classroom settings. The final chapter includes recommendations and vivid examples for educators to improve relations among students from diverse backgrounds and challenge hierarchies that exist between social groups.

Stitzlein contends that educational philosophers and social theorists have not fully examined how we as individuals perform (appear, speak, act)

our race and gender on a daily basis and the impact these habitual performances have on classroom interactions between students. She argues that contemporary theories of oppression have left social justice educators without a solid conceptual framework to create effective curricula and pedagogies to combat prejudice. Moreover, in her opinion, students have been taught about social justice "abstractly" without being shown how best to react to difference; especially in new situations. When habits prevent effective interaction between students they are no longer useful, according to Stitzlein, and need to be replaced with ones that are intellectual and socially just. Furthermore, she asserts that if students are taught in schools how to embody their racial and gender identities flexibly, incidents like Jena Six can be prevented. For these reasons, Stitzlein provides a more nuanced look at identity and classroom events to analyze racial and gender hostility in classrooms.

Stitzlein quotes Dewey's description of habits as "a predisposition to act or a sensitivity to ways of being rather than an inclination to repeat identical acts or content precisely" (17). An example of a habit discussed in the book is the way individuals communicate. The way we position ourselves physically when speaking, our tone or language choice, are features of our communication habits. Individuals may choose to use formal language with their colleagues that include technical terms or specialized jargon specific to the context. However, once they leave their place of business and return home with family and friends their language choice may become more informal and include slang which may be inappropriate or incomprehensible within another context.

Drawing on Dewey, Stitzlein contends that our habits are learned through transactions with society. Cultural norms for example, are enforced through familial relationships and other social institutions like schools. Like Dewey, she believes schools can play a significant role in teaching children to refine their habits since they watch how others speak and act and imitate those behaviors. Butler's work on gender performativity supports this idea by asserting that bodies are socially constructed and the activities they perform gain meaning through labels placed upon them through language. Individuals internalize messages about gender and race and perform the activities normalized for their identity categories. Stitzlein argues that we habitually express race and gender even before we have a concrete understanding of the meanings attached to these socially constructed identities. In turn, we learn, and school children learn, what she calls "the bad habits of race and gender." She uses the following example to illustrate her point.

> Carla, a three-year-old child, is preparing herself for resting time. She picks up her cot and starts to move it to the other side of the classroom. A teacher asks what she is doing. "I need to move this,"

> explains Carla. "Why?" asks the teacher. "Because I can't sleep next to a nigger," Carla says, pointing to Nicole, a four-year-old Black child on a cot nearby. "Niggers are stinky. I can't sleep next to one." Stunned, the teacher, who is white, tells Carla to move her cot back and not to use "hurting words." Carla looks amused but complies (23)

Stitzlein believes most educators would describe Carla as holding racist beliefs. Instead, she maintains that Carla has developed a bad habit over time, an "inclination to avoid black people and maintain a separate space" (p.24). To combat situations like this in the classroom, the author suggests implementing a pedagogy that would help students understand open and flexible bodily positions or activities as well as positions that are exclusionary to classmates from different social groups. She suggests engaging students in a drama or dance class to draw attention to how they position their bodies. Stitzlein believes such activities would help students learn to challenge rigid identity categories and develop flexible habits around race and gender.

While I found this analysis to be thought-provoking, it does signal several concerns. First, while the author acknowledges the systemic nature of racism and sexism, she focuses almost exclusively on a micro analysis of oppression that masks the dominant group's role in social injustice. In addition, although Stitzlein criticizes prior theories of oppression as too abstract for students and teachers, I found her work to be open to the same critique. Furthermore, I was surprised to see no evidence from studies of teachers and their students that would support the effectiveness of the approach she advocates for the classroom. Reference to such evidence would have strengthened Stitzlein's argument and enhanced the possibilities for overcoming the "bad habits of race and gender" she describes. Overall, I would recommend this book to educational theorists as a thoroughly scholarly treatment of habit and its consequences in education. Teachers and teachers in training might find that it lacks the practicality necessary for translation within their classrooms.

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