Vitae Scholasticae

The Journal of Educational Biography

Volume 33 Number 1
2016

Vitae Scholasticae
Volume 33, Number 1, 2016

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

Members of the International Society for Educational Biography receive each issue of *Vitae Scholasticae* as part of their membership. Subscriptions are available to other individuals for $50 a year and to institutions and libraries for $100 a year (add $40 per year outside of the United States); single copies of issues may be ordered for $50. See form on page 62.

ISSN 0735-1909.

Vitae Scholasticae is indexed in Education Research Complete and the Biography Reference Bank.

Table of Contents

Editor's Note 3
Lucy E. Bailey

Teaching "Is a Pleasure to Me Almost Always":
Continuities and Changes in Three Generations of a Teaching Family 6
Kay Whitehead

Ruth Harris' Principles Helped African American
Students Beat the Odds 30
Vanessa Garry

Bringing Worlds Together: China and America
through the Eyes of Dr. Yali Zhao 47
John S. Crumb and Chara Haeussler Bohan

Book Review:
Sartorius, *Deans of Women and the Feminist Movement:*
Emily Taylor's Activism 68
Linda C. Morice

Book Review:
Gutek and Gutek, *Bringing Montessori to America:*
S.S. McClure, Maria Montessori and the
Campaign to Publicize Montessori Education. 71
Martha May Tevis

Membership Form:
International Society for Educational Biography 74

Subscription Form
Vitae Scholasticae: The Journal of Educational Biography 75

Contributing Authors 76

Editorial Information . . . . . .inside back cover

Information for Contributors . . . . . .inside back cover

Editor's Note

It is my pleasure to introduce the first 2016 issue of *Vitae Scholasticae: The Journal of Educational Biography*. I have been a long-time member of the society and the *VS* editorial board and began my new role as editor in January. As I transition into this role, I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Linda C. Morice for her skilled leadership as Editor of *VS* for the last seven years. Our organization has benefitted tremendously from her multidimensional contributions. I also feel fortunate to have worked closely with Linda on a variety of projects related to our shared interests in educational biography and history, and to have benefitted from her mentorship over the years. I look forward to following her new scholarship as she turns her energy more fully to her biographical work.

This issue features a focus on women educators and leaders whose experiences offer insights into their nuanced intellectual, familial, or political commitments as well as broader social and educational phenomenon shaping their respective contexts: changes in women's lives and work that shape teaching in late 19th to mid-20th century Australia (Whitehead); the power of leadership principles shaping a teacher's college for African-American students in St. Louis, Missouri from 1940-1954 (Garry); and the political and educational context of Xinjiang Province during the Cultural Revolution in China influential for an academic career decades later in the southeastern United States (Crumb and Bohan). Scholarship on women in education has grown considerably since the 1970s, a period of feminist activism which fueled diverse studies on women and underscored the gendered assumptions and silences long-constituting educational thought and practice. Biographical portraits of women as historical actors and agents of knowledge continue to emerge as scholars identify new subjects, data sources, and analytical tools to bring individual lives into focus.

The first essay in this issue, "Teaching 'is a Pleasure to me Almost Always': Continuities and Changes in Three Generations of a Teaching Family," presents Kay Whitehead's analysis of the Hubbe-Caw letters representing three women from different generations of the same fami-

ly of teachers in Australia during the 19th and 20th centuries. Given the scarcity of available inter-generational archival materials, the survival of Edith, Marjorie, and Virginia's letters enables a rare empirically-grounded examination of women's engagement with education among members of families who choose to teach. Complementing Janak's (2012) recent oral histories of multiple generations of a Nebraska teaching family, Whitehead examines letters exchanged among the women and others in their networks other documentary sources to explore the broader changes in work and family life women negotiated within their historical contexts.

In the second essay, "Ruth Harris' Principles helped African American Students Beat the Odds," Vanessa Garry introduces us to the leadership principles of Ruth Harris, a Teacher's College graduate and the first African-American president of Stowe's Teachers College in St. Louis Missouri, who served from 1940 until 1954 when the *Brown* decision went into effect. Garry teases out elements of Harris' lasting influence on school alumni from qualitative interviews with graduates who found the nourishing college climate instrumental for their advancement. Garry describes the important role of the college in providing education for African-American students through Harris' leadership and labor and shares how alumni 'beat the odds' in the pre-*Brown* years to become successful educators and administrators.

Shifting to a contemporary biographical account, co-authors John Crumb II and Chara H. Bohan draw from diverse documents and interviews to trace the journey of Dr. Yali Zhao from her birth in China one year before the Cultural Revolution began to her current position as faculty at Georgia State University. The account, "Bringing Worlds Together: China and American Through the Eyes of Dr. Yali Zhao," foregrounds unique dimensions of Zhao's intellectual life, commitment to education, and experiences with diversity that inform her teaching and scholarship. The researchers ground their work in Zhao's cultural contexts and note the productive complexities of conducting biographical research on/with a colleague.

In this issue we also learn new information about familiar educational figures, such as the founder of the Montessori schools, Maria Montessori, through Martha Tevis' review of Gerald L. and Patricia A. Gutek's new book, *Bringing Montessori to America: S.S. McClure, Maria Montessori, and the Campaign to Publicize Montessori Education* (University of Alabama Press, 2016). Also, Linda C. Morice reviews Kelly Sartorius' text, *Deans of Women and the Feminist Movement: Emily Taylor's Activism* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), and the backdrop of the feminist movement that informs Taylor's leadership at the University of Kansas between 1956 and 1975.

As we move farther into the third decade of *VS*, we will continue the

journal's historic mission to publish articles, special issues, and book reviews on aspects of 'educator's lives, and lives that are educative' in their varied contexts. In an era of corporatization that can too easily erase the complexity of educators' experiences and contributions, the journal remains an important space for preserving such analysis. We welcome traditional biographical accounts as well as a range of new methodologies for examining and narrating lives. In future issues, we plan to provide new spaces for contributors to describe creative pedagogical applications of biographical work. The field of biographical study continues to expand with new theories and technologies that shape conceptions of the biographical subject and opportunities for research in and through on-line resources. We look forward to seeing how scholars put these generation developments to work in their research and teaching.

— Lucy E. Bailey

Notes

[1] Edward Janak, "Revelle"-ing in History: Lessons Learned From a Family of Teachers," *Vitae Scholasticae: The Journal of Educational Biography* 29, no. 1 (2012): 23-37

Teaching "is a Pleasure to Me Almost Always": Continuities and Changes in Three Generations of a Teaching Family

Kay Whitehead

Flinders University in South Australia

In 1931, Marjorie Caw begged her mother, Edith Hubbe,

> Don't burn any old letters Mum, because all our family's letters are worth keeping and it isn't as if we lived in a flat and couldn't afford the room … old letters are real and human so please don't burn.[1]

Edith did keep Marjorie's letters for most of the interwar years and many from other family members, including Marjorie's daughter, Virginia. Marjorie responded in kind so that the Hubbe-Caw letters contain intimate insights into Australian women teachers' lives and work. Using the Hubbe-Caw correspondence and associated sources, this article focuses on three generations of women teachers from the same family whose educational biographies stretch from the mid-nineteenth into the mid-twentieth century. They are Edith Hubbe (nee Cook), 1859-1942, who began her career as a pupil teacher in the fledgling state school system, became well known in the state of South Australia as a leader in the late nineteenth century movement for girls' academic secondary schooling and established a private school. Her daughter, Marjorie Caw (nee Hubbe),

1893-1993, focused on pre-school education as a Montessori kindergarten teacher before marrying a farmer and providing her children's elementary education at home in the state of Western Australia. Marjorie's daughter, Virginia Lee (nee Caw), 1925-2006, also trained as a kindergarten teacher, and taught in urban and rural kindergartens in Australia, and nursery schools in mid-twentieth century England.[2] Together, these women's teaching biographies encompass pre-school, elementary and secondary education, and home schooling as both paid and unpaid work.

Sherwood and Freshwater state that narrative educational biography "should provoke thought about educational issues and provide interest and value for readers through its description of particular aspects of an individual's life".[3] Firstly, Edith, Marjorie and Virginia's individual biographies provide insights into progressive educators' work, thereby complementing studies of women progressive educators in rural and urban contexts.[4] Secondly, intertwining their biographies makes this an important study of a teaching family across three generations, and facilitates discussion of continuity and change in women teachers' work.[5] Furthermore and at the macro-level, Edith, Marjorie and Virginia's teaching lives coincided with significant changes in Australian education, including legislation for mass compulsory schooling in 1875 and the free kindergarten movement in the early twentieth century. Likewise, there were complex shifts in women's lives and work. While marriage and motherhood remained hegemonic across the generations, women's citizenship and relationship to paid work changed over time. South Australian women won the suffrage in 1894, thereby legitimating their participation in the public sphere. At the same time however, married women were being marginalised from paid work by convention and legislation. Indeed, marriage bars were widely applied in the teaching profession from the late nineteenth century. How three generations of a teaching family negotiated changes in education and women's lives is integral to this educational biography.

This article derives from a larger project that explores the transnational career of a teacher educator, Lillian de Lissa (1885-1967), and the lives and work of her Australian and British graduates.[6] Drawing on a range of archival sources, the project explores de Lissa's and graduates' professional and domestic lives, leisure activities and civic participation from their initial work as novice teachers through diverse life paths (including marriage) to their senior years.[7] Marjorie Hubbe was one of de Lissa's Australian graduates and Edith and Virginia's careers also intersected with de Lissa's. This article provides the opportunity to explore their biographies together as a teaching family in more depth than the original project, articulating both shared experiences and differences in their lives and work.

Commencing with Edith Hubbe, I represent three generations of Hub-

be-Caw women as "historical actors who have the agency to shape their lives, and how they do so within limits afforded them by the historical contexts within which they find themselves in each era".[8] Regarding sources for this article, the three women were middle class and well-connected in their communities so their ongoing public work as teachers and as citizens featured in various newspapers. Edith's reminiscences over forty years as a teacher were published in the *Observer* in 1915 and Marjorie became sufficiently well-known to be the subject of oral history interviews in 1979 and 1981.[9] Edith and Marjorie's accounts were mediated by the questions and concerns of the journalists and interviewers, contemporaneous and historical discourses to do with education and women's lives, and their intentions to construct coherent narratives of lives well-lived. In the same manner as women teachers in Weiler's oral history project, Edith and Marjorie "present[ed] themselves and their life choices in ways that challenge hegemonic definitions of women teachers as mothering, self-sacrificing and passive".[10] This is also the case in the aforementioned Hubbe-Caw correspondence, which comprises Marjorie, Edith and Virginia's letters to each other, family members and friends such as de Lissa. Whereas newspapers and oral histories include journalists and researchers' analytical agendas, Stanley describes personal letters as "naturally occurring forms of life writing" that reflect the writer's concerns and their perception of the recipient.[11] Separated geographically for substantial portions of their adult lives, Edith, Marjorie and Virginia's letters were the "material expression of their relationships in that they maintained the flow of contact, exchange, chatter and so forth that would have taken place (in somewhat different ways) when present with each other face to face".[12] Marjorie and Edith exchanged weekly letters about their everyday lives and work: Anecdotes about cooking and cleaning, the weather, family and friends, were interspersed with discussions of books, wireless broadcasts, community activities, international politics, and last but not least, education in its broadest sense. As such, the Hubbe-Caw correspondence provides insights into middle class women's domestic and paid work, personal and professional networks and civic participation, all interwoven with their ongoing commitments to education. The primary focus in reading and analysing the correspondence was to draw out Edith, Marjorie and Virginia's engagement with education across their life courses, not only as teachers, but also as children and mothers. This article, therefore, combines newspaper reports, oral histories and personal correspondence to construct a biography of three generations of a teaching family which demonstrates their agency in negotiating continuity and change in education and women's lives and work.

Edith Cook: Teaching in the State School System

Born in May 1859, Edith Cook was the daughter of early English immigrants to the British colony of South Australia. Her father was farming at the time of her birth but the family had relocated to the capital city of Adelaide by the early 1870s.[13] The Cooks belonged to Adelaide's small but influential Unitarian community. Unitarians were actively involved in the spheres of politics, journalism and education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

> Prominent in discussions of contemporary issues and at the forefront of social reform, subscribers represented every shade of political opinion for the church's principal appeal to well-educated people of substantial means lay in its emphasis on rationality and, in the tradition of nineteenth century liberalism, the right to individual conscience and independent conviction.[14]

Edith spent her childhood and youth in this intellectual and religious environment. She was educated at home by her mother when they lived in the country, and then at Annie Montgomerie Martin's private school along with the sons and daughters of Unitarians in Adelaide.[15] "Imbued with English ideas and sympathies having been nurtured among liberal thinkers", Martin's pedagogy was "quite unconventional" and "successful".[16] Edith thrived under Martin's tuition and likely attended the school at the same time as Lucy Spence (later Morice) who became a life-long friend.[17] Edith was also closely aligned with Spence's aunt, Catherine Helen Spence, a well-known novelist, journalist and social reformer. With another Unitarian, Catherine Helen Spence founded the Boarding Out Society as an alternative to incarcerating children in destitute asylums in 1872, and she was also very interested in the fledgling state school system.[18] The Central Board of Education (CBE) had licensed teachers since 1851 and by the 1870s agitation for compulsory schooling and an expanded state school system was gathering momentum. To that end, Catherine Helen Spence's friend and CBE chairman (later Inspector General), John Anderson Hartley, pressured the government to build a large state school in the centre of Adelaide.[19]

In 1874 Catherine Helen Spence introduced Edith to Inspector General Hartley as a candidate for employment: Edith later recalled that she "headed the list" of examination results, "but not being of the specified age, I had to get permission before I could begin teaching".[20] When Grote Street Model Schools opened in March 1874, the head teachers, assistants and pupil teachers in the boys, girls and infants departments were em-

ployed and paid by the CBE (later Education Department) rather than local trustees as in the USA. Edith began her long teaching career as a pupil teacher in the infants department which was led by Jane Stanes.[21] Cook's three-year apprenticeship was followed by further study at the state training college in 1877, and she also became the first woman to qualify for entrance to the newly established University of Adelaide. Thereafter, she was appointed as second assistant in the girls department at the Grote Street schools.[22]

Meanwhile, in 1875 legislation to introduce mass compulsory schooling for children aged seven to thirteen was passed in South Australia. The 1875 Act also contained provision for state secondary schooling as a pathway to the university.[23] With Catherine Helen Spence's support, Inspector General Hartley was instrumental in promoting rigorous academic secondary and higher education for girls. He secured the establishment of the Advanced School for Girls as the "pinnacle of the state school system" in 1879.[24] In an implied testimony to their intellectual and pedagogical leadership, he recruited Jane Stanes and Edith Cook as head mistress and assistant teacher, and the new school commenced with twenty-nine students. Actively promoted by Hartley until his death in 1896, the Advanced School expanded rapidly and attracted the daughters of Adelaide's leading political, professional and business families in the early years with many graduates proceeding to the University of Adelaide.[25]

Unfortunately Stanes' tenure at the Advanced School was short but she and Edith remained close friends. Stanes' health broke down after a few months and she took leave before resigning in June 1880. Hartley appointed Edith as acting head mistress "as she was under the age required for a head mistress by board regulation".[26] After searching unsuccessfully for a new head mistress, Edith was appointed to the position permanently in October 1881.[27] She was twenty-two years old and full of energy and enthusiasm for her work.

The Advanced School curriculum included "English, French, German, and drawing; and in the upper classes Latin, algebra and Euclid. Edith Cook taught physiology to the three upper classes".[28] Accompanied by some of the girls, she attended Dr Stirling's physiology classes at the University of Adelaide, and she was one of the first pupils to enter Professor Reed's Latin class. Edith attended other classes as a non-graduating student with a colleague, Madeline Rees George.[29] The first public distribution of prizes took place at the Adelaide Town Hall in December 1883 and became an annual event with the Minister of Education presiding, along with Inspector General Hartley. In 1883 Cook presented "a very able and cheerful report" and Hartley "spoke in high terms of the work done under Miss Cook by Miss Thornber and Miss George … they deserved all

the praise he had given them".[30] Advanced School girls "attained greater success in the university examinations" in 1884, "surpassing all private girls schools", and in 1885 a former Advanced School student, Edith Emily Dornwell BSc., became the first woman to graduate from the University of Adelaide.[31] Each year the Minister of Education linked Advanced School students' academic achievements to wider benefits, including waged employment and women's suffrage. In 1884 he argued that the establishment of the Advanced School

> was the legitimate outcome of the tendency of public thought and public opinion in this century. Women were receiving equal rights and privileges with men, and he considered they should have them. If, however, they were to emancipate women, it was only just that the latter should receive equal educational facilities, so that they could make right use of the freedom bestowed upon them.[32]

Women's suffrage was discussed in parliament in 1885, and champions of the Advanced School and women's higher education such as Dr. Stirling were well represented in the Women's Suffrage League, formed in 1888. South Australian women's suffrage was won in 1894, preceded only by the state of Wyoming in the USA (1869) and New Zealand (1893).[33] Thereafter, Edith Cook's close friends, Lucy Morice (nee Spence) and Catherine Helen Spence led the post-suffrage feminist movement.[34]

Edith's teaching career continued alongside her commitments to Unitarianism and marriage. In January 1885 she married Samuel Hubbe and maintained her work at the Advanced School. Hubbe was the son of German Lutheran immigrants but he converted to Unitarianism when he married Edith.[35] By the early 1880s, school systems were refusing to grant initial employment to married women in the state school system, but several married head mistresses were leading Adelaide's state schools. Thus Edith's decision to continue teaching was not unusual for the times, and she remained at the Advanced School until September 1885 when she was six months pregnant.[36] According to her colleagues, the Advanced School "suffered a great loss in the resignation of Mrs Hubbe" and they missed "her clear judgement and kindly sympathies".[37] Inspector General Hartley took the unusual step of writing to her confidentially "you do not need my assurance that it is a great sorrow to me that you have been obliged to sever your connection with the [state education] department. I shall always have very pleasant memories of our intercourse".[38] Overall, Edith's work in the state school system had spanned about a decade, including six years at the Advanced School. Teaching had not only offered intellectual

satisfaction and a salary but she had also earned the respect of the most senior educator in South Australia.

The Hubbes bought a house in Statenborough Street, Knightsbridge, a middle class suburb of Adelaide, and their first daughter, "Rica", was born in December 1885. However, Edith's teaching career had only been suspended temporarily: Early in 1886, Edith and her sister Harriet opened a private school in the Hubbe family home, with Harriet's pupils forming the nucleus of the new venture. Within a few years, the Hubbes had bought, renovated and extended an old church in Statenborough Street and this institution became the well-known Knightsbridge School.[39] Edith gave birth to four more children: "Doll" was born in 1887, followed by Max in 1891, Marjorie in 1893 and "Fritz" in 1895. This was the context in which Edith Hubbe continued her teaching career into the twentieth century and Marjorie Hubbe spent her childhood, youth and teacher preparation.

Edith Hubbe: Teacher as Working Mother

Edith Hubbe's married life as a working mother at Knightsbridge School was underpinned by competent domestic servants. The Hubbes "always had a good general maid" who managed the household, and purchased and cooked food for the family and two or three students who boarded with them.[40] When the maid was granted an occasional "Saturday off", Edith "boiled the potatoes" and the children helped to wash the dishes. Otherwise, Edith was free to teach. She had breakfast with the children and boarders, and departed for school at a quarter to nine, a mere three minute walk away. When she was breastfeeding, the maid took the infant to school at eleven o'clock. Edith went home for the midday meal, already cooked by the maid. Afternoon tea was served when she arrived home at three o'clock.[41]

About eighty children of all ages attended Knightsbridge, including many from Unitarian families. Edith loved teaching and embraced progressive pedagogies during her long career.[42] She experimented with "new ways of teaching reading" and some "good Froebel ideas" with younger children, as well as physiology and botany for the older girls.[43] Harriet Cook was responsible for the English classes and Knightsbridge girls soon appeared in the lists of successful students in the university examinations.[44] Private girls schools dominated the Advanced School in the early twentieth century, but its Old Scholars Association continued to foster a network of well-educated women. Edith and Madeline Rees George, her successor at the Advanced School, were integral to this community of like-minded women educators.[45]

With secondary and higher education for middle class girls proceeding apace and mass compulsory schooling absorbing children aged from seven to thirteen, attention turned to the education of pre-school children. In 1905, Edith was among progressive educators, philanthropists and social reformers who combined to form the Kindergarten Union of South Australia (KUSA). Catherine Helen Spence was the first member and a vice president; Lucy Morice (nee Spence) commenced her long and passionate activism as KUSA's secretary and several former Advanced School teachers joined the general council. Lillian de Lissa was recruited to establish the first free kindergarten for impoverished children in the centre of Adelaide, and private girls' schools soon affiliated their kindergartens with KUSA.[46] De Lissa established the Adelaide Kindergarten Training College (KTC) under KUSA's auspices in 1907. Edith Hubbe was a member of KUSA's executive by 1910 and would continue her involvement in KUSA and the KTC for the rest of her life, along with Morice.[47]

While the availability of domestic servants facilitated working mother Edith Hubbe's commitments to teaching and education, the family structure and dynamics underwent significant change. Samuel Hubbe was employed by the government as a surveyor and "Chief Inspector under the Vermin Destruction Acts" from 1885.[48] His work took him away from the family frequently and for long periods. For example, in 1886 he was required to inspect "rabbit and Bathurst burr destroying parties" in the agricultural lands. Leaving Adelaide in November 1895 to survey the deserts of central and Western Australia, he was absent for more than a year.[49] Next, amidst British and colonial anxieties about the fitness of young recruits in the Boer War, Samuel joined the South Australian Bushman's Corps and left for South Africa in March 1900. He was killed on 14 September 1900, leaving Edith and five children aged from five to fifteen far more reliant on her income from teaching.[50]

Aside from a small war widows pension, Edith was the breadwinner in the Hubbe family, a status that was becoming increasingly rare in the early twentieth century. Interlocking concerns about the fitness of army recruits, a declining birthrate and the "sentimental idealisation of motherhood" increased pressure on married women to withdraw from paid work, including teaching. Then in 1907, the new Australian federal government legislated for a family wage for male workers while limiting women to a single wage, irrespective of their family circumstances. While this legislation did not affect Edith Hubbe directly because she owned her private school, it underpinned the proposition that motherhood and employment were incompatible.[51] Additionally, informal and formal marriage bars were imposed in state education departments. Marjorie Hubbe, her brothers and sisters thus grew up in an era when Australian women's

citizenship had been resolved but their roles were in a state of flux.

A nursery maid looked after Marjorie and her siblings as infants while their mother was at work, and the children began their schooling at Knightsbridge where Marjorie recalled that they "were strictly on a pupil's footing". Along with the student boarders, they gathered around the dining table after the evening meal to do their homework under Edith's supervision while she corrected books.[52] When they grew older, the boys were sent to Prince Alfred College and the girls were prepared for the university examinations at Knightsbridge. Marjorie completed the Junior Public Examination in 1908.[53] Additionally, the Hubbe children participated in the Unitarian community, attending Sunday School where there was a "wonderful children's library … we chose our own book and brought it home and had it for the week".[54] Marjorie read voraciously, both fiction and non-fiction, throughout her life.

Following their formal schooling, Max and Fritz were employed as clerks. Rica completed a BA and medical degree at the University of Adelaide, and set up her medical practice. In 1910 Doll married a prominent Unitarian businessman and Marjorie "passed the Senior [Public Examination] very well and thought … I would stay home happily and enjoy myself".[55] However, her mother and Lucy Morice persuaded her to enrol at the KTC which had just retained its independence after a protracted dispute with the state training college.[56] Supported by Edith Hubbe and her colleagues in private schools, Lucy Morice and KTC principal Lillian de Lissa had successfully resisted attempts to amalgamate both training institutions. Thereafter, KUSA and KTC supporters, including the Hubbe family, refused any association with the state school system (where Edith had begun her career) as the schools were deemed to be focused on traditional rather than progressive education.[57]

Under de Lissa's leadership and with Morice teaching history of education and urging students to stay abreast of post-suffrage politics, the KTC focused on women's agency, not only as progressive teachers but also as citizens. Following Dewey, de Lissa insisted that teachers were "not merely leaders of children but makers of society".[58] The two-year program (with a third year option) comprised work in the free kindergartens every morning, study at the college in the afternoon, and active participation in the KUSA community.[59] Marjorie was not the most conscientious student but she embraced the college's commitments to a universal model of childhood and the Froebelian ideal of learning through play.[60] However, she had great difficulty reconciling theory with practice at Grey Ward Free Kindergarten where she encountered impoverished working class children who disrupted her understanding of childhood and her middle class values. According to de Lissa, Marjorie tended to "give the children

too many ideas and so confuse them, and you are apt to sail along on your own thought leaving them far behind".[61] Setting these issues aside, Marjorie was thoroughly integrated in the KUSA community by virtue of her mother's position on KUSA's executive and her relationships with Morice, de Lissa and students, especially Ella Nicholls (later Keeves). The latter friendship withstood the tests of time and distance as their lives took contrasting paths, but both were committed to making society.

Marjorie graduated at the end of 1913 and set off with Edith on an educational (and leisure) tour of Europe. Madeline Rees George from the Advanced School and three friends accompanied them and they met with Edith's old teacher, Annie Montgomerie Martin, who was living in Italy. They also visited Maria Montessori and were enthused by her approach to early childhood education. They were in England when World War One began and heard that Max and Fritz had enlisted in Australia's volunteer forces.[62]

Returning to Adelaide in February 1915, Edith immediately resumed teaching at Knightsbridge and three months later Marjorie advertised that she had opened a "kindergarten at Mrs Hubbe's residence", more precisely in the big drawing room of the family home.[63] With Max and Fritz fighting in Europe, the Hubbe women were patriotic citizens as well as teachers. Edith's school raised funds for the Wattle Day League Motor Ambulance fund; Marjorie joined a group to provide Christmas gifts for soldiers' children and both were involved in the Red Cross.[64] The family was devastated when Fritz was killed at Pozieres in France and newspapers also reflected on his father's death in the Boer War.[65]

In 1916 Marjorie and her friend Ella Nicholls completed the KTC's postgraduate course on Montessori. Marjorie ordered the equipment from England and she and Ella conducted their schools for the next five years. Marjorie's small private Montessori kindergarten was affiliated with KUSA but served middle class children from Unitarian families rather than impoverished children in the free kindergartens. Most of the girls subsequently attended Knightsbridge and the boys went to private colleges.[66]

In addition to teaching, Marjorie participated actively in the Hubbe family's educational, social, political and religious networks. For example, she attended lectures at Adelaide University with Edith and joined the Kindergarten Graduates Club where members honed their executive and political skills with Morice.[67] In 1919 Marjorie wrote "there have been crowds of very late nights – between two dances, and three fascinating books, and today I dug the garden and separated and replanted rows of chrysanthemums".[68] She also formed a friendship with Alfred Caw, who was her brother Max's friend. Alf and Max had begun share-farming in

the state of Western Australia when Max returned from World War One.[69] Marjorie's decision to marry Alf was not taken quickly or lightly for it entailed giving up her paid work and moving far from her family and the pleasures she enjoyed in the city. She and Edith relinquished their schools at the end of 1921. Edith sold Knightsbridge and retired after a forty-seven year teaching career; Marjorie married Alf in February 1922 and proceeded to a farm in Western Australia, more than 1,600 miles from Adelaide, where she would live for almost forty years.[70]

In essence, there were several similarities and some important differences in Edith and Marjorie's trajectories through childhood and their work as teachers until they married. They were brought up in a religious and educational milieu that valued women's intellectual independence. Both experienced a progressive education and a childhood that was free of obligation to contribute to their family economically. Marjorie's childhood and youth differed from Edith's in that she was compelled by legislation to attend school and remained economically dependent while at the KTC. As a fourteen year old pupil teacher, Edith was already a salaried worker, and marriage and motherhood did not entail cessation of her paid work. There was sufficient flexibility for married women to remain in the profession and Edith continued living in the community in which she taught. By the time Marjorie married Alf, social custom and legislation had repositioned working mothers such as Edith as an anomaly. However, Marjorie had grown up in the post-suffrage era with public encouragement for women to exercise their citizenship in a range of public organisations. The following sections will show that Marjorie reshaped her life in line with her new social and geographic context and that both generations of Hubbe-Caw women maintained their commitments to progressive education.

Marjorie Caw: Teacher as Citizen Mother

The Caws' 7,000 acre wheat and sheep farm was situated about twenty miles from the nearest township, Kojonup, where their son "Billec" was born in January 1923. Virginia ("Babe") was born in January 1925. Alf employed a farm labourer and a maid for Marjorie.[71] Throughout the interwar years, Marjorie worked alongside various maids, some of whom reminded her of the "rapscallions in the free kindergartens".[72] Aside from weekly supplies of staples such as bread and flour from Kojonup, the Caws were self-sufficient. There was no need to buy meat; a couple of cows provided milk and Marjorie was in charge of the poultry, selling eggs and turkeys to "pay nicely for Christmas extras".[73] Gardening was a pleasure, not a chore, and Marjorie's garden was full of ornamental plants, fruit trees and vegetables, so preserving excess produce was added to the

everyday domestic work of preparing meals, washing, cleaning and childcare.[74] In April 1928 she proclaimed to Edith, "I have turned into quite a housekeeper. I said I had to but I can unturn any time I like".[75]

Never short of confidence and well aware of her obligations as a maker of society, Marjorie asserted that "it is a waste for people with useful executive brains to do nothing but blasted house cleaning and cooking which less good brains would do as well and more happily".[76] Thus citizen Marjorie put her executive brain and the skills she had learnt at the Kindergarten Graduates Club to good use in the local community. Her principal leadership role was president of the Kojonup branch of the Country Women's Association (CWA), a national organisation of rural women.[77] Because she could not drive a car, Marjorie called meetings to coincide with Alf's meetings and the CWA combined with other organisations to build public facilities, including the Kojonup playground in 1934.[78] And so it was that Marjorie Hubbe transformed from a single woman who "had the least housekeeping knowledge of anybody I know" into a citizen mother in the interwar years.[79] With entrenched marriage bars, the percentage of married women in paid employment declined in Australia. The working mother was replaced by the citizen mother who supported family and nation in the manner of Marjorie Caw.[80]

Concomitant with Marjorie Caw's life as a citizen mother in Western Australia, Edith Hubbe shared the family home with Rica and continued to make society. Doll and her family lived nearby and Edith's Unitarian and educational networks occupied much time and energy.[81] There were plenty of house guests including her old colleague, Jane Doudy (nee Stanes) who had relocated to a rural community and become a well-known novelist.[82] In September 1927, Edith met with former Advanced School teachers and "we had a great remembering of old times".[83] She also attended meetings of the Old Scholars Association with Madeline Rees George.[84] Her friendship with Lucy Morice remained strong and both supported the KTC and KUSA. In 1938, Edith eventually retired from the KUSA executive, having served for twenty-eight years. She continued on the KTC education committee which was lobbying to expand the college premises.[85] Lucy and Edith visited with each other often and several former kindergarten teachers were included in their social circle.[86] Both Edith and Lucy were voluminous correspondents, importantly with Marjorie in Western Australia. Lucy sent Marjorie letters, books and newspapers; and Edith and Marjorie's weekly correspondence was wide-ranging so that Marjorie was kept abreast of family matters, Edith's KTC and KUSA committee work, and local, national and international politics. Notwithstanding Marjorie's ongoing domestic and community work, her weekly letters were ready for the mailman's collection on Tuesdays. She kept and re-read

Edith's letters, especially in times of great stress such as after suffering a miscarriage in 1930.[87] Being so far apart geographically, they rarely visited each other so the old letters redressed their separation and provided comfort and reassurance. However, Edith was staying with Marjorie when her infant son, Antony, died suddenly in 1931.[88] No further children were added to the Caw family.

Of course, Edith and Marjorie had another shared interest, namely teaching. Marjorie had taken her Montessori materials to Western Australia in anticipation of her children's education. In November 1927, she informed her mother that four year old Billec and Virginia, aged two, "do Montessori most mornings now and seemed to profit by it, Babe particularly. Billec is doing number work principally, but letters occasionally".[89] Although there were several one-room state schools in the Kojonup district, Marjorie rejected them and decided to teach Billec and Virginia at home with the aid of correspondence lessons from the Western Australian education department.[90] That decision meant that Marjorie had to fit her teaching around her domestic duties. She moved the Montessori cupboard into the dining room so that she could simultaneously instruct the children and supervise the maid in the kitchen. Nevertheless, it was very difficult to devote regular time to teaching as well as cooking, cleaning, gardening and community work. Additionally, Marjorie was highly critical of the content and pedagogy in the correspondence lessons.[91] Having never experienced state schooling as a student or teacher, she consulted her maid and reported to Edith: "May said they needed a great deal of written work when she was at school so it may be the state school method".[92] She also asked Edith about teaching subtraction and received plenty of unsolicited advice as well.[93] Writing to Edith another day, Marjorie confessed that she was "using free government paper that they supply Billec for his education but I am remembering some of the work we as a family have done for the state, and me as an individual in the old free kindergartens so I am not worrying about this embezzlement!"[94] Marjorie abandoned correspondence lessons periodically and always supplemented them with ideas sourced from progressive education journals such as the *New Era*. Thus the Caw children experienced a rich and progressive elementary education at home, including art and music lessons, and practicing French at the dinner table.[95] Bella the maid also offered to teach them to ride a horse for which Marjorie was very grateful. She commented "what a hell of a lot of things children have to be taught, swimming, riding, music, drawing, dancing as well as all the school subjects; to be clean, moral and tidy as well".[96]

Unlike many farm children in the early twentieth century, Billec and Virginia were social rather than economic assets in the Caw family. Virgin-

ia churned the butter occasionally, reminding her mother, "you was lucky you had a little girl, mum".[97] But there was little expectation of regular chores and plenty of time for play with farm pets and toys.[98] Virginia was reading regularly by the age of five and loved her schoolwork.[99] She listened to the children's session on the wireless, and corresponded with her granny, Edith, and the editor of the children's pages in the newspaper.[100] Billec and Virginia also joined in local children's sports days and fancy dress evenings, winning prizes as the "Knave and Queen of Hearts" in 1929.[101] Nevertheless, they missed the companionship of other children during their elementary education.

When it came time for Billec's secondary schooling, Marjorie sent for prospectuses from private boys boarding schools and discussed their merits with Alf and Edith. After much discussion, they decided to send Billec to Adelaide to live with Edith and attend St Peters College from January 1935.[102] Thereafter, Edith and Marjorie's correspondence tracked Billec's schooling intimately. Ever the teacher, Edith recalled her early years as "a pupil teacher at Grote Street Model Schools and really I have been teaching on and off ever since, but it is a pleasure to me almost always".[103] She invested her intellectual capital heavily, helping Billec with Latin and history. Alf, Marjorie and Edith dissected St Peters curriculum and Billec's reports. When he came top in Latin, Alf commented wryly, "he ought to say granny and I are top".[104]

Although Virginia "needed companionship badly," she continued with correspondence lessons until 1938 when she enrolled in the local one room state school, Jingalup, which had re-opened after a year's hiatus for lack of children.[105] She rode her bike part way, was collected by another family for the remainder of the six mile journey, and loved school.[106] Within a week, citizen mother Marjorie had joined the Jingalup parents and citizens committee. She was also elected foundation president of the Kojonup Baby Health clinic in 1938.[107] At the same time, she searched for a private girls secondary school that would enable Virginia to "do Junior and Leaving in preparation for being a kindergartener" which was Virginia's ambition.[108] Edith was involved in the decision-making and they eventually chose the new Park School in the rural city of Albany.[109]

Virginia enrolled at Park School in February 1939 and Marjorie hoped that "the tone of the school is towards work, not too much sport or social stuff".[110] The school relocated to Western Australia's capital city, Perth, in 1940. Marjorie was disappointed with the standard of teaching and helped Virginia prepare for the examinations: In September 1941, they were "reading the Merchant of Venice together every night" while Virginia was home on vacation.[111] Edith also wrote to Virginia, encouraging her to work hard.[112] Virginia completed her secondary schooling successfully

at the end of 1942; and Marjorie concluded her unpaid work as a teacher and her oversight of the Caw children's elementary and secondary education. Unfortunately, Edith died in 1942 and thus missed her grand-daughter's entry into teaching profession as the third generation of Hubbe-Caw teachers.

Virginia Caw: Teaching and the Imperative to "Marry Some Nice Farmer"

Prior to Virginia's graduation, Edith and Marjorie had explored options for her training as a kindergarten teacher. Although Edith thought that the Western Australian KTC in Perth was too expensive, Virginia commenced the two-year program in 1943.[113] She remained in Perth for a further two years, teaching at Lake Street Kindergarten and also working at the Darlington Holiday Home for kindergarten children which was affiliated with the KTC.[114] In October 1945, Marjorie and her best friend from Adelaide, Ella Keeves, visited Perth and reported that Virginia "was doing a very good job very happily at Darlington, and the children seemed very happy and natural with her".[115]

Like her mother and grandmother, Virginia valued teaching as intellectual work and added to her qualifications. She spent 1947 completing postgraduate study at her mother's alma mater, the Adelaide KTC, and teaching at Palmer Place school which was attached to the college.[116] Her proud father hoped that she "would show them how things really ought to be done" and she was inducted into the KUSA community where Lucy Morice and Ella Keeves still worked tirelessly for the rapidly expanding kindergarten movement.[117] With the post war baby boom, there was an escalating demand for pre-school education and Virginia took advantage of the new conditions. She returned to Kojonup in 1948 and set about establishing the community's first kindergarten.[118] She garnered support by demonstrating kindergarten methods, and there was plenty of encouragement from Marjorie who was still a prominent citizen mother: "The local committee responsible for raising funds purchased two disused school buildings which were dismantled and transported to Kojonup and re-erected and painted by voluntary labour".[119] Officials from the Kindergarten Union in Perth attended the opening ceremony and Marjorie and Alf were delighted to have Virginia living at home again and teaching locally.

In 1950 Marjorie fulfilled a long-held ambition, namely to travel to Europe with Virginia as she had done with her mother Edith in 1914.[120] They sailed to Copenhagen in Denmark where Marjorie led the Western Australian delegation to the Associated Country Women's World Conference. Marjorie subsequently reported that "you really felt that wom-

en mattered in this forum".[121] They continued to England and met with Marjorie's friend and former KTC principal, Lillian de Lissa. Now retired after a long career as principal of Gipsy Hill Training College in London, de Lissa introduced them to her extensive networks in the field of early childhood education. Thus they were able to attend Nursery School Association meetings and visit nursery schools in the vicinity of London.[122] Marjorie returned to Australia at the end of the year and Virginia spent a further two years teaching in British nursery schools.[123]

Virginia returned to Australia in August 1953, and recommenced teaching kindergarten in the city of Newcastle on the east coast of Australia and near to her brother Billec and his family, rather than Western Australia.[124] Thereafter, Marjorie and Virginia's correspondence detailed their busy lives and work. Marjorie was thoroughly embedded in local community organisations such as the CWA and Red Cross.[125] She had continued to support Jingalup school which by the 1950s had grown significantly, and she hosted the Minister of Education and other dignitaries' visits to the district.[126] In letters to Virginia, she discussed the latest fashions as well as art and music. Kindergarten teachers were poorly paid in Australia and Marjorie and Alf supplemented Virginia's income, enabling her to enjoy a busy social life and vacations with friends, as well as teaching.[127]

In contrast to her mother's and grandmother's localised paid work as teachers, Virginia's peripatetic teaching career was indicative of the greater freedoms accorded to young single women in the post war era, as well as her agency and commitment to the teaching profession. Nevertheless, marriage and maternity continued to be women's destiny in the post war years. Australian women were marrying at an increasingly younger age than had been the case with Marjorie's generation. Marriage was virtually universal in the 1950s, and single women over the age of twenty-five were discussed pejoratively as spinsters.[128] Marjorie had married at the age of twenty-nine and was well aware of the social pressure; she and Ella Keeves agreed that "we do like to see our children marrying" but at a "sensible age [when] they are old enough to know what they really want and distinguish false from true".[129] Virginia was thirty in 1955 when a friend in Kojonup commented to Marjorie that "Virginia should come home to marry some nice farmer, and then we'll all be happy".[130] Virginia did return to Kojonup in December 1956 and helped Marjorie and Alf on the farm for the next two years.[131]

Resuming teaching as paid work in August 1959, Virginia accepted a position with the Keogh family who lived on a remote sheep station 700 miles from Kojonup.[132] In keeping with her own elementary education, Virginia taught three little boys at home using correspondence lessons from the Western Australian education department. She enjoyed this work

and asked Marjorie to send additional teaching aids and poster paints.[133] Marjorie provided educational advice in her letters in the manner of Edith in the 1930s. She added "that kind of farm life and education life is fitting for you and me nowadays. Too many crowds and people and noise for too long rather "gets" our kind of person after our country life".[134]

Notwithstanding Marjorie's comments about country life, she and Alf sold the farm in 1960 and retired to live in Adelaide. Marjorie was soon ensconced in the Unitarian and KUSA communities, and refreshing her networks at the Kindergarten Graduates Club.[135] She talked with her best friend, Ella Keeves, most days and they "went to the opening of the new Kindergarten College" in May 1961, almost thirty years after Edith had lobbied for the same outcome. Marjorie and Ella were photographed for the social pages of the local newspaper and copies were sent to Virginia in Western Australia and Lillian de Lissa in England.[136] In essence, Marjorie's educational interests in retirement mostly resembled Edith's. Education in its broadest sense was a life-long commitment for both generations of the Hubbe-Caw women.

In July 1961, the third generation of this teaching family was the focus of social anxiety. Nationally, the *Australian Women's Weekly* was promoting Queen Elizabeth in England and Jackie Kennedy in the USA, together with their children, as exemplars of modern motherhood and married life.[137] Locally, an older male family friend upset thirty-six year old Virginia with comments about her marital status, and she recounted this scenario in a letter to her mother. Marjorie's response highlighted continuities in gender relations and incorporated the intensification of social pressure on women to comply with hegemonic femininity: "I wouldn't be too worried about Bob Reid's remark – that kind of thing is always said about our kind of girl".[138] Referring to her own youth, she noted that one young man, "if we didn't admire and make a fuss of him always said we were odd and didn't like men; and other boys and men use the same kind of weapon because they do not understand our kind of women". Marjorie implied that our kind of women were assertive and intellectually independent rather than passive and subordinate to men. Reverting to the contemporary situation, she claimed that the marriage imperative was more acute in the country than the city where "there are so many interesting things to do and see and such fine and useful work to do with and for children and other people". Additionally, "enormous commercial interests are always advertising glamour and sex and clothes and houses and they write to engaged girls advertising all their goods and bull dozing them into what, if there was no outside pressure, neither they nor the man would go into so lightly and inadvisedly – without real love which is a rare and wonderful thing". Some of Marjorie's friends' daughters had "married in haste and

had ghastly lives, and made their children and their mother's lives miserable"; and elderly friends "were having such difficult times with old, selfish, bossy husbands". After noting that her husband, Alf, was "fast asleep with the TV talking science to him", Marjorie concluded her letter to Virginia, "I love you and courage is our middle name".[139] In essence, she urged her daughter not to subordinate her life to other people's demands but to demonstrate her independence in the manner of women in the Hubbe-Caw family.

Although Marjorie urged her daughter to relocate to Adelaide in 1962, Virginia's life soon matched the wishes of the person who had urged her to marry a nice farmer. She married Mick Lee, a farmer in the Kojonup district in the mid-1960s.[140] Their son and daughter were born in 1968 and 1969 respectively, and correspondence between the second and third generation of this teaching family resonated with their forbears.[141] In 1972, for example, Virginia was feeling tired from tending to her children who were "coughing in the night", contemplating her speech to the next CWA meeting, and had earlier "called the roll at the Jingalup school reunion".[142]

While Virginia seemed to be following in her mother's footsteps in the 1970s, another material and discursive shift in women's lives was gathering momentum. The postwar baby boom had created an enormous demand for teachers. There were advertising campaigns to recruit married women teachers into state education departments and a reinvigorated feminist movement was canvassing married women's right to paid work.[143] The woman teacher as working mother was eventually legitimated in 1969 with the removal of the marriage bar in the South Australian and Western Australian education departments.[144] Nevertheless, there was still substantial support for the citizen mother who prioritised domestic life and community obligations over paid work. Amidst these tensions, Marjorie participated in an oral history interview which focused on her highly-regarded mother Edith and the Advanced School for Girls. Marjorie highlighted Edith's leadership of the Advanced School prior to her marriage and claimed that Edith had declined to re-enter the education department "because she had five children" and "it was considered odd to leave your children".[145] Notwithstanding Edith's subsequent career at Knightsbridge school, Marjorie assured the interviewer that Edith was "a proper mother" because she maximised her time at home "and we always had Saturday and Sunday together". When the interviewer proposed that "your mother was always interested in her career and saw herself broadly as an educationist", Marjorie agreed but her response focused on Edith's application of her ideas about Froebel at home with the Hubbe children rather than Knightsbridge.[146] Marjorie was extremely proud of her mother's contributions to education but resisted the concept of the working

mother. While Edith's teaching as a working mother had not been so unusual for a woman of her generation, Marjorie's generation had witnessed the triumph of the citizen mother and Marjorie had made the most of her teaching as unpaid work and her executive skills in Kojonup. In essence, Marjorie was reflecting the contemporary tensions regarding women's lives and work as teachers.

As for the third generation of the Hubbe-Caw teaching family, Virginia had benefited greatly from her grandmother's and mother's unwavering commitments to progressive education, along with her mother's pedagogical skills, throughout her childhood. There were continuities in their KTC training and just as Marjorie had been inducted into Edith's educational networks at the Adelaide KTC, Virginia was supported by Marjorie's ongoing connections with women educators and activists in Australia and England. Virginia's agency in constructing her career was facilitated by the postwar demand for teachers and her teaching experiences were more diverse than previous generations of this family. In keeping with her grandmother and mother, Virginia's interest in progressive education did not abate when she married, nor did her affection for Jingalup school: She "collected the autographs of all previous students and staff in a specially bound book" at a reunion in 1977 and subsequently donated her teaching materials to the Kojonup Historical Society.[147] Marjorie's Montessori equipment had been given to the Adelaide KTC in the 1950s.[148] Marjorie had begged her mother to keep their correspondence in the 1930s, and Edith had resisted disposing it during World War Two campaigns for recycling paper.[149] Following Marjorie's death in 1993, Virginia (and Billec) deposited the Hubbe-Caw correspondence at the University of Adelaide, thereby preserving "real and human" letters that show three generations of women weaving their teaching and commitments to progressive education into the fabric of their everyday lives. The educational biographies of three generations of this teaching family not only exemplify the old saying, "once a teacher, always a teacher" but they also highlight women's agency in negotiating their lives and work within the spaces made available to them from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century.

Notes

[1] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 7 July 1931, Edith Hubbe (Cook) and Marjorie Caw (Hubbe) Papers, 1859-1988, MSS 0046/2, Barr Smith Library, University of Adelaide (hereafter MSS 0046/2, BSL).

[2] In this article "kindergarten" refers to pre-school education rather than the early years of schooling.

[3] E. Sherwood and A. Freshwater, "All in the Family or Whose Life is it Anyway? Challenges of Writing Narrative Educational Biography about a Relative,"

Vitae Scholasticae 27, no. 1 (2010): 60.

[4] For example, A. Sadovnik and S. Semel, eds, *Founding Mothers and Others: Women Educational Leaders in the Progressive Era* (New York: Palgrave, 2002); K. Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen: Teaching in Rural California*, 1850-1950 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); M. Hilton and P. Hirsch eds, *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress* 1790-1930 (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2000).

[5] For example, E. Janak, '"Revelle"-ing in History: Lessons Learned From a Family of Teachers," *Vitae Scholasticae* 29, no. 1 (2012): 23-37; G. Clifford, "'Marry, Stitch, Die and Do Worse': Educating Women for Work," *Work, Youth and Schooling: Historical Perspectives on Vocationalism in American Education*, eds H. Kantor and D. Tyack (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), 236; K. Whitehead, "The Teaching Family, Waged Work and New Women in South Australian Schooling," *Transformations in Schooling: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. K. Tolley (New York: Palgrave Press, 2007), 159-163; C. Reynolds, "The Ideology of Domesticity: Re-constructions Across Three Generations in Ontario," *Women Teaching, Women Learning: Historical Perspectives*, eds E. Smyth and P. Bourne (Toronto: Inanna Publications and Education Inc.), 213-231.

[6] For an overview of de Lissa's career see K. Whitehead, "Contextualising and Contesting National Identities," *Vitae Scholasticae*, 26 no. 1 (2009): 44-45, reprinted in *Life Stories: Exploring Issues in Educational History Through Biography*, eds L. Morice and L. Puchner (Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, Inc., 2014), 233-252.

[7] K. Whitehead, *Lillian de Lissa, Women Teachers and Teacher Education in the Twentieth Century: A Transnational History* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2016).

[8] Reynolds, "The Ideology of Domesticity", 213.

[9] *Observer*, 20 February 1915, 41; Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Beth Robertson (1979), OH 31/3, State Library of South Australia (hereafter SLSA); Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Mary Hutchinson (1981), OH 3/1, SLSA.

[10] Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen*, 161.

[11] L. Stanley, "The Epistolarium: On Theorizing Letters and Correspondences," *Auto/Biography* 12 (2004): 202.

[12] L. Stanley, "The Epistolary Gift, the Editorial Third-Party, Counter-Epistolaria: Rethinking the Epistolarium," *Life Writing* 8, no. 2 (2011): 137-138.

[13] *Register*, 21 December 1917, 6; *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 19 April 1862, 3.

[14] L. Trethewey, "Lucy Spence Morice: Working Towards a Just Society via the Education of Citizens and Socialist Feminist Collective Action," *Vitae Scholasticae* 26, no. 1 (2009): 62; For a discussion of women and Unitarianism see R. Watts, "Mary Carpenter: Educator of the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes," *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress 1790-1930*, eds M. Hilton and P. Hirsch (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2000), 39-51.

[15] E. Hubbe to M. Caw, 5 May 1929, MSS 0046/21, BSL; H. Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible: Women's Education and Social Change in South Australia, 1875-1915* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1985), 38-55.

[16] *Register*, 20 August 1918, 4; Jones, Nothing Seemed Impossible, 39.

[17] Trethewey, "Lucy Spence Morice", 62-63.

[18] S. Eade, "Spence, Catherine Helen (1825-1910)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography* Vol. 6 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1976).

[19] Whitehead, "The Teaching Family", 159-163.

[20] *Observer*, 20 February 1915, 41.

[21] *South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail*, 17 July 1875, 7; Whitehead, "The

Teaching Family", 159-163.

[22] *Observer*, 20 February 1915, 41; Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, 45.

[23] Whitehead, "The Teaching Family", 161.

[24] Quoted in Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, 24; *Register*, 3 November 1879, 4.

[25] Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, 38-45.

[26] *Observer*, 20 February 1915, 41.

[27] Ibid; Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, 48.

[28] Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, 50.

[29] *Observer*, 20 February 1915, 41.

[30] *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 29 December 1883, 8.

[31] *Adelaide Observer*, 27 December 1884, 15; *Pictorial Australian*, 1 May 1886, 70.

[32] *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 27 December 1884, 8.

[33] K. Lees, *Votes for Women: The Australian Story* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1995), 13-30.

[34] Trethewey, "Lucy Spence Morice", 63-68.

[35] Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Mary Hutchinson (1981), 11, OH 3/1, SLSA.

[36] Whitehead, "The Teaching Family", 160-163; Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, 54; M. Theobald, *Knowing Women: Origins of Women's Education in Nineteenth-Century Australia* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 130-172.

[37] *Evening Journal*, 19 December 1885, 6.

[38] B. Condon, *The Confidential Letterbook of the South Australian Inspector General of Schools, 1880-1914*, (Adelaide: Murray Park Sources in the History of South Australian Education, 1976), 161.

[39] Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Mary Hutchinson (1981), 17-18, OH 3/1, SLSA; Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Beth Robertson (1979), 1-2, OH 31/3, SLSA; *Advertiser*, 8 December 1943, 3.

[40] Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Mary Hutchinson (1981), 4, OH 3/1, SLSA.

[41] Ibid, 1, 6, 16, 19.

[42] *Register*, 26 February 1923, 10.

[43] Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Mary Hutchinson (1981), 6, 17, OH 3/1, SLSA.

[44] *Advertiser*, 8 December 1943, 3.

[45] *Advertiser*, 25 March 1931, 5; Jones, *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, 66-86.

[46] Trethewey, "Lucy Spence Morice", 70; Whitehead, "Contextualising and Contesting National Identities," 44-45.

[47] *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 29 November 1910, 8.

[48] *Register*, 27 November 1885, 5.

[49] *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 6 February 1886, 10; *Chronicle*, 6 June 1896, 15; *Chronicle*, 27 February 1897, 23.

[50] *Advertiser*, 3 March 1900, 10; *Table Talk*, 15 March 1900, 10; *Evening Journal*, 15 September 1900, 4; *Adelaide Observer*, 22 September 1900, 8; E. Yeo, "Constructing and Contesting Motherhood, 1750-1950," *Hecate* 31, no. 2 (2005): 4.

[51] S. Swain, E. Warne and P. Grimshaw, "Constructing the Working Mother: Australian Perspectives, 1920-1970," *Hecate* 31, no. 2 (2005): 22; M. Gilding, *The Making and Breaking of the Australian Family* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991), 31-53.

[52] Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Mary Hutchinson (1981), 10, 16, OH 3/1, SLSA.

[53] *Advertiser*, 25 December 1908, 12; Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Mary Hutchinson (1981), 14, OH 3/1, SLSA.

[54] Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Mary Hutchinson (1981), 15, OH 3/1, SLSA.

[55] Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Beth Robertson (1979), 2-3, OH 31/3, SLSA; *Daily Herald*, 17 December 1910, 12.

[56] Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Beth Robertson (1979), 8, OH 31/3, SLSA.

[57] Ibid, 2; Whitehead, *Lillian de Lissa*, 32-37.

[58] Quoted in Whitehead, *Lillian de Lissa*, 55.

[59] Whitehead, *Lillian de Lissa*, 54-60.

[60] Marjorie Hubbe's Psychology Exam, 14 September 1913, MSS 0046/47/9, BSL; Whitehead, *Lillian de Lissa*, 54-60.

[61] Marjorie Hubbe's Weekly Plans and Reflections, MSS 0046/47/8, BSL.

[62] Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Beth Robertson (1979), 3-7, OH 31/3, SLSA; *Mail*, 18 October 1913, 2; *Observer*, 20 February 1915, 41.

[63] *Advertiser*, 18 May 1915, 14; Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Beth Robertson (1979), 8, OH 31/3, SLSA.

[64] Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Beth Robertson (1979), 10, 12, 18, OH 31/3, SLSA; *Mail*, 18 December 1915, 6; *Mail*, 22 September 1917, 11.

[65] *Critic*, 2 August 1916, 24; *Cobargo Chronicle*, 19 August 1916, 17.

[66] *Register*, 9 September 1920, 9; Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Beth Robertson (1979), 7-8, OH 31/3, SLSA; Whitehead, *Lillian de Lissa*, 61-62.

[67] Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Beth Robertson (1979), 10, 12, 18, OH 31/3, SLSA.

[68] M. Hubbe to A. Caw, 20 July 1919, MSS 0046/41, BSL.

[69] Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Beth Robertson (1979), 10, OH 31/3, SLSA.

[70] *Register*, 11 March 1922, 6; *Register*, 26 February 1923, 10; E. Hubbe to M. Caw, 24 February 1922, MSS 0046/21, BSL.

[71] Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Beth Robertson (1979), 10, OH 31/3, SLSA; *Advertiser*, 22 January 1925, 8.

[72] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 15 October 1934, 23 October 1934, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[73] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 9 December 1930, MSS 0046/2, BSL; K. Holmes, *Spaces in Her Day: Australian Women's Diaries 1920s-1930s* (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1993), 60-63.

[74] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 9 December 1930, 8 December 1936, 13 May 1940, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[75] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 10 April 1928, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[76] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 26 January 1931, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[77] *Great Southern Herald*, 21 May 1932, 4; M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 31 May 1932, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[78] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 3 September 1934, MSS 0046/2, BSL;

[79] Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Beth Robertson (1979), 17, OH 31/3, SLSA.

[80] Yeo, "Constructing and Contesting Motherhood", 5-7; Swain, Warne and Grimshaw, "Constructing the Working Mother", 25; Gilding, *The Making and Breaking of the Australian Family*, 6.

[81] E. Hubbe to M. Caw, 6 October 1924, 4 June 1933, 26 May 1935, MSS 0046/21, BSL.

[82] E. Hubbe to M. Caw, 22 August 1927, MSS 0046/21, BSL; *Australian Christian Commonwealth*, 23 September 1932, 16.

[83] E. Hubbe to M. Caw, 26 September 1927, MSS 0046/21, BSL.

[84] *Advertiser*, 25 March 1931, 9; E. Hubbe to M. Caw, 31 May 1936, MSS 0046/21, BSL.

[85] E. Hubbe to M. Caw, 5 May 1929; 14 January 1936, 10 August 1938, 24 October 1938, 2 June 1940, MSS 0046/21, BSL.

[86] E. Hubbe to M. Caw, 13 August 1938, MSS 0046/21, BSL.

[87] M. Caw to A. Caw, 2 April 1930, MSS 0046/41, BSL.

[88] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 27 August 1931, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[89] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 22 November 1927, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[90] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 25 November 1929, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[91] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 9 December 1930, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[92] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 2 July 1933, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[93] E. Hubbe to M. Caw, 9 June 1929, MSS 0046/21, BSL.

[94] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 25 August 1930, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[95] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 6 August 1929, 21 March 1931, 12 July 1931, 14 March 1932, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[96] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 30 June 1930, MSS 0046/2, BSL

[97] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 25 August 1930, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[98] *Western Mail*, 6 August 1936, 10; Gilding, *The Making and Breaking of the Australian Family*, 10, 29.

[99] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 12 July 1931, 6 March 1934, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[100] V. Caw to E. Hubbe, 29 September 1930, MSS 0046/2, BSL; M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 26 May 1935, MSS 0046/2, BSL; *Western Mail*, 3 September 1936, 13.

[101] *Great Southern Herald*, 15 May 1929, 3; V. Caw to E. Hubbe, 23 October 1934, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[102] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 19 June 1933, 19 March 1934, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[103] E. Hubbe to M. Caw, 4 May 1936, MSS 0046/21, BSL.

[104] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 21 November 1935, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[105] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 7 May 1937, MSS 0046/2, BSL; B. Hobbs, *Give Them Wings: Schools of the Kojonup District, 1863-2009* (Kojonup: Kojonup Historical Society, 2010), 159-162.

29

[106] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 6 February 1938, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[107] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 14 February 1938, 1 August 1938, MSS 0046/2, BSL; *West Australian*, 28 July 1938, 11.

[108] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 14 February 1939, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[109] *Western Mail*, 17 November 1938, 55; E. Hubbe to M. Caw, 2 December 1939, MSS 0046/21, BSL.

[110] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 23 January 1939, 30 March 1939, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[111] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 8 September 1941, 15 September 1941, MSS 0046/2, BSL.

[112] E. Hubbe to V. Caw, 15 September 1941, MSS 0046/21, BSL.

[113] E. Hubbe to M. Caw, 13 August 1941, MSS 0046/21, BSL.

[114] *Daily News*, 9 March 1944, 7; *Daily News*, 26 October 1945, 3; *West Australian*, 20 May 1942, 5.

[115] M. Caw to A. Caw, 7 October 1945, MSS 0046/41, BSL.

[116] H. Miller and P. Butler, *Kindergarten Training College One Hundred Years 1907-2007: Memories of Graduates* (Adelaide: The de Lissa Association of Early Childhood Graduates Inc., 2007), 148, 185, 225; *Advertiser*, 6 December 1947, 4.

[117] A. Caw to M. Caw, 27 January 1947, MSS 0046/22, BSL; Miller and Butler, *Kindergarten Training College*, 6-8.

[118] *Great Southern Herald*, 27 February 1948, 4.

[119] *West Australian*, 13 October 1947, 13; *Great Southern Herald*, 15 October 1947, 5.
[120] M. Caw to E. Hubbe, 8 January 1929, MSS 0046/2, BSL.
[121] *Advertiser*, 6 July 1951, 10; *Western Mail*, 16 August 1951, 34.
[122] M. Caw to A. Caw, 1 August 1950, 29 October 1950, MSS 0046/41, BSL; Whitehead, *Lillian de Lissa*, 214-215.
[123] M. Caw to A. Caw, 2 March 1951, MSS 0046/41, BSL; *Great Southern Herald*, 7 September 1951, 4.
[124] M. Caw to V. Caw, 16 November 1953, MSS 0046/40, BSL; *Advertiser*, 24 June 1954, 13.
[125] *Great Southern Herald*, 22 May 1953, 7; *Great Southern Herald*, 11 April 1953, 5.
[126] M. Caw to V. Caw, 24 September 1956, MSS 0046/40, BSL; *Great Southern Herald*, 21 May 1954, 4.
[127] M. Caw to V. Caw, 8 May 1955, 31 October 1955, MSS 004/40, BSL.
[128] *Examiner*, 5 January 1952, 7; *Australian Women's Weekly*, 5 May 1954, 77; Whitehead, *Lillian de Lissa*, 185-190.
[129] E. Keeves to M. Caw, 24 November 1949, MSS 0046/47/1, BSL.
[130] M. Caw to V. Caw, 1 June 1955, MSS 0046/40, BSL.
[131] M. Caw to K. Cook, 31 December 1956, MSS 0046/44, BSL.
[132] M. Caw to K. Cook, 24 August 1959, MSS 0046/44, BSL.
[133] Ibid; M. Caw to V. Caw, 4 July 1960, 15 March 1961, MSS 0046/40, BSL.
[134] M. Caw to V. Caw, 8 December 1961, MSS 0046/40, BSL.
[135] M. Caw to V. Caw, 23 March 1961, MSS 0046/40, BSL.
[136] M. Caw to V. Caw, 5 May 1961, 28 June 1961, MSS 0046/40, BSL.
[137] *Australian Women's Weekly*, 1 March 1961, 7; *Australian Women's Weekly*, 2 June 1961, 14.
[138] M. Caw to V. Caw, 8 July 1961, MSS 0046/40, BSL.
[139] Ibid.
[140] M. Caw to V. Caw, 21 March 1962, MSS 0046/40, BSL; Hobbs, *Give Them Wings*, 185.
[141] See photograph of the Lee family, September 1969, MSS 0046/63.
[142] V. Lee to M. Caw, 23 September 1972, MSS 0046/23, BSL.
[143] Whitehead, *Lillian de Lissa*, 188-189; Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen*, 33; Swain, Warne and Grimshaw, "Constructing the Working Mother", 21.
[144] M. Theobald, "And Gladly Teach? The Making of a Woman's Profession," *Women Teaching, Women Learning: Historical Perspectives*, eds E. Smyth and P. Bourne (Toronto: Inanna Publications and Education Inc., 2006), 69.
[145] Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Mary Hutchinson (1981), 10, OH 3/1, SLSA.
[146] Interview with Harriet Marjorie Caw by Mary Hutchinson (1981), 23, OH 3/1, SLSA.
[147] Hobbs, *Give Them Wings*, 168-169, 185.
[148] M. Caw to K. Cook, 16 June 1958, MSS 0046/44, BSL.
[149] E. Hubbe to M. Caw, 12 May 1940, MSS 0046/21, BSL.

Ruth Harris' Principles Helped African American Students Beat the Odds

Vanessa Garry

University of Missouri
St. Louis

Introduction

In 1940, Dr. Ruth Harris' appointment as president of Stowe Teachers College (STC) in St. Louis, Missouri and the completion of the new STC facility represented two "firsts." Harris was the first female African American president of the College and the building was the first structure built for the purpose of preparing and developing African American teachers in St. Louis.[1] The fact that African American newspapers of the times, like the *Chicago Defender* and the *Pittsburg Courier*, published articles about these two events, Harris' ascendency to principal of the college and the new facility, connoted these events as momentous occasions for African Americans.

The St. Louis Public Schools (SLPS) Board, the governing body of the College, opened the new STC building to the public by hosting a dedication service. The attendees to the service included the city's dignitaries, SLPS's Board and administrators, STC's faculty and students and other community members. Harris was a featured speaker at the event and when it was her turn at the podium she addressed the audience by sharing how she intended to lead the college. In her address, Harris conveyed

six objectives of the STC program: establish STC as a cultural center, earn accreditation, foster connections with communities, be competitive with other colleges and universities, excel in scholarship, and produce excellent results.[2] These objectives became the principles Harris used to guide the development of the college. Her principles were also the motivation for this historical analysis. In this study I attempted to answer the following question: how did Stowe Teachers College alumni, who attended the College during the time of Ruth Harris' presidency (1940 to 1954), believe their experience at Stowe influenced their professional careers and lives?

To facilitate the answering of the research question, I enlisted a former colleague to assist in identifying STC alumni to interview as a means to learn how Harris' principles influenced their college and professional careers. Although the colleague graduated from STC after Harris' tenure, he is well known in and well connected to the St. Louis African American community. He identified eight alumni, six males and two females who met the criteria of attending STC during Harris' tenure.

First, all eight of the recommended alumni were sent letters informing them of the study and inviting them to participate; the letters were then followed with personal telephone calls. Four of the eight individuals contacted agreed to participate, one person declined, and three never responded to the invitation. Semi-structured face-to-face interviews were used to gather participants' narratives. The interviews were scheduled for twenty-five minutes; yet, most lasted an hour. Using the snowball sample method, the researcher asked each participant at the end of the interview for names of other alumni who could be contacted as potential participants. Of the names received from the interviewees, either the individuals were already on the list of eight or they did not respond to requests to participate. Pseudonyms were assigned to the four interviewees and included James, a K-12 school administrator, Jerome, a technician in higher education, Alfred, a K-12 school district administrator, and Peter, a K-12 district administrator as well as an administrator in higher education.

The paper is organized into four sections. In the first section, I provided a historical context for the origin of STC during the Jim Crow era. In the second section I examined Harris' educational philosophy and the principles she used to develop the college. In the third section I discussed the influence of the interviewees' college experiences on their careers in light of their comments on Harris' principles. Last, I discussed the impact of STC on the professional and personal lives of the alumni.

Historical Context for the Origin of Stowe Teachers College

Judge Nathan B. Young, jurist, editor, and local historian, stated in an

interview on July 15, 1970, "I think the complete civil rights background and history could be taken and understood better by knowing the history of St. Louis, Missouri, completely."[3] In regarding St. Louis history related to education, Judge Young could easily support his claim by citing landmark U.S. Supreme Court cases that germinated in St. Louis such as *Gaines v. Canada* (1938) and *Shelly v. Kraemer* (1945). The two cases not only advanced the eradication of Jim Crow laws, but are germane to this paper because both occurred around the same time as the appointment of Dr. Ruth Harris as principal of STC.

The two cases impacted STC in different ways. First, the *Gaines* decision enforced the separate but equal doctrine when the Court required the University of Missouri School of Law to either admit African Americans or establish a separate law school. This decision contributed to the framework for *Brown* in 1954; *Brown* was the impetus for the merger of STC with Harris Teacher's College (HTC). Second, *Shelly* ruled the use of covenants was unenforceable; therefore, real estate agents' use of covenants as a way to prevent African Americans from integrating White neighborhoods was ruled invalid in the eyes of the court. The agents' use of covenants was another example of its membership organization, the St. Louis Real Estate Exchange's (SLREE) political power in St. Louis which contributed to oppressive policies. Another example occurred in 1932 when the SLREE proposed first a reduction then the elimination of public higher education (e.g., HTC and STC) as one of the ways to reduce the City's budget during the onset of the Depression.[4]

Despite the above rulings, the Jim Crow law continued to be the de facto law until and even after 1954; however, it was most prominent in housing and education. It was difficult for African Americans to find suitable housing in St. Louis especially after World War II when the city's population exceeded available housing. Usually unfair housing practices forced African Americans to live in heavily populated and impoverished neighborhoods. For instance, when the court decided covenants were unenforceable the SLREE mobilized real estate agents to continue housing discriminatory practices by refusing to sell houses in White neighborhoods to African Americans.[5]

African American St. Louisans' progress in education, like housing, was equally difficult. In 1865, before Jim Crow, the Missouri General Assembly permitted all children, including African Americans, to attend school; however, at the same time it allowed school segregation. African Americans usually attended schools which had been vacated by White students yet they continued to be taught by White teachers. In 1877, the Educational Council, comprised of African American ministers, teachers, and laymen, petitioned the SLPS Board to employ African American

teachers for their children.[6] The organization successfully secured the Board's agreement to hire African American teachers; yet, the SLPS Board did not open the African Americans teachers' school (then called High School-Normal School) until 1890.

In 1857, SLPS followed a national trend by creating a normal school to train White teachers. The Board first named the school Normal School, then Teachers College, and finally, Harris Teachers College. The rationale for the normal school was to reduce the cost of hiring teachers outside the region by developing teachers locally.[7] The Missouri 1865 statute, which made education available to all children in Missouri, compelled the SLPS to open schools for African Americans. In 1890, decades after commencing schools for African Americans and over a decade after committing to the Educational Council to employ African American teachers, SLPS opened a normal school to train African American female teachers.[8] It was not until 1930 that HTC and STC admitted men in the colleges' two-year program.[9] The African American teacher training school's first name was High School-Normal School and successively renamed Sumner Normal School, then, Charles Henry Sumner Teachers College, and last, Harriett Beecher Stowe Teachers College. It was subsequently referred to as Stowe Teachers College. In 1954, as a result of the *Brown* decision, the SLPS Board merged STC with HTC and retained the name Harris Teachers College. It was not until some years later that STC's alumni pressed for and received approval to include the Stowe name into HTC's name. Today the name of the college is Harris-Stowe State University.

Although HTC and STC had the same purpose—to train teachers—their paths to becoming four-year teachers' colleges were diametrically different in many ways. HTC opened in 1857 as a two-year teacher program for White students and the admissions requirement was a high school diploma. In 1904, once again in an attempt to keep up with national trends, the Board expanded the two-year program to a four-year teachers' college. Further, in 1905, the staff and students moved into a newly-constructed facility that included thirteen classrooms, a library, and well equipped labs. Located across from a high school, the White teachers used the high school to observe and practice teaching.

Conversely, STC's path towards becoming a four-year teachers' college and securing adequate facilities was vastly different from HTC. STC and HTC were similar in that both had admission requirement of having earned a high school diploma. However, unlike HTC, in 1890, STC's training for its teachers included only a one-year program and remained that way for thirty years before the Board finally expanded the program to two years of instruction. In 1925, five years after the establishment of the two-year program, the Board expanded the teacher training program to a

four-year program to put it on par with HTC.

STC's first two facilities, formerly White elementary schools, were inferior for training teachers. STC shared its first facility, a cramped three-story building with one room on the first floor and four rooms on the second and third floors, with elementary and high school classes. Simmons Elementary School, the second STC facility,[10] yielded more space for the college, yet, it was still makeshift for the training program compared to HTC. In 1940, the staff and students were finally able to move into a new facility geared for training teachers. Comparatively, some thirty-five years after HTC's move to its new facility.

Harris' Appointment

In the same year, 1940, the Board of SLPS appointed Dr. Ruth Harris principal and later the president of STC. She was the first African American female to become president of the College. Harris was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, Harris' father moved the family to St. Louis, Missouri where she attended elementary school, Sumner High School, and Sumner Normal.[11] As a student, she studied Greek, Latin and Hebrew at the University of Chicago.

In 1918, Harris commenced her teaching career in St. Louis as a first-grade teacher in the old portable Cottage Avenue School.[12] Four years later she returned to her alma mater, Sumner High School, as a secondary school teacher. In 1923, Harris began teaching at STC, in 1932, the Board appointed her Second Vice-President, and in 1940, the Board promoted her to principal.

Harris received her master of arts and doctors of philosophy degrees from Columbia University in 1940. In her dissertation Harris examined teachers' knowledge of the communities where they worked compared to the students' knowledge of their communities. Her dissertation influenced her work at STC as evidenced by the inclusion of the principle, *schools should make use of their communities as learning laboratories*.[13] An ardent supporter of community involvement, she advocated for student involvement in their communities by making it a requirement of the teachers' program.

Ruth Harris' Leadership at Stowe

In Harris' speech at the dedication services of the new STC building, the Board, faculty, students, and community members gained insights into Harris' plans for STC as she shared six objectives of the Stowe Teach-

ers College program (i.e., establish STC as a cultural center, earn accreditation, foster connections with communities, be competitive with other colleges and universities, excel in scholarship, and produce excellent results). She morphed these objectives into the seven principles she used as guides in her development of Stowe.[14] The principles included: (1) *know your pupils first;* (2) *educate the whole teacher;* (3) *schools should make use of their communities as learning laboratories;* (4) *study your institution;* (5) *provide for individual differences;* (6) *seek better integration of the education courses,* and (7) *in-service teachers should participate in planning the curriculum of the college*.[15]

The underpinnings of Harris' guiding principles and her beliefs about her role[16] as president of STC were rooted in the early nineteenth century African Americans' educational philosophy which bolstered "racial uplift" or the "elevating of the race."[17] Like most young African American girls growing up at the turn of the nineteenth century, Harris was probably encouraged to do work in service of African Americans through education.[18] Harris' father, a Baptist minister, undoubtedly provided many opportunities for her to witness up close his ministry work on behalf of the suffering. Additionally, Harris' narrative revealed her deep commitment to serve her race. Further, her exemplary scholarly record as well as her practical experience which spanned over twenty years illustrated her preparation to lead.

With a sense of readiness to serve, Harris' seven principles appeared to support two overarching goals. The first was to prepare African American teachers so that, after graduation, they could either join the teaching profession or attend any college or university in the country. Of her seven principles, four principles directly supported this first goal: *know your pupils first*, *educate the whole teacher*, *schools should make use of their communities as learning laboratories*, and *provide for individual differences*. The second goal was earning accreditation from the North Central Accreditation Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in order for STC to be on equal footing with White colleges and universities. The three principles that buttressed this goal included: *study your institution, seek better integration of the education courses*, and *in-service teachers should participate in planning the curriculum of the college*.[19]

Implementing her principles required political savvy. According to African American history scholar Stephanie Shaw, African American women were more than teachers; they were "political or social leaders in the formal or informal movements of the larger group."[20] This was certainly true for Harris. STC's advancement towards accreditation and its graduates' abilities to secure jobs and placement in graduate schools were contingent upon Harris' political and social leadership skills. For example, Harris aimed to secure accreditation for STC; yet, a barrier was navigating

the political environment dominated by White males inside and outside of SLPS. Before her appointment she witnessed the Board's slow movement towards constructing a facility for STC and how long it took the Board to approve changes for STC compared to HTC. Harris also wrote about SLREE's failed attempt to shutter both HTC and STC.[21]

However, Harris knew accreditation was especially important for nascent Historical Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)[22] because of scathing reports written about HBCUs in publications by foundations such as the Carnegie and Phelps-Stokes Fund. The Fund, a foundation operated out of New York in the early 1900s, supported the education of African Americans; however, its report in 1916, *Negro Education: A Study of the Private Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States*, revealed most aspects of HBCUs (i.e., administration, curriculum, and pedagogy) were underdeveloped and only three institutions (Howard, Fisk, and Meharry) were worthy of being colleges.[23] Therefore, college officials, like Harris, sought legitimacy through college ranking.[24] Harris reiterated in her book that STC would indeed be as competitive as other colleges and universities. Over a fourteen-year period from 1940 to 1954 Harris sought and achieved accreditation for STC as well as graduated well-prepared teachers and students.

Harris' leadership as president at STC ended in 1954 in response to the *Brown* decision and the St. Louis Public Schools Board merging STC with HTC. Within the merge, the Board appointed the president of HTC as head of the newly-formed college and Harris assumed the position of Director of Elementary Education.[25] The Board's decision to remove Harris from the president position, followed the trend seen across the nation where African American educators were being "displaced" (terminated, not offered positions, forced to resign, received diminished responsibilities or token promotions) as school boards responded to the court decision and prepared for the desegregation of schools.[26] Harris' departure from STC marked over thirty years of service rendered to STC. While most believed Harris was the best qualified to lead the merged schools, little is known of Harris discussing the event and it seems as if she acted according to her educational philosophy, she put STC's students' needs ahead of her professional goals. Once again she revealed her strength and grace during a difficult period in St. Louis' history.

Alumni Share How Their STC Experience Influenced Their Careers

The four alumni interviewed in this study were all educators. They included James, a K-12 school administrator, Jerome, a technician in higher education, Alfred, a K-12 school district administrator, and Peter, a K-12

district administrator and higher education administrator. James, along with his wife, graduated from STC and each had productive careers in education; he retired from a large metropolitan school district after serving as principal at two schools while his wife retired as a district-level administrator. Jerome started his career as a technician at a prominent university in St. Louis, which ultimately led to an academic appointment. Alfred had a prolific professional career in education first as a teacher, next a building principal (at both elementary and secondary levels), and last, as a superintendent of a metropolitan school district. Pete commenced his career as a teacher, and then assumed a district role in a large urban district, followed by an appointment at a college, and ultimately returned to a district-level appointment within the school district he served previously.

At the onset, each of the alumni's experience seemed different. As a married student James' experience appeared dichotomous to Alfred's because he seemed less involved in campus activities than Alfred. On the other hand, Jerome's memories of STC paled next to his memories of Lincoln University, a HBCU in Jefferson City, Missouri where he completed his degree since STC did not offer a four-year program aligned with his career interest. Peter's memories of STC revealed he received lots of support from instructors which positively affected his career when he worked in higher education.

During the interviews I shared Harris' seven principles with each participant. None of the alumni knew about the principles. As I shared the principles with the alumni they shared their experiences that resonated with the principles. Of the four principles that bolstered Harris's goal of preparing African American teachers to become either teachers or graduate students in colleges or universities of their choice, the three that emerged from the interviews included: *know your pupils first*, *educate the whole teacher*, and *schools should make use of their communities as learning laboratories*.

While the individual influence of each of Harris' principles emerged in the alumni's voices, the most influential for achieving Harris' goal was the interrelatedness of the three principles coupled with faculty's support and the participants' goals. Interrelatedness refers to motivation defined as a set of interrelated beliefs and emotions that direct behavior.[27] It is presumed that the cumulative effect of the three principles, faculty's support, and the participants' goals influenced their professional lives because their goals (attend graduate school or work in desired field of study) reflected STC's program goals.[28] For example, all participants believed they would attain jobs in their fields of study or attend graduate school. Futhermore, the faculty supported their aspirations by providing tutoring to students with deficiencies, sponsoring assemblies with motivational speakers, or

mentoring students. In the following paragraphs, the interviewees' narratives revealed the influences STC had on their professional careers and lives.

First Influence—Caring Faculty

Each of the participants spoke highly of faculty members' education and shared stories about how the instructors provided academic support, recommended students for opportunities, and mentored them. They spoke of their breadth of knowledge about their subject matter and attributed it to their attendance to outstanding colleges and universities.

In the book, *Stowe Teachers College and Her Predecessors*, Harris, who received her doctorate from Teachers College, acknowledged Stowe faculty's prestigious backgrounds by listing their names along with their alma maters. For instance, one math faculty member received his undergraduate degree from the University of Chicago and his master's degree from Columbia while another received his undergraduate degree from the University of Michigan and his master's degree from Harvard University. Other faculty alma maters included University of Pennsylvania, Cornell University, University of Illinois, and Ohio University as well as well-known HBCUs like Howard University, Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, and Clark University.[29]

Most of the above institutions were either in the northeastern corridor or the Midwest region of the United States. Stowe was not unlike other HBCUs that had rosters of outstanding well-educated faculty. This was due in part because many African Americans attended esteemed northern colleges (e.g., Teachers College) and universities at the expense of the states that provided separate education for Whites and African Americans.[30] In such cases, states reimbursed African Americans for any difference in tuition between northern and in-state institutions.[31] Unable to gain employment at all-White institutions, African Americans sought employment at HBCUs.[32]

Like Harris, the alumni seemed to be equally as proud of the STC's faculty and had many complimentary things to say about them. Jerome believed STC's faculty was very supportive. He said, "Students at Stowe could succeed if they hung in there."[33] Jerome, who walked by STC every day on his way to high school, said he always knew he wanted to attend college. As a high school honor roll student he aspired to be a doctor and study at Howard University, a HBCU in the District of Columbia. Instead upon graduation from high school he enrolled in STC because he could not afford to attend Howard University.

According to Jerome, Harris emphasized academics at STC and rec-

ognized that STC's students needed support. He said, "Harris posted students' cumulative grade point averages near her office … she provided tutoring for students who needed it."[34] The focus on academics helped him complete two years at STC and ultimately graduate from Lincoln University. Additionally, during his interview Jerome highlighted Dr. John B. Ervin one of STC's exemplary teachers.[35] Ervin, recruited by Washington University-St. Louis (WUSTL), became the first African American dean at WUSTL. Today, WUSTL has a scholarship in his name.

Also reflecting on Stowe's faculty, Alfred commented, "As a young man I often wondered how the faculty ended up at Stowe."[36] He later realized that many taught at HBCUs because of the difficulties they faced in securing jobs at White institutions during the Jim Crow era. Alfred spoke about the faculty's mentoring program where faculty stayed in touch with alumni even after they graduated to assist them with problems they encountered in the workplace. Alfred stated, "Dr. Ervin met with graduates as a study group for several years … students shared their problems with him and he gave suggestions on how they could handle problems in the professional world."[37] The support Stowe faculty offered students extended beyond students' enrollment at Stowe as faculty support and mentorship helped students navigate job acquisition and job success. Since the school boards across the nation terminated hundreds of African American teachers' positions in response to the *Brown* decision, STC's mentoring program proved invaluable for students entering the teaching profession in 1954.[38]

In addition to preparing students for the profession, the support of Stowe faculty created a unique academic culture. For example, Peter shared, "The culture of Stowe was something!"[39] Like his colleagues he credited the faculty for setting the bar high for students and encouraging them to be accountable for their own success. He remembered how one of his professors modeled this behavior by sharing her academic record from her summer program with him as a way to encourage him to perform at his optimal.[40] Overall, he felt the instructors took an interest in students and gave them time and attention (e.g., they assigned "faculty hours" to students). According to Peter, "The goal of the professors was to create other professors." As an undergraduate student, the relationships he formed with the faculty served him well as a professional. After accepting an administrative job at STC, some of the same faculty who supported him as a student helped guide him during his tenure at STC.

Second Influence—Know Your Pupils First

The principle, *know your pupil first*, garnered a great deal of attention

from Harris in her book as well asfrom the alumni. Harris believed it was essential for STC's faculty to know students' strengths and weaknesses in order to support them. During her teaching experience she witnessed the inequities of schooling for African Americans; therefore, she anticipated African American students would need academic support. Harris along with the faculty addressed the concerns by emphasizing recruitment to identify students' interests and assess their academic needs. Reflecting on the Harris' recruitment efforts, Jerome commented, "She recruited the best ...!"

The recruitment efforts for STC involved communicating with high school administrators to identify students interested in attending STC. Upon identifying future STC students the faculty canvassed students to determine their interests, invited them to freshmen orientation to learn about STC, and assessed them to determine their readiness for college coursework.

Based on their readiness, students were placed in one of two tracks; attending STC or attending STC's junior college. Students attending STC were individuals who graduated in the top third of their high school, aspired to become teachers and met the entrance requirements. Students who graduated in the top two-thirds of their class attended STC's junior college.

According to Harris the incoming students' reading abilities were far below college level; therefore, STC's faculty addressed the problem by assigning freshmen students to reading groups.[41] For example, students worked on remedial tasks at home or with an assigned teacher at STC in order to improve their skills. Last, freshmen attended orientation classes which included lectures, discussions, and conferences to help them develop goals.

The alumni were very positive about STC's efforts to get to know their students' strengths and limitations as well as provide academic support. Not only did they speak about STC's tutoring program but James added to Harris' narrative by mentioning the freshmen mentoring program. According to James, "… the faculty paired freshmen with senior students for a whole year."[42] The intent was to help freshmen avoid missteps and increase their likelihood of being successful in college. This experience connected to James' professional work because it became part of his belief system. He stated, "… building principals needed to know their schools, be cognizant of their environment, and operate from that point."[43]

Both Jerome and Alfred's comments focused on tutoring. Jerome spoke about the role of the staff in support of students. He said the staff assessed students and those who needed support received tutoring. However, he also mentioned the staff placed students in appropriate courses and

assigned them suitable course loads (e.g., light load or extended day).[44] His comments extended Harris' explanation in her book of the faculty's efforts to support students' success. As Jerome shared his thinking about STC's student support efforts it reminded him of his tutoring program he hosted years ago. Similar to the STC's program he reached out to high school students to help them prepare for college.

Alfred also commented on the tutoring program; yet, most of his remarks focused on the support students received in the directed teaching program. According to Alfred the program allowed students to work in schools prior to graduation. He said, "… it was frightening for some because it was their first time teaching. Students quickly discovered if they were a fit for the profession."[45] The experience helped build his confidence. He recalled his student teaching experience and having his supervising teacher observe him present a lesson to students. During that particular lesson, one of the skills required to teach was one in which he was not particularly adept. However, his supervising teacher recognized it and showed him how to support students' learning using other competencies. From this experience he learned that processes and procedures were important for the development of others. Furthermore, he said, "His learning about processes started at Stowe and he used what he learned at Stowe as an administrator to develop people."[46]

Like Alfred, Peter spoke about STC's directed teaching program. He said, "Students received feedback from the faculty which helped them improve their skills as well as develop guide books to use in their teaching". He said he used STC's curriculum planning process during his professional career. For instance, when his school district's superintendent asked him to lead curriculum development in his area of study, he modeled his procedure after STC's process. He was recognized for the work he and his team produced for the school district.

Third Influence—Educate the Whole Teacher

Harris coined the phrase *educate the whole teacher* from the phrase "the whole child"[47] to express the inclusion of social and cultural activities in to the teacher education curriculum. Harris used the *educate the whole teacher* principle, to address the disenfranchisement of African Americans in the larger St. Louis community during the Jim Crow era.[48] Harris felt the exclusion or treatment of African Americans' participation in cultural events was an affront to their dignity; therefore, she created a cultural space at STC where students as well as community members could enjoy cultural events in a welcoming setting. She established a committee of faculty members to bring the best talent in music, drama, and dance to STC.[49]

In her book she named mostly African American dignitaries of the times who presented to, entertained, or motivated STC audiences.

As students the alumni welcomed Harris' focus on cultural activities. Alfred summed it up best when he said, "… as poor kids growing up in St. Louis we had not listened to quartets or symphonies prior to getting the opportunity to do so at Stowe."[50] He revealed how he incorporated some of Harris' ideals into his professional work, such as introducing his students to new venues as a way to enhance their learning. He remembered how he took his students, who had not ventured beyond the borders of their neighborhood, to a mall that was in walking distance of their neighborhood.

James stated, "Harris brought in all kinds of people both nationally and internationally to Stowe."[51] Although only the actor, Vincent Price, a native of St. Louis came to mind; James felt the exposure allowed him and his peers to experience cultural performances not available to them outside of STC. Similarly, Jerome commented on Harris' encouragement of sororities' and fraternities' participation on campus and their sponsorship of cultural events at STC. He said Harris was a member of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority and supported Greek organizations' sponsorship of activities such as teas. Since the only other university available at the time to African Americans had only one African American sorority he perceived the representation of the eight African American Greek organizations at STC as a benefit to students.

Fourth Influence—Using Communities as Learning Laboratories

The principle, *using communities as learning labs*, seemed particularly important to Harris because it was the subject of her dissertation: teachers should know the communities in which they worked. Furthermore, she made working in the community a requirement for STC's practicing teachers. Harris believed the teaching curriculum program should include provisions for students to gain experience working in the community that would lead to a commitment to serve. The community work experienced by the STC's alumni in this study seemed to have a lasting impact on them because they talked about volunteerism as an important part of their professional careers.

At STC the sociology instructors collaborated with city agencies to establish the liaison program between STC and community organizations. The students studied the organizations' purposes, programs, and outcomes. All students in the teacher training program had to perform fifty hours of field work while taking their sociology course.[52]

Alfred remembered how students had to complete so many hours

(i.e., church, community centers, and health centers) of community work at STC. One illustration of his community-mindedness was the time he came out of retirement to lead a district. The board needed an interim administrator while they commenced a search for a new district leader. He responded positively to the request because he knew the Board needed additional time to search for a full time administrator.

Jerome's volunteerism was more traditional than the example cited for Alfred. He mentored high school-aged boys. Jerome supported them by listening to their issues and coaching them through challenges. He continued the work after retirement. Peter's example of community work echoed Harris' dissertation study because his commitments as a principal involved knowing the community that surrounded the school where he worked. He said his relationship with the community benefitted him because he knew the parents and they trusted him to take care of their children. Lastly, James, similar to Peter, commented on how he was cognizant of the environment of the schools where he served as principal and used the knowledge as starting points to lead the schools. Although each participant had a different story, they all contributed to their communities in ways Harris supported at STC.

Conclusions

Taught by caring and nurturing African American intelligentsias during the oppressive Jim Crow period, the alumni's narratives revealed their STC experience enriched their lives culturally and intellectually. The alumni's stories reflected their indomitable spirits upon leaving STC they felt prepared to pursue careers in education or further their studies at universities such as Washington University-St. Louis or St. Louis University.[53]

They also recognized Harris' efforts to motivate them to achieve academically as well as introduce them to the arts to complement their learning. According to the alumni STC provided a safety net for them if they needed support. Examples they provided included the tutoring program to assist incoming students who were deficient in reading or the faculty's mentoring program for STC's graduates.

The alumni aspired to learn and grow professionally and they all thrived in their careers. Three of the four interviewees' narratives revealed they commenced their careers as teachers; however, each quickly ascended the career ladder from teacher to administrator. For example, one interviewee served as a principal at two schools while another interviewee rose through the administration ranks to become the head of a school district. Still two other interviewees' careers included appointments to positions in higher education.

Furthermore, the interviewees' experience in STC's community involvement program seemed to instill in each of them a commitment to volunteerism. One interviewee said he returned to the workforce after retiring to serve as an interim district leader while the school board extended their candidate search. Another interviewee mentored high school students.

The STC's alumni's narratives not only illustrated STC's influence on their personal and professional lives but their stories demonstrated how Harris' principles of leadership bolstered their development. Harris used principles to support the development of STC students so when they graduated they could pursue teaching or attend any college or university in the country. The alumni's narratives revealed that Harris' plan worked.

Notes

[1] Ruth M. Harris, *Stowe Teachers College and Her Predecessor* (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1967), 57-65.

[2] Harris, *Stowe Teachers College and Her Predecessor*, 57-65.

[3] See The State Historical Society of Missouri. Oral History Collection (S0829). Oral History T-0020. Interview with Judge Nathan B. Young. Interviewed by Dr. Richard Resh. July 15, 1970.

[4] Harris, *Stowe Teachers College and Her Predecessor*, 42-43.

[5] Colin Gordon, *Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 69-82.

[6] Julia Davis, *Harris Teachers College and Stowe Teachers College: Growth and Development 1891-1993*. Thesis, Iowa State University, 1941, 39.

[7] Davis, *Harris Teachers College and Stowe Teachers College*.

[8] Ibid, 39.

[9] Harris, *Stowe Teachers College and Her Predecessor*, 39.

[10] Harris, *Stowe Teachers College and Her Predecessor*, 22-25. Davis, *Harris Teachers College and Stowe Teachers College*, 47.

[11] See St. Louis Women of Achievement 7, (1964): 1-11.

[12] See St. Louis Women of Achievement 7, (1964): 1-11.

[13] Vanessa Siddle Walker, *Hello Professor: A Black Principal and Professional Leadership in the Segregated South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

[14] Harris, *Stowe Teachers College and Her Predecessor*, 61-65.

[15] Ibid, 84-162.

[16] Vanessa Siddle Walker, "African American Teaching in the South: 1940-1960," *American Educational Research Journal* 38, no. 4 (2002): 751-779.

[17] Linda M. Perkins, "The Impact of the 'Cult of True Womanhood' on the Education of Black Women," *Journal of Social Issues* 39, no. 3 (1983): 17-28.

[18] Margaret S. Crocco and Cally L. Waite, "Education and Marginality: Race and Gender in Higher Education 1940-1955," *History of Education Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (2000): 72.

[19] Harris, *Stowe Teachers College and Her Predecessor*, 84-162.

[20] Stephanie J. Shaw, *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional*

Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 2.

[21] Harris, *Stowe Teachers College and Her Predecessor*, 42.

[22] Carter G. Woodson, *The Negro in Our History* (Washington: The Assorted Publishers, Ind. 1927), no. 455. Most HBCUs founded after the Civil War (i.e., Fisk in 1866, Howard University in 1867, or Clark in Atlanta in 1870). Stephanie Y. Evans, *Black Women in the Ivory Tower*, 1850-1954 (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007), 42-47.

[23] Ibid, 42-47. Crocco and Waite, "Fighting Injustice Through Education," *History of Education* 33, no. 5 (2004): 578-579.

[24] Evans, *Black Women in the Ivory Tower*, 1850-1954.

[25] George D. Brantley, "Present Status of Integration in the Public Schools of Missouri," *The Journal of Negro Education* 24, no. 3 (1955): 300. According to Brantley, Harris was appointed as Director of Elementary Education in the superintendent's office at St. Louis Public Schools.

[26] Michael Fultz, "The Displacement of Black Educators Post-Brown: An Overview and Analysis," *History of Education Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (2004):14.

[27] Kathryn R. Wentzel, "Social-Motivational Processes and Interpersonal Relationships: Implications for Understanding Motivation at School," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 91 (1999): 76.

[28] Ibid, 76.

[29] Harris, *Stowe Teachers College and Her Predecessor*, 29-32.

[30] Daniel T. Kelleher, "The Demise of the Separate but Equal Doctrine," *The Journal of Negro History* 56, no. 4 (1971): 262.

[31] Jayne R. Beilke, "The Changing Emphasis of the Rosenwald Fellowship Program," *The Journal of Negro Education* 66, no. 1 (1997): 4.

[32] Crocco and Waite, "Fighting Injustice Through Education," 581.

[33] Jerome (retired) interview by Vanessa B. Garry, March 24, 2016, interview 2, transcript.

[34] Ibid.

[35] James (retired administrator) interview by Vanessa B. Garry, March 24, 2016, interview 1, transcript.

[36] Alfred (retired administrator) interview by Vanessa B. Garry, March 28, 2016, interview 3, transcript.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Michael Fultz, "The Displacement of Black Educators Post-Brown: An Overview and Analysis," *History of Education Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (2004):14. Linda C. Tillman, "(Un)Intended Consequences?: The Impact of the Brown v. Board of Education Decision on the Employment Status of Black Educators," *Education and Urban Society* 36 (2004):280-303..

[39] Peter (retired administrator) interview by Vanessa B. Garry, March 31, 2016, interview 4, transcript.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Harris, *Stowe Teachers College and Her Predecessor*, 96. Myrdal, Gunnar. *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1944), 337-344. Myrdal concluded in the North either poverty restricted African Americans' access to education or their migration to urban areas and eventually inhabiting impoverished areas gave them access to inferior schools.

[42] James (retired administrator) interview by Vanessa B. Garry, March 24, 2016, interview 1, transcript.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Jerome (retired educator) interview by Vanessa B. Garry, March 24, 2016, interview 2, transcript.

[45] Alfred (retired administrator) interview by Vanessa B. Garry, March 28, 2016, interview 3, transcript.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Harris, *Stowe Teachers College and Her Predecessor*, 112.

[48] Ibid, 54.

[49] See St. Louis Women of Achievement 7, (1964): 1-11.

[50] Alfred (retired administrator) interview by Vanessa B. Garry, March 28, 2016, interview 3, transcript.

[51] James (retired administrator) interview by Vanessa B. Garry, March 24, 2016, interview 1, transcript.

[52] Harris, *Stowe Teachers College and Her Predecessor*, 121-124.

[53] Jerome (retired educator) interview by Vanessa B. Garry, March 24, 2016, interview 2, transcript. Alfred (retired administrator) interview by Vanessa B. Garry, March 28, 2016, interview 3, transcript.

Bringing Worlds Together:
China and America through the Eyes of Dr. Yali Zhao

John S. Crumb II &
Chara Haeussler Bohan

Georgia State University

Imagine pioneering a brave new frontier with all of the questions, fears, and excitement that exploration brings. Yali Zhao was not part of the American westward expansion, nor was she an astronaut seeking to step out into outer space. She is however, on a journey to expand multicultural relations through cultural exchange and the analysis of multiple historical perspectives. Zhao's journey began in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in northwestern China.[1] Her journey continues today in the Southeastern region of the United States.

The purpose of this article is to demonstrate how Yali Zhao's life story is representative of many Chinese immigrants' experiences in the U.S., yet it is also to show how her biographical experiences are unique. From a laborer's daughter in China to a well-respected scholar in the United States, Zhao's story reflects an interesting dichotomy. A member of the Han majority in China, Zhao was raised in a region where she was a minority among the Uygur, a Muslim ethnic group. As Zhao explored cultural differences in China, she developed a distinct perspective among her fellow Chinese citizens. Zhao would later experience life as a minority yet again in the United States. In the following narrative, we recount Zhao's life during China's Cultural Revolution in Xinjiang province, her collegiate

and graduate life in Xi'an, and Beijing, China and Athens, Georgia, and her work with international students in the United States. These experiences led Zhao to develop an interest in diverse ethnic groups around the globe and to pursue teaching social studies at the university level in order to share this knowledge and interest with future teachers.

Biographical Theory and Methodology

This investigation into Zhao's life story provides an opportunity to expand educational research through biographical inquiry.[2] Through this biographical inquiry, the complex issues and problems Zhao faced provide insight into her evolving beliefs as an educator.[3] For example, Zhao exemplifies a strong work ethic typical of many Chinese who experienced the hardships of the Cultural Revolution. Yet Zhao's life is atypical among Chinese immigrants because of her encounters with diverse groups throughout her life. Zhao's narrative provides a "traditional orientation that includes telling the subject's story in a chronological pattern with more emphasis upon developing a 'quest plot' and describing those life-periods of recognition (or notoriety) to the general public."[4] Different from an ethnography, Zhao's narrative awakens the imagination to her world view as an educator.[5]

Narrative biography fills an important role in educational research by providing a glimpse into the lived experiences of other educators who confront historical and contemporary issues. As Craig Kridel suggested in 1998, "the study of biography is slowly emerging as a significant development in the field of educational research;" subsequent recent work in educational biography demonstrates its continued acceptance and relevance as a field of educational study.[6] Documenting Yali Zhao's life experiences, situated in historical and contemporary contexts, fills a gap in educational research, as the lives of Chinese American professors are often omitted from educational biographies. Many benefits emerge from educational research that focuses on the biographies of educators. As Stephen Oates explains, "There are good reasons for biography's appeal. For one thing, it demonstrates that the individual does count – which is reassuring to people in our complex, technical age, who often feel caught up in vast impersonal forces beyond their control."[7] Zhao's life may appear typical of Chinese immigrants in the professoriate, yet her life experiences are also unique and worthy of investigation and description.

In order to conduct this particular educational biography, the authors read secondary literature on contemporary China in order to situate Zhao's life in historical context. In addition, the authors obtained and reviewed relevant articles that Zhao authored, as well as syllabi and

other materials related to her educational biography. Both authors held individual personal interviews with Yali Zhao on two separate occasions. Subsequently, both asked follow-up questions with Zhao when needed for clarification purposes. Finally, the authors submitted the manuscript to Zhao at least four times to provide opportunities for her to correct any misinterpretations and to serve the function of member-checking. Zhao provided feedback and editorial corrections each time to ensure accuracy of the authors' description of her life. Member-checking also served as a means to honor Zhao's perspective on her lived experiences. Thus, the authors' approach reflected a traditional biographical approach that relies on contextual documents, as well as incorporated oral history interviews, in order to give voice to the biographical subject.

The relationship between the authors and the biographical subject remains complex. The primary author is a doctoral student at the university where Zhao works and the secondary author is a colleague at the same institution. The first author is married to a woman of Chinese origin and the second author has an adopted child from China. Thus, both authors have a personal interest in Chinese culture and history. The first author never studied under Yali Zhao as she teaches in the elementary education department, thus a hierarchal relationship does not exist. The second author has been a colleague with Zhao for a decade and they have a collegial working relationship. Certainly, these relationships with Zhao enhanced access to information about her life experiences. She was able to clarify statements in the manuscript quickly. However, the research was also complicated by the personal relationship, especially when the authors and biographical subject held differing viewpoints. For example, Zhao did not want the authors to include a picture of Confucius that she found offensive. The authors agreed to change the image. In another instance, Zhao and the second author came to an understanding after considerable deliberation that their views on the one-child policy respectfully differed. Thus, the biography reflects a traditional approach to writing about a life, while simultaneously honoring the lived experience of the subject.

While deference to Zhao's perspective on her lived experience is offered, several differences between Zhao's written account of her cross-cultural experience and the authors' perspectives emerged. For example, the authors provide more details on the socio-cultural and historical context of the Cultural Revolution as well as post-Mao China and how these events impacted Zhao's life. Zhao provides a more personal and emotional description of her life in her autobiographical narrative and in-person interviews. Moreover, the authors reference literature related to human rights from an American perspective, and they offer a comparison of the Chinese and American education systems. Zhao does not describe these contex-

tual issues in her narrative and observes that her perspective of China's government and policies is less critical. Thus, this educational biography highlights elements of Zhao's life that she has not detailed in her own writings. Ultimately, both the authors and Zhao believe her life story has meaning and relevance, particularly for individuals who are minorities or who face cross-cultural challenges.

Life Prior to the 21st Century

Yali Zhao was born in 1965, one year prior to the start of the Chinese Cultural Revolution that was initiated and led by Chairman Mao Zedong. The Cultural Revolution began in 1966 and lasted until Chairman Mao's death in 1976.[8] During this timeframe, all of China under Mao was cast into upheaval, which was later referred to as "ten years of catastrophe."[9] All forms of capitalism including land ownership were repudiated and anyone practicing capitalism was persecuted and publicly humiliated in endless denouncing meetings.[10]

Some Americans might question how a society could blindly follow the dictates of one man. Understanding the Cultural Revolution is difficult given the geographic and cultural differences between America and China, but considerable literature has been published recently to illuminate this time period in Chinese history for American audiences.[11] For the vast majority of the people of China during the Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao was viewed as a diety.[12] Controlling all forms of the media and education, Mao gave orders and the people most often obeyed without question.[13] Chinese citizens were passive in politics and possessed few human rights.[14] Authors of histories of the Chinese Cultural Revolution have painted a portrait of a time period that appears harsh, particularly from an American perspective. For example, Fairbank and Goldman wrote in their history of China that the Chinese, "…have no human rights because they have been taught that the assertion of human rights (such as due process of law) would be selfish and antisocial and therefore ignoble. It would also be severely punished."[15] According to estimates, there were around one million victims of the Cultural Revolution, many of whom did not survive.[16] "To Chinese, so sensitive to peer-group esteem, to be beaten and humiliated in public before a jeering crowd, including colleagues and old friends, was like having one's skin taken off."[17]

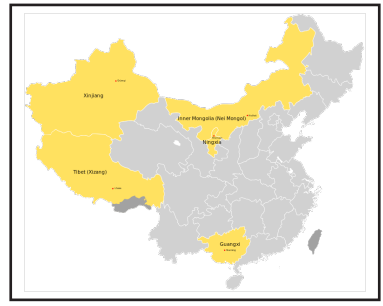
Yet, not all Chinese people experienced such brutal conditions during the Cultural Revolution, and Yali Zhao believes that such a description did not match the historical reality that her family experienced during her childhood in Xinjiang. In a recent interview and in a published chapter, Zhao noted that even though her family, "experienced some discrimina-

tion being labeled as 'class of landlords', we were not physically bullied or cruelly treated."[18] The discrimination to the Zhao children was more of a verbal or psychological kind as the topic was rampant in school textbooks and public slogans. While the brutal descriptions of life during the Cultural Revolution did happen to many people, Yali Zhao noted that her life experience was not as harsh as those who had more ruthless encounters. In reading a draft of this manuscript for member-checking purposes, Zhao explained that a few reasons accounted for these differences in experiences.[19] First, she was very young, aged 1-11 years old, during the Cultural Revolution. A child's understanding differs from an adult's understanding, and certainly Zhao's knowledge and experience of Chinese politics would have been limited at such a tender age. Second, her parents worked exceptionally hard to gain people's respect, despite their landlord label. To this day, Zhao continues to exhibit a strong work ethic and a positive view of the world. This understanding is not intended to convey that all people with strong work ethics were as fortunate as Zhao's family, nor that the contrary is true. During the Cultural Revolution many Chinese people lost their homes, jobs, educational opportunities, and sometimes their own lives.[20]

Zhao's family's class was that of "landlord,"[21] even though her grandparents' family in central China did not actually own a lot of land before new China was founded in 1949 and her parents were very young and had no land at all. The landlord title held much disdain and hatred. To escape condemnation and also answer the call of young people to improve conditions in remote and frontier areas, Zhao's parents migrated from central China to Xinjiang province in hope that the Cultural Revolution in this region would not be as frenzying as in the central and eastern parts of China. Family members were hired and worked as hard laborers for the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC), where many Han Chinese settled down for both building and defending Xinjiang.[22] Xinjiang was known as a "minority"[23] region (home of the ethnic Uygur), so Zhao grew up in a "very very diverse part of China."[24] The Han is the dominant ethnic group (the majority) throughout China; however, it composes only a minority part of the population in the five ethnic minority autonomous regions in China; Xinjiang Uygur, Guangxi Zhuang, Tibet, Ningxia Hui and Inner Mongolia (see Map 1). Zhao grew up in an Uyghur dominated area and acquired an appreciation for Uyghur food, music, crafts, and other aspects of the Uyghur culture.[25] Fear of ethnic tension existed in the region, but Zhao was curious about the Uyghur Muslim way of life. She also wanted to discover more about the Uyghur people.[26] Growing up in Xinjiang, Zhao learned that it was critical to act in harmony with other ethnic groups.[27] "I still remember clearly how often we were admonished by

our parents and teachers that we must respect the lifestyles and religious practices of the Uyghur people to avoid triggering any ethnic conflicts."[28]

Being raised in Xinjiang brought mixed emotions. While she was proud of her parents for being pioneers on China's "western frontier", Zhao felt as if she was "living at the end of the world and had been forgotten by the rest of China - a sentiment shared by many in my hometown."[29] Zhao noted that her family lived far in the south of Xinjiang from the 1950s through the 1990s. When she was a young girl in the 1970s, it took at least eight days at that time to reach cities such as Beijing by bus and or train. While growing up, Yali Zhao noted that some sporadic unrest between Han Chinese and minority groups existed in Xinjiang, but the relationship between groups was tolerable. Generally speaking, as a young child, Yali Zhao did not perceive the need to cope with such issues as she lived mostly with Han people.[30] Additionally, relations with China's neighboring countries to the west "had become tense and unstable."[31] Compared to China's eastern provinces, Xinjiang lagged behind both in terms of economic and educational opportunities.[32]



Map 1 (Five autonomous regions of China highlighted in yellow) [33]

The Cultural Revolution and Education

Prior to 1912, the emperor and nobility dominated Chinese political culture (a form of Chinese feudalism), while the vast majority of people worked as peasants.[34] This stratified economic and political system led to considerable unrest in the early part of the 20th century. Military coups and civil wars plagued the country until 1949 when China became a communist country under Chairman Mao.[35] The Chinese government under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party extirpated this old feudal system and began classifying citizens into various social categories.[36] During the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese people were further divided into the Seven Black Categories and the Five Red Categories.[37] Citizens who belonged to the Five Red Categories were given preferential status;

they included: revolutionary soldiers, workers, poor and lower-middle class peasants, revolutionary officers and revolutionary martyrs.[38] Citizens who were members of the Seven Black Categories included: landlords, rich farmers, reactionary bad elements, rightists, traitors and spies, and their children.[39] Those in the Seven Black Categories were excluded from many privileges. Among the privileges they were denied was joining the Communist Party and the army, being promoted at work, and pursuing higher levels of education.[40]

As a young student, Zhao found that carrying the label of one of the Seven Black Categories to be tremendously painful because the anti-landlord topic was pervasive in all the textbooks they read at that time, mostly during her elementary school years (1972-1976).[41] This humiliating status remained with Zhao's parents, siblings and herself no matter how well they behaved.[42]

> My siblings and I were naturalized 'landlords,' a title of which we were painfully ashamed; it was a nightmare that we had to endure for many years, whether it was on the first day of school, when we had to write down our family's classification on the registration forms, or when we were reading textbooks about how the poor peasants were mistreated and exploited by the cruel landlords. Such themes were prevalent and ubiquitous in every school subject area, even in math application problems. Slogans and posters denouncing the Black Categories always hung conspicuously on the walls, often making me feel as though I were sitting on pins and needles. I was unhappy and confused about why young people like me who had grown up "under the red flag" (a term referring to generations who were born after the People's Republic of China was established in 1949) had to carry on the humiliating burden of our ancestors.[43]

Yet, Zhao perceived that she did not face arduous discrimination overall because she continuously worked hard to earn respect and was an honored student.[44] Her parents, however, did encounter discrimination, and consequently Yali Zhao was always aware of the discrimination enacted towards people with such labels. Zhao reflects that it was through this difficult time, she learned humility, patience, and kindness.[45] These experiences "forced me to become strong and optimistic when facing challenges."[46]

Figure 1
"Liuxia Zhi severely berates Confucius"[47]

Education had been emphasized and valued throughout Chinese history until the Cultural Revolution. Confucius, the central figure and founder of Chinese private education, was criticized and many of his temples and statues were ruined during that time. "What better way to attack old belief systems than to attack their perceived champion, Confucius"[48] (see Figure 1). Not only were capitalists targeted and persecuted during the Cultural Revolution, but so were intellectuals, a category which included teachers. However, Zhao's mother and father still believed in the intrinsic value of education, and encouraged their children to work hard in school to achieve high grades and become teachers. "My parents were always very humble and very nice people. They taught me to work hard and be nice to (other) people. By working hard you may someday have an opportunity (for advancement)."[49]

Zhao and her siblings, an older sister and a younger brother continued to encourage each other to put forth their best effort. According to Zhao, of the three children in her immediate family, she worked the hardest. In her hometown in Xinjiang, if a person was born into a family of a five black-listed category, the only career choices available was to become a farmer or a hard laborer. When Zhao was young, she dreamed of being in the military but members of her family could not qualify. Chinese textbooks wrote about how lovely and honorable military service was, and thus Yali Zhao thought she would enjoy serving her county. Like military requirements in the U.S., Chinese soldiers needed to reach an age of maturity before serving. Yali Zhao was 11 years old when the Cultural Revolution ended in 1976, and social classification ended in 1979. By the time she was 18 years old and able to attend a university, she realized that obtaining a college education was more attractive and honorable than joining the military. Yet, during the Cultural Revolution, Zhao's parents hoped that if their children worked diligently and earned high grades in

school, local schools might hire them as teachers.[50] During the Cultural Revolution, teaching represented a career opportunity for people like her family members.

Life after the Cultural Revolution

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, political events started unfolding in China that would profoundly affect Zhao's life. While she was in fifth grade in 1976, Mao Zedong died. Hua Guofeng took over as Chairman of the Central Committee, bringing the Cultural Revolution to an end.[51] Zhao entered middle school, a time of great transition for her and for China. Hua was replaced by Deng Xiaoping, who ruled China from 1978 until his retirement in 1992. Deng recognized that Mao's economic policies had failed China, plunging the nation into isolation and poverty.[52] The Cultural Revolution had also damaged Chinese universities, as Mao attacked what he deemed as "reactionary bourgeois academic authorities."[53] Jung Chang in her tome on Mao describes in great detail the atrocities Mao incited in the universities.[54] Fortunately, Deng instituted new economic reforms that once again opened international relations with the western world. A few years after the Cultural Revolution, new thoughts and ideas flowed into China from the West. Zhao and her siblings became able to attend college in the early 1980s. By the time Yali Zhao and her siblings enrolled in college, expectations and college admission in China had changed dramatically. In the end, all three children attended universities in different areas and selected different majors to study.

The educational system in place at the time of Zhao's collegiate experience dictated that college students from China's frontier towns would return to their hometown after graduation. The policy was instituted by the government to improve the frontier and remote areas as they lagged behind in education and other opportunities.[55] However, this policy was perceived to be unfair by many students from frontier areas because they wanted to live in more populated and cosmopolitan areas and wanted a chance to pursue careers outside their hometown.[56] If a student took and passed the graduate school exam and was admitted to a university, the student did not have to return to the remote hometown. This path is the option that Yali Zhao followed.

Zhao, like many students from remote areas, hoped that she would be able to remain in a cosmopolitan area after graduation. For Zhao, it was important to avoid the college assignment system which would have forced her to return to her hometown. Although she was admitted to a graduate program in another city, Zhao decided against attending because she was not familiar with the city. The decision to turn down the

graduate program opportunity meant that Zhao was once again enrolled in the college assignment system. Zhao discovered that some colleges in Urumqui, the capital city of her hometown province of Xinjiang, were recruiting outstanding university graduates as part of the faculty. The opportunity to work in Xinjiang would allow Zhao to be closer to her family than most other cities in China. Confident she would be hired because of her outstanding grades and some awards she had won in her college program, she was asked to conduct a public lesson that her departmental faculty would attend. Being asked to conduct a public lesson was a unique opportunity afforded only a few students.[57]

On the day of her graduation job assignment, when she would learn where she would be employed, Zhao received a pleasant surprise. "I was totally shocked to hear that I would be hired by our department to teach English as an assistant professor. Of course, I happily accepted this position as I knew the university and the city Xi'an so well…It was my dream university at that time."[58]

Zhao pursued her degree with a fiery passion in order to bring honor to her family and learn new knowledge. Because of her deep interest in the English language and the influence of her high school English teacher, when Zhao graduated from high school, she wanted to teach English. Her study of English reflected her continuing interest in diverse cultures. In 1987, Yali Zhao earned her Bachelor of Arts degree in English Language and Literature from Shaanxi Normal University in Xi'an, China. In China, Normal Universities specialize in educating college students to become teachers in specific subjects. Upon graduation, she was hired by Shaanxi Normal University and worked as an assistant professor of English. This achievement was a great honor for Zhao's family and for Zhao the position brought a sense of relief and security.[59] "I began to build my self-esteem and confidence, both in communicating with people of various backgrounds and seeking ways to accomplish my dreams."[60]

Yali Zhao's dreams continued to come true as she migrated to the city of Beijing, a city which held special meaning for Zhao, not only for its elite status as China's capital and cultural center, but also because of how she was educated about Chairman Mao when she was young.[61] Zhao further developed her interest in diverse cultures in Beijing as she began an advanced study of English language and Western Cultures. Zhao earned a Postgraduate Advanced Study Certificate in English Language and Literature from Beijing University of Science and Technology, in Beijing, China in 1991. Upon graduation, Zhao was hired by the university. As an assistant professor in Beijing, Zhao taught a course called, "English-Speaking Countries and Western Culture."[62] The course not only broadened her knowledge of western history and culture, but it sparked Zhao's inter-

est in how western countries dealt with diverse ethnic and social issues.[63] At the University of Science and Technology, she worked as an assistant professor for six years and as an associate professor for three years. From 1995 to 1999, Zhao also served as the Coordinator of Foreign Affairs at the same university. During the 1990s, acquiring an academic job in China was considerably different from the process in the United States. In the United States, the vetting process is quite rigorous and often requires a doctorate from an institution of higher education. Chinese institutions of higher education faced the challenge of rebuilding in the wake of the Cultural Revolution.

Zhao's tenure at the University of Science and Technology reinforced her strong work ethic. Zhao authored five articles that were published in *Foreign Literature Review* (China), and three articles in *Book Reading Weekly* (China). She also translated and published many articles in newspapers and journals. The subject matter included western literary works such as *Pride and Prejudice* and *Beowulf* and writings by authors Robert Frost and Robin Robinson. In 1995, Zhao co-authored the book *English Advertising and Culture*.

Zhao met her future husband in Lanzhou and married in 1988 in Xi'an when she was 23 years old. Her husband's career seemed to mirror her own. Both were tenured professors at the University of Science and Technology. Both would move to the U.S. and become doctoral students, and both would teach at universities in Georgia. Their daughter was born in 1991 and was in fifth grade when the family immigrated to the United States.

Life in the 21st Century

With the ushering in of a new millennium, Zhao experienced dramatic changes in both her life and career. Zhao's diligence and interest were evident in 2000, when she came to the United States. "I yearned to visit an English-speaking country so that I could gain some firsthand knowledge and experience of life in the western world. At the same time, I felt the urgent need to obtain a doctoral degree for my academic advancement and promotion."[64] She was admitted to the University of Georgia (UGA) in Athens, GA where she began working on her doctoral degree in social sciences. In addition to her doctoral studies, in 2003, she also began working on her Master's degree in Instructional Technology at UGA. In Athens, Georgia, Zhao once again was a minority among the people with whom she lived.

The year 2004 was full of many important events in Zhao's life. Zhao received her Ph.D. degree in social sciences and an Interdisciplinary

Qualitative Studies Graduate Certificate. In 2004, Zhao also became an assistant professor at Georgia State University (GSU) in the Department of Early Childhood education. Georgia State is located in Atlanta, GA. Zhao experienced the birth of her second child in 2007, an event that was made possible because of the move to the U.S., as Zhao was able to avoid China's one-child policy.[65] In 1979, the Chinese government instituted the one-child policy, but in October 2015 the law was changed to a two-child policy.

In 2010, Zhao was extended tenure at GSU and became an associate professor. With this promotion, her accomplishments and security were solidified. Not surprisingly, Zhao has been extremely industrious, especially after arriving in the United States, as she honors her father and mother with her diligence. Since 2000, Zhao has delivered over 50 presentations at various conferences across the United States. Zhao has applied for and received grants and many awards including: the Outstanding Contribution to Georgia "We the People" Program (2007);[66] and the Distinguished Research in Teacher Education Award by the Georgia Association of Teacher Educators (2005-2006).

Research in the United States

Zhao's research work in the United States initially reviewed how social science classes and character development among students changed in China during the 1980s and 1990s. For example, she identifies how traditional values of good citizenship were replaced by the need for students to become aware of the influence of globalization and the need to become socially adaptable.[67] This interest in globalization reflects Zhao's understanding of diversity that stemmed from her early life experiences.

During the beginning of her doctoral studies, Zhao did not foresee how social studies education would become relevant to her career and at one point even regretted her decision to major in it.[68] The program matched neither her interests nor career direction. This attitude would eventually change as Zhao saw that the curriculum included an abundance of information about western history, geography and culture. Zhao realized that she could better serve her Chinese college students when she returned to China by obtaining her doctoral degree in the U.S. Gradually, through her coursework she began to understand how social studies education could help shape the minds of students and influence their future actions. In Georgia, Zhao became even more receptive to the diverse cultural elements of various ethnic groups. Just as she had appreciated many aspects of the Uygur culture during her childhood, she was willing to expand her knowledge of the western world. At this point, Zhao embraced social

studies education as her passion and career.[69]

Zhao's work started to change as she began researching elementary school teacher and student perspectives of social studies content in the United States.[70] In one of her published articles, Zhao corroborated previous research about the negative perceptions of social studies that exist among some elementary students and how many students do not understand the value of social studies. This study was an outer reflection of how Zhao started examining social studies education in the United States as part of her research.

While working on her doctorate at the University of Georgia, Zhao took several instructional technology courses.[71] Originally she wanted to learn some new skills for teaching.[72] Gradually, she found it to be challenging and entertaining. As Zhao was searching for a dissertation topic, she realized that she could combine two of her interests, social studies and technology. She wanted to find out to what degree social studies teachers were incorporating technology into their pedagogy. Zhao wrote several journal articles that focused on the integration of technology in the classroom; more specifically, Zhao addressed the relative lag in social studies teachers' utilization of technology in the classroom when compared to other content areas, such as math and science.[73] Zhao cites several reasons for the lack of technical infusion into the social studies curricula which include: insufficient technology, inadequate training and lack of planning time.[74] Zhao noted in her research that the use of technology in the social studies classroom often promotes student engagement.[75] The study's findings concluded that while teacher training could help teachers integrate technology in the classroom, it does not ensure that teachers would increase their usage of technology.[76]

One of Zhao's pedagogical passions is to help pre-service elementary teachers better understand cultural diversity, thus demonstrating a unique quality that sets her apart. As an integral part of her life, Zhao wishes to impart her love for diversity to her students. With the ever increasing number of students with limited English proficiency entering American schools, it is important for teachers to comprehend the diverse backgrounds that their students bring to the classroom.[77] Zhao believes that pre-service teacher exchange programs can provide one possible way for teachers to further develop and keep a positive relationship with immigrant students.[78] Zhao directs a program that brings American college students at an urban institution to schools in China, so that the students can gain direct experience with the Chinese education system.

The Immigration Experience: Career with a Purpose

Prior to entering the United States, Zhao intended on returning to

China once she earned her doctoral degree.[79] However, family and professional reasons altered that decision. While writing her dissertation, Zhao's husband and daughter were both at crucial stages in their respective academic careers. Additionally, the United States offered Zhao an opportunity to conduct multicultural research from multiple perspectives.[80] Perhaps one of the most important reasons that Zhao decided to stay in the U.S. was that she had found a career with a purpose. In her eyes, she had become a cultural ambassador for students from diverse backgrounds.[81] She became impassioned about researching and teaching educational issues while working with prospective students to help them serve culturally diverse students.

Once she had decided that she wished to remain in the United States, one of the greatest challenges for Zhao was being able to stay. The process for obtaining a green card was long, tedious, complicated, and expensive. Dealing with the immigration service bureaucracy was extremely frustrating at times. She feared that the delays in processing her status placed her tenure in peril. Zhao's temporary work immigration status would not allow her to apply for external grants nor were some academic opportunities, such as federal student loans and in-state scholarships, available for her daughter.[82] Although her daughter had attended public schools in Georgia for many years, she did not have a green card. However, Zhao's diligent character allowed her to persevere with the immigration process.

As an international student, Zhao experienced a handful of language and cultural barriers in the American educational system, but perhaps not as many as other students; in the meantime, many American teachers lacked appropriate understanding of Chinese students' cultural background. In order to facilitate student learning, it is important for teachers to empathize with their students and teach from culturally responsive pedagogy. Therefore, Zhao started to lead college of education students in cross-cultural immersion experiences in China so that pre-service teachers can become better prepared to teach students from diverse cultural backgrounds. It is not sufficient for students and instructors to learn about other cultures, but they must also learn from and with others who have diverse cultural backgrounds.[83] As an example, Zhao views university study abroad programs as successful because they give students opportunities to develop global and cultural perspectives.

Zhao wishes for social studies teachers to embrace diversity by conveying to their students that for every event, multiple perspectives exist and that often history is far more complex than the stories depicted in textbooks. In a study that Zhao helped conduct, the authors analyzed the Korean War from multiple perspectives using textbook excerpts from China, Japan, Russia, North Korea, South Korea (all translated into English)

and the United States.[84] Headline news involving North Korea's further development of its nuclear weapons program provided an opportunity for students to examine the past and better understand its ramifications on the present and future.[85]

> The ways we were educated, the cultures we grew up in, and the multiple perspectives we learned in our academic life have greatly influenced our narration and understanding of the Korean War. We will not hide our biases, which are always there when we interpret historical events. We see history not as a fixed set of facts, but as an interpretive process of debates, controversies, and conflicting issues.[86]

By introducing or further developing analyses of multiple perspectives, teachers are able to implement lessons involving student inquiry around issues-centered problems.[87] One of the exciting elements about Zhao's work is that she does not simply point out problems that exist in education, but sets forth in word and actions to find solutions to these issues. One of the obstacles that teachers might have in implementing a lesson centered on the Korean War may be based on limited resources such as time and information.[88] To partially compensate for the lack of resources, Zhao helps provide detailed lesson plans and materials for teachers. In her course syllabi, Zhao has students read works about diversity, culturally responsive pedagogy, and multiple perspectives. These readings include works by Linda Darling-Hammond, Geneva Gay, and Beverly Daniel Tatum.[89] She also has students engage in projects that reflect her commitment to diversity and cross-cultural understanding.

Differences in Educational Systems

Transitioning from the role of student in one educational system to the role of teacher in another educational system demonstrates Zhao's adaptability. Zhao has been able to examine the educational systems in China and the United States as both an instructor and a parent. Zhao posits that each system is moving in seemingly opposite directions. "In China, education has become more student-centered while the United States is moving toward what China used to be: more teacher-centered and exam-focused."[90]

Zhao comments that students in China typically are much more respectful of their teachers than their counterparts in the United States. American classrooms are much more diverse, and students are encouraged to voice their opinions. Some students may perceive this climate as

less respectful than a homogeneous classroom where students sit passively and listen to the teacher. Clearly, the pedagogies in American and Chinese classrooms are divergent, and can be misinterpreted. Interestingly, Zhao also believes that students in China are becoming less respectful, because of the one-child policy, the parents and grandparents are easily tempted to spoil the only child. In China, moving to a more student-centered approach is difficult for teachers because of large class sizes, in comparison to the United States. Each elementary class often ranges from 45 to 50 students, while middle school classes are composed of 60 or more students.[91] Depending upon the particular school, the class sizes in some high schools can even be higher. The large student numbers make "small" group activities difficult to facilitate because of the restricted confines of each classroom and limited teaching resources.

Obviously, there are many cultural differences between the Chinese and American systems of education. The American system seems to be much more open to diverse student cultures than the more homogenous student culture of the Chinese system. However, one system that some school districts are implementing in the United States, the cohort system, has been used in China for many years.[92] Under the system in China, Zhao explained in her interview, students who are just beginning in elementary school are divided into different classes and they remain in those classes with the same classmates until they graduate from that particular school (elementary or middle). Each class will stay together for all subjects (math, art, Chinese, etc.). Traditionally, in the United States, a group of students will remain together for some subjects and separate for others. The following year, these groups of students will be mixed up again and will be part of a different group of students. One of the advantages to a cohort system is in allowing teachers and students to build relationships with each other that they can strengthen over the course of several years.[93] Students can also form a community in which they develop strong collaborative skills.[94] However, Zhao is quick to note a potential disadvantage of the system if students perceive the teacher to be a poor and uncaring instructor, which can hinder the learning process. Often, students, teachers and parents will work together to solve this potential problem. According to Zhao, teaching policies also differ between China and the United States. For instance, teachers in China specialize in a specific subject, even in elementary school; a math teacher in elementary school will only teach math.

The college admission processes for China and the United States are distinctive. The Chinese admission process is much more rigid and requires students to demonstrate the utmost in diligence if they wish to be successful. In China, high school graduates must participate in the National College Entrance Exam if they wish to be admitted into a college or

university.[95] This exam is administered once a year and all students must take the exam at the same time and on the same days, June 6th, 7th and 8th. In most recent years, some prestigious universities started to offer early application and test opportunities for highly academically successful students. After the exams, students must estimate their own scores and select a limited number of colleges or universities and majors they wish to attend based on their perceived performance.[96] Once a student is admitted and has chosen a major, he or she normally cannot change the major. All students in Chinese colleges and universities are required to pass the National English Test Band 4 before receiving their diploma.[97] According to Zhao, the expectations for success depend greatly on the industriousness and perseverance of the student. In the United States, students have a broader range of flexibility in deciding which major they wish to pursue as well as which college or university they wish to attend.

Zhao believes that only some aspects of the education systems of both China and the United States are comparable. In China, the education system by and large is unified on a national scale. In the United States, fifty states and Washington D.C. have their own distinctive school systems and within most of those school systems educational subsystems exist. For example, in the state of Georgia, each county has its own school system. However, the Common Core is facilitating a national curriculum in the United States. Thus, the two worlds of China and the U.S. appear to be moving closer together in the area of standardization in education.

Philosophy

Yali Zhao has a desire for her students to appreciate cross-cultural perspectives. Zhao states that she is passionate that her students learn to view the world through a global lens. It is only by broadening their awareness of the world beyond their own borders that American students will be able to more fully grasp that they live in a complex and increasingly interconnected world. According to Zhao,

> More than ever, there is the need for people all over the world to understand better the differences between people, nations, culture, religious beliefs, and values in order to live peacefully in this increasingly diverse but globalized world. More than ever, schools need to integrate global education into school curricula and throughout student school life to prepare them for the new challenges of the twenty-first century. [98]

In her own life, Zhao wishes to continue to broaden her international communication network. Zhao's passion for global studies stems from her experiences living as a minority in nearly all of her residences.

For Yali Zhao the journey continues. Like all explorers, Zhao has faced many challenges in her life. From navigating the waters of the Chinese Cultural Revolution to overcoming the hurdles of language and cultural barriers present in the United States for many immigrants, Zhao perseveres and overcomes. Zhao still has many obstacles ahead of her but she is willing to meet them with a firm resolve to expand global awareness among all of her students. Zhao increases this global awareness in part by conveying to her students that human history is complex. One method of helping students understand complexity better is by investigating historical events through multiple perspectives. What is her next goal? "Right now I want to keep on building cultural bridges between the United States and China."[99]

Throughout her life Yali Zhao has exemplified the diligent work ethic typical of her generation. Persevering through the challenges of the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese educational system and immigration to the United States, Zhao exemplifies that the diligence bears great rewards. Yet through the perseverance, Zhao was able to foster an attitude that was receptive to various cultures that were different from her own. Zhao's narrative sets her apart in the field of education because of her commitment to teaching her students and her colleagues of the importance of diversity that arose from her own life experiences as a minority in an autonomous region of China and in the southeastern United States.

Notes

[1] Dr. Yali Zhao had an opportunity to preview this manuscript on several occasions. She graciously provided feedback and checked the information for accuracy. While Zhao humbly expressed that she did not believe that she was worthy of a biography, her experiences speak to the importance of drawing connections and comparisons between China and the United States. She participated in the biographical project as a means to help others.

[2] Craig Kridel, *Writing Educational Biography: Explorations in Qualitative Research* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998).

[3] Ibid.

[4] Craig Kridel, "Biographical Meanderings: Reflections and Reminiscences on Writing Educational Biography." *Vitae Scholasticae* 25, (2008): 5-16. Education Source, EBSCOhost (accessed January 17, 2016).

[5] Craig Kridel, *Writing Educational Biography*.

[6] Craig Kridel, "Introduction" in *Writing Educational Biography*, 3; Craig Kridel, "Biographical Meanderings: Reflections and Reminiscences," 5-16; Craig Kridel, "A Biographical Research Bookshelf: Method of the Madness." *Vitae Scholasticae* 31, no. 2 (2014): 5-12.

[7] Oates, *Biography as History*, 5.
[8] J. A. G. Roberts, *A Concise History of China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 278.
[9] Lindsay Cafarella and Chara Bohan, "The Top Five narratives for Teaching about China's Cultural Revolution." *Social Education* 76, no. 3 (2012), 128-131.
[10] "Cultural Revolution Redux." *China Post*. December 9, 2007. http://www.chinapost.com.tw/editorial/2007/12/09/134199/Cultural-Revolution.htm (accessed February 22, 2016).
[11] Ibid.
[12] Jeffrey Hays, "Cultural Revolution---Enemies and Horrors." *Facts and Details*. April, 2012. http://factsanddetails.com/china.php?itemid=67 (accessed April 15, 2013).
[13] Lindsay Cafarella and Chara Bohan, "The Top Five narratives for Teaching about China's Cultural Revolution," 128-131.
[14] Ji-Li Jiang, *Red Scarf Girl* (New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1997), 265.
[15] John Fairbank, & Merle Goldman, *China a New History* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 383.
[16] Ibid., 383.
[17] Ibid., 402.
[18] Yali Zhao, interview by Chara Bohan, March 24, 2015, transcript, personal interview at Georgia State University; Yali Zhao, "Straddling Multiple Culture Worlds," 113-139.
[19] Ibid.
[20] An Hua, interview by John Crumb, January 31, 2016, transcript, phone interview.
[21] Yali Zhao, interview by John Crumb, May 23, 2013, transcript, phone interview.
[22] Yali Zhao, "Straddling Multiple Culture Worlds," 113-139.
[23] Yali Zhao, interview by John Crumb, May 23, 2013, transcript, phone interview.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid., 115.
[29] Ibid., 116.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid., 116.
[32] Ibid.
[33] "File:China autonomous regions numbered.svg." accessed December 13, 2016. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:China_autonomous_regions_numbered.svg#file
[34] "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung: The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party.
https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-2/mswv2_23.htm (accessed March 22, 2015).
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Deborah Sommer, "Images for Iconoclasts: Images of Confucius in the Cultural Revolution." *East West Connections* 7, No. 1 (December 2007), 3.

[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Yali Zhao, interview by John Crumb, May 23, 2013, transcript, phone interview.
[42] Yali Zhao, "Straddling Multiple Culture Worlds," 113-139.
[43] Ibid., 117.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid., 118.
[47] Deborah Sommer, "Images for Iconoclasts: Images of Confucius in the Cultural Revolution." *East West Connections* 7, No. 1 (2007), 11.
[48] Ibid., 3.
[49] Yali Zhao, interview by John Crumb, May 23, 2013, transcript, phone interview.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Jonathan Mirsky, "How Deng did it." *The New York Times*, October 21. 2011. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/23/books/review/deng-xiaoping-and-the-transformation-of-china-by-ezra-f-vogel-book-review.html?_r=1& (accessed November 16, 2013).
[52] Ibid.
[53] J. A. G. Roberts, "A Concise History of China," 279-282.
[54] Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao: The Unknown Story* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 514-518.
[55] Yali Zhao, email message to John Crumb, January 27, 2016.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Yali Zhao, "Straddling Multiple Culture Worlds," 113-139.
[60] Ibid., 120.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Yali Zhao, "English-Speaking Countries and Western Culture." Class taught at Beijing University of Science and Technology, Beijing, China, January–May, 1991.
[63] Yali Zhao, "Straddling Multiple Culture Worlds," 113-139.
[64] Yali Zhao, interview by John Crumb, May 23, 2013, transcript, phone interview.
[65] Charlie Jane Adams, "Did China's one-child policy actually reduce population growth? io9 (January, 29, 2014), http://io9.com/did-chinas-one-child-policy-actually-reduce-population-1511784972 (accessed May 3, 2015).
[66] "We the People" is a project developed by the National Endowment for the Humanities, centered on the understanding and teaching of the stories of American culture. "Bringing Our Stories to Life." *Georgia Humanities Council Annual Report*, (2005), 4. http://www.georgiahumanities.org/about/annualreports/GHC_AnnualReport05_FINAL.pdf (accessed November 23, 2013).
[67] Yali Zhao, "Curriculum Change and Development of Chinese Social Science Education Since the 1980s," *The International Journal of Social Education* 19, no.1 (March 2004), 28.
[68] Yali Zhao, "Straddling Multiple Culture Worlds," 113-139.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Yali Zhao, and John Hoge, "What Elementary Students and Teachers Say about Social Studies." *Social Studies* 96, no. 5 (September 2005), 216.

[71] Yali Zhao, "Social Studies Teachers' Perspectives of Technology Integration." *Journal Of Technology and Teacher Education* 15, no. 3 (January 1, 2007), 312.
[72] Ibid., 313.
[73] Ibid., 319.
[74] Ibid., 329-330.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Yali Zhao, "Impact of Immersion Experience in Immigrant Community on Pre-service Teachers' Cross-cultural and Global Awareness." *Journal of Education and Human Development* 1, no. 2 (2007), 1.
[78] Ibid., 8.
[79] Yali Zhao, "Straddling Multiple Culture Worlds," 113-139.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Yali Zhao, Laura Meyers, and Barbara Meyers, "Cross-cultural Immersion in China: Preparing Pre-service Elementary Teachers to Work with Diverse Student Populations in the United States." *Asia-Pacific Journal Of Teacher Education* 37, no. 3 (August 2009), 295.
[82] Yali Zhao, "Straddling Multiple Culture Worlds," 113-139.
[83] Yali Zhao, interview by John Crumb, May 23, 2013, transcript, phone interview.
[84] Lin Lin, Yali Zhao, Masato Ogawa, and John Hoge, "Teaching Historical and Current Events from Multiple Perspectives The Korean War and Six-Party Talks." *Social Studies Research and Practice* 4, no. 3 (2009), 56.
[85] Ibid., 59.
[86] Ibid., 57-58.
[87] Ibid., 58.
[88] Ibid., 58.
[89] Ibid., 61-75; Yali Zhao, Course syllabi Georgia State University, College of Education and Human Development, ECEE 3255 "Cultural Foundations in Early Childhood and Elementary Education, " Fall 2015 and EDCI 8650 "Curriculum and Instruction in Contemporary Urban Settings," Spring 2015.
[90] Yali Zhao, interview by John Crumb, May 23, 2013, transcript, phone interview.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Anon, "12 Differences between Chinese Education and American Education," *Dalian Diary*. http://slkchina.wordpress.com/2007/06/01/12-differences-between-chinese-education-and-american-education/ (accessed June 3, 2013).
[95] Kim Stanley, "Education 101: What is a Cohort Program?" *examiner.com*. April 10, 2010. http://www.examiner.com/article/education-101-what-is-a-cohort-program (accessed June 3, 2013).
[96] Ibid.
[97] Zhan Ying, "Washback on Chinese learners: An impact study of the College English Test Band 4." The University of Hong Kong. http://www.iaea.info/documents/paper_2b71287c.pdf (accessed June 3, 2013).
[98] Yali Zhao, Lin Lin, and John D. Hoge, "Establishing the need for cross-cultural and global issues research." *International Education Journal* 8, no. 1 (April 2007), 139.
[99] Yali Zhao, interview by John Crumb, May 23, 2013, transcript, phone interview.

Book Review:
Sartorius, *Deans of Women and the Feminist Movement: Emily Taylor's Activism*

Linda C. Morice

Southern Illinois University Edwardsville

Sartorius, Kelly C. *Deans of Women and the Feminist Movement: Emily Taylor's Activism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. 252 pages. ISBN 978-1-137-34325-3.

In *Deans of Women and the Feminist Movement*, Kelly C. Sartorius examines the advancement of women's activism in higher education through the life and work of Emily Taylor (1915-2004). At first glance, Taylor seems an unlikely subject for a feminist biography. As dean of women at the University of Kansas from 1956 to 1975, her career was largely situated in a period known as "the doldrums" or "the dark ages" between women's suffrage and women's liberation (17). Any chance of Taylor's engaging in social activism would seem to be further diminished by her career choice. Historians of higher education have noted that, with the advent of co-education, universities created the dean of women's position in order to supervise female students who were marginalized with respect to their male peers. Over time, deans of women became stereotyped as stern and trivial enforcers of rules—and by the mid-twentieth century, deans of men had superseded them in the new field of student services. Sartorius' book takes exception with narrow, stereotypical views of the dean of women

to show that Emily Taylor (working in concert her fellow deans) actually advanced the cause of feminism by teaching autonomy for women, lessening parietal rules, promoting sex education, and counseling unplanned pregnancies and rape victims. Taylor also supported civil rights, calmed New Left student protests, and fused her work with radical feminists. Underscoring the importance of her biographical subject, Sartorius states that Emily Taylor and Marion Talbot—dean of women at the University of Chicago at the turn of the twentieth century--were "bookends on either side of the story of women's advancement into higher education" (182)[1] Sartorius notes that Talbot entered university administration in 1892 because there was a hesitancy to admit women students. When Taylor retired 1982 (as director of the Office of Women in Higher Education at the American Council on Education), she had witnessed a doubling of the number of women presidents in higher education. Sartorius attests to Taylor's enduring legacy by noting that while gender segregation created organizational structures that faded after Title IX, "many… strategies" of the deans of women "remain woven into the fabric of higher education" (18).

At the book's outset, Sartorius claims she is "not a traditional academic" (xxi), nor is *Deans of Women and the Feminist Movement* "a traditional biography" (xiii). A researcher in gender, education, and leadership, Sartorius has worked in higher education administration and resource development at Kansas State University and Washington University in St. Louis. Armed with documentation from extensive archival research as well as many interviews with Taylor, Sartorius uses her subject's life as a lens to view feminist work in higher education from the 1930s to the 1970s. The book takes on widely-held misconceptions about the period, including beliefs that feminism went quiescent and existed primarily on the political left in U. S. cities, and that the academy functioned as a place of social conformity. Throughout her discussion, Sartorius emphasizes that the marginalized figure of the dean of women is worthy of understanding.

The book presents Taylor's life through themes, showing in Chapter 1 how her training was an outgrowth of the thinking of early deans of women who wanted to move into careers. In Chapter 2, Sartorius connects the views of the early deans to the development of women's self-governance. Later, in Chapter 3, she shows how Taylor sidestepped pressures that limited deans of women in order to implement early systems of vocational guidance and self-governance on the KU campus. Chapter 4 details how Taylor replaced parietal rules with a counseling system for sex education that included advice on contraception, unplanned pregnancies, and sexual assault prevention. Chapter 5 considers the degree to which Taylor's activism on behalf of women overlapped with civil rights and the New Left as her office became increasingly involved with campus protests. Sar-

torius then demonstrates, in Chapter 6, that a variety of feminist theories and coalitions came together in Taylor's office, creating an "intergenerational flow of feminist ideas" between students, staff, and the dean of women (18). The book concludes with Chapter 7, a consideration of Emily Taylor's legacy.

Deans of Women and the Feminist Movement is an important book for scholars of women studies, higher education, and the history of education. It would also interest educational biographers who might question whether there is such a thing as "a traditional biography." As early as 2008, in an essay published in *Vitae Scholasticae*, Craig Kridel identified five major biographical forms including the scholarly chronicle, the intellectual biography, life history writing, the memoir biography, and the narrative biography.[2] Although Sartrious might be cautioned against easy categorization in her depiction of "a traditional biography," she should also be commended for seeking new ways of understanding history through the perspective of one life. In that sense, *Deans of Women and the Feminist Movement* serves as a good example of what Barbara Caine means when she cites a recent "biographical turn" in the humanities and social sciences involving a "preoccupation with individual lives...as a way of understanding contemporary societies and the whole process of social and historical change."[3] Caine argues that especially in women's history, it is not the most powerful people who offer the best insights but, rather, those who are "less-exalted." Caine suggests such biographical subjects provide "extraordinary" perceptions in their understanding of particular institutions and the social developments around them.[4]

In Deans of Women and the Feminist Movement, Sartorius succeeds in delivering noteworthy perceptions that can enhance an understanding of U. S. women in higher education during the mid-twentieth century. I look forward to following the research that will likely be spawned by her book.

Notes

[1] See Lora Helvie-Mason, "Pivotal Communication: Marion Talbot's Voice for Educational Equity." *Vitae Scholasticae* 27, no.2 (2010): 43-66.

[2] Craig Kridel, "Biographical Meanderings: Reflections and Reminiscences on *Writing Educational Biography*," *Vitae Scholasticae* 25, (2008): 5-16.

[3] Barbara Caine, *Biography and History* (New York: Palgrave, 2010), 1.

[4] Ibid.

Book Review:
Gutek and Gutek, *Bringing Montessori to America: S.S. McClure, Maria Montessori and the Campaign to Publicize Montessori Educa*tion.

Martha May Tevis

University of Texas
Rio Grande Valley

Gerald L. and Patricia A. Gutek. *Bringing Montessori to America: S.S. McClure, Maria Montessori and the Campaign to Publicize Montessori Education*. University of Alabama Press, 2016. 267 pages. ISBN 978-0-8173-1897-0 (trade cloth) ISBN 978-0-8173-8931-4 (ebook).

My first in person experience with the Montessori Method was a visit in the 1970s to a Montessori school in Reynosa, Mexico where all of the teachers had been trained at the House of Childhood in Italy. After that visit I included the Montessori Method in all of my classes. When the International Society for Educational Biography (ISEB) was formed, members shared my interest. One of our members, Phyllis Povell, published a book on *Montessori, Montessori Comes to America: The Leadership of Maria Montessori and Nancy McCormick Rambusch* (UVA, 2009), which gave an in depth view of Montessori's relationship with one of her greatest U.S. supporters. Now Gerald L. and Patricia A. Gutek, also members of ISEB, have written a fascinating book about Montessori (1870-1952) and S.S. McClure (1857-1949), the man who brought her to America.

The Guteks' book reads like a novel. There is intrigue, deception, great highs and very low lows in the relationship as befitting a great drama.

Gerald Gutek previously has authored a text which used biography to lead readers to the ideas of educational philosophers, *Historical and Philosophical Foundations of Education: A Biographical Introduction* (Pearson). My students often commented about how interesting they found his treatment of his subjects, and in this book he and Patricia Gutek do not disappoint.

S.S. McClure was the founder of *McClure's* magazine, a popular and well-respected magazine. He had made some poor business decisions, and although the magazine was widely read, his actions put his magazine at risk. Prior to their meeting and unknown to Montessori, McClure secretly organized a new company which would include *McClure's*, a McClure's bank, a McClure's life insurance company, a school and book publishing company and McClure's Ideal Settlement. His plan was to do this with the backing of the floor stock in the magazine. This led to the loss of stock holders, staff and writers. His purchase of the others' stock led to bankruptcy even though he remained editor.

McClure desperately needed an infusion of cash. To improve his finances, he selected Montessori to improve his situation. He determined that education had been relegated to academic journals and that people would be interested in reading about new and effective methods of teaching children. In many ways his decision was ahead of its time, and the emphasis on personality that would result in popular acclaim is suggestive of *People* magazine, Facebook and blogs which appeared much later. It is interesting to note that McClure's prestigious magazine evolved into *Photoplay*, the magazine very popular with teenage girls of a later generation. In his treatment of Montessori, McClure understood the public's desire to hear about a famous person's accomplishments but also to see them as a person.

In order to realize the most revenue from Montessori's visits to the United States of America, McClure arranged lecture tours. Montessori was a very bright, organized business woman who, in a time when many women did not even read newspapers, understood the benefits of positive well- written press coverage and saw McClure as the best person to promote her ideas through news and lecture tours. While her business acumen seemed to serve her well throughout most of her career, her neglect of thoroughly investigating McClure's background and her naïve trust in financial contracts contributed to the break with McClure. These financial concerns are documented in detail.

The Guteks analyze the personalities of McClure and Montessori in order to clarify the sources of their conflict. While McClure was excitable, Montessori rarely showed emotion. When they began their association, McClure was well known in the United States. However, Montessori was not. While both were egocentric McClure's opinion of himself never al-

lowed him to realize that Montessori was becoming free from his support as her popularity grew in the U.S. and internationally. Montessori's egocentrism gave her the determination to achieve international acclaim through her control of her method. However, she did not control her method in the U.S. She may have been naïve in the beginning, but she learned her lesson from this experience of trusting too readily. Both McClure and Montessori turned their backs on persons who had been loyal to them and those stories are vividly told.

This book is well documented with a variety of sources. Since the purpose of coming to America was to make known The Montessori Method to the public, especially mothers and educators on all levels articles in numerous journals and popular magazines are cited concerning Montessori's ideas and her schedule of appearances.

Five archives, including the Library of Congress and four university archives in four states provided information. Theses archives provided contracts and letters between Montessori and McClure and others. In an age of Facebook, Tweets, emails, and clear, easily accessible and affordable phone service, the importance of letters cannot be over emphasized. Once people wrote as they spoke. The written word was how people in faraway places expressed overtly or more delicately their ideas and emotions. Letters are invaluable in giving the biographer a sense of the person they are researching. Since McClure and Montessori often had a tense or even volatile relationship, letters serve to place the researcher "on the scene."

In all of the Guteks' varied sources were five archives, thirty-six books, thirty-two journals and magazines, one thesis, and four web sites ranging from a book by Eduoard Séguin in 1866 to a recent book by Phyllis Povell in 2010. These sources are not only impressive but serve as an instructive list of types of resources for biographers.

The Guteks have given an in depth look at Montessori, the person, and how her experiences and her personality contributed to the development of the Montessori Method, a method respected throughout the world and which has lasted and influenced early childhood education for over 100 years.

Membership Form:
International Society for Educational Biography

Members of the International Society for Educational Biography receive current issues of ***Vitae Scholasticae*** as part of their membership benefits. Member dues are $75 per year. Please use the form below to join:

ISEB Membership Form:

Name_____

Institution_____

Address_____

City, State, ZIP, Country_____

Please send with your $75 check payable to ISEB to:

Dr. Lora Helvie-Mason, ISEB Treasurer
PO Box T-0490
Tarleton State University
Stephenville, TX 76042

Subscribe
To *Vitae Scholasticae*

❑ Please enter my subscription
for the next year of ***Vitae Scholasticae***

Name _____

Institution _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip, Country _____

_____

Type of subscription:
❑ Individual subscription ($50 per year)
❑ Institutional subscription ($100 per year)
❑ Add $40 if outside the United States

Method of payment:
❑ Check enclosed payable to International Society for Educational Biography
❑ Money order enclosed payable to International Society for Educational Biography

Mail completed form to:

Professor Lucy E. Bailey
215 Willard Hall
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, OK 74078, USA
Telephone: 405-744-9194; Email: Lucy.bailey@okstate.edu

Contributing Authors

Dr. Chara Haeussler Bohan is Professor of Education at Georgia State University (USA), specializing in educational biography and history and social studies education. She authored the book, *Go to the Sources: Lucy Maynard Salmon and the Teaching of History* (2004) and co-edited the books, *Histories of Social Studies and Race* (2012), *Clinical Teacher Education: Reflections from an Urban Professional Development Network* (2011) and *American Educational Thought: Essays from 1640-1940* (2004, 2009).

John S. Crumb II is a sixth grade social studies teacher at Northwestern Middle School in Milton, Georgia. He is a doctoral student at Georgia State University (USA) interested in making social studies curriculum more engaging and relevant to students, specifically through technology.

Vanessa Garry is Assistant Professor in the Department of Educator Preparation, Innovation, and Research in the College of Education, University of Missouri, St. Louis (USA). She teaches aspiring principals. Her research involves the study of urban education through a historical lens, teachers' practice of data use, and parental involvement.

Linda C. Morice is Professor Emeritus in the Department of Educational Leadership at Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville (USA) and the previous editor of *Vitae Scholasticae: The Journal of Educational Biography*. She is author of the biography, *Flora White: In the Vanguard of Gender Equity* (2016), and co-editor with Laurel Puchner of *Life Stories: Exploring Issues in Educational History through Biography* (2013).

Martha May Tevis is Professor of Teaching and Learning/Curriculum at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley (USA). Her research interests include social justice issues and the history of education, and she is currently working on a biography of George I. Sanchez. She is a member of the editorial advisory board of Vitae Scholasticae and a past president of the *Society of Philosophy and History of Education and International Society for Educational Biography*.

Kay Whitehead is Professor in the School of Education at Flinders University in South Australia. Her research draws from educational history, Australian history and the sociology of education to focus on teachers' lives and work. In addition to numerous book chapters and articles, she is the author of the book, *Lillian de Lissa: Women Teachers and Teacher Education in the Twentieth Century: A Transnational History* (2016).

Vitae Scholasticae

Information for Contributors

Vitae Scholasticae welcomes manuscripts dealing with all aspects of educational biography. The 16th edition of *A Manual of Style f*rom the University of Chicago Press is the final authority for most questions of style and structure. Manuscripts should be submitted via e-mail with author identification on the cover page only; the text of the manuscript should be in Microsoft Word.

For more information about ***Vitae Scholasticae,*** visit the International Society for Educational Biography website at http://tc.bsu.edu/ISEB/. Click "Vitae Scholasticae." Or contact:

Professor Lucy E. Bailey
215 Willard Hall
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, OK 74078, U.S.A.

Electronic submissions should be directed to: **Lucy.bailey@okstate.edu**

All statements of fact or points of view in articles are the responsibility of authors and do not represent any official position of the International Society for Educational Biography or ***Vitae Scholasticae***.

International Society for Educational Biography

Membership in the International Society for Educational Biography is open to anyone interested in educational biography. Dues are $75 per year, which includes issues of ***Vitae Scholasticae***. See membership form on page 75.