Vitae Scholasticae

The Journal of Educational Biography

Volume 28 Number 1
2011

Vitae Scholasticae
Volume 28, Number 1, 2011

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 97.

ISSN 0735-1909.

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

Table of Contents

Editor's Note 3
Linda Morice

The Second Great Awakening and American Educational Reform: Insights from the Biography of John Milton Gregory 5
John F. Wakefield

The Artistry of an Editor: Nora Barlow and the Darwin Manuscripts 28
Louis M. Smith

Evolving Strategies and Emerging Selves: Two Junior Faculty Reflect on the Road to Tenure 41
Lucy E. Bailey & Lora Helvie-Mason

Sel(f)ves Breathing: (Re)Encounters with the Lived Experiences of Teacher 65
Sarah K. MacKenzie

Book Review:
Davis, *Charlotte Perkins Gilman: A Biography* 86
Catherine Seltzer

Book Review:
Cousins, *Women's Rights, Racial Integration, and Education From 1850-1920: The Case of Sarah Raymond, the First Female Superintendent* 89
Lucy E. Bailey

Book Review:
Rhoades & Bailey, *Wanted—Correspondence: Women's Letters to a Union Soldier* 93
Alison Reeves

Membership Form:
International Society for Educational Biography 96

Subscription Form:
Vitae Scholasticae 97

Contributing Authors 98

Editorial Information ..... inside front cover

Information for Contributors ..... inside back cover

Editor's Note

In his epic novel *War and Peace,* Leo Tolstoy wrote of the Napoleonic invasion of Russia,"Every general and every soldier was conscious of his own insignificance, aware of being but a drop in the ocean of man, and yet at the same time was conscious of his own strength as part of that enormous whole."[1] This issue of *Vitae Scholasticae* focuses on people whose lives were cast in events much larger than their individual selves. Two authors explore this phenomenon in their portrayal of biographical subjects during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Through the life of John Milton Gregory, author John F. Wakefield discusses the spread of democratic education in the United States amid the religious fervor of the Second Great Awakening. Louis M. Smith presents a quieter life in early to mid-twentieth century England in his essay on Nora Barlow, whose grandfather, Charles Darwin, was arguably one of the most important intellectuals in the last 200 years. Smith's focus is on Barlow, whose artistry in editing Darwin's work was an important factor in spreading his ideas on evolution across the globe.

In a collaborative piece titled"Evolving Strategies and Emerging Selves," junior faculty members Lucy E. Bailey and Lora Helvie-Mason examine their own lives within a well-known phenomenon in academe—the quest for tenure. Bailey and Helvie-Mason describe their reflection as"a collaborative narration of self as an act of agency within a fraught and temporal institutional position." Sarah K. MacKenzie also examines her own life against a backdrop of all teaching experiences in"Sel(f)ves Breathing: (Re)Encounters with the Lived Experiences of Teacher."

The book reviews in this issue likewise address the experiences of individuals who were part of larger events. Catherine Seltzer discusses Cynthia Davis' book, *Charlotte Perkins Gilman: A Biography*, which shows how the unorthodox views and lifestyle of one woman helped to advance the cause of feminism. Lucy E. Bailey's review of Monica Cousins Noraian's biography of Sarah Raymond also juxtaposes the individual against a larger narrative. As the first female public city school superintendent in the United States, Raymond's individual struggle to gain professional recognition is seen in the context of broader social forces that shaped life in the United States during the late nineteenth century. Alison Reeves reviews an edited work titled

Wanted—Correspondence: Women's Letters to a Union Soldier. It is a collection of letters written to Lt. Edwin Lewis Lybarger of Ohio and discovered over 100 years later. Of particular interest to *Vitae Scholasticae* readers is information the book provides on the lives of teachers during a civil war that defined a nation.

We thank the authors for their contributions and hope they will stimulate the work of readers to explore, through biography, the lives of individuals amid larger-than-life events.

—Linda Morice

Notes

[1] Leo Tolstoy, *War and Peace,* Schulers Books Online, http://www.schulers.com/books/romance/War_and_Peace/War_and_Peach68.htms (accessed April 5, 2011), 68.

The Second Great Awakening and American Educational Reform:
Insights from the Biography of John Milton Gregory

John F. Wakefield
University of North Alabama

School attendance in America at the beginning of the 19th Century was undemocratic. Poor and working-class households could not afford the loss of a potential worker. Children would often work at home or be hired out. Children of slaves were not schooled at all. Further, the subjects taught in school were limited. Young boys and girls who attended the common school would learn reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic. In some towns, nine- or ten-year-old boys could attend a grammar school, where they learned English grammar, Latin, Greek, history, geography, and mathematics. Older girls as well as older boys might attend an academy, where they could learn whatever the teacher was prepared to teach, but early academies generally limited girls to coursework in composition, music, and art. A few young, privileged white men could attend college to prepare for a career in the ministry or law.

This picture would change dramatically by the end of the 19th Century, when education would become more practical and increasingly, if not yet equally, accessible to all. What caused the change in practicality and access? Scholars have found that following Thomas Jefferson, many supporters of public schools argued that democracy is best assured by an educated populace,[1] but another cause of the public school movement is frequently overlooked. A religious movement known as the Second Great Awakening

surged through what is now the Eastern half of the United States in the first half of the 19th Century. The first Great Awakening one hundred years earlier focused on spiritual regeneration. It strengthened evangelical denominations such as Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians. The second wave had a social impact, generating popular support for temperance, the abolition of slavery, and other social reforms, including universal education. The relationship of the Second Great Awakening to the gradual realization of universal education in America can be explored through the life of John Milton Gregory (1822-1898).[2]

I

A disproportionate number of 19th Century educational reformers came from the Northeast, and Gregory was no exception. His family lived in Sand Lake, New York, about 10 miles east of Albany. The area was religiously "cooler" than the famously "burned-over" district to the west, but that did not mean religious beliefs were less common or less firmly held. In 1805, Protestants in Sand Lake erected a Union Meeting House (which stands today) and worshipped there. Among them was Joseph Gregory, the father of John Milton Gregory. Known locally as "Deacon Josie," Joseph was remembered as "a type of the Puritan, industrious, scrupulously honest, almost gloomily religious, his language being full of Biblical phrases."[3] His first wife, Ruth Babcock, died after the birth of their first child in 1811. His second wife, Rachel Bullock, bore nine children. Rachel's seventh child was born on July 6, 1822, and he was named after her favorite poet. Rachel Gregory died when John Milton Gregory was only four, but because he was literate from a very early age, she possibly taught him how to read.

In 1831, Joseph married a widow, Almira Foster, who had ten children of her own, and he set his large, blended family apart with a group of other believers to form the Second Baptist Church of Sand Lake. Although separate from other Protestant believers, they were not "anti-mission." In 1835, the "2d Sand Lake church and congregation" supported the American Baptist Home Mission Society by giving their minister a life membership.[4] It is doubtful, however, that the church would have supported united, evangelical efforts such as temperance societies, abolition societies, or interdenominational Sunday schools, all of which grew out of the Second Great Awakening.

Joseph Gregory was a subsistence farmer and a tanner who had a small shoe and harness factory. His son John attended a common school briefly when he was ten. The school was taught by 20-year-old Erasmus D. Towner, who was a "licentiate" (a person licensed to preach) under the oversight of the minister of the Sand Lake church.[5] John learned how to read Latin there. After a term, his father put him to work grinding hemlock bark to extract tan-

nin. When he broke his arm on this machine, his seventeen-year-old brother Lewis told his father that "the only way John would ever be able to make a living was to give him an education and fit him to teach."[6] Persuaded, Joseph sent him to a private school taught by Dr. Joseph H. Elmore, a local physician. John Gregory studied there until he was baptized into the Sand Lake church in April, 1835. After his baptism, his father put him back to work for two years in the tannery.[7]

What led him out of this small sphere was a chance to teach. Lewis lived with his half-sister Sarah and her husband John Reed in Gilboa, about forty miles southwest of Sand Lake. Lewis taught at a private school there, and he persuaded his father to let John join him to teach Latin as long as he returned home in the summers to work in the tannery. After a year, Lewis married and left teaching to work with John Reed, and at sixteen, John Gregory became the principal teacher.[8]

John Gregory's next move would free him altogether from working for his father. In 1839, his brother Lewis wrote to one of his sisters that "John Milton is quite unwell this summer. Pa talks of sending him to school for he can't work."[9] His father did not have the money to pay for more education, but he did release him from summer work. For the next three years, John Gregory stayed with his sister Lois and her husband in Poughkeepsie to attend Dutchess County Academy. To pay his way, Gregory taught part time in Gilboa and part time in La Grange (ten miles east of Poughkeepsie).

Poughkeepsie was healthier for him than working at home, and it opened to him a broader view of religion than the one held by his father. His uncle Uriah was a "freighter" or shipper of goods. Unlike his brother, he was heavily involved in the temperance movement. In a letter written in 1840 and addressed to him as president of the temperance society in Poughkeepsie, the secretary of the Dover Plains chapter urged Uriah to give a lecture and "stir up" the people.[10] Uriah was a Baptist, but one characteristic of religiously "awakened" evangelicals was their willingness to unify in support of social reforms such as temperance. John Gregory increasingly turned to this uncle as his mentor.

With the support of his siblings and his uncle, he set his sights on attending Union College, the first interdenominational college in the United States. Madison College (later Colgate) was the Baptist institution of higher education in New York, but Union was the product of religious cooperation between members of the Dutch Reformed Church and the mainstream evangelical denominations. Located in Schenectady and founded in 1795, "the new Institution was open to every religion, and the name UNION was given to it, to show that all sects and all races beneath its roof were one."[11] Episcopalians were welcome, but Roman Catholics, Jews, and non-believers would have been uncomfortable in its abounding, Protestant culture. The

harmony and symmetrical arrangement of the new buildings suggested the design of a religious community open to the world on one side. The students were exclusively male.

Courtesy of Schaffer Library of Union College.

Plan of Union College

An early rule provides insight into the religious ethos of the College, which was interdenominational Protestantism:

> As it is the right of every religious denomination to enjoy their peculiar sentiments and modes of worship, it is ordered that the Officers of College, in their instruction of the students, avoid as much as possible those controverted points which have so long divided the Christian world; but, as the principles of irreligion are destructive of society and pernicious to all regular and salutary discipline in literary institutions, it is also ordered that if any student shall avow or propagate principles subversive of religion or morals he shall be liable to admonition, suspension or expulsion.[12]

This rule led to unity not through compulsion but through avoidance of controversy among Protestant sects. Controversial points—such as predestination, the timing or method of baptism, and church organization—were not to be disputed in class. From an emphasis on commonalities, the officers, faculty, and students were to create a harmonious, religious society whose members were free to develop their talents in order to improve themselves and—after they graduated—the wider society. What was not tolerated was "irreligion."

The path for students to become interdenominational, Protestant learn-

ers was defined by its president, Eliphalet Nott. The Reverend Nott, who presided over the college for an astonishing sixty-two years, did not assert his Presbyterian affiliation within the college walls. He did assert personal control over disciplinary practices by replacing faculty meetings to decide disciplinary matters with a personal interview with the president. The purpose was to instill self-discipline in the offending student by evoking the conscience and eventually, a penitent confession. There were many offenses because Union accepted young men who had been expelled by other colleges. Writing later, Gregory remarked that "hundreds of young men, expelled with ignominy from other institutions, were brought by their sorrowing parents to Dr. Nott as their last resort, and under the magic influence of his discipline, these young men were restored to manhood and to hope."[13] Long before Union College was described as the mother of fraternities or the mother of college presidents it had the whispered reputation of a reform school. The size of Gregory's class grew from 21 to 90 as young men in need of reform rolled in.

John Gregory entered Union College in 1842, when he was twenty years old. He later wrote that he never regretted entering it at such a late age."I had read a great many books before I went to college, and this was a great advantage to me."[14] The advantage was both financial and psychological. His readings before college gave him enough advanced standing to wait until the third term of the freshman year to attend. Further, independent study or study with a tutor allowed him to be absent for six out of a total of twelve terms and still graduate with his class.[15] During these absences he taught school to earn enough to pay most of the costs of attending college. Paying his own way was difficult, but it allowed him to be psychologically as well as financially independent.

He wrote to his father after he turned twenty-one both to apprise him of his independence and to explain his increasingly liberal religious view. In a letter from Gilboa, dated March 2, 1844, he addressed his father as "the guardian and guide of my early youth":

> I am now living in the enjoyment of a good degree of the favor of my heavenly Father and I feel to thank Him that He has brought me out of darkness into the enjoyment of the light of His countenance. I begin to feel more earnest desires for the spread of the gospel, and for the happiness temporal and eternal of my fellow men. It was the absence of these desires with other things that induced me to believe that my earlier conversion was not genuine. In regard to my future course my views are also changing somewhat. I still think that I shall teach some after concluding my collegiate course, if a good opportunity offers; but I have almost determined that I will choose some

> profession, what one I cannot, as yet, certainly tell. I shall probably decide ere I again return home after the next summer term. In the meantime, I pray that God may direct me to choose that sphere of life in which I can do most good.[16]

Gregory had replaced his earlier religious commitment, which involved obedience to his biological father, with a commitment to his "heavenly Father" as a guide for further decisions. He questioned the authenticity of his earlier conversion experience, and he indicated his awakening to socially enlightened religious duties.[17]

Gregory was slowly developing the ideology of a Christian social reformer, as evidenced by his view of the celebration of the semi-centennial of the founding of Union College. A thousand of "the brotherhood" (as the alumni called themselves) gathered at the College on July 22, 1845 to praise their *alma mater*. The featured speaker of the day was Eliphalet Nott. Gregory was present for the summer term of his junior year. He remembered "that great throng of educated men, thickly sprinkled with the gray heads of the brightest and greatest names of the nation, bent reverently before the surpassingly venerable form of their great teacher."[18] At the end of his speech, Nott gave them a charge:

> Cause it to be known on earth, and told in heaven, that other Brainerds have arisen to preach the gospel, other Hales to expound the law, other Howards to cheer the prisoner in his dungeon, and other Granville Sharps to raise their voice in behalf of the down trodden slaves; nor falter in your course, nor feel that your work, as redeemed and educated men, is done, until the reign of Messiah is established, pain and sin banished from a renovated earth, and virtue and happiness rendered universal.[19]

Eliphalet Nott charged the alumni with a mission. At the end of his speech, he evoked the names of a missionary, a jurist, a philanthropist, and a social activist, none of whom was living but all of whom were Protestant social reformers. He envisaged the mission of the brotherhood as a continuance of social reform until the beginning of what was called "the millennial reign."

The spiritual impetus of the Second Great Awakening was Christian millennialism—the belief that Jesus Christ would return to reign over society for 1,000 years before the end of the world. This belief was based on a literal interpretation of a passage from the New Testament Book of Revelation that became the lynchpin for a set of beliefs linked to other biblical passages that spoke of end times. Some millenarians calculated the day when the "latter

times" would begin, waited for them to arrive, and were profoundly disappointed when they did not. Other visionaries—such as Eliphalet Nott—fervently believed that their duty was to hasten "the day" by improving themselves and society. Believers like Nott were *evangelical millennialists*, Protestants who believed that their reform efforts could bring about the millennial reign.[20] Their ideology predominated during the Second Great Awakening and offered a cause with which Protestant youth could identify, including young men being schooled for the professions.

It is uncertain how many of the alumni had been awakened to evangelical millennialism through the persistent influence of Nott, but Gregory described him as a venerable Christian leader and the Union brotherhood as his reverent followers. Fifty years later, Gregory's accomplishments would be listed in the roll of alumni as State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Michigan; President, Kalamazoo College; Regent, Illinois Industrial University; and Commissioner, U.S. Civil Service.[21] The graduating class in 1846 would become 38 lawyers, 21 clergymen, 7 professors, 5 medical doctors, 5 bankers, and 3 officers of large corporations. Among them were 8 members of state legislatures, 2 college presidents, the Chancellor of New York (the highest judicial office in the state), and the Governor of New York. How many of them were evangelical millennialists is impossible to say, but it is certain that Nott as their ideological leader had a significant social impact through them.

II

The career path that Gregory travelled to become an educational reformer was not straight but winding. As Gregory continued into his junior and senior years, he experimented with subjects that were not part of the traditional course of study. Beginning in 1829, Union offered a parallel "scientific" course that substituted modern languages, advanced math, and applied sciences for Greek, Hebrew, and scientific theory in the classical course. Gregory was enrolled in the classical course, but he took extra subjects in both his junior and senior years. In his junior year, he took "geodesy" (theory of surveying), which was normally required for seniors in the scientific course. In his senior year, he took French and civil engineering as extra subjects. Civil engineering was a new offering in 1845, appearing for the first time in the catalog that year. There is no record of what Gregory took in the third term of his senior year, but his coursework probably included reading law, which was in the scientific—not the classical—curriculum.[22]

His diverse interests are partly explained by his continued reliance on his uncle Uriah. In the early 1840's, Uriah's shipping business in Poughkeepsie went bankrupt, a lingering effect of the depression that followed the finan-

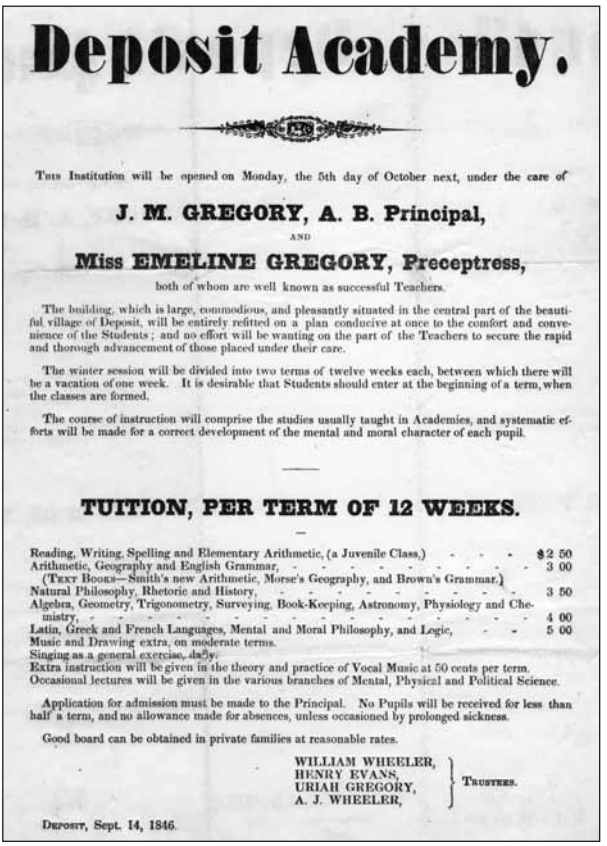
cial Panic of 1837. In 1843, he moved to Deposit, New York and re-established a shipping business that rafted lumber down the Delaware River to Philadelphia. Business boomed. Over the next two years, John Gregory spent winter terms (from January to April) teaching school in Deposit, even becoming a member of the First Baptist Church there in November, 1844.[23]

Due to absences more than electives, he anticipated that he would need to attend Union over the winter term of his senior year, but he had no other way to pay the costs except to borrow the money. In a letter sent on Thanksgiving Day, 1845 from Sand Lake, he reminded his uncle, "you wrote me that if life and health were spared you, you would let me have the $50 to take me through the next term."[24] He also asked for a job over the summer. "I am getting a very good knowledge of the theory of leveling and engineering but would require some practice. I wish if possible you would ascertain what can be done about it [a surveying job] before you write again."[25] He was looking for a way to graduate with his class and for a way to pay back the money that he wanted to borrow.

Sometime earlier, Gregory had decided on law as a profession. "John Reed wishes me to come to Gilboa next summer and pursue my law studies there," he continued. "He will board me and wait till I am able to pay him. But I choose rather to go at some business by which I may get the means to pay off my debt, as I shall be able to study better with a free heart. If you think I cannot get business on the R.R., I will try and get a school."[26] By his senior year, law was clearly in his sights, but he was out of money and running out of time. Gregory may have read law at the firm of Paige and Potter in Schenectady during his last term at Union, and he may have continued his law studies for a few months after he graduated, but contrary to the suggestion of his biographers, he did not study law for two years after college. He returned to Deposit to earn enough money to repay his uncle.

After Gregory graduated from Union College in July, 1846, a one-page circular appeared in Deposit to announce that a new academy would open on October 5th with "J. M. Gregory, A. B." as its principal.[27] His unmarried sister Emeline was advertised as its preceptress. Both were "well known as successful teachers." Its curriculum listed a "juvenile class" (corresponding to a common school) and a set of courses for older students that indicated a college preparatory curriculum (including French) with practical subjects (such as surveying) worked in. In addition to Uriah, the trustees included William Wheeler, a well-to-do lumber merchant and deacon in the Presbyterian church. This modern, interdenominational academy was scheduled to meet for two, twelve-week terms separated by a one-week Christmas vacation. A receipt dated March 23, 1847 from Deposit Academy for tuition paid to "JM & E Gregory" shows that the academy met, that Gregory taught there, and that he was paid. The receipt is in his handwriting.[28]

Something happened that year in Deposit to detour the path of his development as a social reformer. In a diary begun in June, 1847, after the school year was over, there is a record of "prolonged and secret prayer" and the terse entry, "Have agreed to go and reside at Hoosick Falls and preach to the people there."[29] Hoosick Falls is about 100 miles northeast of Deposit but only 20 miles from Sand Lake. His move represented the sudden decision to move closer to home and become a minister.



Deposit Academy.

THIS Institution will be opened on Monday, the 5th day of October next, under the care of

J. M. GREGORY, A. B. Principal,

AND

Miss EMELINE GREGORY, Preceptress,

both of whom are well known as successful Teachers.

The building, which is large, commodious, and pleasantly situated in the central part of the beautiful village of Deposit, will be entirely refitted on a plan conducive at once to the comfort and convenience of the Students; and no effort will be wanting on the part of the Teachers to secure the rapid and thorough advancement of those placed under their care.

The winter session will be divided into two terms of twelve weeks each, between which there will be a vacation of one week. It is desirable that Students should enter at the beginning of a term, when the classes are formed.

The course of instruction will comprise the studies usually taught in Academies, and systematic efforts will be made for a correct development of the mental and moral character of each pupil.

TUITION, PER TERM OF 12 WEEKS.

Reading, Writing, Spelling and Elementary Arithmetic, (a Juvenile Class,)	$2 50
Arithmetic, Geography and English Grammar,	3 00
(TEXT BOOKS—Smith's new Arithmetic, Morse's Geography, and Brown's Grammar.)	
Natural Philosophy, Rhetoric and History,	3 50
Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Surveying, Book-Keeping, Astronomy, Physiology and Chemistry,	4 00
Latin, Greek and French Languages, Mental and Moral Philosophy, and Logic,	5 00

Music and Drawing extra, on moderate terms.
Singing as a general exercise, daily.
Extra instruction will be given in the theory and practice of Vocal Music at 50 cents per term.
Occasional lectures will be given in the various branches of Mental, Physical and Political Science.

Application for admission must be made to the Principal. No Pupils will be received for less than half a term, and no allowance made for absences, unless occasioned by prolonged sickness.

Good board can be obtained in private families at reasonable rates.

WILLIAM WHEELER,
HENRY EVANS,
URIAH GREGORY,
A. J. WHEELER,
} TRUSTEES.

DEPOSIT, Sept. 14, 1846.

The Collection of the New York Historical Society
Broadside SY1846 No. 68

Financially supported by the Baptist Missionary Convention of the State of New York, Gregory left Deposit, preached at Hoosick Falls as a licentiate of the Sand Lake church, and was ordained a Baptist minister on December 23, 1847.[30] On July 6, 1848 (his next birthday), he wrote in the diary, "Within the

year I have been solemnly and publicly ordained to the work of the ministry, have had a church organized in my field of labor, have enjoyed a revival, and have baptized 38 souls."[31] According to one account, "the Lord poured out his spirit" on the little group at Hoosick Falls that year,[32] but Gregory's sudden entry into the ministry did not represent a fulfillment of his plan to pursue law.

What happened? We probably do not know the whole story, but his daughter Allene hypothesized that Gregory regressed to fulfill the wish of his long-deceased mother that he enter the ministry. In the Puritan tradition, he began a diary to correct his faults, to record major events in his life, and to leave a record for generations to come. Snippets from his diary in 1847-48 that were published by Allene—who is the last person known to have read it in its entirety—reveal the symptoms of major depression: difficulty concentrating, feelings of hopelessness, inappropriate feelings of guilt, disinterest in eating, and thoughts of his own death. He may have inherited this predisposition from a "gloomy" father and from a paternal grandfather who committed suicide in "a fit of despondency."[33] He preached persuasively, but he was not happy.

On September 6, 1848 another surprising event occurred. He married his second cousin, Julia Gregory, at the Sand Lake church. As is true of many women of her time, little is known about her. Born on September 7, 1830, she was the daughter of Dr. Charles H. and Kezia Gregory, who worshipped at the Sand Lake church for a time. John Gregory had known her since her birth. Several of Julia's letters to her youngest son Grant reveal that she was well-educated. Excerpts from his diary indicate that his mental state improved after their marriage, but his occasional bouts with depression must have been stressful to them both.[34]

John and Julia Gregory would not remain long in Hoosick Falls. His health began to fail, and his diary entries indicate that Julia was also unhappy there. After the birth of their first child, the Gregorys moved west in 1850 to a pastorate in Akron, Ohio, but the move did not improve his health or that of his wife, which began to deteriorate due to an unspecified, chronic illness. Over the next sixteen years, Julia would give birth to six more children, but absences from the family for reasons of health would grow longer and longer until Grant would later recall, "I saw little of her."[35] Eventually, she would spend long absences with relatives in New York.

Their unhappiness forced him to confront his identity issue: the choice of a vocation suitable to the ambitions awakened at Union College. In a surprisingly happy diary entry for July 11, 1852, he revealed that he was engaged throughout the day in teaching. The preceding winter, "after much painful hesitation I resigned my post at Akron and the last of March came to Detroit to take charge of a high school or low college instituted for me by my

brother Uriah."[36] A younger brother had started up Detroit Commercial College, and he had invited John Gregory to direct a new literary division of it. The move proved salutary to him and at least temporarily to his wife. According to Grant, "From that time it may be said that the ruling passion of his life was to aid humanity through education."[37] His identity issues were finally resolved. He continued to preach during the rest of his life but only as a guest minister.

One of the earliest signs of the emergence of his identity as a social reformer was a series of articles that he wrote in 1853 for a Baptist newspaper while teaching in Michigan. He significantly titled them "Christian Union."The title had both a public and a private meaning. Publicly, he stated his belief that division among Christians caused "the church itself to be the fatal obstacle to the final triumphs of the Gospel."[38] More specifically, he argued that "the army of the Cross seems at last in movement for its final conquest of the world,"[39] but sectarian infighting prevented further progress toward the millennial reign. He approved the "World's Convention for the Promotion of Christian Union," which was a Protestant group that had met in London in 1846, but he felt that it had not gone far enough to be thoroughly interdenominational.

Privately, he modeled his interdenominational approach to Protestant Christianity after that of Union College (the second meaning of "Christian Union"). Gregory believed that progress toward social perfection could only be achieved by searching for common ground in principle and avoiding divisive issues in practice. This was the rule of interdenominational discipline that he had learned at college. It was evangelical in the sense that it applied to all Protestant denominations, and it was millennial in the sense that it was designed to lead to improvements in society, hastening the millennial reign. With this series of idealistic articles on Christian union, Gregory declared his readiness to engage the world as an evangelical millennialist.

By midcentury, enthusiasm for universal education had grown. Horace Mann, the champion of the common school movement in Massachusetts, surveyed eight well-known New England educators in 1847 about the effect of educating *everyone* for ten months of each year for twelve years. The curriculum would blend moral with intellectual instruction. The educators agreed that such an education would revolutionize society. Mann saw universal education as the means to pursue all other social reforms. "In universal education, every 'follower of God and friend of human kind' will find the only sure means of carrying forward that particular reform to which he was devoted."[40] Mann saw universal education as the fulcrum to leverage all social change. The reader "must borrow the language of the Paradise he would describe" to depict the outcome.[41] One could envision the result as a Golden Age, a paradise on earth—or a millennial reign. Mann was not an

evangelical millennialist, but he understood how the political support of millennialists could bring about universal education. His *Eleventh Report* was an invitation to millennialists to join him and rally around the cause of universal education.

Gregory joined the newly formed Michigan State Teachers' Association (MSTA) and rose rapidly in its ranks, becoming the first editor of *The Michigan Journal of Education and Teachers' Magazine* in 1854. That year, Horace Mann gave the invited address at the MSTA annual meeting, and Gregory was elected president. He quit teaching a year later, lived off the journal's advertising revenue, and stumped Michigan to establish local teacher associations.[42]

His mission was both educational and evangelical. The introductory editorial of the journal stated that its purpose was "to promote the correct and thorough and universal education of the sons and daughters of the State of Michigan."[43] In the second year of his journal, Gregory quoted Horace Greeley, editor of *The New York Tribune*: "Universal Education! Grand, inspiring idea. And shall there come a time, when the delver in the mine and the rice-swamp, the orphans of the prodigal and the felon, the very offspring of shame, shall be truly, systematically educated? Glorious consummation! morning twilight of the millennium! Who will not joyfully labor, and court sacrifice, and suffer reproach, if he may hasten, by even so much as a day, its blessed coming?"[44] Greeley, who was a well-known advocate of the common school, left ambiguous whether the "blessed coming" was the advent of the millennium or the advent of universal education. To him, they were the same, as they were to Gregory: "In the universal spread of learning and liberty and love, the beautiful trinity of human hope, the teacher may yet witness the fitting end of his work."[45] Gregory punned on the word *end,* because he believed that the beginning of the millennium was both the goal and cessation of toil by a teacher.

There is some evidence in Gregory's articles that the MSTA was created as a parallel to other evangelical associations (such as the YMCA and the YWCA) bent on social reform. At the end of the introductory article to the January, 1857 issue, he announced that teachers were on the march and in step with other millennialists. "Let nothing then turn us aside from our work. Let no lack of public sympathy, nor poor wages drive us back. Pause not till schools worthy the high dignity and immortal destiny of the human soul shall open their doors to all the children in the land, and till a noble, intelligent, virtuous and christian [*sic*] manhood shall rise and ripen throughout a regenerated World."[46] With language reminiscent of Eliphalet Nott's charge to the Union College alumni, Gregory shared his vision of universal education with the teachers who read his magazine.

In 1857, the Michigan legislature authorized two copies of it for each

township, but the Superintendent of Public Instruction cancelled the State subscriptions for 1858, at least in part because of the financial crisis that was the Panic of 1857. This decision, along with the cancellation of teachers' institutes, was unpopular. Perhaps unconsciously, it struck at the heart and the head of millennialism in public education—the teachers' institute to awaken the "spirit" of the teacher in a quasi-religious revival, and the teachers' journal to nourish its growth.[47]

One of the consequences was the Republican nomination and election of John Gregory as the new Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Michigan, an office that he held from January 1, 1859 until he declined a third re-nomination in 1864. One of his first acts was to re-establish teachers' institutes, and he spoke at nearly every one. One student during this period described him as "a man of small stature, compactly built, with flashing dark eyes, in his quick and forceful movement indicating the alertness of his mind, the earnestness of his purpose, and a certain intensity of nature that came prominently to view in public address."[48] His farewell as journal editor told of his plans: "We have labored ever with the single aim to promote the great interests of universal education. This aim we shall pursue with unfaltering faith."[49] He pledged that he would "keep the faith" of evangelical millennialism as he rose in office.

John Milton Gregory, 1866

Gregory's religious ideology was patterned after the interdenominational leadership of Eliphalet Nott, and it was militantly expressed through his writings as Superintendent of Public Instruction. As the Civil War erupted, he believed that he was in position to put educational reforms into practice. "Our school system has in it an almost undreamed of power for good," he wrote in

his superintendent's report for 1861. "What it has done and is now doing are but faint prophecies of the good it will do when worked with more skill, and to the highest pitch of its capacity."[50] During his terms in office, Gregory advocated many reforms including the elimination of the rate bill—which was a local tax on families with school children—and the organization of more "union" or public high schools to create a free alternative to private academies. Although he was unsuccessful in outlawing rate bills, the number of public high schools more than tripled from 1859 to 1864. These and other reform efforts earned him the reputation of a pioneering superintendent.[51]

As he gained confidence, he also became increasingly frank about what he meant by the cause of "universal education." In his last report to the legislature, he asserted that "education must become more religious"; he argued that Bible reading should be conducted in public schools; and he recommended a type of religious instruction that he thought would be "without offense to any but the atheist, or the heathen."[52] He implied that religious instruction in the public schools could be so formulated that no one who believed in the God of the Bible would object to it. Universal education was to include everyone in a form of religious education.

Gregory was limited in his ecumenical reach, however, by his commitment to the interdenominational form of Protestantism that he had experienced at Union College. The further he developed his idea of religious instruction in the public schools to accommodate non-Protestant believers, such as the growing Roman Catholic population in Michigan, the more reticent he became. His commitments to evangelical millennialism limited the breadth of religious practices that he wanted taught in his ideal public school. His ideological fidelity bound him to the faith of Union College.

From many northern, Protestant pulpits, the Civil War was interpreted as the Apocalypse that would precede the millennium. Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic" became a popular Union song that would echo in churches and schools for the next century or more. Gregory interpreted the war as an apocalyptic struggle between ignorance (South) and universal education (North). Beginning in 1862, thousands of teachers, many of them sponsored by missionary societies and supported by the federal government, swept south and west to spread "the light" (both school-based learning and evangelical Christianity) to hasten the millennial dawn.[53] John Gregory's younger brothers Uriah and Silas were among them. After mustering out of the army and training as a Baptist minister, Uriah went west, becoming president of a Baptist College in California and with his wife, eventually founding a school for homeless boys. Sponsored by the American Baptist Home Mission Society, Silas moved south and became president of two Baptist colleges for freed men and women.

Gregory would remain in the Midwest and serve as president of two col-

leges, one private and one public. In 1868, he became president of the National Teachers Association, the predecessor of the NEA. The movement toward "universal education" was well-organized and national, and Gregory became one of its leaders.

III

Gregory did not join the army during the Civil War because of his responsibilities to his wife and family. He was asked if he wanted a regiment raised for him, but he was "convinced by his family physician and relations that this step would mean the death of his wife, who was an invalid with four small children," so he refused.[54] Rather than pursuing his agenda on the battlefield or in politics, he sought opportunities in higher education.

In November of 1863, Dr. J. A. B. Stone, the president of Kalamazoo College, resigned under pressure from the Board of Trustees. Kalamazoo was the oldest Baptist College in Michigan and had two departments (male and female) and a theological school. All were under financial pressure because of "unfortunate" fiscal management. Along with the resignation of Dr. Stone came the resignation of his wife Lucinda (or Lucy), who was principal of the female department. The situation became worse when Dr. Stone was charged with immorality by members of the First Baptist Church of Kalamazoo. A church court heard the trial; he was judged guilty of two affairs (one with a former student); and because he was unrepentant, he was "denied the hand of fellowship,"[55] in other words, he was expelled from the local church.

Gregory had been a member of the Board of Trustees since 1857. He was familiar with the controversy. When others on the Board asked him to assume the presidency, he did so on condition that the institutional debt be paid and that the Board name him as its president. By September, 1864, the funds had been raised, and the Board elected Gregory as the new college president and president of the Board. His inaugural address, "The Right and Duty of Christianity to Educate," was his most comprehensive statement on the role of religion in education.

Gregory argued that public schools were more limited than private schools in their mission. He believed that they were governed by public laws and could produce conformity to them, but without religion, they were imperfect because they could not adequately address issues of character. To that end, some form of Christianity was necessary. "To banish it," he said, "is to banish the only adequate agent for a full and rounded development of human souls."[56] This use of Christianity to complete the education of the individual was part of "universal education." It made no sense to Gregory to educate every child if society did not also develop his or her character "Godward." He saw Christianity as uniquely suited to that end.

Some members of the Board of Trustees were advocates of a strongly denominational school. If they expected Gregory to please them in that regard, they were disappointed. Gregory maintained his interdenominational views throughout his presidency. His accomplishments, however, were limited. Enrollment doubled in 1865-1866, but the increase is not easily attributed to his efforts. Male enrollment increased as soldiers mustered out of service. Female enrollment increased when Lucy Stone (who became a social reformer in her own right) ended women's classes in her home. The most that can be said is that Gregory placed the college on a firm financial footing and that he opened the doors to receive back most of the students who had left.

During this period, he developed other means to pursue his millennialist mission. He helped resuscitate the Michigan teachers' journal that had ceased publication during the Civil War. At the same time, he helped launch a new "undenominational" journal for Sunday school teachers in the Midwest. He regarded them as twins. He refined "seven laws of teaching" that he had developed from long study, and he began to serial publish them in both *The Michigan Teacher* and *The Sunday School Teacher.* Their nearly simultaneous publication in journals for public school teachers and for Sunday school teachers revealed his view that public education and religious education should increasingly overlap as the millennium approached.

In February of 1867, Thomas Quick, a trustee-elect of a newly authorized university that later became the University of Illinois, contacted Gregory. A Baptist himself, Quick wished to put Gregory up for approval as regent at the first Board meeting. Gregory jumped at the chance to develop a new university for the public. "I replied favorably," Gregory wrote in his diary, "and on the day mentioned was elected Regent of the Illinois Industrial University."[57] He brought to the university his mission of universal education.

Gregory believed that all public universities should share this mission. As Superintendent of Public Instruction in Michigan, he had said, "Our State University, now so magnificent in growth, was not a success from the outset. Years of trial, and almost of entire defeat passed, before rising above the region of party and sectarian strifes and personal ambitions, it breathed free in the purer atmosphere of true learning and universal education."[58] The evolution of the University of Michigan into a successful institution did not mean to Gregory that it rose above religion. With his friend from the MSTA, Erastus O. Haven, at the helm, he was confident that religion was not being neglected. Haven would go on to become the first president of Northwestern University and would end his career as a bishop with the Methodist church.

Gregory expressed his hopes for Illinois Industrial University on March 11, 1868 at the opening of the school. The inaugural ceremony was held at University Hall. The first speaker was almost certainly invited by Gregory as

a substitute for his ideological mentor, Eliphalet Nott, who had died the previous year. The Reverend Charles D. Nott was a grandson of the deceased president, an alumnus (1854) of Union College, and a Presbyterian minister in Urbana, Illinois from 1866 to 1868. He had also married Sophronia H. Gregory, a relative of the new college president and his wife. Nott opened the ceremonies by reading from a Bible to a crowd that "filled the hall to overflowing."[59] What followed was spoken solemnly and publicly with interludes of religious songs and hymns by a choir. If not a religious meeting, it was close.

The first speaker that day was Dr. Newton Bateman, the Illinois State Superintendent of Public Instruction. He identified fellow Illinoisan Jonathan Baldwin Turner, the fiery advocate of industrial and agrarian education, as the father of land grant institutions. In the 1850's, Turner had sounded his own millennial theme, arguing that industrial education would prepare the way for "the millennium of labor," by which he meant such education would restore dignity and status to labor, reversing the curse of toil for the millennial reign to come.[60]

Bateman reviewed the legislation governing the mission of the land grant university and distinguished it from other institutions, including (by name) Union College. "What then is the grand distinguishing feature, purpose, hope of this University? In my view it is to form a closer alliance between Labor and Learning; between Science and the Manual Arts; between Man and Nature; between the Human Soul and God as seen in and revealed through His works."[61] Bateman charted a direction for Illinois Industrial University in both secular and religious terms. In the end, he thanked God that "monopolies of learning, by privileged classes" were a feature of the past. "Henceforth, the inscription upon the temples of highest learning, as well as the common school, is to be '*Whosoever will, let him come.*'"[62] The allusion was to the moment in an evangelical revival for sinners to come forward and make a religious commitment.

Gregory spoke next, sharing his vision for the University. Most of what he foresaw consisted of mortal obstacles ahead—conflicts and challenges that would threaten the survival of the University during its infancy. Eventually, he saw the University uniting learning with labor, elevating the status of labor, making labor more productive, developing a corps at the "West Point for the working world" to lead change, and promoting the welfare of the nation. Only towards the end of his speech did he address what he saw as "a grander and broader triumph than all these,"[63] which was universal education. "Let us but demonstrate that the highest culture is compatible with the active pursuit of industry, and that the richest learning will pay in a corn field or a carpenter's shop, and we have made not only universal education a possible possession, but a fated necessity of the race."[64] Through

universal education, not just industrial education, the new school would accord with God's will for mankind.

During Gregory's presidency, the culture of Illinois Industrial University was essentially Protestant. Like Nott, Gregory did not assert his denominational affiliation, and he chose faculty from different Protestant denominations. Daily chapel and Sunday services were compulsory for students. Although a few non-Protestants undoubtedly attended, they did not make their beliefs widely known.[65] There were also significant departures from the culture of Union College. Military science was compulsory, the faculty made disciplinary decisions, and beginning in 1870, women were regularly admitted. Students labored to help support the school, keeping costs of attendance low enough that students could put themselves through school. These departures from the culture at Union did not diminish Gregory's implementation of "universal education." They enhanced it.

Illinois was not the only public university to begin with a Protestant culture. Many other land grant colleges began similarly.[66] For example, Adonijah Welch (1821-1889), the former principal of the Michigan State Normal School and Gregory's associate in MSTA days, became president of Iowa State Industrial College (later Iowa State University). He served as president from 1869 to 1883. Josiah Pickard (1824-1914), president of the University of Iowa from 1878 to 1887, knew Gregory from being state superintendent of schools in Wisconsin. His views were similar enough to those of Gregory that after Gregory resigned as president of Illinois in 1880, Pickard co-edited with him a newspaper for Midwestern educators titled *The Present Age*. As all of Gregory's projects, it had a millennial theme, but this project would last only three years.

IV

The evangelical army that had set out to transform the world began to pass into history. A number of factors—such as religious pluralism, scientific empiricism, and Darwinism—caused it to lose influence, provoking many millennialists to resign or retire. They were unable to pass their influence on to the next generation, which was at work defining a new worldview.

John Gregory's younger son, Grant, is a case in point. After finishing high school, he sold books for a year, then he entered a literary course of study at the University of Illinois. A note scrawled on the bottom of a letter from his father reads, "I seemed to believe in Darwinism in 1883."[67] Grant's original letter has not been found, but his father's reply criticized Darwin's theory from a religious point of view. He warned Grant to stay away from "shallow unbelief,"[68] but the younger Gregory may have found something useful in Darwinism. Social Darwinism gave journalists such as Mark Twain and

William Dean Howells a realistic interpretation of the affluence and rampant greed of the 1880's. After Grant graduated from college in 1887, he became a reporter for the *Kansas City Star*, then a reporter and editor for newspapers in New York City.[69] Realism would have been at home in newspaper offices during what became known as the Gilded Age.

A religious idealist to the end, John Gregory found himself increasingly out of place in public education. After a tour as superintendent of Baptist missionary colleges in the South (later HBCUs), he was appointed by President Chester A. Arthur (a fellow Union graduate) as one of the first U.S. Civil Service commissioners. He helped to create a merit-based system of hiring federal employees to replace the spoils system. From Washington, he also oversaw the simultaneous publication in 1886 of the final version of his teacher preparation textbook, *The Seven Laws of Teaching,* by The Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, The (Presbyterian) Westminster Press, and The (Adventist) Review and Herald. It was a *tour de force* for an evangelical millennialist, but praise by public educators was cautious. Henry Barnard's prestigious *American Journal of Education* said that it was "a bright day when such a book is issued by a denominational publishing house."[70] The review praised *The Seven Laws of Teaching*, but it also categorized it as religious literature.

Gregory was never able to accommodate the shift in public education to a progressive ideology that was not religious. His fidelity to the principles of evangelical millennialism would not allow it. He died in Washington, D.C. on October 19, 1898 and was buried on the Illinois campus. Julia had preceded him in death (on July 6, 1877) and was buried in Kalamazoo. Gregory was survived by his second wife, Louisa, four daughters, and two sons.

Gregory's biography illustrates how the democratization of education in America—its spread to the least privileged in society—accelerated during the middle decades of the 19th Century through the movement for universal education. Evangelical millennialists led in this movement, motivated by their desire to usher in a 1,000-year reign of Jesus Christ on earth. Looking back at Gregory's life, we can see that his religious beliefs inspired his efforts to provide what he considered a complete education for everyone. As an evangelical millennialist, Gregory was motivated by the hope that his and others' efforts to reform education would eventually transform a nation, and in a sense, they did, making education generally accessible and laying a foundation for further reforms and educational progress.

Author note: My thanks for assistance from Ellen H. Fladger, Archivist and Head of Special Collections, Schaffer Library, Union College, and Linda S. Stahnke, Archival Reference and Operations Specialist, University of Illinois Archives.

Notes

[1] Lawrence Cremin, *The American Common School* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1951); Rush Welter, *Popular Education and Democratic Thought in America* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1962); and more recently, David F. Labaree, "Public Goods, Private Goods: The American Struggle over Educational Goals," *American Educational Research Journal,* 34 (Spring 1997): 39-81. Kaestle suggested a contrasting, religious hypothesis: "The pervasiveness of a semiofficial, nationalistic, nervous ideology that stressed self-discipline for insiders and cultural conversion for outsiders helps to explain the similarity and the success of school reform in different antebellum Northern states." Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1983), 95. The research presented here supports Kaestle's hypothesis.

[2] Gregory's biographers are Allene Gregory, *John Milton Gregory: A Biography* (Chicago: Covici-McGee, 1923) and Harry A. Kersey, *John Milton Gregory and the University of Illinois* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1968).

[3] Grant Gregory to Allene Gregory, 28 August 1917, Allene G. Allen Research File, 1898-1920, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana.

[4] *Third Report of the Executive Committee of the American Baptist Home Mission Society* (New York: ABHMS, 1835), 5.

[5] Gregory, *John Gregory,* 11. Towner attended Williams College from 1829-1831. He was expelled in his first year because he was alleged to have repeatedly set fire to a college out-building, but a year later, another student confessed, and the faculty voted to let Towner back in. He returned but did not graduate, choosing instead to enter the ministry by becoming a licentiate at the Gregory family church in Sand Lake. http://archives.williams.edu/timeline.php?id=108 (accessed December 9, 2010); John Peck and John Lawton, *An Historical Sketch of the Baptist Missionary Convention of the State of New York* (Utica, NY: Bennett and Bright, 1837), 166.

[6] Gregory, *John Gregory,* 11.

[7] Ibid, 11-12; Charles A. Richmond, "Dr. Gregory's Early Days," *Alumni Quarterly of the University of Illinois* 8 (July 1914), 148.

[8] Gregory, *John Gregory,* 12.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Joshua H. Rodgers to Uriah Gregory, 13 January 1840, Uriah Gregory Collection, 1840-1843, Box 1, file 11, #211. Broome County Historical Society, Binghamton, New York.

[11] Isaiah Townsend, 22 July 1845, In Andrew V. V. Raymond, *Union University: Its History, Influence, Characteristics and Equipment,* Vol. 1 (New York: Lewis, 1907), 8.

[12] Raymond, *Union University,* 148.

[13] John M. Gregory, "Dr. Nott," *Michigan Teacher* 1 (May 1866), 160.

[14] John M. Gregory to Grant Gregory, 8 May 1881, In Grant to Allene Gregory, 28 August 1917, Allen Research File.

[15] Merit Rolls, Class Graduating July 1846; Archives and Special Collections, Union College.

[16] John M. Gregory to Joseph Gregory, 2 March 1844, in Richmond, "Early Days," 151.

[17]Gregory's earlier conversion experience was a vision of Christ calling to him from Sand Lake. Gregory, *John Gregory,* 33-34; Richmond, "Early Days," 148.

[18] Gregory, "Dr. Nott," 160.

[19] Ibid, 161-162.

[20] Ernest L. Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968), 34; Daniel W. Howe, "Pursuing the Millennium," In *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2007): 285-327.

[21] Union College, *Centennial Catalogue of the Officers and Alumni of Union College* (Troy: Troy Times, 1895), 72.

[22] Merit Rolls, Class Graduating July 1846; Archives and Special Collections, Union College; Union College, *Catalogues, Sept. 1845* (Schenectady: Riggs, 1845), 28.

[23] Richmond, "Early Days," 150; First Baptist Church, Deposit, Delaware County, New York http://www.dcnyhistory.org/joyce/chdeposit.html (accessed December 10, 2010).

[24] John M. Gregory to Uriah Gregory, Thanksgiving Day 1845, Uriah Gregory Collection, Box 1, file 13, #259. Broome County Historical Society, Binghamton, New York.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] "Deposit Academy," 14 September 1846, Broadsides sy 1846, no. 68, New York Historical Society, New York.

[28] Receipt from Deposit Academy, 23 March 1847, Uriah Gregory Collection, Personal letters, 1847-1860, Box 1, file 3, #30. Broome County Historical Society, Binghamton, New York.

[29] Gregory, *John Gregory,* 30.

[30] Richmond, "Early Days," 148.

[31] Gregory, *John Gregory,* 47-48.

[32] Stephen Wright, *History of the Shaftsbury Baptist Association, 1781-1853* (Troy: Johnson, 1853), 275.

[33] Gregory, *John Gregory,* 6-7, 27, 30; Grant to Allene Gregory, 28 August 1917, Allen Research File.

[34] Charles Gregory ran an Underground Railway station (his woodshed). He separated from the Sand Lake church when it did not support abolition. None of the churches of the Hudson River Baptist Association did, a decision "bitterly denounced" by abolitionists. Grant Gregory, *Ancestors and Descendants of Henry Gregory* (Provincetown, MA: Author, n.d.), 225. Robert A. Baker, *Relations Between Northern and Southern Baptists* (New York: Arno, 1980), 48. Letters by Julia to Grant Gregory are among the Gregory Family Letters, Ross and Dorothy Lake Gregory Moffett Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

[35] Grant to Allene Gregory, 28 August 1917, Allen Research File.

[36] Gregory, *John Gregory,* 58.

[37] Grant to Allene Gregory, 28 August 1917, Allen Research File.

[38] John M. Gregory, "Christian Union," *Michigan Christian Herald* 12 (April-July 1853). Gregory Scrapbooks, Box 1, University of Illinois Archives.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Horace Mann, *Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of Education* (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1848), 135.

[41] Ibid, 133.

[42] W. L. Smith, *Historical Sketches of Education in Michigan* (Lansing: George, 1880), 140; "Michigan State Teachers' Association," *Michigan Journal of Education and Teachers' Magazine* 1 (May 1854), 152.

[43] "Introductory Observations," *Michigan Journal of Education and Teachers' Magazine* 1 (January 1854), 2.

[44] Horace Greeley, "Universal Education," *Michigan Journal of Education and Teachers' Magazine* 2 (January 1855): 30.

[45] "Where is Our Best Mind?" *Michigan Journal of Education and Teachers' Magazine* 2 (October 1855), 313.

[46] "Introduction to Volume IV," *Michigan Journal of Education and Teachers' Magazine* 4 (January 1857), 2.

[47] Paul H. Mattingly, "Educational Revivals in Ante-Bellum New England," *History of Education Quarterly* 11 (Spring 1971): 39-71.

[48] Martin L. D'ooge, "Dr. Gregory as Superintendent of Public Instruction in Michigan," *Alumni Quarterly of the University of Illinois* 8 (July 1914), 153.

[49] John M. Gregory, "Retirement Message," *Michigan Journal of Education and Teachers' Magazine* 5 (December 1858), 382.

[50] John M. Gregory, *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan* (Lansing: Kerr, 1861), 10.

[51] D'ooge, "Gregory as Superintendent:" 153-59.

[52] John M. Gregory, *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan* (Lansing: Kerr, 1864), 51.

[53] James H. Moorehead, *American Apocalypse: Yankee Protestants and the Civil War, 1860-1869* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1978); John M. Gregory, *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan* (Lansing: Kerr, 1863), 75.

[54] Grant to Allene Gregory, 28 August 1917, Allen Research File.

[55] Charles T. Goodsell and Willis F. Dunbar, *Centennial History of Kalamazoo College: 1833 – 1933* (Kalamazoo: Kalamazoo College, 1933), 72.

[56] John M. Gregory, *The Right and Duty of Christianity to Educate* (Kalamazoo: Walden, Ames, 1865), 7.

[57] Gregory, *John Gregory,* 135.

[58] John M. Gregory, *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan* (Lansing: Hosmer and Kerr, 1860), 124.

[59] Board of Trustees, "Inauguration of the University," *First Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois Industrial University* (Springfield: Baker, 1868), 149.

[60] Jonathan B. Turner, "The Millennium of Labor," in *Reports Made to the Nineteenth General Assembly of the State of Illinois* (Springfield: Lamphier and Walker, 1855): 595-605; Brett H. Smith, "Reversing the Curse: Agricultural Millennialism at the Illinois Industrial University," *Church History* 73 (December 2004): 759-91.

[61] Board of Trustees, "Inauguration," 169.

[62] Ibid, 172-173.

[63] Ibid, 181.

[64] Ibid, 182.

[65] Winton U. Solberg, *The University of Illinois 1867-1894: An Intellectual and Cultural History* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1968).

[66] Earle D. Rose, "Religious Influences in the Development of State Colleges and Universities," *Indiana Magazine of History* 46 (December 1950): 341-62.

[67] John M. Gregory to Grant Gregory, November 24, 1881, Gregory Letters, Smithsonian.

[68] John M. Gregory to Grant Gregory, January 10, 1883, Gregory Letters, Smithsonian.

[69] Gregory, *Ancestors and Descendents,* 412.

[70] Review of *The Seven Laws of Teaching* by John M. Gregory, *American Journal of Education* 23 (April 1886): 26.

The Artistry of an Editor: Nora Barlow and the Darwin Manuscripts

Louis M. Smith
Washington University in St. Louis

Introduction

In 1933 Nora Barlow, Charles Darwin's granddaughter, as editor, published her first book on the Darwin manuscripts. Her book, titled *Charles Darwin's Diary of the Voyage of H.M.S. "Beagle,"* was the first major book on the Darwin manuscripts since the early work of Darwin's son Francis.[1] The *Diary* is Darwin's chronological account of the events that were occurring during the five years of the voyage. Nora[2] clearly indicates the differences between the *Diary* and the two editions of Darwin's well-known *Journal* of the voyage published in 1839 and 1845. One third of the *Diary* is new. The *Diary* was written regularly at the time of the experiences, and it also is strictly chronological. (The *Journal* is only partially chronological for Darwin often grouped events from different times and places revisited to make his points. Also after returning home he added considerable material from scientific work available at the time.)

In a summary, one reviewer in a statement about Nora Barlow's editing of the *Diary* commented, "She sets forth exactly what the work she is editing contains, and her editing with its bibliography, notes, the diary maps, critical apparatus and index comes as near to perfection as is humanly possible."[3] A fine accolade that anticipates my larger argument, the nature and importance of the artistry of an editor!

The Books
The Autobiography of Charles Darwin[4]

Artistry in this essay concerns great creative ability and skill in doing a task, in this instance editing. Nora Barlow's artistry as an editor appears in all of her books, but it is in the *Autobiography of Charles Darwin* that her efforts are most dramatic. For instance, in the Preface Nora indicates that she has returned some 6000 words that had been deleted in the earlier 1887 edition of the *Autobiography* prepared by Darwin's son, the botanist, Francis Darwin. If each page contains 200 to 300 words, that means 20 to 30 pages had been excised by F. Darwin. At the end of the book Nora presents two pages indicating the exact placement of each of the additions, both by page and line. When I first read the *Autobiography* I checked off each item as I noted the replacements with red parentheses. In this way I could see exactly what she had done. The significance of her efforts was immediately apparent.

In the opening paragraph of her "Introduction" she states several small but important facts and several strong opinions that will appear and guide her substantive work in editing the *Autobiography*. She begins:

> Charles Darwin's own reflections on his life and work, written between the ages of 67 and 71, must remain an important work of reference, whether in the history of ideas or in a portrait gallery of men. He still stands as the leading figure of that revolution in scientific thought which followed the publication of the *Origin of Species* in the middle of the 19th century, a revolution soon involving all realms of knowledge.

She continues.

> But posterity must continually reassess the past, and accurate contemporary sources are specially needed to provide insight into those stormy seasons when the wind of accepted belief changes. The great figures must be seen in their own setting and their own words must be heard, cleared of the posthumous growth of later dogmas.[5]

Here, in the phrase "the posthumous growth of later dogmas," she is essentially attacking Marxian and Freudian theorists who "... incline to take the figures of history and mould them into demonstrations of their own doctrines."[6] She is seeking "True portraits of great men in their settings."[7] She feels that "true portraits" is what she is doing.

Other material returned by Nora to their place in the book pertain to Darwin's gradual development of doubt about Christianity and also provides

a good example of her artistry. She sets the issue up in her Introduction:

> In the *Autobiography* Charles Darwin tells the story of the slow maturing of his mind and theories, leading to the publication of the Linnean paper with A.R. Wallace in 1858, and the *Origin of Species* in 1859.[8]

Her efforts to show this "maturing of his mind" appear later in one significant passage from the text regarding Darwin's slow development of disbelief in the Gospels. The following statement of Darwin's had been excised from the early 1887 edition, yet as editor Nora reinstates it into the *Autobiography*. Darwin comments:

> … and [I] have never since doubted even for a single second that my conclusion was correct. I can indeed hardly see how anyone ought to wish Christianity to be true; for if so the plain language of the text seems to show that men who do not believe, and this would include my Father, brother and all my best friends, will be everlastingly punished. And this is a damnable doctrine.

Nora provides clarity about the origins of Francis Darwin's excision of the passage in a footnote in her new edition when she states:

> Mrs. Darwin annotated this passage [the above elision] in her own handwriting. She, Emma Darwin, writes: —"I should dislike this passage in brackets to be published. It seems to me raw. Nothing can be said too severe upon the doctrine of everlasting punishment or disbelief – but very few now wd. call that 'Christianity,' (tho' the words are there.) There is the question of verbal inspiration comes in too. E.D."

The passage was hence not published in the earlier edition.[9] As editor of the 1958 edition of the *Autobiography***,** Nora has not only restored the omitted part but has discovered and illuminated one of the reasons why Francis Darwin had deleted the material. Further, in the introduction to the *Autobiography* Nora refers to a letter from Leonard Darwin, then Charles Darwin's only surviving son (1941), relating the great controversy among the Darwin children surrounding the publication of the *Autobiography*. Nora speculates in the introduction:

> Nevertheless it is clear that opinions were divided and feelings ran high in this united family, perhaps best explained by a divided loyal-

> ty amongst the children between the science of their father and the religion of their mother; though the differences of view that existed caused no estrangement between the parents. This desire for reticence was an aftermath of the scientific-religious storm that had raged in the 60's and 70's with a fury that is now difficult to understand.[10]

At the end of the book in Note Four, Nora reprints two letters of "Mrs. Darwin" that relate to issues of religion in the relationship between Charles and his wife Emma. The letters were published in the two volumes *Emma Darwin* (1915), edited by Henrietta Darwin Litchfield, the Darwin's daughter (Aunt Etty to the grandchildren). Nora quotes Henrietta:

> In our childhood and youth she [her mother Emma Darwin] was not only religious – this she always was in the true sense of the word – but definite in her beliefs. She went regularly to church and took the Sacraments. She read the Bible with us and taught us a simple Unitarian Creed, though we were baptized and confirmed in the Church of England. In her youth religion must have largely filled her life, and there is evidence in the papers she left that it distressed her in her early married life to know that my father did not share her faith. She wrote two letters to him on the subject. He speaks in his autobiography of "her beautiful letter to me, safely preserved, shortly after our marriage."[11]

This startling ability to bring quite diverse additional sources to bear on a vital point is one vivid illustration of what I mean by Nora's artistry as an editor. Her knowledge of Darwin sources is both profound and beautifully integrated. The context of Darwin's religious beliefs has been extended.

Charles Darwin's Diary of the Voyage of H.M.S. "Beagle"[12]

The context of Nora's beginning work on the *Diary* is a small part of the history of science that has rarely been raised. In the late 1920s her main mentor William Bateson died. She had worked in his laboratory while she took his courses at Cambridge University. She published two experimental papers on genetics. Her second genetics paper on the inheritance of trimorphic flowers showed unsatisfactory results. That strand of her scientific work had moved toward an end. Later in the 1940s R.A. Fisher picked up the problems and invited Nora to join him, but by then she was too far away from the issues and she declined. Later Fisher solved her problem in the inheritance of trimorphic flowers. Also in the late 1920s Nora's Uncle Frank, Francis

Darwin, passed away. He had held many of the Darwin manuscripts very close, not letting other Darwin scholars see them. His son Bernard Darwin, Nora's cousin, allowed entry into the trove of manuscripts and other papers. Her cousin Charles Darwin owned the *Diary* manuscript and allowed her unrestricted use of it.

So began her work on the *Diary***.** The book is large, 451 pages, with many attachments that make it hard to comment on briefly, but which define the artistry. For instance, an additional thirty pages of prefatory material begins the book. Two thirds of the *Diary* manuscript is not in the published versions of Darwin's *Journal* of 1839 and 1845. As indicated earlier, the *Diary* is strictly chronological, while the *Journal* is only partially chronological. Quotations from Darwin's small Notebooks and his letters home are part of Nora's preface. Later these notebooks and letters would be the content of her second book, *Charles Darwin and the Voyage of the Beagle.*[13] Similarly citations are made from the *Autobiography* that would be published in its "de-edited" version as her third book. In the *Diary* she also cites the famous sentence in Josiah Wedgwood's argument to Darwin's father recommending that Charles be allowed to go on the Beagle voyage:

> Looking upon him as a man of enlarged curiosity, it affords him an opportunity of seeing men and things as happens to few.[14]

Nora cites several letters from Emma Wedgwood and Darwin's sister Catherine who argue that Charles' *Journal* should be kept separate from Captain Fitzroy's account of the HMS Beagle voyage. Nora's blending of ideas and materials from several sources remains a major aspect of her artistry as an editor.

I found several other aspects of the book significant in my reading. Nora makes a case that some of Darwin's evolutionary views began on the *Beagle*. This remains controversial. Her "dramatis personae" is very helpful in reading and understanding who was what on the *Beagle*. Nora presents Darwin's bibliography with careful additional comments. Her "Notes" extend further the meaning of the voyage. And, finally, her "chart" of the voyage over five years is also very helpful in seeing and understanding geographically where Darwin was at each point along the way. These items all become part of a very large and important book. I found these creative additions to be helpful in understanding Charles, the voyage itself, and the sequence of important perceptions and understandings that Darwin was developing. Chronology is an important conceptual tool. In this way the reader is plunged into the world of the developing Charles Darwin.

Charles Darwin and the Voyage of the Beagle[15]

In the Preface of her second book on the voyage of the *Beagle* Nora opens with a quotation from Darwin in his *Autobiography*: "The voyage of the Beagle has been by far the most important event in my life, and has determined my whole career."[16] Nora continues: "The Beagle was to become the training-ship for Charles Darwin in the serious scientific purpose of his life. His name will always be principally associated with the theory of evolution; the present volume, built round the little note-books of the voyage and the letters home, deals with an earlier period when hypotheses were still in the making and the orthodox doctrines of creation and immutability of species still held their outward sway."[18] Overall the 1946 book contains a brief preface and a larger introduction regarding Darwin's background. The 32 pages of this Introduction Chapter are the closest Nora ever came to writing a biography of Charles. She comments:

> Before we embark with Darwin on his journey round the world in the year 1831, it will be well to see him in his English setting; to know how he was equipped for his great adventure; and to picture the family circle which he was leaving behind with such bitter pangs of regret that he nearly gave up the cherished prospect of the voyage.[19]

Next, are the letters that he wrote to his sisters while he was on *HMS Beagle.* Only a footnote or two is here. This is in contrast to the different stance Nora takes to the Darwin materials she is editing in part three, the field notebooks. Here she has a section that sets the scene for Darwin's activities and note making. In this introductory section she presents a vivid point of view of her position as an editor in action. And she also wants to challenge some of the conventional wisdom of the time. She opens the discussion this way.

> The twenty four small notebooks lie before me; those notebooks which Charles Darwin carried with him on his travels and which received the most immediate record of his impressions. In the scrawled and often illegible pages lie no finished theory and no polished phrase; but I have examined them in the belief that they may hold some clues as to how the impact of the changing scene influenced his mind and brought about the rapid development of power and tenacity of those years.[20]

Her thesis is out. She proceeds to make her case with some vigor. Any documents she uses to annotate this sudden growth of purpose in Darwin's perspective, amounting almost to a new personality, is important. This

means that criticism must be raised about the level of "worthless MSS" in which terms T. H. Huxley stigmatized much of the mass of descriptive writing brought back by Charles Darwin from the voyage because of his lack of training in biology.[21]

In making her case, Nora contrasts the letters that are more personal and family relationship oriented with her view of the entries in the notebooks. Her language is vivid and, perhaps, a bit overly dramatic.

> In the notebooks there is no audience, and no personal relationships are involved. Here are words struck red-hot from immediate experience; with no self-consciousness and no self-justification, except that profound one of proving the strength within and testing the power of the mind.[22]

As editor, she continues to probe into his mode of thinking in several additional ways. The pocket notebooks were not neat and tidy, but, in her view, they usually had a point toward which he was inquiring. In one passage she first alerts the reader to Darwin's anticipation of animal behavioral ecology not just collecting museum specimens. Second she raises the importance of the geographical distribution of species in his discussion. And third the geological issues of elevation of mountains and the place of fossils in the analysis and the coming theory are important. Part of the artistry of an editor is leading the reader to Darwin's observational comments and their meaning.

She captures some of Darwin's vitality with her notes on selections of his illustrations and her lively interpretations.

> His delight in detail often showed itself in the notes, either in almost lyrical description of a rock, or more especially in observations on living creatures. Here is no mere docketing of the museum specimen, but a characterization of the living being. It is as though he almost became the object he was watching. "Saw a cormorant catch a fish & let it go 8 times successively like a Cat does a Mouse or otter a fish."[23]

The play of her editorial work and interpretations, and Darwin's fieldwork and his interpretive reflections continued throughout the section on the notebooks. She was much more intellectually active here than in the part of the book presenting the letters, which seemed better able to stand alone. One begins to see more of the artistry in her editing.

The glossary Nora added is most helpful to the casual reader, for Darwin has an incredible range of knowledge of plants and animals. If he began the

voyage as a serious amateur it soon becomes clear that "serious" is a more important adjective than is the noun "amateur." For example, one brief entry is "Comadraga intestine full of the remains of insects, chiefly ants and some hemipterous insects."[24] Nora's glossary indicates that the "comadraga" is a kind of weasel.[25]

It was the anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski in 1922, almost a century later than Darwin, who was to make the distinction between "foreshadowed problems" and "preconceived ideas."[26] But Darwin with his questions and guesses and Nora Barlow with her commentary seem to illustrate this distinction very well. Such is the nature of Nora's commentary on the notebooks and letters from the *Beagle* voyage. In its organization and contents it is an unusual book. A serious and artistic editor has been at work.

Darwin and Henslow: The Growth of an Idea[27]

This is Nora's fourth and last book. She was 82 when it was published. Her intent is to show the long relationship between the two men and how they contributed to each other's thinking and broader life styles. Her long 19-page introduction, once again, provides the reader with a framework for the ideas that were to come in the letters per se.

> So, it followed naturally by 1831, when these letters begin, Darwin had already become a frequent visitor at Henslow's friendly home in Cambridge, where he and his wife kept open house once a week to all those who shared his keen interest in natural science. Darwin soon felt at ease in this congenial atmosphere; and thus a friendship began that led to far more than the offer of the place of naturalist on board H.M.S. *Beagle*. Between these two men arose that immeasurable mutual influence that can arise between two unlike but sincere personalities. Darwin – sensitive inexperienced, anxious – leant heavily on Henslow's wise, perceptive humanity. Henslow, for his part, must have discerned some unusual quality in this fervent young entomologist. He soon helped Darwin, by his talk; and shared interests, to attain that faith in his aims and in himself, which his boyhood at Shrewsbury had failed to provide. The discovery of a fellow-enthusiast, in this formal academic atmosphere, brought to Darwin a new sense of purpose in his work.

Nora continues.

> The letters that follow give, for the first time, a full documentation of how the contact of their two minds helped Darwin, after he left

> Cambridge in 1830, to meet the challenge of freedom with a new confidence. The deep respect of the first letters was soon warmed by an affectionate sympathy: and this lasted long after those days when Henslow and Darwin were often seen together, walking the Cambridge countryside, and perhaps discussing (amongst a host of subjects) the growing rifts in geological orthodoxy. Darwin, in his last years at Cambridge, was distinguished as 'the man who walks with Henslow'. Now, with the change of emphasis, Henslow may be known as 'the man to whom Darwin wrote'. In his *Autobiography* Darwin recorded that his friendship with Henslow was 'a circumstance which influenced my career more than any other'. These letters bear out the truth of his judgment, disclosing how their intimacy guided the direction of Darwin's early life.[28]

After Nora's "Preface" of four pages and the "Introduction" of nineteen pages, most of the book consists of 121 letters written between 1831 and 1860. Nora's contribution consists of footnotes. Many contain brief several sentence biographical statements of everyone who appears in the letters. Multiple cross references also appear. Two examples will suffice. In a letter to Henslow written from Rio de Janeiro barely two months into the voyage Darwin comments briefly about his seasickness and discomfort, leaving much of his complaints in a letter to his sister. He wrote again to Henslow after his return home, when he was again in a state of unusual tension and anxiety.[29] In a not unusual way, Nora blends an item in the Henslow letter, with an acknowledgement that she could not find the letter he sent home. She continues with a quote from the *Autobiography*, an observation of no earlier mention of health problems, and a reference to two letters later in this book of letters. This is unusual but powerful editing. Pieces of knowledge integrated carefully are editorial artistry!

Later in Letter 48 in May 1837 Darwin is thanking Henslow for a chart and an account of a lagoon. Nora footnotes as follows.

> See Darwin's *Coral Reefs*, third edition, 1889, pp.90-95. Darwin discusses the submergence of these islands in the Indian Ocean, and on the evidence then available suggests "We must look to some other cause than the rate of growth; and I suspect it will be found in the reefs being formed of different species of corals, adapted to live at different depths." (p. 94). See also Appendix IV, p. 234, by D. R. Stoddard.[30]

Again Nora's depth of knowledge is impressive as is her ability to bring this knowledge to bear on quite specific problems.

In the last brief paragraph of the introduction Nora makes reference to Darwin's close friend Hooker, director of Kew Gardens.

> Hooker wrote of his father-in-law, J.S. Henslow, after his death, as 'a man who, with strong enough religious convictions of his own, had the biggest charity for every heresy so long as it is conscientiously entertained'. Darwin replied to Hooker: 'I fully believe a better man than Henslow never walked this earth.'[31]

That seems a fitting tribute to this part of the discussion.

Summary and Conclusion

By way of summary two brief statements arise in thinking about this essay on editing. First I have continuing trouble in separating Nora, "Charley," and me. In an early draft of this presentation I found that I was really writing about Darwin and not about the issues of Nora's editing. At other times I find that I tend to focus more on me rather than Nora. Illustratively in the long methodological monograph *Doing ethnographic biography: A reflective practitioner at work during a spring in Cambridge*[32] the focus was on me as I worked on the biography. I tried to describe and interpret how I went about doing the biography. This kind of "methodological appendix" is an attempt to remove "me" from the biography itself. *Nora Barlow and the Darwin legacy*[33] focuses on Nora per se with Darwin and me as context. Still other essays, "Charles Darwin 1809-82"[34] has Charles front and center.

One other issue concerns a tactic in studying Nora's editing. It involves the "simple" suggestion of reading carefully prefaces and introductions. Looking to footnotes or endnotes and carefully teasing apart their content for significant clues as to the editor's contribution to the work itself. The care Nora put into this part of the task is very clear from the examples presented here. Similarly "dramatis personae," indices, charts and pictures generally are chosen for a purpose. They can help understand an editor's intentions. Often I initially scan these parts early on, to help get an initial footing on the task of the editor.

Artistry is not one of those concepts that flow easily in scientific discourse. It implies an easy natural kind of skill. In a sense its products seem to make a work seem effortless. A kind of integration appears. The pieces seem to belong together in a way not imposed upon them rigorously. Images, analogies, and metaphors seem better forms of definitions than formal verbal statements. The process and the outcome of editing can have those same qualities of process and product. Or as my dictionary says of artistry "great ability and skill in doing something."[35] Such is Nora as an editor. And then

there is the editor herself. In a letter to Gregory Bateson, a lifelong friend, she commented, "My Ivory tower has been a nice little old sailing ship called the Beagle. So remote, so irrelevant, but O so pleasant."[36]

It's not difficult to see her at her table removing the green oilcloth over her materials then happily but seriously working away as editor. Her influence stretches out much farther than her table at Boswells, her home in Buckinghamshire. Her 1933 book was one of the first major pieces of Darwin scholarship since the work in the late 19th and early 20th century of her uncle Francis Darwin. The earliness of her 1933 book in the Darwin literature, the quality of her editing, and the quantity of her later published efforts made her an early major member of the "Darwin Industry," as it came to be called. She was at the center of the "invisible college" of scholars from Gavin de Beer at the British Museum in London and Sydney Smith in Cambridge to Barrett, Gruber, and Kohn in America. She entertained visitors at Boswells and she gave introductions to people seeking information at the Athenaeum Club in London. During that productive period from her fifties to her eighties, she became one of the important scholars in the history of Darwin scholarship. Quite a contribution from someone with minimal secondary and university education who defined herself as an editor, not an author!

Her second book, *Darwin and the Voyage of the Beagle*, the one she published in 1946, contained Darwin's letters home during his five-year voyage. She had wanted to publish the letters with the *Diary* the decade before, but the Cambridge University Press didn't think it feasible. Much later in 1985, Nora now 100 years old, sat on the Advisory Committee of the "letters project," when the first volume was published of what was to be the entire correspondence of Charles Darwin. Cambridge University Press is the Publisher. The frontispiece picture of Darwin in volume one is the same picture Nora and Seward the department chair had found in the Botany building in 1929 and later used by Nora as the frontispiece of the *Diary,* her first book on the Darwin manuscripts. Irony all around! Later my wife Marilyn and I, when first sorting the Barlow papers, found it once again, lost and now buried under a stack of old draperies and "stuff" in her library at Sellenger, her home in Cambridge. Quickly it left the house and now hangs in the Manuscripts Room of Cambridge University Library. This is where the staff of the Correspondence Project has commandeered a large working table as the volumes of Charles' letters now are over a dozen in number. Nora among others thought collecting and publishing the entire corpus of letters written to and from Charles Darwin was an activity worth carrying forward.

Being the artistic editor of some of the Darwin manuscripts is a fascinating story and historical account, one worthy of telling, as I have argued.

Notes

[1] Francis Darwin did *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin* and *More Letters of Charles Darwin* in the late 19th Century.

[2] Some readers might find inappropriate my referring to Nora Barlow as Nora. The usage is intentional. The use of Barlow or Lady Barlow is a kind of formality that is inconsistent with the biographical portrait I am writing and with the way in which Nora saw herself and her children and grandchildren refer to her in their conversations with each other and with me.

[3] Nora Barlow, ed., *Charles Darwin's diary of the voyage of H.M.S. "Beagle,"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), 190.

[4] Nora Barlow, ed., *The Autobiography of Charles Darwin* (London: Collins, 1958), 11.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Nora Barlow, ed., *The autobiography of Charles Darwin 1809-1882* (New York: W.W.Norton, 1955), 14.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid, 11.

[9] Nora Barlow, ed., *The Autobiography of Charles Darwin* (London: Collins, 1958), 87.

[10] Ibid, 12-13.

[11] Ibid, 238-9.

[12] Nora Barlow, ed., *Charles Darwin's Diary of the Voyage of H.M.S. "Beagle,"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933).

[13] Nora Barlow, ed., *Charles Darwin and the voyage of the Beagle* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1946).

[14] Ibid, x.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Nora Barlow, ed., *The Autobiography of Charles Darwin* (London: Collins, 1958), 1.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid, 1-2.

[19] Nora Barlow, ed., *Charles Darwin and the voyage of the Beagle* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1946), 7.

[20] Nora Barlow, ed. Charles Darwin and the voyage of the Beagle (London: Pilot Press, 1945), 149.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid, 150.

[23] Ibid, 151.

[24] Ibid, 183.

[25] Ibid, 270.

[26] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1922).

[27] Nora Barlow, ed., *Darwin and Henslow*: *The growth of an idea* (London: Bentham-Moxon Trust, 1967).

[28] Ibid,, 7-8.

[29] Ibid, 52-53.

[30] Ibid, 30.

[31] Ibid, 19.

[32] L.M. Smith, "Doing ethnographic biography: A reflective practitioner at work during a spring in Cambridge" Perspectives in Education (2009).

[33] L.M. Smith, "Nora Barlow and the Darwin Legacy," In Process.

[34] L.M. Smith (2001) Charles Darwin 1809-82) in J. Palmer, ed., *Fifty major thinkers in education* (London: Routledge, 2001).

[35] Microsoft Encarta College Dictionary. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001), 76.

[36] Nora Barlow, *Letter to Gregory Bateson* (Cambridge: Barlow Archives, 1946).

Evolving Strategies and Emerging Selves:
Two Junior Faculty Reflect on the Road to Tenure

Lucy E. Bailey
Oklahoma State University

Lora Helvie-Mason
Southern University at New Orleans

"I have recurring feelings of…uncertainty, frustration, because I don't…feel like I can do all the work, much less do the quality kind of work that I would like to do."[1]

"Please do know that I am…generally a very time-conscious deadline oriented person—I suppose the lack of such qualities happens after the first year, but I am not used to being behind on my work and find it highly unsettling and emotionally draining."[2]

We draw the opening lines of this essay from two years of correspondence we have exchanged while employed in tenure-track roles in different universities. These excerpts speak to recurring themes of uncertainty, loss, change, and struggle that we have experienced along the road to tenure. "I don't feel like I can do all the work," we write one month. "I'm not used to being behind," we express the next. Yet new forms of agency and identity have emerged as well, and in this paper, we reflect on the strategies we have employed—and a few of the Selves that have emerged—during our respec-

tive journeys. Our purpose is not only to add to reflexive literature on the tenure process,[3] but, significantly, to engage in a collaborative narration of self as an act of agency within a fraught and temporal institutional position. Drawing from journal entries, a personal blog, and emails we exchanged across a two year period, we describe prominent themes and narrations of self visible in our writing. Indeed, the process of reflecting, strategizing, revising, and acting seem as important to our evolving sense of selves as the specific strategies we deploy in our institutional role.

The individual, contextual, and political nature of the tenure process defies static representations or generalized prescriptions for success. Scholars have published a range of reflections on the tenure process[4] and guides to navigate academia[5] as tangible products to serve their tenure journeys and as career guides for others. The academic tenure-track, while both lauded and critiqued in contemporary discourse, is a standard position in American higher education which involves a trial or probationary period of employment generally lasting from one to seven years leading up to the granting (or not) of tenure. Tenure describes a contractual, protected status in employment in which faculty can, ideally, pursue scholarship—even that which critiques dominant institutional or national interests—without threat of job loss. Additionally, the candidate under tenure review is generally scored on three basic areas of work: research, service, and teaching. The weight and scoring in these areas depend on the institution and field. Many faculty members find the probationary period and tenure review process a period of high pressure because of the limited time to meet mandated expectations in research, teaching, and service and establish a solid research agenda.

Experiences with the tenure process can differ dramatically based on a faculty member's gender, race, class, sexuality, nationality, and discipline[6] as well as access to and experiences with mentoring[7] and a range of other more ineffable forces. Yet, some commonalities endure, as the reviewer of an English professor's entertaining account of his first year on the job observes: "There are many largely universal survival struggles and self-doubts which are shared in common by most of us embarking on a new career in the academy."[8] Indeed, our correspondence reveals shared experiences despite employment in different departments, institutions and regions each with differing teaching, service and research responsibilities. As Lucy Townsend demonstrates in sharing her "survival strategies" for "climbing the slopes of academia,"[9] personal experiences can provide fruitful points of comparison and connection for others.

Personal narratives are forms of theorizing the Self, in this case, a multiplicity of Selves[10] positioned within specific material contexts and a bounded and imposed seven-year slice of time in which an array of factors—performance, politics, personal issues—can determine whether one maintains a life-

time role in the profession. In this view, the Self is inevitably positioned within, and shaped by, cultural forces. Rather than presenting simply a celebratory narrative about "success" or a lamenting narrative about the "woes of it all," we turn an analytic gaze toward our communication across a two year period to consider our narrations of process, strategy, and agency while employed in tenure-track lines. Key to our reflections is conceptualizing research and writing as tools of personal and social transformation. As we wrote in August, 2009, "undertaking a critical gaze at our own practices [may] enhance our critical awareness...and bring about change in our lives."

Conceptual Framework

"Institutions will use you up if you let them."[11]

As feminist sociologist Arlie Hochschild wrote in 1975, "academic work is built on an array of assumptions about competition, getting credit for work, building an individual reputation in youth, negotiating 'scarce' time, and actively 'minimizing' family life."[12] These are masculinized practices, nourished within a long history of male dominance in educational institutions, in which notions of individual success, competitiveness, hierarchy, and rationality contribute to structuring organizational expectations and behavior.[13] Feminist scholars have offered substantial critiques of gendered educational policies, theories and practices, and enacted varied forms of resistance to conventional approaches, among them: autobiography,[14] pleasure and laughter,[15] alternative research representations,[16] critical and poststructuralist feminist pedagogies,[17] and collaborative scholarship.[18] Similarly, we view the collaborative narration of our experiences in our shared institutional role as an interruption to the often insular experiences of academic work.

Feminist scholars have also sought to interrupt gendered theoretical legacies in auto/biographical work and the long-entrenched masculinized codification of these genres in which individual accomplishments, notable leadership, and political prowess define the parameters of a successful life.[19] Conventional narrative prescriptions have thus offered little space historically for the seemingly mundane details of women's daily experiences. The significance of bread-baking, quilt-making, baby-tending—and lecture-writing—has seemed to pale in comparison to the weighty matters of war and politics.[20] Feminist auto/biographers have experimented with rich and textured approaches to life-writing that interrupt the historical silencing of women's lives and the imperative that their experiences map on to conventional genres. The work of Virginia Woolf, Gertrude Stein, and Liz Stanley, among others, disrupts conventional auto/biographical frameworks, extends norms of feminine representation, experiments with voice and multiple sub-

jectivities, and foregrounds the contextual nature of women's lived experience. In *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, for instance, Stein chose to sculpt the auto/biographical "I" as a couple to displace the conventional individualized subject of auto/biography.[21] In narrating her life story through her partner Alice, Stein experimented with voice, representation, and projection to disrupt and revise conventional narrations of self.

Certain genre constraints of academic work limit the forms narrating selves can take, and academic genres can also limit the transformational potential of narratives. Yet, we have sought to disrupt conventional academic representation through de-identifying and blending data units to blur the boundaries of Self/Other and retain in form and spirit our collaborative narrative effort and our shared institutional subject position. While we each define ourselves beyond our occupation—we are friends, members of families, social networks, communities—and we work in different institutions and regions, we are also positioned and normalized[22] in a particular institutional role defined by a rigid and artificial block of time referred to as the "tenure track." Despite our differences, the experiences we narrate in our communication converge far more than they diverge.

Indeed, the varied minute and constituting roles in academia are ranked and ordered, bounded and progressive, and hierarchized vis-à-vis one another in ways that obscure their elaborate construction and mutual interdependence. There is a dizzying array of potential academic roles to which power relations can subject individuals: Tenured, Un-tenured, Visiting, Assistant, Associate, Regents, Distinguished, and Full Professor, Adjunct, Instructor, and Lecturer, among others, all positioned within research, teaching, private, public, land-grant [etc.] institutions. The knowledge that the meaning and boundaries of these entities are socially constructed and supple renders them no less powerful in shaping the experiences of those sorted and positioned within them. A particularly meaningful way to critically approach the process of subjection to institutions, hierarchies, roles, and categories, in our case, non-tenured and institutionally temporal faculty, is to narrate subjectivity, collaboration, and meaning with others who share that position.

Spaces and Places: Institutional and Regional Context

"Who knew I'd end up in [the heartland]?"[23]

"We are in shared-offices with about thirty people in half of a FEMA-built building, but I rejoice: I have a two-drawer file cabinet, a study carrel, a chair, and a new computer that is mine!"[24]

We are each situated within different institutional cultures which also

shape our narrations of self, although commonality rather than difference dominate our communication. The first author teaches at a research institution in a rural area in the Midwest and the second author works in a teaching institution in urban New Orleans. The states in which the institutions are located are ranked 34th and 32nd, respectively, in per capita income.[25] The rural institution serves 26,000 students, primarily state residents, in its main and branch campuses. Its demographics are 75.7 % white, 8.4% Native American, 4% African-American, 2.4% Hispanic, 1.6% Asian American, and 7.8% International students.[26] Graduate students in the College of Education commonly drive more than one hour each way to attend class.

In contrast, the urban institution is located in what government officials term a recovery zone, a geographic area struggling to recover from the physical and human devastation Hurricane Katrina wrought in Louisiana in 2005 that killed more than 1,800 people, dislocated thousands of others, damaged more than 81 billion dollars of property, and stands as the largest natural disaster in American history. Indeed, the faculty and students live daily with the reverberations of Katrina. Many classrooms and offices remain in FEMA-constructed trailers and others are restricted to the second or third floors of buildings still undergoing first floor construction to repair hurricane damage. The institution enrolls 3,100 students who are primarily state residents, consisting of 98.6% percent African-American and over 40% non-traditionally aged students.[27] At this writing, both institutions are experiencing the effects of rapidly tightening budgets as a result of plummeting state funding for public education, and more recently, the economic crisis in 2008 that led to widespread unemployment and home foreclosures.

The differing missions of the two institutions shape our tenure-track journeys. The larger institution champions research while also encouraging faculty to maintain enrollments, recruit and retain students, expand their use of educational technologies, and seek external funding. Discussions of measures to ensure faculty "productivity," such as those instigated in the University of Texas system, have surfaced, alongside revisions in faculty/administrator's responsibilities to include cultivating relationships with potential donors. At the teaching institution, there is pressure to teach course "over-loads" and to teach two or three classes each summer. While research and service are important components of the tenure review, teaching remains of primary importance in day-to-day scheduling. The teaching institution also requires multi-faceted university service in which some faculty (such as the author) are expected to serve on multiple university and departmental committees as the sole representative of their disciplines.

Anticipatory socialization for both authors was present to some degree. Both women came to careers in higher education with degrees from public

schools and having held a variety of jobs to support their education. In addition to janitorial, service, and retail jobs, we both worked as graduate teaching and research assistants, and as adjuncts or visiting assistant professors, before attaining tenure-track positions. One author came from a middle-class background, while the other author's background was working-class. However, we teach in different programs with different institutional responsibilities. The first author primarily teaches courses in Social Foundations and Qualitative Methods that serve the College of Education Ph.D. program, with the option of teaching summer courses. The second author teaches Communication Studies. All students who seek a degree at her institution must successfully pass her public speaking class. She teaches a standard 4/4 load to undergraduates consisting regularly of two courses, with strong encouragement to teach one additional section during the fall, as well as the regular course load of 3 during the summer. At this writing, we are in our 30s and 40s, and our time on the tenure-track ranges from our third year to our sixth.

Methodology

Autoethnography was the ideal method to explore our personal experiences reflexively within higher educational culture because of its focus on the links between selves and society. While researchers group a variety of approaches within the category of autoethnography, with differing emphases on writing, culture, and selves, this evolving concept and method generally embraces an autobiographical perspective while maintaining a consistent orientation to cultural processes.[28] Autoethnography commonly refers to either "the ethnography of one's own group or to the autobiographical writing that has ethnographic interest."[29] Bochner and Ellis describe auto/ethnography as ideal for exploring "…people in the process of figuring out what to do, how to live, and the meaning of their struggles."[30] In addition, Pratt suggests that auto/ethnographies offer the potential for critical reflection on dominant cultural practices from the perspectives of those who are colonized or positioned on the margins of culture. Pratt observes that "texts or works of art that are autoethnographic assert alternative forms of meaning and power" from those that are commonly associated with the "dominant" culture."[31]

Particularly useful in conceptions of autoethnography is its preoccupation with "a changing conception of both the self and society in the late 20th century….in which the notion of the coherent, individual self has been…called into question."[32] Indeed, rather than relying on a static, unitary concept of self, we mobilize a concept of self that affirms a "multiplicity of identities" that are shifting, contextual, and, significantly, produced in part

through narratives. We collected the data from which we narrate our experiences primarily from over 60 email communications, as well as journal and blog entries. These are partial, situated, and co-constructed expressions of self that reveal prominent preoccupations in our mutual and still temporary role within academic culture.

Initial data analysis was solely inductive, noting themes and patterns that emerged from the data, and then clustering concepts and topics into similar content areas. We worked individually to organize the data, then collaborated to interpret emergent themes, used writing as a process of analysis,[33] and reduced the data into the following six themes that highlight selves in context: the construct of tenure-track time, self in-process, the isolated self, the strategizing self, the balancing self, and lessons learned. These themes are neither exhaustive in capturing the layers of a complex institutional role nor our experiences within it; rather, they offer a revealing glimpse into prominent recurring issues in our communication while simultaneously contributing to our self-construction within academic culture.

"Track-ing" Time: Shifting Perceptions of Time

"Sigh…the progress on the paper is woefully behind."[34]

"I still have not revised my paper from last year for submission…must do so…tenure clock ticking."[35]

References to the abstract ontological state of "being behind" and to tyrannical clocks that tick audibly through days, months, and years of a period of time defined as "pre-tenure" highlight a striking feature of our communication: shifting descriptions and experiences of time. The bounded and artificial block of time marked by the "tenure clock"—7 years—creates a perpetual sense of urgency that seems to undermine our sense of individual control. In our descriptions, time seems an ever present foe for us to conquer or a mysterious and amorphous entity that quietly slips out of reach while we are busy fulfilling daily responsibilities. As we write in 2009, "I still have not revised my paper…must do so…tenure clock ticking." Although consciousness of mortality and social/historical context profoundly shape all human relationships to time, we primarily articulate our experiences in relation to shorter-term, segmented, and minute increments of class periods, weeks, semesters, or years within the constructed pre-tenure block. Our emails contain a flurry of references to motion, progress, and stagnation, such as "moving forward," "feeling stalled," "demands on my time," "letting go," that shape how we experience our daily work. This is captured ironically when one of us writes, "I'm rushing off to yoga."

The constructs of time and space have long prompted human theorizing. In his incisive theoretical work on time/space compression, the geographer Barney Warf argues that "time and space are both 'objective' and 'subjective,' that is, they exist both as abstract entities that seem to take on lives of their own, and simultaneously, as lived experiences highly meaningful to the people who create and change them."[36] Whereas scientists such as Newton, for example, viewed time as abstract and absolute—"entities that existed independently of their measurement"[37]—Leibniz argued that the parameters of one construct (time) depend on another measure called distance.[38] Warf reviews varied conceptions of time/space compression during different historical periods to demonstrate the incredible variability and "plasticity" of these social constructs.[39] He argues that politics, economics, industrialization, and demands for productivity, among other factors, have increasingly "compressed, folded, and imploded" time and space in ways that profoundly shape humans' experiences. Warf and other theorists have pondered the weight and import of time/space relations, including the striking dissonance between the literal time a clock measures and one's experience of it ("where did the time go?"), the effects of technological developments and industrialization on human relations to time, and the ways particular notions of time/space are mobilized to serve dominant interests or as weapons against the inevitability of human mortality.[40]

One of the varied effects of time/space compression today, nourished by global capitalism, is expressed in human relations to work. Workers often experience time as an entity to wrestle into submission rather than to savor. In a culture concerned with products and efficiency, the eight-hour workday becomes a battleground on which workers race against the clock to maximize productivity with the aid of "time-saving" tools that compress space and distance such as electronic financial transactions, the internet, BlackBerrys, email, and iPads.

Tenure-track time similarly beckons such theorizing. Significantly, in tenure-track roles, we are positioned simultaneously as future oriented—literally placed on a "track" working *toward* a future role called "tenured"—and perpetually "behind," immersed in abstract institutional parameters and a relentless To Do list that continually morphs, shifts, and grows. In what has become our tendency to share long, cumbersome to-do lists, we capture this experience parsimoniously in one email: "I feel behind in all aspects of my life." Although conditioning to academic time affects all participants in higher education, the stakes feel different at this stage, the experience of time/space more compressed, and the shuffling of duties within the constructed time frame a more pressing matter to negotiate. How does one decide whether to write a letter of recommendation for a student, complete grading, or work on a manuscript when each has the same deadline? How

does one prioritize equally-significant duties for grants, meetings, syllabi, publishing, and teaching preparation? How does one negotiate such matters with the corporeal limits of the body, pesky tax deadlines, the joys and struggles of family, mundane trips to the grocery store, some semblance of exercise, and paying bills? These questions face all workers, but our experiences with their dimensions differ in the bounded space of tenure-track time.

In higher education, like other contemporary organizations, artificial boundaries between days and nights and weekends and workweeks can quickly dissolve. Students say, "Have a good break," and we sometimes think, "What break?" The minute classes end, grades are due, and we must turn our attention to research. Indeed, a peculiar expression of our normalization to the social construction of academic time is that we experience holiday "breaks" from courses and meetings as a type of "freedom" because they provide not only time for family, but time to do different work, the kind of work that "allows us to keep our jobs." In November, 2009, we write, "I'm realizing that I am really looking forward to the break when I can get some uninterrupted time to work!" In this wording, "break" is reshaped as another space of working, a space in which we can somewhat "escape" professional pressures and seize fleeting moments to think and write. This experience of academic time/space differs strikingly from some outsiders' views of academic work. As Miron writes, "the view that faculty are lazy slobs arises because the public thinks of academics as teachers, while many colleges and universities, along with the academics themselves, think of faculty mainly as researchers."[41]

A clear manifestation of our normalization to academic time emerged during data analysis. Reflecting on emails we have exchanged, we recognized that one of us sent a lengthy email expressing feelings of burn out on the day of her birthday—a celebratory day one might not yearn to spend at the computer. What for many is a tangible marker of the passing years of a life seems utterly eclipsed in this instance by concerns about workload. This dissonance prompts her to reflect on her work/life balance, demonstrating her *projection* of regrets as she reevaluates her previous use of time. She writes,

> Having worked in higher ed [for years] with an absolute dizzying blur of students behind me, meetings, hours-upon-hours of office visits, and *my life has just gradually ticked by*, …and the demands on my time just continue—email after email about everyone else's emergency…I have a slew of past emergencies in my memories—and thinking back now, I know they weren't all important.

Calendars, "demands on time," "life gradually ticking by," feeling "constantly behind and overwhelmed," and constant comparisons to a future-oriented but amorphous space in which we become "caught up" demonstrates

the profound influence of the artificial parameters of the seven year albatross and space of possibility that is the tenure-track. Reflecting contemporary conceptions of time/space compression, and its attendant urgencies, an undercurrent runs through our writing that some kind of "caught up" is possible, an impossibility that the mind easily counters and yet the body continues to feel.

Our communication also reflects efforts to reconceptualize time as a form of resistance. For example, in one email exchange in which we are mechanistically tallying the tasks of that week, our human connection reduced to lists and schedules, one of us recommends delaying submission of an essay, suggesting, "you want that for…the slow tenure build…[there is] lots of time in front of you." This description of time as unbounded, even slowly passing, is a conscious effort to narrate time in ways that resist compression and emphasize agency and control. Similarly, we encourage each other to "take time for yourself," and "try to dig into some down time if you can," in an effort to reconceptualize our adaptation to this artificial yet powerful construction that governs academic culture.

A Self in Process: Who's That Girl?

"I know I must change, but I'm struggling to—[it] will take an alteration in my mindset and good dedication to shift around those priorities."[42]

"I suppose a seasoned faculty member would have known better than to have idealized plans for productivity during a full summer of teaching, but I had imagined full completion of this paper by June 1st…"[43]

Accompanying our efforts to negotiate dominant conceptions of time is our sense of loss of the pre-tenure Self and a sense of an emerging Self-in-Process, in formation, learning, seeking how to traverse uncertain professional terrain. After falling "behind" on a goal to revise a document, one of us apologizes,

> Please do know that I am…generally a very time-conscious deadline-oriented person—I suppose the lack of such qualities happens after the first year, but I am not used to being behind on my work and find it highly unsettling and emotionally draining.

All of the weapons she used from the time-management literature to finish projects weeks in advance—calendars, color coding for different events, binders with dividers, short and long term deadlines—can no longer contend with the perpetual assault of The List. Accordingly, the new, emerging self,

one who is "not used to being behind in work," feels unfamiliar and strange.

Similarly, after the holiday break in 2009, one of us apologizes for a strand of emails at odds with the generally positive and supportive tenor of our communication. She writes, "I have to tell you, it all became too much by the end [of fall term], and *I wasn't myself*." This wording—"I wasn't myself"—suggests the loss of a cohesive, stable, and authentic self that, in retrospect, felt reassuringly solid and certain. The following month after the "break," she writes, "I feel much more relaxed and more like ME now." This tidy narrative of disruption and redemption portrays "time away" as a method to shake off the vestiges of an unfamiliar identity and reclaim an authentic self. As a vehicle for articulating our experience of a Self-in-Process in uncertain terrain, we seem to project on the past illusory notions of stable selves.

Our variously light-hearted and angst-ridden communication also reflects an emerging and insufficient self that cannot quite contend with new circumstances. We write,

> I understand your feelings. I have recurring feelings of…uncertainty, frustration, because I don't...feel like I can do all the work, much less do the quality kind of work that I would like to do.

We must, we are told, prioritize research, even as we face extensive teaching responsibilities and mission statements that champion teaching. At other times, we are told, we must prioritize teaching to serve and retain students, even as we face tenure documents that champion research. Even those who recommend that we set limits or prioritize research sometimes ask us to perform additional duties that pose continual prioritizing puzzles. "I know I must change," we write, "but I'm struggling to—[it] will take an alteration in my mindset and good dedication to shift around those priorities." The sense here is that a new self is necessary for new times and that we must learn to adapt.[44]

An Isolated Self: Seeking Collaboration and Connection

"I have caved and sought an extension."[45]

"This is great. For heaven's sakes don't think of it as 'caving!!' Good for you for looking out for yourself!"[46]

Another theme that emerged in our writing is the desire to work against isolation. As we wrote in 2008, "the work of faculty life seem[s] starkly isolating which has surprised me beyond belief." We sought collaboration, emotional connection, and mentoring through email to combat a climate that

rewards individualism and competition and as a safety zone outside of our immediate environment. Emotion is generally regarded as antithetical to organizations[47] and in fact, workers are encouraged to adopt emotional facades[48] despite having embodied experiences that challenge the artificiality of such fragmentation and emotional erasure.[49] We have each witnessed personality conflicts and emotional distress in our workplaces such as the emotional highs of publications and students graduating and emotional lows of collegial illness and losses. Indeed, emotion is constitutive of academic work in part because, as we write in 2009, "what our work represents for us is so personal." Despite these experiences, the perception that emotion and professionalism are disparate entities is evident in varied ways in academia, including the sparse mentoring we received in graduate school for this aspect of academic labor.

Our email processing was not simply cathartic; feminists have theorized emotional processing as an active form of labor and engagement. The particularities of our work evoke emotions because of their concrete consequences. Reviewers' comments, journal editors' inexplicable silences, lost manuscripts, teaching injuries, student crises, collegial challenges, and uncertainties about how to proceed in unfamiliar circumstances shape daily experience as well as professional progress. After wading through a set of reviewers' comments, one of us expresses, "the revisions and comments have demoralized me a bit….the weight of this tenure-thing seems to bow one's shoulders in year 3…it is difficult to stay motivated."The other agrees,"I find the whole process of reviews demoralizing…even the positive ones. I keep thinking…putting yourself out there… vulnerable…it could go one way or the other." Each of us has grappled with the emotional repercussions of printing delays, or lost manuscripts, or bewildering silences in the publishing process.

A remarkably isolating feature of academic life is the structure of research and publishing. On the other end of every manuscript under review sits an academic at some stage in their professional development, waiting for word from anonymous reviewers who are also negotiating the messy texture of their own professional lives. These are faces we never see; names we never know. Indeed, reviews often adopt a depersonalized, distanced tone. Yet, researchers seek a sense of connection and feedback to move forward in their work. Thus, our emails reflect joy and weariness as we interpret silences, strategize about revisions, and negotiate our schedules. Sometimes we simply jot quick lists or check in before we dash off to the next meeting; such expression often requires no response, and in some ways, we write to ourselves in order to help process our emotions.

Many of us negotiate academic terrain by avoiding personal disclosure and striving to maintain some separation between "work" and "home." These strategies can result in isolation, rather than connection, a self isolated with-

in an otherwise bustling university environment. Our communication provides an avenue to collaboratively narrate alternative interpretations of our experiences. For example, in fall 2009, despite strategizing to meet a publishing deadline, one of us could not polish her work in time for submission. She wrote, "I *have caved* and sought an extension." This language of "caving" reflects her interpretation of requesting an extension as a betrayal of self. She expressed, "I think the article…just took a lot out of me and I feel like there's so much I want to say and don't have the space for it that I'm frustrated." In this response, rather than considering her request as an act of agency that acknowledged her limits, her needs, and the limits of her embodiment, she seemed to cling to an abstract sense of self that was de-contextualized from the realities of her schedule. The other's response was, "This is great. For heaven's sakes don't think of it as 'caving!!' Good for you for looking out for yourself!" Similarly, at the end of a week of various institutional challenges, we express, "Remember your victories of the past week…the progress on work."

The details of these exchanges are less significant than how they demonstrate collaborative narration as vehicles for interrupting limiting interpretations of experience and posing alternatives that expand understanding of what support can look like. As a feminist pedagogue writes, "in our culture, the roles of nurturer and intellectual have been separated not just by gender, but by function; to try to recombine them is to create confusion."[50] Writing across the miles has become a form of collaborative labor we have used to resist and reinterpret. It is a form of the "politics of nurturance"[51] within a larger culture of questioning, countering, undermining and arguing—which, significantly, can isolate the people who sustain that very culture.

A Strategizing Self: "One Thing at a Time, Baby"

"Rather than saying 'I <u>have</u> to do this,' you can say 'I <u>choose</u> to work on this article.'"[52]

"I think its important, that you consider what you can drop. I mean this very seriously in a don't-let-the-daily-stuff-choke-the-time-you-need-to-write-and-read…kind of way."[53]

During weekly visits to her grandmother's, the second author would hear the gentle advice, "one thing at a time, baby" as she pursued her various degrees and lamented her various tasks. This segmenting approach to the monolith of the To Do List best captures one of the Selves that emerged from our analysis: A Strategizing Self, which works to render tasks containable and

teaching meaningful against a powerful backdrop of uncertainty and bureaucratization. "Taking one thing at a time" became a common mantra in our emails. In this wording, we narrate a self that is an agent of its own destiny, a view of the subject forged by classical liberalism, a self-determining, autonomous, rational self that with the proper tools can conquer the challenges that lie before it.

There is an enduring narrative about academia that implies that intellectual work can and must transcend the messy particularities of embodied life: the researcher with furrowed brow working late into the night, oblivious to hunger, to time, to the mountains of paper strewn haphazardly across his desk. But our typical daily labor defies such an image, and the incessant challenges of managing the realities of corporeality and the material excesses of this career can easily undermine the processing space needed to conduct research, to write, and to conceptualize meaningful teaching approaches. We have thus experimented with a variety of strategies as "bridges and breathers"[54] between concrete tasks and abstract processing both central to our work. From trading organizing tips, to suggesting ways to link research and teaching more tightly, our steady deployment of strategies is valuable because it fuels a sense of agency, control, and joy in circumstances that seem, often, distressingly out of control. "My schedule is just nuts," one writes in 2009. "Stress has a new meaning these days," another writes a few months later.

We've each become enamored with different kinds of strategies that, amusingly, all depend to some extent on office supplies or technological gadgets. We both have PDAs and one of us has a Nook e-reader. One uses online social networks and blogs, the other a tape recorder to track thoughts as she commutes long distances on rural highways. And we both regularly put pen to paper in analytic journals. We are both interested in new tips that might aid us with the lists, the meetings, the political machinations, the bad teaching days, the multiple research, teaching, and service hats. In dialogue that would perk up the ears of marketers at Office Depot, we write:

> I've started a project chart with big items listed on a dry erase board in the home office and short deadlines to tackle parts of the projects by certain dates…It plays to my organizational side while helping me to feel more in control.

It is rare for a month to go by without some new approach. For example, one writes, "I've got a new strategy...I'm trying to stay off of email except two times a day. Its tough but it really helps when I can do it." The other shares, "I've restructured my grading rubrics to save time and the amount I have to write." And, there's always the good old technique of avoidance: "I'm refus-

ing to think about it until after the semester break." Sometimes such strategies don't last long.

We have drawn our strategies—all of which center on our desire to feel more in control of our work—from varied sources: the advice of others, a spirit of experimentation, tips in the "de-cluttering" and "simplify your life" literature, and lessons learned in clearing out the homes of elderly relatives. One of us imposes mini-deadlines to help tackle larger projects and stores all of her research "must do" items in an excel chart, organized by deadlines, that she posts both at work and at home to help her visualize what work remains. Seeing projects with concrete deadlines allows her to approach projects in a linear fashion and, also, to organize the items in terms of institutional expectations for her annual review dossier—a future oriented vision—that clarifies her responsibilities and motivates her for the work ahead. In addition, she keeps a journal to track her energy and concerns about each project to help prevent her thoughts about "Project A from 'infecting' Projects B and C." In her shared campus office, colleagues who initially teased her about the charts have since requested assistance in making their own as they watched her checking off items and viewing tangible results in completing tasks.

Some strategies seek immediate results, such as throwing out three things a day, using a timer to control grading, and "turbo-filing" in which we organize as much as possible during 5 or 10 minute blocks. Other strategies seek to create working conditions that are conducive to the pleasure of conceptual work, such as staying away—as much as possible—from negative situations, maximizing morning time for writing and saving more mechanical tasks for later in the day, trying to preserve entire days for teaching preparation and student meetings, and importantly, following our intellectual energy on a given project whenever possible. One feels grounded if she starts each day with a small task centered on research and writing, while the other updates her blog[55] each morning.

Some strategies focus on use of space, such as situating massive white boards in central areas of our offices or using a horizontal gradated file to organize project files with prominently-displayed due dates. Others are focused on streamlining work; keeping a small suitcase packed to minimize travel hassles, copying teaching evaluations and other materials regularly to maintain tenure files, and revising conference presentations in hotel rooms while collegial feedback remains fresh. Both of us track submission, review, and grading dates carefully: "I write down when I get it, when I read it, and when I write it up and send it." Still other strategies are focused on escaping the incitement to "tasks" and "productivity" to simply experience active mindfulness and the pleasures of a polished sentence or the joys of student successes.

To that end, trying to interrupt a neoliberal demand for urgency, flexibil-

ity, and efficiency with reflexivity on the significance of vision and process have been useful tools of the strategizing self. As we write in 2009, "I need to let go of my need to tackle everything minor before taking on the major items." One sticky area of any organizing approach is when it drifts away from serving a long term goal and dissolves into procrastination and avoidance. For example, sometimes projects that we can mark quickly off the to-do list but that are less important to accomplish on a given day, such as grading, might trump a broader, less containable, but more important project such as revising a manuscript.

Context shapes these strategies. While one of us can close her office door to muffle the sounds in her busy hallway, another currently shares a chaotic office with other faculty in a FEMA trailer. In the devastation of Hurricane Katrina, having any space to claim remains a privilege, yet the specific office environment also underscores the significance of embodiment and materiality in contextualizing academic labor. To negotiate these circumstances has meant learning to segment big projects into smaller tasks—one thing at a time, baby—to pursue conceptual projects during the weekends and to take breaks during long stretches of work. In the same spirit, seeking opportunities to share teaching resources across contexts have been powerful acts of agency.

A Balancing Self: "That Balance Thing"

"It's starting to feel more normal and less of a duality of teaching VERSUS research."[56]

"I could literally feel the pressure slip away once I turned off the email, started to organize my papers, and to just sit down and read."[57]

Emerging among the Strategizing Self and the Self in Process is the quest for the Balanced Self, a mysterious and elusive Self who can ensure that this thing called "work" does not dominate this category called "life." As one of us expressed with a tinge of regret, while doing academic work, "my life has just gradually ticked by." Such constructions of experience are powerful because, though dramatically phrased and retrospectively reductive, they pose the constructed conceptions of work and life as oppositional rather than overlapping and symbiotic.

The goal of achieving a Balanced Self (a balanced dossier, a balanced home life, a balanced service/research/teaching representation) reflects an illusory, even pernicious, cultural vision. Like the metaphor of a "clock" to describe the parameters of the tenure process, notions of "balance" merit critique in their conjuring of a scale, tipping in one direction, then another, as if

the individual unsteadily straddling the top is striving for a moment in which she will rest on an imaginary stable surface, comfortably in between. This controlling construct suggests that if some kind of balance is possible, then living our daily lives in what feels like productive chaos is somehow unnatural and therefore wrong. Indeed, striving for "balance" may distract us from more significant work.

A particularly transformative aspect of this research has been realizing that our writing reflects that very quest. We write in 2009, "I'm working on the balance thing and hope to get it soon—that mental rest is what I need more than anything." Similarly, on the eve of a break, we write, "I've got the goal of painting a few rooms of our new house…trying to balance that personal with the professional!" To work toward that end, we describe different inroads—a morning blog in which pictures and updates are posted to connect with family; yoga (three times a week, one hour class); the rhythm of running. These concrete tools help maintain health and perspective. But scrutinizing our descriptions reveals that we even depict "rest" as a tool to facilitate our return to work. For example, "When I'm feeling…no energy or interest to work…rather than indulging in too [many questions] I recognize that my spirit is trying to tell me to rest." This reflects normalization to the ideal of a balanced self.

The illusion of the Balanced Self is also at odds with the need we feel to suppress, temporarily, many aspects of our multi-faceted selves. We write in 2010, "when we have tenure, we can write the stuff we most want to write." We look forward to more travel, family life, and security that allows us to utter the "incredible word no" selectively. Indeed, as Miron discusses, one prevailing defense of tenure is that faculty without it "face excessive pressure to avoid risky, innovative, or controversial topics in their research and teaching [and that] tenure provides both a shield against political pressures and the security to try out risky or controversial projects."[58] Although he disagrees with this argument, we have found that our institutional position and time demands sometimes constrain, rather than facilitate, creativity and speech, and can at times reduce creative multiplicity to one-dimensional experiences as workers.

Lessons Learned: "The Incredible Word No"

"I've been teaching an overload this year and will NOT be doing that any more…my fervent prayer is that the class won't make."[59]

"I'm learning protecting my time is not being selfish and taking time away from work is not lazy or unproductive."[60]

"Used the incredible word no yesterday…and guess what, no one was angry or disappointed…and so I continue forward trying to be a bit better at balance"[61]

Part of our processing has been to consider what mistakes we have made and how we might improve if we could do it all over again—that decision, that class, that approach. At several points, one of us has yearned for the opportunity to instruct an earlier version of herself, "don't accept that review; say yes to that opportunity; follow up diligently if you do not hear back from editors; avoid that person you don't feel 'quite right' about." We have whittled our reflections to several specific areas: Politics, Priorities, and Publishing.

Politics, politics. A key area in navigating higher education, and perhaps any work environment, is politics. The advice one of our advisor's offered when we accepted an academic position was, "say nothing in committee meetings for the first year…get the lay of the land…identify one person with whom you can connect and trust." This advice may seem contradictory to the spirit of academic freedom foundational to higher education, but it has been worthwhile, because we have learned that decade-old territorial battles, individual interests, and personality issues can underlie the most seemingly innocuous requests, decisions, or discussions. And although they are played out in the intricacies of academic language, they are often, solely, and fiercely, personal. As women in the academy, we received advice to dress professionally, to avoid gossip, to find people outside of our institutions with whom to collaborate, to focus on the joys of our work, and to not let minutia consume our days. The modeling of professionalism we both received has helped in that mission.

Priorities. Another lesson we learned is reflective, not reactive, prioritizing. Far too many urgent requests and real crises arise on a daily basis that can derail the most significant work that we must accomplish. Determining those priorities is thus key. For each of us, students mentoring needs in their professional development is vital. Yet, enacting this on a daily basis is difficult. For example, working in New Orleans with students who struggle financially, who are new to higher education, and who face daily choices regarding the safety of their families makes mentoring and "balanced" teaching and research goals illusory. Simply closing an office door to focus on research or to disengage from students when they face challenges just to attend school is sometimes impossible. There is nothing "balanced" about disaster, about the materiality of people's lives, about the struggles of public institutions amidst financial constraints, about the ability for students to access education that can increase their choices and opportunities.[62] Some students have to "hustle money, Doc" to stay in school, some miss class because of family responsibilities or in one case, gunshot wounds, some must delay textbook purchases until refund checks come in. As a result, despite tenure require-

ments that champion balance across roles, teaching often seems the most important, most necessary aspect of the second author's faculty role.

But such prioritizing has costs, and at times, she finds practicing, "the incredible word no" imperative. Fiercely protecting time to sustain a meaningful research agenda across different projects is necessary for maintaining the job she loves. For example, recently, instead of immediately responding to a request for her time that came from the Chancellor, she discussed the matter with her family, reviewed her calendar…and then said no. Miraculously, we laughed later, the world did not come to an end. She continues to struggle with the desire to live up to the needs of her students and her institution while also protecting her "time."

Publishing. Other lessons directly concern publishing. Rather than focusing on the imperative to publish, which scholars have addressed at length, we have learned several nuanced lessons in this arena, such as the role of momentum and collaboration as well as publishing fiascos. A key lesson is the importance of following researching and writing momentum on a particular project as fully as possible before turning to other matters. Even a brief interruption between reading a book, taking notes, and drafting a review of the text can derail conceptual fluidity. As a result, we have variously worked into the night to get thoughts on paper, talked into a tape recorder, or rescheduled wherever possible to follow trajectories. Letting projects sit after a draft is in place is ideal.

Mobilizing diverse ideas, strengths, training and experiences through collaboration is another tool that has nourished creativity and productivity. As a participant expresses in Kochan and Mullen's study of collaboration, "I like collaborating because then I'm learning. I benefit by coming to better understand how things work and how people work. I like the complexity of it. I like the ambiguity of it. I like the people part of it. And I like the messiness of it."[63] They suggest that collaboration is particularly challenging because of differences in power, status, opinions, working styles, and contributions, and significantly, because we do not live in collaborative institutions.[64] Valuable guidelines for collaborating in a culture that evaluates individuals are taking turns writing and editing, communicating openly about feelings, ideas, and expectations, and prioritizing the collaborative relationship over any single product of that collaboration.

Finally, scholars have given insufficient attention to the problems that can arise in academic publishing that, in a six-year window, can affect career progression. The complexities of managing journals and inevitable communication issues can result in lost manuscripts, editors' silences, email mishaps, and delays. We have learned to keep records of our communication with journals (which one of our institutions requires for tenure), to follow up con-

sistently with editors, and to identify alternative journals in case submissions are not a match for the initial venue.

Concluding Thoughts

The institutional practice of tenure is, in itself, a socialization process shaping members of the academy through enculturation and acculturation.[65] Throughout our tenure-track positions, we have witnessed and experienced changes in the ways we self-identify, how we manage our workload, and how we relate to our institutions. Examining our communicative narratives has demonstrated that we have forged new emergent selves within the consistent push and pull of the various facets of faculty life. Throughout our written communication ran the desire for an ever-elusive balance between work and life and repeated efforts to engage new techniques for managing our tasks while we at times struggled to determine who we are becoming as the tenure clock ticked.

A particularly useful outcome of this collaborative endeavor is casting our practices and narrated identities in a critical light. It fostered collaboration and peer-mentoring in our self-perceptions, concerns and victories, and reminded us of the power of narratives to construct both limiting, and liberating, versions of the self. Future research is necessary to continue to explore the ways in which tenure-track faculty members utilize collaborative narrative to engage in informal peer-mentoring and to conceptualize clashes between institutional and personal values in higher education.

Most significantly, examining the selves we constructed and giving voice to our discoveries has led to a more informed view of our institutional positioning. As new forms of agency emerged, so, too, did new strategies for matriculating the tenure process. Significantly, our narratives reveal emerging selves in process, and the shaping power our institutional role has on our unfolding educational biographies.

The authors wish to thank the reviewers of this article for their insightful comments during the development of this paper.

Notes

[1] Personal correspondence between Lucy E. Bailey and Lora Helvie-Mason.

[2] Ibid.

[3] See, for example, Kay Johnson, Bridget H. Miller, Elizabeth McDonald, Jia Mi, Sandy Roe, Robert Alan, Philenese Slaughter, Gayle Baker, Frances C. Wilkinson, and Linda K. Lewis. "The Balance Point: Jumping Through Hoops: Serial Librarians' Reflections on Tenure," *Serials Review 31*(1): 39-53; James M. Lang, *Life on the Tenure Track: Lessons from the First Year* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press,

2005); Louise Lamphere. "Personal Reflections on the Career of a Squeaky Wheel," *Voices 9*(1): 9-12.

[4] Thomas H. Benton has written a series for the *Chronicle of Higher Education* on academic work. For example, see "A Tough Love Manifesto for Professors," June 9, 2006; Lang, *Life on the Tenure Track,* and Lamphere, "Personal Reflections."

[5] See, for example, Tuesday L. Cooper, *The Sista Network: African-American Women Successfully Negotiating the Road to Tenure* (Boston: Anker, 2006); Robert Diamond, *Preparing for Promotion, Tenure and Annual Review: A Faculty Guide, second edition* (Boston: JB-Anker); A. Clay Schoenfeld and Robert Magnan, *Mentor in a Manual: Climbing the Academic Ladder to Tenure* (Madison, WI: Atwood Publishing, 2004); Robert J. Menges, *Faculty in New Jobs: A Guide to Settling In, Becoming Established, and Building Institutional Support* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1999); Marcia Lynn Whicker, Jeannie J. Kronenfeld, and Ruth Ann Strickland, *Getting Tenure* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1993).

[6] See, for example, Tonetta Beloney-Morrison, "Your Blues Ain't Like Mine: Exploring the Promotion and Tenure Process of African American Female Professors at Select Research Universities in the South," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Louisiana State University, 2003; Tuesday L. Cooper, *The Sista Network: African-American Women Successfully Negotiating the Road to Tenure.* Boston, MA: Ankor, 2006; *Louise Lamphere*, "Personal Reflections on the Career of a Squeaky Wheel," *Voices,* 9(1): 9-12; and Shirley M. Clark and Mary Corcoran, Perspectives on the Professional Socialization of Women Faculty: A Case of Accumulative Disadvantage? *Journal of Higher Education*, 57.1: 20-43.

[7] There is a particularly rich body of research on this topic. See Stacy Blake-Beard, "Taking a Hard Look at Formal Mentoring Programs: A Consideration of Potential Challenges Facing Women," *Journal of Management Development 20*(4) (2001): 331-345; Deborah Borisoff, "Strategies for Effective Mentoring and for Being Effectively Mentored: A Focus on Research Institutions," *Journal of the Association for Communication Administration 27* (1998): 84-96; Carol Cawyer, Cheri Simonds, and Shannon Davis, "Mentoring to Facilitate Socialization: The Case of the New Faculty Member," *Qualitative Studies in Education 15* (2002): 225-242; Lillian Eby and Angie Lockwood, "Protégés' and Mentors' Reactions to Participating in Formal Mentoring Programs: A Qualitative Investigation," *Journal of Vocational Behavior 67* (2005): 441-458; Sharon Gibson, "Mentoring Women Faculty: The Role of Organizational Politics and Culture," *Innovative Higher Education 31*(1) (2006): 63-79; Cynthia Jacelon, Donna M. Zucker, Elizabeth A. Henneman, and Jeanne-Marie Stacciarini, "Peer-Mentoring for Tenure-Track Faculty," *Journal of Professional Nursing 19*(6) (2003): 335-338; Peter T. Knight and Paul Trowler, "It Takes a Village to Raise a Child: Mentoring and the Socialization of New Entrants to the Academic Professions," *Mentoring & Tutoring 7*(1) (1999): 23-34; Elena Klaw, *Mentoring and Making it in Academe: A Guide for Newcomers to the Ivory Tower*. (New York: Routledge, 2008).

[8] Bayer, review of Lang, *Life on the Tenure Track.*

[9] Lucy Townsend, "Climbing the Slopes of Academia: The Educational Biographer at Work," *Vitae Scholasticae 25* (2008): 77-96.

[10] Deborah Danahay-Reed, *Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social.* (Oxford, UK: Berg Press, 1997).

[11] Correspondence between Bailey and Helvie-Mason.

[12] Arlie Hochschild, "Inside the Clockwork of Male Careers," In *Gender and the Academic Experience: Berkeley Women Sociologists,* ed. K. Orlans and R. Wallace. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1975): 125-140.

[13] This point also appears in Kearney & Bailey, in review; these cultural practices have particular implications for mothers.

[14] See for example, Janet Miller,"The resistance of women academics: An autobiographical account." *Journal of Education Equity and Leadership* (3) 2 (Summer 1983): 101-109.

[15] Erica McWilliam, *Pedagogical Pleasures* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999).

[16] Laurel Richardson, *Fields of Play: Constructing an Academic Life* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 1997).

[17] Margo Culley and Catherine Portuges, *Gendered Subjects: The Dynamics of Feminist Teaching* (Boston, MA: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985); Patricia Lather, *Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy Within/in the Postmodern* (New York: Routledge, 1991); bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom (*New York: Routledge, 1994); Becky Ropers-Huilman, *Feminist Teaching in Theory and Practice: Situating Power and Knowledge in Poststructural Classrooms (*New York: Teachers College Press, 1998).

[18] For reflections on the intricacies of collaborative work, see Frances K. Kochan and Carol A. Mullen, "An Exploratory Study of Collaboration in Higher Education from Women's Perspectives," *Teaching Education*, 14, 2 (2003), and Frances K Kochan and Carol A. Mullen,"Collaborative authorship: Reflection on a briar patch of twisted brambles," *Teachers College Record Online [http://www.tcrecord.org].*

[19] Hermione Lee, *Biography: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[20] Ibid.

[21] Leigh Gilmore offers this argument in *Autobiographics: A Feminist Theory of Women's Self-Representation* (Cornell University Press, 1994), see in particular pages 199-223.

[22] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

[23] Correspondence between Bailey and Helvie-Mason.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Oklahoma State University, Institutional Research and Information Management, 2010.

[26] Oklahoma State University, Institutional Research and Information Management, 2010.

[27] Louisiana Board of Regents, "Statistics of Four-Year Institutions," (February 2010) http://as400.regents.state.la.us/pdfs/ssps/fall09/SPRACELV209.PDF (accessed May 15, 2010).

[28] See Bochner and Ellis, 2006.

[29] Reed-Danahay, *Auto/Ethnography,* 2.

[30] Art Bochner and Carolyn Ellis, "Communication as Autoethnography," In *Communication as…Perspectives on Theory,* eds. G. Shepherd, J. St. John, and T. Striphas. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006): 110-112.

[31] Quoted in Reed-Danahay, *Auto/Ethnography,* 8.

[32] Reed-Danahay, *Auto/Ethnography,* 2.

[33] See Harry Wolcott, *Writing Up Qualitative Research (3rd edition)*, for examples.

[34] Correspondence between Bailey and Helvie-Mason.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Barney Warf, *Time-Space Compression: Historical Geographies*. (London, Routledge, 2008) 2.

[37] Warf, *Time-Space Compression:* 15.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid, 213.

[40] See Warf, ibid, 2008.

[41] Jeffrey A. Miron, 2001, September 24. The economics of the tenure process. *The Library of Economics and Liberty*, http://www.econlib.org/library/Columns/Mirontenure.html (accessed April 15, 2010).

[42] Correspondence between Bailey and Helvie-Mason.

[43] Ibid.

[44] "New Times" is a reference to Stuart Hall.

[45] Correspondence between Bailey and Helvie-Mason.

[46] Ibid.

[47] A. Rafaeli and M. Worline, "The future of emotions (L'avenir des emotions). *Social Science Information,* 40 (1), (2001): 95-123.

[48] See F. Stormer and K. Devine,"Acting at work: Facades of conformity in academia," *Journal of Management Inquiry, 17*, (2008). 112-134, and Patricia Hewlin,"And the Award for the Best Actor Goes to…: Facades of Conformity in Organizational Settings," *Academy of Management Review 28*(4) (2003): 633-642.

[49] Miller, ibid; Kearney and Bailey (in review) use this argument in relation to the complexities of contemporary mothering.

[50] Culley and Portuges, *Gendered Subjects,* 3.

[51] Culley and Portuges, *Gendered Subjects,* 1.

[52] Correspondence between Bailey and Helvie-Mason.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Patricia Lather and Chris Smithies, *Troubling the Angels: Women Living with HIV/AIDS* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997).

[55] Helvie-Mason's academic blog, "Communication and Higher Education: Life on the Tenure Track at a Teaching Institution" (http://commhighered.blogspot.com) was recognized as one of the "Top 8 Education Blogs to Inspire and Inform," by the University of Wisconsin-Stout at http://www.uwstout.edu/soe/profdev/blog.cfm (December 2010).

[56] Correspondence between Bailey and Helvie-Mason.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Jeffrey A. Miron, "The Economics of the Tenure Process," *The Library of Economics and Liberty* (2001, September 24) http://www.econlib.org/library/Columns/Mirontenure.html (Accessed April 15, 2009).

[59] Correspondence between Bailey and Helvie-Mason.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] For a compelling compilation exploring the intersections between pedagogy and Katrina, see Rosalind Pijeaux Hale and Charlotte Mathews Harris (Eds.), *Pedagogy of Indignation: Race, Class, and Hurricane Katrina* (Women Educators, 2006).

[63] F.K. Kochan=C.A. Mullen, An Exploratory Study, 160.

[64] Ibid, 161.

[65] Clark and Corcoran, "Perspectives on the Professional Socialization of Women Faculty" and Lora Helvie-Mason and Thalia Mulvihill, "Impact of Gender on Pre-Tenure Experiences," *Academic Exchange Quarterly, 11*(4) (2007): 129-134.

Sel(f)ves Breathing:
(Re)Encounters with the Lived Experiences of Teacher

Sarah K. MacKenzie
Bucknell University

Beginning to Breathe

> To engage in living inquiry is to learn to let go, to leave the spurious safety of Research—that crumbling roof over education that often separated us from life and rarely protected us anyway—and to enter an open field, ears and wings bristling.[1]

(Re)turning
I see
that which was
as is today
Past and present
merge
To invite a new moment
of real(ity) to be
    Self
Other
I become
        one
as I have not been
before
Across

time space
experience
reflecting
for some
understanding
Existing
for a brief moment
neither
above nor below
the experience
of
(an)other
who I may be/come

Once again, autumn has arrived and with it a stream of eager students, waiting to learn how and what it means to be a teacher. It is during this time that I often find myself reflecting on my own experiences of be(com)ing Teacher. For many years I have struggled, knowing that it is the stories of my experiences that students often ask for me to share, but also aware that there is a dark presence that exists within my stories. I have thought for some time regarding how I might live, teach, with/in the ambiguity of the storied experience, amidst my own conflicting intentions. Kamonos-Gamelin notes, "[a] teacher's role is not to replicate suffocating conditions that stunt self-awareness and self-knowledge, but to set up conditions that will inspire, that will literally give breath to students' visions of themselves as 'knowers'."[2] Rather than creating stifling replication of experience, I want to be an educator who lives reflexively, sharing my stories of experience while also creating space for interrogation and possibility—within both my teaching and research, "[l]iving, as it were, not at a distance but face to face and engaged."[3] Through this engagement, it is my hope that my inquiry becomes something which reverberates pedagogically. Irwin, Wilson-Kind, and Springgay have remarked that these "[r]everberations also excite possible slippages of meaning, where the act of returning is not mirrored, but a performance where each reverberation resists and pushes forward toward new understandings."[4] These reverberations allow me the opportunity to exist with/in the story as one who has known yet evolves through active interaction with others across the textual space. I am a learner performing[5] as are those who choose to participate across the textual landscape of this evolving story.

Breathing In

Thoughts in silence and awake, I find myself (re)turning to the place

where my desire emptied into a void of that which I could not name. It is a void that forever echoes across my practice and sense of self as Teacher – created by the loss of life and desire. In a progressing moment a child's life is taken and my/self a young teacher found herself drowning within the confinement of performance, expectation, and (in)visibility.

Breathing Out

The inscription of this experience upon the text of my/sel(f)ves[6] subtly repeats itself within my pedagogy and thus to move forward, I feel I must (re)turn–(re)engaging with the patterns, tears, and emotions that shape my being with/in this moment.

Breathing In

A dampness hung heavy in the air that evening when light and dark collided. I remembered thinking to myself earlier that something was going to happen. I kept waiting for this ominous loneliness to reach its crescendo–opening its door to the darkness or light, but nothing came, just the rattle of leaves and the ticking of tree limbs; my thoughts began to wander.

Breathing Out
Breathing with Intention

Teaching calls on one to be present, all the while drawing on the experiences and memories of the past to inform the choices we make. As an educator, I have always worked hard to maintain a sense of intentional presence, a practice that mirrors that of breathing within yoga. This is a practice that requires intention and discipline, along with deep awareness of the present moment, as well as awareness regarding how the past impacts that present moment, and a willingness to let go of attachment to those past experiences that impact the present. However, I have often struggled with letting go, to acknowledge the deep and sometimes problematic impact my past asserts on my perceptions and practices in the present. It is across the landscape of this text, where I aim to become present, (re)living, (re)telling,[7] and disrupting experience through active and fluid (re)encounters with/in a story of those events that even today remain etched upon my perceptions of the experience of be(com)ing Teacher.

I may speak my story, but it does not speak in isolation;[8] instead, using the metaphor of the breath, I share my momentary story through space, narrative, and poetic inquiry,[9] inviting readers to disrupt my interpretations as

they erase, rearrange, and add to the text. I consider my (re)search through experience to be a form of a/r/tographic inquiry.[10] I may *tell* (my) story, yet by engaging the aesthetic, I create space, inviting multiple voices to enter into the dialogue. While the lack of linearity may be troubling for some, the troubling nature is intentional, necessitating negotiation in process, through meaning(s). Irwin and Springgay note that through a/r/tography, "[p]rocess becomes intertextually and multiply located in discursive operations. It is a process of invention rather than interpretation, where concepts are marked by social engagements and encounters."[11] The nature of the a/r/tographical process is such that it allows me, as researcher/teacher to piece together the experience in a temporal and dialectical fashion, unattached to outcomes; instead open to possibility discovered by myself or an/other.

Dialogic Breath

It is my hope that by entering into this collective dialogue of living inquiry, I/we might be able to (re)turn to the other, not as one who controls or is controlled, but rather as one who recognizes glimpses of her incomplete self.[12] Moving forward in this recognition, we might also be able to overcome or at least acknowledge those feelings of alienation that arise for so many who choose to be(come) Teacher. As the story evolves, we might be able to artfully transgress[13] those hegemonic notions of Teacher that silence any sharing of experience beyond the shifting boundaries of what is "right."[14] Through the collective gaze of an a/r/tographic, poetic, rendering of experience,[15] the alienation becomes something to recognize rather than something to dwell within; so to do the images of what is 'right' in teaching, allowing one to become conscious to the textures of a teaching life, outside the blinders of expectation. This is a consciousness that is thought by Greene to be "always something; it grasps, intends multiple structures of meaning. There are dreams, memories, layers of belief and perception, stocks of knowledge, fantasies."[16] (Re)turning to the echoes of one's layers of consciousness through a dialogue of awareness, a teacher might be able to develop new and hopeful possibilities as s/he uses an (un)familiar lens that rattles the once normalized experience. The rattling of past and present further opens up space for confusion, as the stories no longer seem to fit the neat formula that so many individuals claim to desire; but it is through these stories that our postures are shaped, they may breathe across our every step and hold tightly even, when like myself, we claim we have moved on. Perhaps as we share collectively in the ambiguity of be(com)ing Teacher,[17] we might be able to acknowledge the struggle and thus begin to find ourselves amidst a pedagogical chaos that invites full presence and possibility for praxis with/in this space of be(com)ing.

Breathing In

Breathing
I see who
once was
I or you or we
living
(un)knowing
tears and laughter
forgotten
in the breeze of another day
the winds grow strong
opening to the echoes
of a moment
to remember
interact
be
and become

Breathing Out

As I begin to breath, opening up the stories I share, I too might begin to learn and as such transform, listening to the whispers of others who might dis/rupt my (un)knowing, thereby offering space for collective breathing and reflexivity. Through this breathing I begin to actively participate in the story attending to what is, what was, or what might be with/in this present moment. Presence is rooted in the breath, that which exists with/in the aesthetic spaces of be(com)ing. The aesthetic spaces I refer to are not necessarily beautiful by conventional definitions; instead, the spaces are messy[18] and alive, shifting across people and moments, responding to the fluidity of experience, the temporality of life. Richardson considers the pedagogical and transformative possibilities of this collective breath, reflecting that "[b]y emotionally binding people together who have the same experiences, whether in touch with each other or not, the collective story overcomes some of the isolation and alienation of contemporary life,"[19] thus creating space for dialogue and movement—connection.

Breathing In

Shifting spaces
Of disequilibrium
and disconnect
wanting
waiting
until in a moment of return

Fact or fiction
or what does it matter
Voices
A chorus in unison
Did you see
know
recognize my pain
Moments be/come
(Re)turning to place
landscape
self
a text to be read
and written
ac/knowledge(ment)
Secrets
and silence
echo across the psyche
Fact
Fiction
The line is blurred
Until the story becomes
one of recognition
Self and other
identified

Breathing Out

The dis/comforting order of the textual landscape mirrors my own confusion as I consider my position as a teacher educator and reflect upon a time of be(com)ing, when desire and death intertwined in my beginning years as a teacher. Moving to re-experience my (own) pain, as a means to open up spaces for collective (un)knowing, I (re)turn to a story of myself as one who has not only experienced the psychic trauma of recognizing the difficulties of

maintaining sel(f)ves in an educational space that silences desire,[20] but is also traumatized by the physical loss of a student whose experience of being silenced became embodied in those of my own.

Breathing In

> *Like many moments in my life, I remember myself racing that day, knowing that I needed to arrive in a timely fashion, but also seeking to belong within the space of that which had already been foreshadowed in my mind. A child may no longer be with us, I had thought to myself as I awoke, but I could not quite grasp or accept this, and so like I had before - I prepared myself.*

Breathing Out

Shifting in and out of story, intertwining voices and genre, fiction with "fact", I am able to (re)turn to that which sucked upon the marrow of my private self, creating new threads of possibility beyond what I considered traumatic, thus becoming a participant in the (re)encounter rather than a victim in the struggle.[21] Highlighting Norman's articulation that"… autobiographical writing is never a singular gesture,"[22] I want participants to join me along this tangled journey with/in and with/out the landscape of my teaching body: may you pause, get lost and hear the reverberations of your own stories echo across the spaces of experience.

Breathing In

There is movement
in my story
his story
her story
our story
belonging to a moment
before and after
the interruption
of interjection
might we
move together?

Experience (In)scribed

> *Mine was the last car to pull into the parking lot that morning and with*

that knowledge I felt as if I had failed, had become someone who could not achieve within the expectations of the administration and my/self. As I walked into my room, the silence of the school echoed, nothingness … and so, alone I walked along the corridor, seeking someone to take my hand—to tell me that everything was fine and would continue to be fine.

Breathing Out

As we traverse along a terrain that continues to (re)appear across the landscape of my (our) teaching, I am ready to face the challenge of vulnerability as I (re)experience my/sel(f)ves, perhaps catching "a glimpse of the lighthouse"[23] along this collective journey; removing the layers of multiple moments of 'truth,' trauma, and being as they intersect, (be)come, arrive, and disappear[24] within the historical (s)p(l)ace of a moment. I seek to move with you the reader, through the inscriptions of (my)self/(our)selves in loss, seeking to come to a new place of recognition as my(our) "… self is constructed from continuing uncertainty."[25] With each step along the terrain of uncertainty, we may further find sel(f)ves and other with/in experience.

Breathing In

I am lost
    I do not know
claim
    I am just
present
     the real
or imagined
    moment
passed
    and so
I, we, you
become
    and become
                and become
s/he who I do not
        know

Karla, my team member and friend who had started at the school the previous year with me, mouthed the words "It's Bo" … my heart stopped … She had called me the night before, confused and scared. "My husband just told me, that I received a phone call from our principal, that one of our stu-

dents hung themselves…"That was all he had said in the message … We spent a while going through the roster of students we had grown to love. They had been my first class of students and while their reputation had warned me of their independence and challenging nature, I had been met with a group of children who had a desire so strong to embrace and challenge the world – to name it their own way within the spaces they had been positioned. Running through the list of each child – unique and struggling in his/her own way, we finally arrived at Bo … perhaps … We had said "perhaps it is Bo, he never quite fit within the school … he had a different language and moved upon a different plane." I had been left lost after that conversation – having no clue which of our beloved was gone, and wishing desperately to believe that perhaps it had only been an attempt – a desperate call that we might heed so that we might be able to protect and love that child as no one had before … so that he or she might see what an amazing and valuable person he or she was.

Young Teacher

I too

sought and desired my image/ined

sel(f)ves

escape

I hadn't learned yet how special they were, but as Karla and I went through the list trying to decide, which one – who out of those forty children had taken his or her own life … I was reminded of why I had chosen or had been 'called' to teach and realized how truly special each one of those children had been.

Breathing Out

(Re)inscriptions of Negotiation

Through the process of learning (to teach), one struggles with losing loved aspects of the self, moving through positions of comfort to a world that neither answers nor validates the self within its space.[26] It is of value to consider what factors play the greatest influence on the identities of a teacher, so that we might come to find in/sight into the shaky practice of negotiating a teacher identity within a culture whose dominant ideologies thrive within the discourses of fear, power, and silence,[27] and of course, contradiction. Britzman[28] notes that there are shifts over time as one seeks to make sense of and construct her teaching self through time and space, while sometimes blindly negotiating or being guided through those established discourses that may in fact silence—leaving no light for reflection. In my own trauma of

death and the loss of desire of being the imagined Teacher, I was treading water in the cold space of persuasion, remaining frozen, unable to melt out of the contradiction of a patriarchal culture that seemed to say one should exhibit autonomy yet submission. Confusion joined the stream of being and discovering—emotion scattering across the landscape, to free or freeze one's sel(f)ves into sp(l)ace (un)nameable without reflection.

Breathing In

As Karla mouthed those words … "It's Bo" I knew that he was gone and I wondered as my heart beat out of rhythm, outside myself, if I too might follow … Moving blindly, I, a young teacher wrapped up in my own desire wonders … Perhaps in my failure to take the time to say "I see you, and I love you and you are wonderful and valuable and you will be and are amazing," I had done more than I could imagine. And then I saw all those faces of the other teachers perhaps lost, or confused, some having not known this child – feigning pain and I wanted to scream … it is your loss, it is your fault … he breathed and called out to be seen and you did not see.

Who sees me?

In the pain of losing this beautiful and amazing being, I saw that I too was not seen, that I too was becoming lost, just as I felt I had been as a child, a child I had returned to in my own teaching – trying to go back, to meet those needs of my own that had not been met …and in that moment I found myself losing ground and breath as I lost my Self – becoming some Other who might be able to perform within this moment, within this loss. I continued stepping carefully upon the dark carpet, meeting the eyes of my colleagues, each puzzled within their own breath and thought, quickly casting my own eyes down and then toward a destination of safety – secretly believing that in this place I might never find safety, only a rhythm of comfort riddled in untruth and perhaps a seat upon which I might momentarily rest. And so I crept onward until I found a seat, suddenly fatigued by the wrenching pull upon my chest, but also very aware – or fearing – those eyes.

I am
I am not
I speak
I do not

I RAGE

Each movement a risk of overexposure of my self, confused – I move to comfort those around me, seeking my own solace or way of being as I reject the spastic motions and wells of my own loss - negotiating my need to be present within a place of expectation.

Breathing Out

Teaching is a practice of negotiation as one seeks ownership of (imagined) choice of pedagogy and personal action, while manoeuvring oneself as subject within the space of desire, ideology, and power. While the illusion of autonomy is enticing, there is often a feeling of melancholy[29] as teachers discover that within each (imagined) choice of practice and being there exists a certain sense of loss. Loss of the imagined self who might be in control becomes a constant for many teachers as they move through spaces of education in which they may feel there is no chance to practice as they believe they so desire. Ayers comments on the challenge to negotiate among these 'choices' that seem to shout out limitations of being within the context of the school and classroom: "Teachers must always choose – they must choose how to see the students before them, how, as well to see the world, what to embrace and what to reject, whether to support or resist this or that directive. In school where the insistent illusion that everything has already been settled is heavily promoted, teachers experience a constricted sense of choice, diminished imaginative space, a feeling of powerlessness regarding the basic questions of teaching and the larger purposes of education."[30]

Breathing In

He was just a child, another one of those souls I claimed in my statement of philosophy – whom I wanted to empower. I don't know what that means anymore … to empower … beyond the ideological myth that compartmentalizes, contradicts, and silences the multiple and shifting realities of being within the world.

Breathing Out

My life as a teacher has always been that wrought with choice, resistance, and desire as I moved to make some sense of the tangles that pulled me toward an ambiguous emptiness. Faces, voices intersect as the multiple stories of teacher (self) entwine with the pull of those discourses that encourage and push (my)self, the other to in/visibility.[31] It is in this in/visibility that

I am haunted by the echoes that move across the void created by and existing within loss. At times I wonder, am I mad – existing at once both on the outside and inside, having no place in which or with which I might belong. But in belonging nowhere I dis(un)cover something new, fresh, beginning for as I am reminded again that,"Loss, shift, and rupture create presence through absence, they become tactile, felt, seen."[32]

Breathing In

I hear the echo of (my)self
coming from a distance
A place with no name
I run
until in a moment I realize
I have gone (no)where
I am winded as I seek
Claiming the echo
  I stop
only to return
    some other time
Emptiness remains
and I am lost
in my confinement

> *Returning to myself, I once again was protected, aware of emptiness, but also safe from the chance of a moment of unexpected expression. As each moment slipped into the other words, faces, and emotions became blurred, meaning slipped outside the quiet of the library toward another space and time.*

I find my/self seeking
        Today, tomorrow, yet yesterday circles
    dancing with my inspiration
in a space of degradation
a hand, my hand
reaches out
      toward something
in a space of
    nothingness
              Yesterday
the trauma still beats
              within my veins

the day

death crashed upon
desire

Breathing Out

If we consider the notion of sel(f)ves, understanding that identity is a relationship evolving through one's interaction with and in particular contexts, belonging to specific institutional and societal structures[33] *it is important then to be attentive to the contradictions that exist as those be(com)ing Teacher move through the multiple (un)named postures that position them, attempting to honor both the subjective self and the desire to be recognized,*[34] *as well as valued and/or approved*[35] *within those discourses that may silence the self. I ask, is it my desire to see my/self as described by Nealon and Searls-Giroux, an "inwardly generated phenomenon, a notion of personhood based on particular (yet strangely abstract) qualities that make us who we are;"*[36] *I attend to this question with purpose, recognizing the danger of returning to what might seem a tantalizing myth. Our selves do exist singularly, yet self also clearly rises out of a collaborative fiction of desire, a passive result of living in society. If I see myself as this static individual moving across one space, with one basic way of knowing (my)sel(f)ves, I am left vulnerable, unaware of those external influences that factor in to my choices and perceptions of the world.*

Breathing through the Scripts of the (Un)Known

Breathing In

Children lined up in the hallway, like the beads upon a belt each adding his or her own color and expression, highlighting a story of hope and expressed individuality. It had been Halloween and all the children were dressed up for the annual parade – anticipation weighed heavy, perhaps so heavy that few had remembered to even carry their books across the hallway as they prepared for the next class. I always liked watching the students switch for each subject, the brief glimpse of an interaction existing outside the conforming space of the classroom.

On this particular morning, I chatted with the first students I had been able to call my own as they waited to enter the classroom across the hall – they laughed and pushed and told stories of tests and crushes. Bo was busy in the unfolding of tales, working hard to entertain those around him with his own special beat. Waving his hands in the air and dancing about, he reminded everyone that he was a peaceful hippie and to "just love, that is where it's at." Even today, I can still hear his deep little voice, the way you could tell how he never quite opened his mouth when he spoke – and

see him dancing about his classmates, making them smile. In that moment I saw the child as I wanted him to be.

Will you not listen
see me
standing
I want so much
to cross
to be
but will you let me
as I am?

You must complete
the task
assigned
perform
as determined
by someone
so that you might someday
be somebody

Breathing Out

Teachers are "gently" instructed to follow the script of policies and expectations established by government and popular culture,[37] and whether or not those speaking fully understand what it means to teach, their claims are strong and play a powerful role in the ways beginning and experienced teachers shape their understanding of Teacher. Many who choose to become teachers find themselves in a place of conflict, aware of the challenges they face, but somehow believing that "they can adjust to the circumstances, tolerate sometimes dismal conditions"[38] yet still be able to make an impact, a difference in the lives of those students with whom they come in contact. While many teachers believe they can tolerate or overcome particular conditions, they shut the doors of their classroom, opening them perhaps for a moment to speak of the surface frustrations, but rarely to expose their own movements of be(com)ing. What happens to our perceptions and reactions, how do we perceive and challenge the script of an idealized infallible and submissive Teacher that we are presented with? How will our representations and challenges be perceived by those outside (our)selves—will they be acknowledged, or disregarded?

Breathing In

There are moments
exhaustion
creeps her delicate hands
across my navel
wooziness replaces wakefulness
my head embraced
by an outstretched hand
beckoning me deeper

within her grasp
until s/he overcomes
my very breath
SILENCE PAIN SECRETS
Remembering Returning
Broken

Breathing Out

I became a teacher to claim my *truth*, to give my own childhood the chance to breathe and exist within a world that sought to maintain and manipulate my self into a being who might ultimately wither within an environment that provided little nourishment to those desires and losses of being the Teacher that dwelt within. I chose to teach, at first, with the desire to make a difference giving to my students that which I believed I had needed and not gotten as a student, to empower and give voice to those that might otherwise not be heard, and perhaps in some small way I have accomplished this goal however (un)nameable it is, but I find myself remaining lost–caught within the fantasy of my childhood - to be heard, seen, and valued and it is in this place, this moment that I stop to reflect on the teacher I have become and she who I desired and desire to be. My desire is a yearning that exists in a messy tangle of paradigms and imagined personal 'freedoms' and loss of a sense of self and other, that remains and defines so much of what I do.

Breathing Out

An (Un)Certain Gaze toward Praxis

[T]eaching can be recognized as a struggle for voice and discursive practices amid a cacophony of past and present voices, lived experiences, and available practices. The tensions among what has preceded, what is confronted, and what one desires shape the contradictory desires of learning to teach.[39]

Breathing In

> *This sixth year of school had been a rough one for my independent friend; he had faced isolation as punishment - spending his lunch breaks eating with the children in the primary grades and spending recess time in the library. But it seemed that he made the best of it, relishing in those brief moments of opportunity when he was able to laugh and play with his classmates. It seemed that Bo was invincible, refusing to conform or accept*

the normalizing limitations that many of those around him pressed upon his being. The stories of his debacles often filled the teacher's lounge with laughter, perhaps it was in admiration of this bright boy who sought to fill in the cracks of conformity with his own vivid language, learning a new word each day to enhance that which he wrote and that which he did. But those lines of structure that hold the self within the space of school are peculiar things – often times as teachers and students, we don't know quite where they are sending us.

Breathing Out

In teaching I sought to acknowledge the child within, one who was silent and alone having somehow never had a chance to be. When I entered the classroom where I would be called Teacher, I saw my own reflection of desire shadowed and highlighted in the faces of those children who I would call my own and standing beside each child was an image I could not quite recognize - another, my/sel(f)ves. Perhaps it was this inability to move my attention beyond myself[40] that froze me in a sp(l)ace of melancholic wandering, but I was overwhelmed by the need/desire to give–and perhaps in the giving, experience–that which I had not received.

Breathing In

A child
(my) self
stands
on the edge
waiting
looking toward
a sea of possibility
where
she may (be)come
the color of hope
shifts with the day
she continues
but can/not
wait

I remember a month or so after Bo's death, his teachers were getting his things together to send to his parents – his report card included. My friend Karla, red with a rage that seemed to bleed out her pores stomped into my classroom overwhelmed within the confusion of grief and outrage

at the comments another teacher had left on Bo's report card: "Language Arts: D, Bo did not follow the directions and decided to write on topics of his own choice and did not turn in several papers." Ripping up the copy of the report card, Karla demanded that this teacher write something else that might respect the memory of this boy who wrote poems and told stories that mirrored an insight beyond the grasp of his years – for how could one possibly send anything else to grieving parents. I agreed, but also I saw how even in his absence, Bo would never be accepted, his self never honored beyond that which did not resist conformity.

Breathing Out

As one grows as a teacher, so do his or her understandings of sel(f)ves in practice, yet, it is not enough to reflect within the practice, it is important to also step outside that space, to engage with the experience as an observer; for as van Manen articulates, "A person cannot reflect on lived experience while living in the experience."[41] Reflexivity through a/r/tographical inquiry means (re)living experience and offers many possibilities for praxis. When one re-enters into the space of (re)lived experience, reflections shift, intersecting with multiple moments of past, present, and future. By (re)turning to (re)experience the 'scenes' of a tangled and messy 'lived' moment our understandings may become richer, but they are always fluid and shifting. However, this shift can never occur unless one speaks—sharing experience, moving beyond the moment of origin.

Breathing In

In the fog of knowing and loss I slowly walked toward my classroom, that room a container that protected and restricted each child held within. How was it possible for me in my own pain and confusion, my isolation … how was it possible for me to create a sense of normalcy, when I felt that I was spinning out of control, my desire crashing upon the rocky shore of 'reality'? I saw Bo sitting in the back of my room, in a row that I had been told I must create by a supervisor, I heard him say "I have an idea" … I have an idea … Bo had many ideas and they were different and they were brilliant and I wondered … Had he known? Had I honored him? Perhaps I had failed Bo, as I felt I continued to fail my own self (both the adult and the child), but I could do something for my students. In that moment I decided that above anything else, I must make it clear to each child with whom I came in contact that who s/he was - was beautiful and that s/he was loved. In all my pain, I still think I succeeded in doing that on that particular day, as we told and read stories and shared in one another's

tears and basked in moments of play. But did I continue?

Oh how I wanted to.
To love as a teacher,
is a challenging task
especially if you cannot
quite recognize why
who
it is that is doing the loving.

Breathing Out

Praxis (re)shows me – (re)learns me through the moment of being in that sp(l)ace of not knowing – I (re)learned something I say all the time in my teaching- that it is in letting go that we find, we cannot be found until we are lost. Yes that is what I have learned – I learned, (re)learned what I know but forget or hang onto too lightly.[42]

It is important to open ourselves to those opportunities of loss, desire, movement, experience, and change through the sharing of our sel(f)ves stories, becoming critical thinkers and participants within the dialogue of what it means to be (in this case) Teacher. By breathing, weaving the moment—sel(f)ves presently with/in the space of experience, we may begin to hear the echoes of those buried discourses that exist in fantasy.[43] As an educator, I believe it is important to listen carefully, taking the time to dig into the (s)p(l)ace of loss, sharing my (own) traumas, through the rendering of self and pedagogy with/in experience, rather than (re)acting, escaping, or stating what should be without insight. Confessional writing is an act of transgression,[44] moving our knowing beyond Truth, into the space of possibility. While not necessarily confessional, my story shares a defining experience. By sharing the experience, opening it up to disruption, praxis is possible. Creating change comes from the process of collectively untangling those traumas that bind, educating ourselves as we become present, interacting with all that is, who is, and was around us, be(com)ing familiar with those discourses in motion so that we might be able to enter, through the breath, into a dialogue of pedagogical possibility. Perhaps as we share collectively in the ambiguity of be(com)ing Teacher,[45] we might be able (re)write our knowing, exploring new ways for sel(f)ves to negotiate within the chaotic spaces of the personal and pedagogical experiences that often define us, in silence.

Teaching is complex, messy; however, far too often pre-service teachers find themselves caught up in the desire for perfection, acquisition of an image created by someone else and they want nothing of the messiness. As a teacher I found myself caught up in trauma, a chaotic world where my

desires existed alongside feelings of loss, shame, anger, alienation, love, and expectation. When I began working with pre-service teachers, I felt that it was my responsibility to share my experiences with them, while instilling a sense of hope within pedagogy; yet in all honesty, I was still caught up in the chaos and perceived victimization of my (own) past experience. Each time I share my story with students, it changes as I grow and let go; and slowly over the years it has become a story of hope. I remind my students that we are (im)perfect, that teaching is an imperfect practice where we will experience a vast array of emotions that may lead us in many directions throughout the days and years. However, if we can remember to love—ourselves and our students, weaving this love into our pedagogies, we are well on the path to a contented, reflexive practice. The important thing is to share our stories so that we might move beyond the isolation of experience toward dialogic relationships that keep us present, growing, and connected to one another and our breath.

Breathing In

Notes

[1] Lori Nielson, "Forward," In *Being with a/r/tography*, ed. S. Springgay et al. (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2008), xvii.

[2] Anastasia Kamonos-Gamelin, "The Sand Diaries: Visions, Vulnerability and Self study," In *Just Who Do We Think We Are: Methodologies for Autobiography and Self-study in Teaching,* In ed. C. Mitchell, S. Weber, and K.O'Reilly-Scanlon (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2005), 187.

[3] Sylvia Wilson, "Fragments: Life Writing in Image and Text," In *A/R/Tography: rendering self through arts-based living inquiry, ed. Rita L. Irwin, Alex deCossen (V*ancouver: Pacific Education Press, 2004), 44.

[4] Stephanie Springgay, Rita L. Irwin, and Sylvia Wilson, A/r/tography as living inquiry through art and text. *Qualitative Inquiry* 11, No. 4 (2005), 18.

[5] Alex de Cossen, "The hermeneutic dialogic: Finding patterns amid the aporia of the artist/researcher/teacher," The *Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, xlviii, No. 3, (2002) article on CD-ROM insert.

[6] Bronwyn Davies, *In scribing Body/Landscape Relations* (New York: Altmira Press, 2000).

[7] D. Jean Clandinin and F. Michael Connelly, *Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 2000).

[8] Bronwyn Davies, *In scribing Body/Landscape Relations* (New York: Altamira Press, 2000).

[9] Jennifer Peterson, "The digital aspoetic: C/A/R/Tographic inquiry into the anorexic commons, *Educational Insights* 10 (2006) http://www.ccfi.educ.ubc.ca/publication/insights/v10n02/html/peterson/peterson.html (accessed October 20, 2010).; Monica Prendergast, Carl Leggo, and Pauline

Sameshima, ed., *Poetic Inquiry: Vibrant Voices in the Social Sciences,* ed. Monica Prendergast, Carl Leggo and Pauline Sameshima (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2008).

[10] Rita L. Irwin and Alex de Cossen, ed., *A/r/tography: Rendering Self Through Arts-Based Living Inquiry* (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2004); Rita L. Irwin and Stephanie Springgay, "A/r/tography as Practice Based Research. " in *Arts-Based Research in Education: Foundations for Practice,* ed. M. Cahnmann-Taylor and R. Siegesmund (New York: Routledge, 2008); Rita L. Irwin. 2008. "Communities of a/r/tographic practice," in *Being with A/r/tography.* ed. S. Springgay, R. L. Irwin, C. Leggo and P. Gouzouasis (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2008).

[11] Rita L. Irwin and Stephanie Springgay, "A/r/tography as Practice Based Research," 106.

[12] Sharon Todd, *Learning from the Other: Levinas, Psychoanalysis, and Ethical Possibilities in Education* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1997).

[13] bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

[14] Daniel P. Liston, "The Allure of Beauty and the Pain of Injustice in Learning and Teaching," in *Teaching, Learning, and Loving: Reclaiming Passion in Educational Practice,* ed. D. P. Liston and James W. Garrison (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003).

[15] Rebecca Luce-Kaplar, "Reverberating the Action Research Text." in *Action Research as Living Practice,* ed. T. R. Carson and D. Sumara (New York: Peter Lang, 1997).

[16] Maxine Greene, *Teacher as Stranger* (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1973), 133.

[17] Sarah K. MacKenzie, unpublished dissertation, "Ambiguous Presence: The Negotiations of Becoming Teacher" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 2006).

[18] David Jardine, "Their Bodies Swelling with Messy Secrets." in *Action Research as Living Practice,* ed. T. R. Carson and D. Sumara (New York: Peter Lang, 1997).

[19] Laurel Richardson, *Fields of Play: Constructing an Academic Life* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 33.

[20] Bertram J. Cohler and Robert M. Galatzer-Levy, "Love in the Classroom," in *Love's Return: Psychoanalytic Essays on Childhood, Teaching, and Learning,* ed. G.M. Boldt and P. Salvio (New York: Routledge, 2006).

[21] Ruth Behar, *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology that Breaks your Heart* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996).

[22] Renee Norman, *House of Mirrors: Performing Autobiograph(icall)y in Language/Education* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001), 38.

[23] Ruth Behar, *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology that Breaks your Heart* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 3.

[24] Renato Rosaldo, Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis (New York: Beacon Press, 1993).

[25] Mary C. Bateson, *Peripheral Visions: Learning Along the Way. (*New York: Harper Collins Publishing, Inc., 1995), 234.

[26] Deborah Britzman, *Practice Makes Practice: A Critical Study of Learning to Teach* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991).

[27] Megan Boler, *Feeling Power: Emotions in Education* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

[28] Deborah Britzman, *Practice Makes Practice.*

[29] Paula Salvio, "A Dangerous Lucid Hour: Compliance, Alienation, and the Restructuring of New York City High Schools," in *Defending Our Public Schools: Teaching for a Democratic Society*, in ed. Kathleen Kesson and E. Wayne Ross (Westport, CT: 2004).

[30] William Ayers, "Creating Teachers and Changing the World," in *Passion and Pedagogy,* ed. E. Mironchnick and D. Sherman (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), 42.

[31] Mary C. Bateson, *Peripheral Visions.*

[32] Stephanie Springgay, Rital L. Irwin, and Sylvia Wilson Kind, A/r/tography as living inquiry through art and text. *Qualitative Inquiry* 11 (2005): 897-912.

[33] Sarah J. McCarthey and Elizabeth B. Moje, "Identity matters," *Reading Research Quarterly,* 37(2002): 228-238.

[34] James Hillman, *A Blue Fire,* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1989).

[35] Sandra J. Weber and Claudia Mitchell, *That's Funny you don't Look Like a Teacher! Interrogating Images and Identity in Popular Culture* (London: Falmer Press, 1995).

Jane Danielwicz, *Teaching Selves: Identity, Pedagogy, and Teacher Education* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001).

[36] James Nealon and Susan Searls-Giroux, *The Theory Toolbox* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2003), 37.

[37] Pamela Bolotin Joseph, "The Ideal Teacher: Images in the Early 20th Century Teacher Education Textbooks," in *Images of School Teachers in America,* ed. P. B. Joseph and G. E. Burnaford (Mawhah, NJ: Lawrence Ehrlbaum Associates, 2001).

[38] Jane Danielwicz, *Teaching Selves: Identity, Pedagogy, and Teacher Education* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001), 127.

[39] Deborah Britzman, Practice Makes Practice: A Critical Study of Learning to Teach (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991),8.

[40] Rebecca Martusewicz, "Say me to me," in *Learning Desire: perspectives on pedagogy, culture, and the unsaid* , ed. S. Todd (New York: Routledge: 1997).

[41] Max van Manen, *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy* (Toronto: Althouse Press, 1997), 10.

[42] Alex de Cossen, "The Hermeneutic Dialogic: Finding Patterns Amid the Aporia of the Artist/Researcher/Teacher," 24.

[43] Judith Robertson, "Fantasies Confines." In *Learning Desire: Perspectives on Pedagogy, Culture, and the Unsaid,* ed. S. Todd (New York: Routledge, 1997).

[44] Renee Norman, *House of Mirrors: Performing Autobiograph(icall)y in Language/Education* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001).

[45] Sarah K. MacKenzie, *Ambiguous Presence: The Negotiations of Becoming Teacher.*

Book Review:
Davis, *Charlotte Perkins Gilman: A Biography*

Catherine Seltzer

Southern Illinois University Edwardsville

Cynthia J. Davis. *Charlotte Perkins Gilman: A Biography.* Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010. ISBN-10: 0804738890; ISBN-13: 978-0804738897. 537 pages.

While the personal histories of many of America's feminist foremothers remain largely unrecognized in the contemporary imagination, it's not a stretch to argue that even the most casual reader of Charlotte Perkins Gilman's work is familiar with her biography, however lightly sketched. Gilman's most enduring story, "The Yellow Wallpaper," an account of a woman's descent into madness after a male physician prescribes "the rest cure" as treatment for postpartum depression, is almost always followed in its anthologized form by her short essay, "Why I Wrote 'The Yellow Wallpaper,'" in which Gilman identifies the story's autobiographical origins and credits her recovery to her decision to defy her doctor's mandate and return to her work as a writer and advocate. Similarly, the central claim of her seminal *Women and Economics*—that women's economic dependence upon men stunts their growth not only as intellectual beings but as wives and mothers—is often read in the context of Gilman's failed first marriage and the loss of the custody of her daughter. Gilman's celebrity, both in her own time and today, ensures that she is an important feminist text in her own right; even as her work argues for progressive constructions of gender, Gilman's life presents a compelling narrative of exceptional courage and commitment in the

face of societal oppression.

Yet, as is often the case with our heroes, Gilman is a more complex figure than she may at first appear to be. As Cynthia J. Davis demonstrates in her excellent study *Charlotte Perkins Gilman: A Biography*, the "facts" of Gilman's life are often buried beneath maddening layers of political inconsistencies and personal contradictions, any number of which challenges our understanding of Gilman and her work. For example, while Gilman pushed for women's rights most of her life, later in her career she took anti-immigration and pro-eugenics stances; while she condemned ego in herself and others and saw herself as living most fully when she was totally given over to social causes, Gilman's sense of herself was deeply dependent upon her role as a celebrated provocateur; and while she argued for shared domestic and parental duties in marriage—a radical move that still resonates in contemporary feminist discourse—Gilman herself was an erratic parent, often ignoring the custody schedule she had established with her ex-husband and failing to provide regular financial support for her daughter. It is a great testament to Davis's skill as a biographer that she does not attempt to elide or minimize these contradictions, but rather seeks to view them as a crucial part of Gilman's identity, and, often, as emblematic of the difficulty of Gilman's rapidly evolving era.

Throughout the biography, Davis establishes herself as a thorough and thoughtful scholar, but, indeed, she is at her best when she addresses the seemingly impossible inconsistencies in Gilman's life and work. At times, Davis revels in the absurdity of Gilman's position; for example, Gilman wrote an essay entitled "The Sin of Sickness," which passionately condemns illness as a sign of mental and moral weakness, from the sick bed she had occupied on and off for months. (In a related inconsistency, Davis reveals that Gilman, who was famous in part for her censure of the rest cure, actually believed in the restorative quality of rest, napping often.) Yet Davis works hard to make sure that Gilman's paradoxical positions—both minor and more substantial—do not allow her to become an entirely unsympathetic figure. Davis's depiction of Gilman's first marriage, to the artist Walter Stetson, is quite sensitive, for example; she extends a fairness to both Charlotte and Walter in her account of the marriage that neither were able to demonstrate to one another. And her depiction of Gilman's evolving relationship with her daughter, Katharine, neither condemns Gilman as an "unnatural mother," as she was often labeled in her day, nor justifies the gaps in her parenting; instead, Davis paints Gilman as a mother who was among the first to publicly address work-life balance even as she was attempting to achieve it herself, and whose failures were sensationalized in an era fearful of the professionalization of women. This same generous treatment is evident in Davis's depiction of Gilman's intense romantic relationships with men and women and of her

earnest, but often unstable, financial ventures. Time and again, even as she recounts Gilman's personal and ideological missteps and limitations, Davis also invites us to see Gilman as a passionate, charismatic, and ambitious woman who was working without any model and without a meaningful safety net.

Davis is also an effective chronicler of Gilman's dizzying professional life, which, despite its centrality to Gilman's identity, was minimized in earlier Gilman biographies, which tend to focus on Gilman's relationships or her literary production, or, alternately, to mimic the emphases and themes of Gilman's own autobiography, *The Living of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*. Gilman was astonishingly prolific, and in addition to her written work—which ranged from fiction and poetry to journal articles and books to her own self-edited journal—for much of her career, Gilman operated as a peripatetic cultural critic and activist, advocating everything from greater physical fitness to massive economic reforms. At times, Davis's narrative risks becoming bogged down by the weight of Gilman's varied and extensive travels, but ultimately, this detailed and thoughtfully evaluated itinerary helps readers to get a sense of the pleasures Gilman found in such a grueling schedule: the accumulation of lectures and conference dates creates a portrait of a woman consumed by her sense of mission. Even in her death, Davis notes, Gilman saw herself as an activist: after her diagnosis of cancer, Gilman committed suicide and the note she left functioned not as a personal farewell but as a call for greater support of euthanasia.

Ultimately, *Charlotte Perkins Gilman: A Biography* is the fascinating story of a complex, deeply flawed, but remarkable woman whose legacy is too often interpreted through a single lens. In it, Cynthia Davis creates a compelling and authentic narrative, drawing from an impressive array of primary and secondary sources, including significant archival material to which she was given primary access. Yet in crafting this first comprehensive scholarly biography of Gilman, Davis resists the impulse to impose a sense of coherency that was not reflective of Gilman's life or, as importantly, her ideals. By creating an understanding of Gilman that allows for both her progressive zeal as well as her violent xenophobia, Davis creates new paths for our thinking about Gilman and her era.

Book Review:
Noraian, *Women's Rights, Racial Integration, and Education From 1850-1920: The Case of Sarah Raymond, the First Female Superintendent*

Lucy E. Bailey
Oklahoma State University

Monica Cousins Noraian. *Women's Rights, Racial Integration, and Education From 1850-1920: The Case of Sarah Raymond, the First Female Superintendent.* New York: Palgrave Press, 2009. ISBN: 978-0-230-61322-5. 189 pages.

This historical biography presents an overview of the life of Sarah Raymond (1842-1918), who in 1874 became the Superintendent of the Bloomington, Indiana, City Schools, and in so doing, claims historical significance as the first female public city school Superintendent in the United States. A more fitting title for her biography might be, "Intellect Dazzles, but Character Leads," a line Raymond drew from Sir Walter Scott to capture her conviction that the purpose of a quality education is to develop character. Raymond's educational career seemed to embody that philosophy; evidence presented in this book suggests she devoted her "best and honest effort to train the children of the city to be noble and useful men and women" (93) and to keep "incompetent" and "heartless" teachers away from her classrooms (114). Noraian, an Assistant Professor of History and Director of the History/Social Science Education program at Illinois State University, draws from a variety of primary sources to introduce Raymond and thereby enrich our knowledge of female leaders in educational history.

Noraian's account of Raymond's life is a chronological recovery effort of a figure relatively unknown in educational history, a traditional biographical form aligned most closely, perhaps, with what Kridel describes as "biography as 'scholarly chronicles,'" that recounts "life-periods of recognition (or notoriety) to the general public."[1] In Raymond's case, we learn of her "Early Years" (Chapter Two) watching her abolitionist father welcome black fugitives on to his land near a stop on the Underground Railroad, her thorough training at the Illinois State Normal University (ISNU) in which only 7% of enrolled students graduated (38) (Chapter Three), her roles as a Teacher, Principal, and Superintendent in the Bloomington Schools (Chapters Four and Five), possible reasons she resigned after 18 years of service (Chapter Six), and finally, her community leadership "Beyond the Schools" (Chapter Seven). This systematic march through Raymond's professional milestones concludes with her death on January 31, 1918, and her burial in the family plot of her colleague and "close companion" (4) Georgina Trotter. In the Appendix, the author works to link her account to varied bodies of scholarship, from "Case Study" to "Feminist Historical Accounts."

The author's enthusiasm to render Raymond visible in educational history is evident in characterizing her life as a "great inspiration for how to live more fully in our own" time (33) and her biography as "another wonderful example of a product expanding the record and understanding of American history and the everyday lives of ordinary women doing extraordinary things" (136). Such passion for her subject and project will feel familiar to women's historians, whose democratic impulses to follow women's dusty tracks through the archives and cobble together accounts of their lives have rescued all sorts of "women worthies" from historical oblivion.[2] Indeed, women's history has been built from the documentary traces of "every day lives of ordinary women," as they have nursed soldiers, buried babies, mucked stalls,[3] burned dinners,[4] and sometimes, like Raymond, shaken triumphantly free from their social tethers to lead notable public lives. Noraian's research thus contributes to "securing" Raymond's "place in the annals of educational leadership" (9), as the author intends, and her eagerness is palpable as the chase continues, the momentum builds and the documents accumulate.

Yet, for this reader, the biographical effort does not reach its full potential because Raymond's personality and passions remain cloaked in mystery after 150 readable pages—a shadowy outline speckled with glints of light rather than a vibrant portrait that, with petticoats swirling and papers rustling, bounds off the page in shimmering color to wrestle the Bloomington schools into shape. Alas, Raymond seems to have left no diary behind to complicate the biographer's praise, no evidence of, for example, petty complaints about the men on the school board who voted for leadership change

in 1892, no laments about her low salary or pesky teachers, no hints as to why she chose to marry at age 54. Readers of biography yearn to contemplate such messy human matters and the inevitable contradictions that pepper human lives, to read scenes in which biographical figures spring to life, and to consider the possible meanings of the gaps and silences legible in their always inadequate documentary trails.

Where, for instance, did Raymond live and dine and stroll every day? What did she dislike and what did she do poorly? What sources of support sustained this lone female leader across 18 years of school board shenanigans? And why is Raymond buried in Trotter's family plot? While the author discusses the women's possible life-long intimacy (78-79), the significance of their relationship for Raymond's life remains unexplored, just as the raw grief or abiding loss she might have felt in ending her career seems absent. Yet Raymond's silences in the wake of her experiences seem noteworthy, a form of data that may speak loudly about her public presentation of self.[5] While the biographer recognizes that the "politics of voice" (5) shapes archival evidence and biographical endeavors, and speculates openly about materials she utilizes, the valuable quest to affirm Raymond's accomplishments and grant her scholarly visibility interrupts the creation of a theoretically-grounded and nuanced sense of subject, with "warts and all."[6]

Equally significant are the broader social forces shaping her individual life. How do her experiences compare to and contrast with others climbing institutional ladders to lead schools in the late 19th century? How profoundly did gender, class, and race shape her life choices, daily work, communication, and leadership strategies? What do we know from the public data sources and what do we still need to know? The editors' title choice seems intended to appeal to a broad audience, but its contextual promise is not actualized; attention to "racial integration," for instance, consists of an account of Raymond's notable decision to admit students of color to her ward so they did not have to travel across town to their segregated school. This was a fitting violation of board policy for a woman raised by abolitionists and whose determined image rests on the text's cover with shoulders squared and gaze fixed in the distance at a future, perhaps, in which all children are treated justly and equitably. And yet the reader is left with little sense of how this worthy act fits into broader patterns of integrating schools from "1850-1920."

There are textual moments in which Raymond gains shape and substance—a clever poem she delivers, her decision to take four, rather than three, years to complete school, her response to an invitation, asking, "do you wish me to 'keep silence'—which is always golden on the part of a woman—or to talk" (63). The ISNU records also offer insights into her pedagogical training, including the inspirational influence of the institution's president,

who in 1866 implored her graduating class to "cling…to this noble employment. Do not lightly exchange it for another that may promise greater outward honors or more alluring immediate results. Remember that every year ought to add to your effective force in your profession" (54). Raymond seemed to embrace his advice, clinging to her employment, and earning a title few women in her era—or our own—could claim. There are few book-length accounts of female educational leaders historically; this text reveals Sarah Raymond's journey to become an "effective force" in her profession.

Notes

[1] See Craig Kridel, Biographical Meanderings: Reflections and Reminiscences on *Writing Educational Biography*, *Vitae Scholasticae*, 25 (2008): 8.

[2] Manuela Thurner, "Subject to Change: Theories and Paradigms of U. S. Feminist History, *Journal of Women's History* 9, (1997): 122-146.

[3] Otto uses this phrase in analyzing Willa Cather's notion of solitude, see Virginia Worley, Stacy Otto, and Lucy Bailey, Discovering the *More*: Reading Wright's, Colette's, and Cather's Texts as Philosophy of Education. *Educational Studies* 46(2) (2010): 192-223.

[4] See Joyce N. Radner and Susan J. Lanser's analysis of burned dinners in folklore as a coded act of women's rebellion. *Feminist Messages* (Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

[5] Lisa Mazzei, *Inhabited Silence: Putting Post-Structural Theory to Work* (Routledge, 2008).

[6] This phrase is a chapter title from Hermione Lee's *Biography: A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford University Press, 2009).

Book Review:
Rhoades and Bailey, *Wanted— Correspondence: Women's Letters to a Union Soldier*

Alison Reeves

Southern Illinois University Edwardsville

Nancy L. Rhoades and Lucy E. Bailey. *Wanted — Correspondence: Women's Letters to a Union Soldier*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2009. ISBN 978-0-8214-1805-5. 410 pages.

Wanted — Correspondence: Women's Letters to a Union Soldier contains the complete text of 168 letters spanning the years of 1862 to 1867 and written to Lt. Edwin Lewis Lybarger of Ohio, the man who collated and preserved them in the bottom of a little wooden dispatch chest along with other memorabilia from his service in the American Civil War. The brief preface explains how the bundle of letters came to be discovered over a century later by Nancy Rhoades, Lt. Lybarger's granddaughter and one of the editors. A biographical sketch of Lt. Lybarger, thirteen illustrations, meticulous notes to the text of the letters, and a thorough index and bibliography are part of this volume. Perhaps more notably, the editors include a humbly labeled "Introduction" that provides a thick, situated, thematic analysis of several of the topics instantiated in and illuminated by this body of letters. The elegantly annotated introduction begins with a discussion of the relationships between letter writing and print culture, conventional expression and development of writing skills, public and private writing, history, literature, and letter writing. This discussion is wide-ranging yet compact and well-tied to the collection of letters it introduces.

The entire collection was preserved and transcribed by Rhoades. The introduction is by Bailey and her analysis is grounded in emic themes derived from the letters. Of these letters, 158 were written by women known prior to the war by Lybarger or responding to Lybarger's written ad that is the inspiration for the book's title. The remaining ten letters were written by men whose rhetoric Bailey uses to highlight some of the gendered conventions embodied in the women's writing. The letters are interpreted with careful attention to their meaning in historical context. The fluent analysis draws the reader's attention to both the letters (referred to by number throughout the introduction) and to the skillful and detailed annotation which provides clarification, furthers the analysis, and invites additional reading on the broad range of topics discussed in the introduction.

The phenomenon of epistolary relationships between soldiers and women, sometimes previously unknown to one another, is explored both as "war work," understood at the time as a way for women to contribute to the war effort, and as "romantic work," a part of the business of finding spouses. "Letters clearly nourished the flurry of Knox County marriages that took place in the spring of 1864 when a local company returned on furlough" (50). A related topic is the role, particularly in the romantic work of war correspondence, of photography — the norms for the circulation of which were just then being negotiated.

Another subject of the analysis is what the editors call "Ohio's Civil War": the political (and military) action that took place specifically within Ohio. The introduction analyzes three topics from this area. The first is the way gender arguably shaped writers' attention to those events: ". . . young women's glowing rhetoric often consumes more textual space than do political particulars, and their coverage of events varies" (98). This is explained in part by reference to "the ideology of separate spheres" so that "Many nineteenth century citizens operating within this guiding framework thus considered war matters primarily men's domain" (100). Nevertheless, some of the letters contain considerable amounts of what can be considered reportage on political or military events.

"Ohio's Civil War" also addresses the political disunity running within this nominally Union state: "Unionists, Butternuts, Peace Democrats, War Democrats, Black Republicans, Abolitionists, Copperheads, Loyalists, and Traitors all emerged as terms — and often epithets — to describe political allegiances meaningful to citizens' identities and understandings of the war" (104). Finally, Bailey explores the letter writers' various responses to the role of African Americans in the war, e.g. the formation of black military units and the Emancipation Proclamation.

One of the introduction's longest and most interesting sections treats women and education separately and explicitly through various perspectives.

This includes an exploration of the changing demographics of the teaching profession and the ways in which the common school movement both produced large numbers of women who could become teachers and created the market conditions that encouraged their employment. For example, "some Ohio women earned $16.25 a month while men earned $27.81 to teach in the common schools" (89), but other elements of women's participation in the formal labor force are noted as well. Much as in the Second World War in the United States, the removal of hundreds of thousands of men from that force created an opening for women to replace some of them. The act of letter-writing is pointed out as itself being an element of education, and this is noted in some of the letters themselves.

In her analysis, Bailey problematizes the oft cited "feminization of teaching" by highlighting the varying attitudes towards teaching of the various letter writers. Gender issues are explored in the discussion of each theme and are the primary theoretical framework underlying Bailey's analysis. Issues of race and social class are also acknowledged though they are not the central theoretical frame for this volume.

The book has appeal for a broad range of audiences, including not least readers with interests in the Civil War, "Ohioana" genealogy, the history of print culture in the United States, and racial politics. The discussion and analysis of the various spheres women inhabited during this period will garner the rapt attention of gender studies scholars. Those interested in the history of education in general and teacher education specifically will find that the letter-writers themselves refer to various experiences as students, teachers, or both — constituting a beautifully preserved primary source which Rhoades correctly calls "a rare inheritance" (xiii).

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:

Lora Helvie-Mason, ISEB Treasurer
1907 Illinois Ave.
Kenner, LA 70062

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 Linda C. Morice
Department of Educational Leadership, Campus Box 1125
Southern Illinois University Edwardsville
Edwardsville, Illinois 62026-1125 USA
Telephone: 618-650-3278; Fax: 618-650-3808; Email: lmorice@siue.edu

Contributing Authors

Lucy E. Bailey is an assistant professor of educational studies at Oklahoma State University (U.S.A.).

Lora Helvie-Mason is an assistant professor of communication studies at Southern University at New Orleans (U.S.A.).

Sarah K. MacKenzie is an assistant professor of education at Bucknell University (U.S.A.).

Alison Reeves is an assistant professor of educational administration at Southern Illinois University Edwardsville (U.S.A.).

Catherine Seltzer is an assistant professor of English at Southern Illinois University Edwardsville (U.S.A.).

Louis M. Smith is professor emeritus at Washington University in St. Louis (U.S.A.).

John F. Wakefield is a professor of education at the University of North Alabama (U.S.A.).

Vitae Scholasticae

Information for Contributors

Vitae Scholasticae welcomes manuscripts dealing with all aspects of educational biography. The 16th edition of *A Manual of Style* from 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 www.isebio.org or contact:

Professor Linda C. Morice
Department of Educational Leadership
Campus Box 1125
Southern Illinois University Edwardsville
Edwardsville, Illinois 62026-1125, U.S.A.

Electronic submissions should be directed to: **lmorice@siue.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 96.