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# SCHOOLMARMS ON THE UPPER MISSOURI

KATHLEEN UNDERWOOD

Margery Jacoby was a child of twelve when she moved with her sister and their aunt from Wisconsin to the Montana frontier in 1883. Three years later, with the encouragement of the county superintendent of schools, she attempted the county exam that was necessary for a teaching job. With a first-class certificate (good for three years) in hand, she began teaching, in large part to supplement her family's income. She taught for the next seven years at several rural schools near Fort Benton and Great Falls.

Jacoby had little formal education—at most six years of public education in Wisconsin, another one in Montana. Nevertheless, she passed the county teacher's examination with highest

marks. Later she enrolled at Wesleyan University in Bozeman for a short period. Then in 1894, when she was twenty-three, she successfully campaigned for the position of superintendent of schools for Chouteau County. During that campaign, she met the man she would later wed, but not before she had served two terms as superintendent. Once she married, Margery Jacoby withdrew from politics and the classroom, but she did not forget education. She saw that her four children received college degrees. Her three daughters also made careers in education.<sup>1</sup>

But how typical was Margery Jacoby, and what do her experiences reveal about the women drawn to the classrooms of frontier Montana? I argue that Margery Jacoby's life is illustrative for many turn-of-the-century western teachers. Like most of them, she was young when she first entered the classroom and she lacked any formal preparation for teaching. Although she had been a very good student, her formal education was limited and did not include high school. She entered the classroom by taking a county examination. She did not remain in any one position for long, changing schools five times in seven years. By teaching, she delayed her

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marriage—she was twenty-seven before she wed. Where her life might seem unique was in her election as a superintendent of schools, but being a woman superintendent was not as unusual as we might think. While it was almost unheard of in the East, in Montana and some other western states, women frequently served in administrative capacities in education.<sup>2</sup>

One of the themes that threads its way through the history of women and education is women's steady striving for more of it, and that desire for more education was accelerated for western women by the Morrill Land Act of 1862 that provided federal lands be used to provide colleges for agricultural and mechanical arts. It also opened the door to higher education for women, because, while this act did not specify that land grant institutions would be coeducational, it also did not specify that women could not enroll. As a result women, who had been seeking higher education since before the Civil War, began matriculating at land grant institutions as soon as the schools opened. Although administrators voiced concern about women's entry into such institutions, the public was apparently untroubled.<sup>3</sup>

Scholars argue about the value of coeducation for women in the colleges and universities of the West in the last half of the nineteenth century. Some suggest that women's greater access to higher education in the West expanded their opportunities. Others point out that even though women entered western colleges and universities in increasing numbers after the Civil War, the programs they entered were, by and large, sex segregated. In those cases where women were in the same classrooms as men, they often outperformed the men and then saw their chances for equal education diminish.<sup>4</sup> Late nineteenth-century western women must have been aware of both aspects of the "open door" to higher education. They might not have the same opportunities that their male contemporaries had, but such education was the best to be had and was more readily available to them than if they had lived in the East.

There were no serious attempts at higher

education in Montana before statehood, but once statehood was achieved, legislators determined to open several such schools. Rather than offend the towns vying for the university, the legislature, tired of the strife over where to locate the state capital, chose four towns, all in the mineral-rich western part of the state, as sites for various components of higher education. Missoula would be home to the university, Bozeman to the agricultural and mechanical college, Butte, the school of mines, and the normal school would be established in Dillon. Young Montana women evidenced their desire for higher education by enrolling immediately at these institutions, and in greater numbers than men. In 1898, just three years after the University of Montana opened its doors, slightly more than half of the 208 students were women. At Montana A & M, they comprised 47 percent of the student body (268 students). In 1897, when the normal school began instruction at Dillon, women outnumbered men by about two to one.<sup>5</sup>

Although there is debate about the exact nature of educational opportunities for women in higher education in the West, their political opportunities were clear. In several western states, as elsewhere, women could vote in school-related elections long before they obtained the full franchise. In Colorado, for example, that right came with statehood in 1876; in Montana, it dated to the territorial period. Eastern states also debated whether women's "natural interests" in education should be allowed to influence decision making. In Vermont, for instance, the state legislature considered the issue for almost thirty years before passing legislation in 1880 allowing women to vote in school elections. Scattered records indicate western women utilized this opportunity. Nebraska teacher Nancy Higgins Gaddis taught only two years before her wedding, but she remained involved in education and was a "consistent voter in school elections." A case study of one rural district in Colorado revealed that while men were always elected school board presidents, women were named vice-president, secretary,

and, most importantly, treasurer. Political concern was particularly strong among Montana women whose participation in school district elections dated to the territorial period. Not limited to voting in school-related elections, Montana women could also be elected to any school office, including county superintendent of schools. Colorado women, although they could vote, could not be elected to office until after they gained the full franchise in 1893.<sup>6</sup>

Many women teachers in Montana exploited the opportunity to hold office, successfully campaigning for the position of county superintendent. In 1884, for example, five of thirteen counties had women superintendents. The state superintendent of public instruction concluded that

it is only just to say that school affairs in these counties are as well, and in some respects, better managed than in most of the remaining counties. These ladies have traveled over their large counties and accomplished work in a manner that could not have been surpassed by men.<sup>7</sup>

Women continued to be elected to this important administrative job over the next half century. In 1912 eight women—all graduates of Montana's normal school—won elections for this position. The importance of women administrators cannot be exaggerated in a time when very few women were in positions of authority and power.

Historians have generally concluded that teaching, although not without its flaws, was one of the best options open to women who wanted or needed to work.<sup>8</sup> Although this conclusion is probably accurate, it is so general that it masks the myriad reasons a woman might enter the classroom. Determining why women taught, moreover, is complicated because few teachers left letters or diaries that reveal their reasons. Nevertheless, it is possible to discover a variety of factors that drew women to teaching. Again Margery Jacoby's story is illustrative. She taught because her family needed the

money, because she wanted some independence, and because she wanted to advance her own education.

As a result of changing demographic patterns and fluctuations in economic conditions over the course of the nineteenth century, young women in a variety of settings recognized that they needed to be able to provide for themselves. Teaching had long been viewed as their best option. Jacoby's mother had died when she was five, her father two years later, and she and her sister were left in the care of an aunt, who worked as a seamstress to provide for them. A young woman as bright as Jacoby must have recognized the need to provide for herself. She did not choose the best paying job, however. Where eastern teachers could expect to earn as much as 50 percent more in the classroom than in the factory, western women found domestic service more lucrative. In 1918, Montana's superintendent of public instruction addressed this disparity in an attempt to raise teachers' salaries. Where city teachers earned about \$900 annually and rural teachers about \$680, even such unskilled workers as dish washers and waitresses made more than \$1000. Thirty years earlier, when the demand for domestic service was greater and there were fewer families on the Montana and Wyoming frontiers, housekeepers or cooks could have earned about triple a teacher's salary; the same was probably true throughout the mining West.<sup>9</sup> For Jacoby, and other nineteenth-century women, schoolkeeping was, nevertheless, preferable to these other jobs in terms of respect and working conditions.

The desire for higher education also motivated women to enter teaching. They taught in order to finance a college degree. For women who graduated from Colorado State Normal School in the last decade of the nineteenth century, higher education was a central concern: Almost ten percent saved enough money in the five years following commencement to enroll at a liberal arts institution. Although Margery Jacoby never completed her college degree, she did manage to set aside funds from her teaching in the early 1890s to provide tuition

for herself and her sister at Wesleyan University in Bozeman. Once summer school programs were instituted at colleges and universities, usually about 1900, thousands of western women taught during the school term and enrolled in these summer terms. In this way, they were able to improve their pedagogic skills, work toward liberal arts degrees, and be in an intellectually stimulating environment for several weeks.<sup>10</sup>

Beyond these very personal reasons for women to seek teaching positions, there were pressures from the larger world. One was the demand fostered by population growth. Like the rest of the Trans-Mississippi West (and the United States in general), Montana witnessed rapid population increase between 1880 and 1920. Over that forty-year period, Montana's population grew by a factor of 14—from 39,000 to 549,000. Although in actual numbers the industrializing sectors of the nation counted the most people, between 1870 and 1920 the West grew at rates at least twice those of the nation or of any other region, and for two decades, 1880-90 and 1900-1910, at three times the national rate. Rich mineral deposits and land suitable for farming attracted thousands of people, and the completion of rail lines throughout the West also accelerated migration.<sup>11</sup>

Although many of those who went West were single males, the region's rapidly increasing population also included families with children. The school-age proportion of the population was never as great in the West as, say, in the Northeast, but there always was a demand for schools and for teachers to staff them. Educators and parents alike wanted more teachers. In report after report, from county superintendents to state superintendents and from state superintendents to their state legislatures, this cry was oft repeated. Montana's state superintendent of public instruction voiced the concern.

Montana is deservedly the best advertised state in the West. Homeseekers are coming to us from every quarter. They are settling in our rich valleys and on our fertile prairies,

and this is fast becoming a rich agricultural state, but when these new settlers arrive, hundreds of them find that they cannot have a school for their children.<sup>12</sup>

The belief that women were natural teachers for the young was a second societal factor influencing young women to enter late nineteenth-century classrooms. The ideology of republican motherhood and its ties to teaching was firmly established by the mid-nineteenth century. Women whose families moved West carried that ideology with them. Communities there, as elsewhere, assumed that their young women would teach. As one such woman explained,

when a girl finished high school, if she had no other definite plans, it was expected that she would go out into the country to teach school, and it seemed that everyone even remotely concerned took it for granted that I would follow that custom.<sup>13</sup>

Thus a variety of factors, some self-serving and some imposed by society, played roles in influencing young women to teach. At the same time, it is clear that many women wanted to teach. Teaching for them was not, as many have noted, simply the best of several otherwise poor choices. They knew they would teach, they prepared as best they could, and they taught for years. The fictional account of one late nineteenth-century teacher gives voice to these women. "She had never been so happy in her life as she was the day on which she stepped upon the platform at school and assumed the responsibilities of schoolmarm. [She] loved to teach."<sup>14</sup>

To assert that turn-of-the-century women were "career-oriented" would be anachronistic, yet to overlook their concern for their chosen work, and their long-term dedication to it, seems equally shortsighted. Influenced by nineteenth-century ideology, western women were drawn to classrooms by the demand for teachers and

by their own decisions to work. These educators found ways to stay in the classroom many more years than the two or three with which they are usually credited. They moved from job to job for various reasons—better pay, longer teaching terms, to be closer to home, or farther away—but stayed in teaching.

Understanding the reasons that prompted young Montana women to enter teaching still leaves unanswered the question: Who were the women drawn to frontier classrooms at the turn of the century? This question is difficult to answer, because few left letters or diaries and their movement in and out of the labor force complicates the study.<sup>15</sup> An examination of a portion of the Montana teaching force—those educators who graduated from Montana State Normal School (MSNS)—provides information valuable for answering this question. The sample is not representative of the whole teaching force because these women found the means to attend, and graduate from, the state normal school: they were an elite of sorts (albeit of a very non-elite group). They either got support from their parents or were able to finance their education alone, but unlike most teachers who never attended, much less completed any higher education, these women finished at least two years of instruction.

The young women who matriculated at Montana State Normal School were in their late teens and early twenties. Median age at graduation was twenty-one, somewhat younger than most normal school students at the turn of the century. Nevertheless, Montana teachers who had normal school diplomas were older than most educators, who began teaching in their mid to late teens.<sup>16</sup>

These were daughters of the West. Three-quarters were born west of the Mississippi River, and half in Montana. Their families had not been long in the West, however. With the exception of parents born on the Great Plains, none of the fathers and only seven of the mothers were from the West. Lured to Montana by its promise of economic opportunity, they came

from states of the Old Northwest and the Mid-Atlantic, and from Canada and Europe, leaving behind family and friends to begin again on the frontier.

Like most young women who attended teacher training institutions, Montana Normal School graduates had grown up in families that were, by and large, middle class or artisan.<sup>17</sup> More than 60 percent of the families owned their homes, ranches, or farms with only 10 percent admitting to a mortgage. Those families that could be traced in both the 1900 and 1910 censuses were better off in the latter period—that is, they now owned free the property that had been mortgaged. In some cases, it is quite clear that a daughter's salary from teaching helped secure family holdings. About 25 percent of the fathers were involved in business or were professional men, another 30 percent in ranching or farming, and 15 percent were skilled workmen. In the fourteen households headed by women who named occupations, three were farmers; other occupations included laundress, capitalist, landlady, and clerk. These findings generally corroborate other studies of teachers college graduates' socioeconomic backgrounds. But Montana graduates had grown up in urban centers rather than on farms. Almost half (47.5 percent) came from towns of more than 2500. Proximity to the normal school does not explain the urban origins of these women. Montana State Normal School, while located in the more populous western half of the state, was nevertheless many miles from Butte, Helena, Bozeman, and Missoula. It may be that only those families living in Montana's urban centers could afford to send their daughters away to school.<sup>18</sup>

The students came from medium-sized families, most of them comprised of about six people. Thus, almost all the young women had at least one sibling at home. In more than two-thirds of the families (69.7 percent), the young woman who trained to be a teacher was the first or second child. This finding substantiates the conclusion that the families who sent their daughters to Montana State Normal School

could afford to do so. Families that found it necessary to rely on the labor of their children to make ends meet expected their older children to contribute to the family's well-being, not attend a normal school. In most cases, both parents were present (59.7 percent) and few families (12.6 percent) had another relative, beyond the nuclear family, living with them. One in six households was headed by a woman, someone who recognized only too well why her daughters needed a dependable occupation. Margaret Templeton was such a mother. Three of her four daughters graduated from Montana State Normal School: Echo (1905), Myrtle (1908), and Minnie (1910). They were undoubtedly helped by their older sister, a bookkeeper, and by one another. In 1910 all three were teaching in Missoula and living at home. Echo was county superintendent of schools.

Because normal school graduates were the elite of the teaching corps, it is still not possible to generalize about all teachers on the basis of the pre-college experience of those women who were able to attend the normal school. Such an opportunity was a luxury. A less-fortunate young woman moved directly to the classroom (or other job) without the benefit of formal training. While it did greatly enhance a young woman's occupational opportunities, a diploma was not a prerequisite for teaching. Certification was more readily obtained through examination and by far the majority (60 percent between 1910 and 1920) of women in Montana, as elsewhere, entered the classroom by this route. In 1907 Indiana became the first state to require that teachers be high school graduates, and other states followed slowly.<sup>19</sup>

Margery Jacoby's peripatetic teaching career—she seldom stayed more than a year in one school—was the norm for almost all nineteenth-century teachers, especially those working in rural schools where terms were only three or four months long. Although such job mobility meant headaches to the local boards who had to staff the schoolrooms, it might serve a schoolmarm's needs. Very often the valuable

experience they gained in rural districts served as a springboard to an urban position where the terms were longer—eight to nine months—and the pay better. In a study of teacher turnover in New York, Willard S. Elsbree found that the opportunity for a better position was the most common reason a teacher left; second was marriage. Other reasons, in order, included dismissal, needed at home, ill health, and the desire to be closer to home.<sup>20</sup>

Most administrators, and many historians, have blamed teacher turnover on marriage, in the belief that when women married they either resigned of their own accord or were forced to leave teaching. But in many western states marriage did not signal a teacher's resignation. In Colorado, school law explicitly stated that married women could continue in the classroom. In South Dakota, state law to the contrary, married women could be found on the payrolls. Some Wyoming districts also hired married women.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps local boards were more enlightened about married women working, although it seems more plausible that they were concerned with the serious teacher shortage they faced annually, especially in the rural schools. In some instances, married women might work for less, thus making it easier for local boards to balance their budgets.

Montana women also continued teaching after matrimony. Edna Owsley had been teaching in Missoula for two years when she wed the son of her boardinghouse keeper, Mrs. Reinhard. The new Mrs. Reinhard continued teaching and served several terms as Missoula county superintendent (succeeding another MSNS graduate, Echo Templeton). Some women taught even though they had young children, out of necessity and out of desire to pursue teaching. Phoebe Comfort taught in Dillon after her graduation in 1899. She married and her son was born in 1903. In 1910, after her marriage had ended in divorce, Phoebe and her son were living in Twin Bridges, although Phoebe boarded with a family and her son lived nearby with Phoebe's mother. Neither her child nor

her divorce kept her from pursuing her chosen work, however. During this decade she was several times elected county superintendent.

One factor that becomes increasingly clear in the study of Montana schoolmarms is the importance of family tradition. Mothers who taught set an example for their daughters, just as fathers have frequently "handed down" their skills to their sons. Margery Jacoby's daughters made teaching their vocation, as did Michigan teacher Luella Boelio Bower's.<sup>22</sup> In a similar vein, sisters often followed one another into teaching. Here the Montana State Normal School records again provide valuable data. Two or more sisters from twenty families completed the normal program in the years 1898 to 1914. Edna Owsley's sister Cora also graduated from Montana's normal school and their older sister, Nellie, although not a MSNS graduate, was a teacher. Graduates Alice and Gertrude Chambers similarly had an older sister already in the classroom. Closer scrutiny of the registrar's records uncovers even more siblings who attended college together but stayed a term or two and left without graduating. In one family, five sisters matriculated over a ten-year period and three completed the normal course. Clearly the pull exerted by family tradition was great as was the ability of sisters to assist their younger siblings financially.

Studying schoolmarms on the upper Missouri sheds light on several aspects of western history as well as women's history. Teaching was a job that both western and eastern women took up in ever increasing numbers, and certainly many features of that job were the same regardless of region. Men made more money than women and were more likely to be principals and high school teachers. As teaching became professionalized, women lost more and more autonomy in the classroom at the same time that standards for certification rose, requiring first high school diplomas and then formal teacher training.

But circumstances for western women resulted in very different experiences. Coeduca-

tion at the college level permitted them better education than was available to their counterparts in the East. A broadened franchise increased their participation in school-related decision making. It also increased their public role and they ran for and won election to district school boards and county and state superintendencies. It is no coincidence that the push for equal pay for equal work had its origins in the classrooms of California in 1870 when women teachers convinced the state legislature to pass an equal pay bill.<sup>23</sup>

These gains notwithstanding, the central question remains: How well did teaching serve Montana women and, more generally, western women? Clearly for Margery Jacoby, Edna Owsley, and Phoebe Comfort, the answer would be: "Very well." Each earned necessary money, attended college, and was named to a position of prestige and authority. Did teaching help other turn-of-the-century women as well? There is great debate regarding this question, but for Montana women the answer is generally yes. Not only did they have easy access to classroom jobs, and thereby the salaries that might bring a degree of self-sufficiency, they also had the opportunity for advancement through higher education and through political participation. Last, teaching for many Montana women became a legacy they bequeathed to their daughters and sisters.

## NOTES

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1. The information about Margaret Jacoby is drawn from her daughter's loving portrait, Alice Cowan Coleman, "Miss Jacoby: 19th Century Educator, 20th Century Guardian of Excellence," *Montana, the Magazine of Western History* 28 (Spring 1978): 36-49.

2. William Sprague, *Women and the West: A Short Social History* (1940; rpt. New York: Ayer Co., 1972), p. 201; see also Sandra L. Myres, *Westering Women*



and the Frontier Experience, 1800-1915 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), pp. 185-86, n. 62, 329-30. Not until the depression were women systematically excluded from the state and county superintendencies and principalships.

3. One important aspect of the study of women in education is the problem of connecting what administrators said with the reality of women's lives. See David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot, "Silence and Policy Talk: Historical Puzzles About Gender and Education," *Educational Researcher* 17 (1988, no. 3): 33-41.

4. Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 59-61; Joan Zimmerman, "Daughters of Main Street: Culture and the Female Community at Grinnell, 1884-1912," in Mary Kelley, ed., *Women's Being, Women's Place: Female Identity and Vocation in American History* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1979), pp. 171-93; Florence Howe, "Why Educate Women? The Response of Wellesley and Stanford," *Myths of Coeducation—Selected Essays, 1964-1983* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), pp. 258-69; Geraldine Joncich Clifford, "'Shaking Dangerous Questions from the Crease': Gender and American Higher Education," *Feminist Issues* 3 (1983): 28-33.

5. Michael P. Malone and Richard B. Roeder, *Montana: A History of Two Centuries* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), pp. 276-77; *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1898-99* (Washington, D.C.: 1900), pp. 1620-21 and 1740-41. For clarity, it is important to note that most of the students, both male and female, at Missoula and Bozeman were in the "preparatory programs" rather than in the collegiate curriculum. At Missoula, 69% of the men and 68% of the women were in the preparatory courses; at Bozeman, the proportions were 77% and 56% respectively. No men graduated from the normal school until 1901 and the proportion enrolling steadily declined. Between 1898-1913, only five men finished the normal course.

6. Margaret K. Nelson, "Vermont Female Schoolteachers in the Nineteenth Century," *Vermont History* 49 (Winter 1981): 10; Mary Hurlbut Cordier, "Prairie Schoolwomen, Mid-1850s to 1920s, in Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska," *Great Plains Quarterly* 8 (1988): 111; Kathleen Underwood, "The Role of Agricultural Women in Community Building and Popular Politics on the Colorado Frontier," paper presented at the Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, Mt. Holyoke, Massachusetts, August 1978. See Article IX, Section 10, of the Montana State Constitution, 17 August 1889 (as cited in *School Laws of the State of Montana* [Helena, 1909], p. 9)

for codification of women's voting in school elections into the state constitution.

7. *Sixth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Territory of Montana for the Year 1884* (Helena, 1885), p. 59. The five counties were Lewis and Clark, Chouteau, Meagher, Gallatin, and Yellowstone.

8. In a recent study, Charles E. Rankin has pointed out negative aspects of frontier schoolteaching. See "Teaching: Opportunity and Limitation for Wyoming Women," *Western Historical Quarterly* 21 (1990): 147-70.

9. David F. Allmendinger, Jr., "Mount Holyoke Students Encounter the Need for Life-Planning, 1837-1850," *History of Education Quarterly* 19 (1979): 27-46; *Fifteenth Biennial Report of the [Montana] Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Helena, 1918), p. 37. Suzanne H. Schrems, "Teaching School on the Western Frontier: Acceptable Occupation for Nineteenth Century Women," *Montana, the Magazine of Western History* 37 (Summer 1987): 56; and T. A. Larson, "Women's Role in the American West," *Montana, the Magazine of Western History* 24 (Summer 1974): 5.

10. Kathleen Underwood, "The Pace of Her Own Life: Teacher Education and the Life Course for Women in the West," *Pacific Historical Review* 55 (1986): 525. See also Geraldine Joncich Clifford's narrative, based on a composite of teaching experiences, of the fictional career of one Iowa teacher, "The Historical Recovery of Edyth Astrid Ferris," *Educational Researcher* 17 (no. 4, 1988): 6.

11. *The Statistical History of the United States from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), Series A195-209, p. 30; Series A172-194, p. 22; Donald J. Bogue, *The Population of the United States* (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1959), pp. 64-65.

12. *Fourteenth Biennial Report of the [Montana] Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Helena, 1916), p. 15.

13. Doris T. (Elder) Butler, *Reminiscence*, Oregon Historical Society, Portland.

14. Anna Fuller, "The Schoolmarm," *Pratt Portraits* (New York, 1892), quoted in Nancy Hoffman, ed., *Women's "True" Profession: Voices from the History of Teaching* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981), p. 79. See also Michael B. Katz, "The Origins of Public Education: A Reassessment," *History of Education Quarterly* 16 (1976): 389; Myres, *Westering Women* (note 2 above), p. 248; and Wayne Urban, "Organized Teachers and Education Reform During the Progressive Era, 1890-1920," *History of Education Quarterly* 16 (1976): 35.

15. For a review of the literature about nineteenth-century educators, see John L. Rury, "Who

Became Teachers: The Social Characteristics of Teachers in American History," in Donald Warren, ed., *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work* (New York: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 9-33.

16. Mean age at graduation for Oregon normal school graduates was 22.4 (1897-1907) and for Colorado, 23.7 (1891-1900). These figures correspond to the findings of two national surveys of teachers: Lotus Delta Coffman, *Social Characteristics of Teachers* (Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 41, 1911); Colorado State Teachers College, *The Social and Economic Background of State Teachers College Students* (Greeley: Colorado State Teachers College, 1925).

17. The career and family portraits for these women were drawn utilizing several sources: the registration at Western Montana College (formerly Montana State Normal School); the Montana State Normal School student publication, the *Monmal*; Population Schedule of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, National Archives Microfilm Publications, T623, reels 909-915 (Montana); and Population Schedule of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, National Archives Microfilm Publications, T624, reels 821-827 (Montana).

18. Rury, "Who Became Teachers" (note 15 above), pp. 29-33.

19. *Sixteenth Biennial Report of the [Montana] Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Helena, 1920), p.

36; Geraldine Joncich Clifford, "'Daughters into Teachers': Educational and Demographic Influences on the Transformation of Teaching into 'Women's Work' in America," *History of Education Review* 12 (1983): 20.

20. Willard S. Elsbree, *Teacher Turnover in the Cities and Villages of New York State* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1928); see also Underwood, "The Pace of Her Own Life" (note 10 above), p. 528; Rury, "Who Became Teachers" (note 15 above), p. 28.

21. *Tenth Biennial Report of the [Colorado] Superintendent of Public Instruction* (Denver, 1896), p. 219: "The School Law of Colorado does not prohibit married women from teaching in the public schools of the state"; Rankin, "Teaching" (note 8 above), pp. 165-66.

22. Geraldine Joncich Clifford, "Man/Woman/Teacher: Gender, Family and Career in American Educational History," in Warren, ed., *American Teachers* (note 15 above), p. 323.

23. David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 65. See also James W. Fraser, "Agents of Democracy: Urban Elementary-School Teachers and the Conditions of Teaching," in Warren, ed., *American Teachers* (note 15 above), pp. 131-35.