



2017

Seekers and Observers: Life Histories of Three Female Antebellum Historians

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

SEEKERS AND OBSERVERS:
LIFE HISTORIES OF THREE FEMALE ANTEBELLUM HISTORIANS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY STUDIES

BY
ANNMARIE VALDES
CHICAGO, IL
DECEMBER 2017

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In these instances when there are so many people to thank it is difficult to know where to begin. Here I will try to include everyone and hope that if I have forgotten someone, they still know how much I treasure their support.

My time at Loyola University Chicago has been amazing and always challenging. I have had the opportunity to travel to seven countries and across the United States to share my research and publications and it has been a wonderful adventure. To Noah W. Sobe: my advisor, dissertation chair and mentor, thank you for your support. I hope in turn I was a decent grad researcher and teacher for the program you run. I have always succeeded with your support, so gracias Noah. To Kate Phillippo: thank you for your mentorship and I count myself lucky to have been trained by you to do qualitative research. My time working with you at Loyola is dear to me and will never forget all that you taught me. For Margaret Nash: I consider you one of my heroes and greatly admire your work and your persistence. I truly admire your intelligence and humility and try to model those traits myself. I could not have written this without first being inspired by your history of Women's education. And to Prudence Moylan: you were one of my favorite professors while Mundelein College and your early advice about my dissertation was amazing and it is thanks to you that I was able to get this project running. Thank you for being a part of my final leg of formal education. I would also like to express my thanks and gratitude to Loyola University Chicago for my doctoral fellowship and assistance with conference travel. Thank you

to the European Educational Research Association, Summer School travel and mentorship award in Hamburg, Germany where I started my dissertation research. Thank you to the History of Education Society USA for travel grants to present parts of my dissertation at ISCHE conferences and the History of Education Society UK for my two year Gosden Fellowship.

To my colleagues that have helped get my research for my dissertation off the ground. To Christine Mayer and Frank Simon who mentored me during the initial stages of my research and formation of dissertation framework. Thank you to Stephen Lassonde who provided amazing assistance with archives and cups of coffee when in Cambridge. To Andy Anderson who did the same whilst I was in Northampton, MA. To Tricia Foley who was amazing in helping me track down research leads on my “New Yorker”. I did the bulk of my archival research at the Massachusetts Historical Society, The Boston Athenaeum, the Schlesinger Library at the Radcliffe Institute, the New York City Public Library Archives, the Sophia Smith Collection at Smith College and the University of Wisconsin Archives. At each of these places I received the most amazing help and research leads from incredible librarians and archivist and I am deeply indebted to the all the archivist and research assistants that helped me while researching and writing at these beautiful places. It was my honor to be there to learn about these three women. I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

I have made some amazing friends during this PhD journey. To Steven Taylor, simply put (just for you): you saved me in Vienna. I was on the brink of quitting my Ph.D., and you saved me. You were an answer to a prayer when I needed it most. And boy can you make me laugh. Your reading of early parts of this work were instrumental in getting all this under some kind of control. To Mark Freeman, thank you for showing me that it’s ok to be an academic. Your perspectives, intelligence, respect for history, sense of humor and well-timed stubbornness are

traits to be admired—and I do. To Melli Velazquez, girl, you make me laugh—you keep it all real and remind me to stay grounded. I am blessed to call you friend. To Landis Fryer, (Kenwood-in-the-house), you brought laughter and reality into a world that at times took itself too seriously. You were my reminder of “where I came from” and to never forget it. I do not. To Nancy Rosoff, for your mentorship, friendship and listening ear. To Joyce Goodman for your friendship, advice, support (and lunch in Valencia) and previous scholarship that was inspirational in writing this. And finally, to Christine Woysner, who has been a mentor and friend. You have modeled to me how to be a female academic and mother at the same time. I highly respect your scholarship and you as a person. I wish there were a thousand like you.

It was always my dream to get my Ph.D. My cousin Carmen Maldonado, who is more like a sister to me, recently reminded me that I had started talking about this dream when I was a kid. Carmen you have always been an unwavering supporter of all my endeavors and here I thank you for being there through my whole life, no matter what. I was not the most attentive high school student and often succeeded back then from wit, with a dash of “smarts” and was recently described by my high school comrades as “not changed” since then. But those closer, like Yvonne Jimenez know about the years of work and dedication that went into writing this dissertation that she has nicknamed “Shogun” and here I thank her for her friendship, support (public and private) and her own wit and smarts that has helped me in ways that even she does not realize. When people asked me: where have you been? Yvonne’s answer in a defiant voice, “working on her PhD” has meant the world to me. To Dan Feeney for keeping me grounded (and counseled when I thought I was going mad) all the way from Seattle. When can we play tennis again? I don’t mind that you always won those matches. To Jim Wright, my first history professor and now good friend, your support and kinship mean the world to me, I hope we are

never too far apart. I count myself lucky to have such wonderful friends throughout my life. And to Jonathan, you have been in my corner since the day we met. That has meant more to me than words or actions can convey. Alongside you I feel like a comma, a semi colon but never a full stop. To know I can be fierce alongside you is a gift. Te amo.

On a further personal note, I would like to thank my parents Margaret and Charles. Margaret has steadfastly read every word of this dissertation more than once, and your writing advice and counsel has been generous and helpful. There are not enough words to express what a lifetime of unwavering love and support does for a person. I would not have achieved any of my accomplishments nor be the person I am were it not for you both, nor would I be able to move through life with strength and love, as I have done, without you both. Thank you and I love you. To my children, who are the two halves of my heart. Isabella, my smart, beautiful, strong, caring, daughter: you know that I love you from here to the moon and back x a gazillion. You taught me how to be a mother and because of you I always strive to be a good person in the world. You challenge me in all the best ways a person can and I love and respect you for all that you are and do. I not-so-secretly take credit for your serious, hard-working nature, though I really know it is you who has given me mine. I love that you love science. You became an adult during this dissertation and it has been my honor to watch that happen. For Michael, my son: you know that I love you from here to the moon and back x google. It seems like you were a baby (though you were not) when this all started and now you are a young man. From the day you were born you have kept me on my toes, luckily your sister trained me to be ready. You are a loving, caring, smart individual and it brings me joy everyday to be your mother. I love talking about books, politics and history with you right now and cannot wait to be there while you become an adult and all the adventures you have planned. I cannot imagine myself without you both. Thank you

both for traveling with me figuratively and literally throughout this process. There are not enough words in English, Spanish and French to describe what is like to be your mother. It is my greatest honor in life. Ps you both make the best mud pies in the entire world. Pps Neither of you ever questioned my working hours—even when they went late into the night or took me across the Atlantic. Thank you for respecting my work. Together you are my heart.

For Isabella, Michael, Margaret and Charles, my children and parents
The four pillars that hold me up. I love you.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation provides a history and analysis of the educational experiences and scholarly texts of three female historians. The study employs the combined frameworks of Haraway's 'situated knowledges' and Life History for examining three female historians who were involved in three integrated aspects of knowledge production: scholar, educator and author. The three case studies examine the lives of Elizabeth Peabody (1804-1894), Caroline Dall (1822-1912), and Mary L. Booth (1831-1889), with an analytical focus on their Antebellum Era, mid-nineteenth-century historical publications. A core contention is that knowledge production by women and, in particular, historical texts produced for schools and public consumption were more prevalent than current histories credit. The dissertation reconstructs the participatory role of women as historians, teachers and public figures during a period of varied educational pathways available for young women, including the influence of educational networks, informal educational practices and autodidacticism. The primary interrelationship that is examined here is between education (both formal and informal), occupational aspirations, and historical productions of three women that includes analysis of their influence for the field of history in nineteenth-century America.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION, LITERATURE REVIEW, AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

In 1855, historian Emma Willard wrote to John D. Philbrick, then superintendent of the Connecticut public schools. She was unassuming about wanting “to do good in a career” as a historian and teacher, writing with self-confidence about her dual roles in society:¹

If in order to give my book *Astronography* a trial in the normal school, it would be according to custom in such cases, I doubt and what my publisher would send a few copies gratis or I would do it myself. Tho [*sic*] the book will not be finished as in too much the case as the present day for the mere benefit of the book trade if it succeeds it must be on its merits. It is an honest book— It is the highest effort of an earnest mind to do good in a career to which a life has been devoted; and I cannot but think what conscientious teachers who are imbued with a desire to fortify the American mind with such influences as will make it strong to withstand the deteriorating [minds]...[and people] will hail this book as one which will and then in their mind reform societies.²

The text Willard is referencing, *Astronography, Or Astronomical Geography* (1854), published a year before, was to be the last of her books produced for schools (she published her

¹ Emma Willard to John D. Philbrick, 11 April, 1855 Troy, NY. MS, Massachusetts Historical Society.

² Emma Willard to John D. Philbrick, 11 April, 1855 Troy, NY. MS, Massachusetts Historical Society.

final book, *Morals for the Young*, in 1857).³ In the preface, Willard is unassailable in her purpose:

The opening sentence of this work is not an idle flourish; but a pledge conscientiously redeemed, by so managing the subjects as to enlarge and invigorate the mind, and to establish such mental habits and tones of thought, as shall lead the pupils, as they advance in life, to moral as well as intellectual greatness.⁴

Willard is not hesitant in the least to describe herself as having a career as a historian.

She writes about the importance of sharing her textbooks with other teachers, and her position as a public intellectual. In her letter to Philbrick and the preface of her book, Willard promotes the study of history not as a pastime, but a necessary discipline to be studied. Here, Willard's personal scripts are employed as a momentary look into the larger scene of nineteenth century historical production by women. Here Willard's intellectual footprints are indelible, and like her contemporaries, three of whom are narrated in this dissertation, she carved out a career as a public scholar.

Willard's letter serves as a glimpse into how history production was centerpiece for many women's careers. This dissertation moves beyond a glimpse to connect women's education, autodidactic exercises, with public participation and historical scholarship in America during the first half of the nineteenth century. As historian Nina Baym has stated, during the Antebellum period the subject of history was at the "center of advanced female education":

³ Except for reprints of earlier publications. For example Willard's *Abridgement of the History of the United States*, (New York: A.S. Barnes & Co.) originally published in 1832, was reprinted in 1844, 1852 and 1868.

⁴ Emma Willard, *Astronography, Or Astronomical Geography* (Troy, New York: Merriam, Moore & Co, 1854): 8.

Reading history produced historical writing. Women teachers prepared historical lessons, took historical notes for their classes, compiled history textbooks; schoolgirls wrote historical exercises. From this core a diverse network of female history-writing practices developed after 1790, ranging from scholarly historical narratives to patriotic poetry; encompassing textbooks, fiction, poetry, drama, biography, journalism, travel books; and dealing with every conventional historical subject.⁵

Furthermore, Julie Des Jardins, in establishing context for examining female historical productions after 1870, contextualizes her work by explaining that between 1830-1870, “it became commonplace for female seminaries to offer ancient, modern, and U.S. history” as “indispensable subjects to learn”.⁶ However, Des Jardins does not discuss the influence or connection between the consumption of history and any subsequent writing of historical scholarship by women prior to 1870.

Baym, on the other hand, has found at least 20 antebellum female historians who actively published history books prior to 1860.⁷ This number doubles if one were to include women born in the Antebellum period, who first published historical works during the 1870s. Though it can be determined that the majority of historians publishing during the Antebellum Era were male, there is evidence that female historical production was significant.

What does Baym’s diverse network of female history-writing practices, developed after 1790, look like? Specifically, what do they look like when accounted for through the life cycle of

⁵ Nina Baym, *American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790-1860* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995):7.

⁶ Julie Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003): 1.

⁷ Nina Baym, *American Women Writers and the Work of History*; Jennifer Scanlon and Shaaron Cosner, *American Women Historians, A Biographica Dictionary* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996).

individual women, who had a mixture of formal and informal learning in historical studies? The intent of this dissertation is to show distinct examples of female history writing practices that also connect the why and the how of some women's pursuit of history as a serious vocation and career.

Problem Statement

Baym's exceptional works have accounted for a large number of American female writers and historians of the nineteenth century. There has also been significant work in Women's history that has contested or made obsolete gender-based frameworks like separate spheres and/or domesticity which have been employed to diminish the social and cultural influence of women who carved out public roles during the nineteenth century. What I mean is that terms like "public" or "private," (domestic) spheres are still used in published research as analytic tools. Yet, the scholarship has evolved to reflect distinctive, more precise meanings of these terms by stripping away the essentialist, implied binary meaning of male and female, or other historical inaccuracies the use of these terms may imply about nineteenth-century female norms within the spaces they occupied. Nevertheless, as Mary P. Ryan observes, "by virtue of the power in the creation of meaning, these categories are still deserving of feminists' attention".⁸ Arguably, women's contributions in education and historical production are portrayed in histories of American Education and historiographies still warrants reconsideration. This dissertation puts forth three narratives that pay close attention to how rationales for a women's education were not

⁸ Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public, Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1990): 6.

linked to notions of domestic preparation, but instead, as these cases demonstrate, positions as public intellectuals of history.

Histories of American Education tend to cover a wide-range of understandings about the development of education in the United States and often produce narratives that explain education in terms of national development.⁹ No single history of American Education can fully chronicle every event. Many are organized around a series of events that aim to illuminate and mark various themes and changes over time within the extensive landscape of this field. While this may yield an uneven attention to the heterogeneity of experiences that have generated over time, the balance in educational narratives of the past is often restored when stories that consider gender, class, race, nationality, culture, and geographical region are constructed as a means to provide more specificity about educational experiences of specific individuals and/or groups.

In terms of the education of white, middle class girls, a significant amount of scholarship has been produced that describes how some American girls accessed and completed challenging educational schemes in different geographical regions, including obtaining post-secondary educations, particularly after the Civil War. Much progress has been made in tracing the educational experiences of specific groups of white middle class nineteenth-century women. However, it can be difficult to get a substantive understanding of the distinct educational practices *and* their resulting occupational opportunities some women took part in during the Antebellum era, particularly those educational paths that produced public intellectuals.

⁹ Specific references that inform the Problem Statement section of Chapter One are detailed in the Literature Review.

Crucially, as it is related to the above statement by Baym, the question is, how can we gain a more in-depth understanding of the relationship between the role historical studies played in the life cycle of a girl's education, and her subsequent practice as a historian during the Antebellum period. This dissertation considers how young women's education was shaped in formal and informal learning spaces, and the subsequent intellectual lives they carved out for themselves within a larger community/network of scholars, specifically historians, as this later aspect remains a lacuna in our current knowledge. In order to address this issue, I reconstruct their educational journeys and introduce and analyze their historical contributions.

Dissertation Scope

This dissertation examines three female historians: Elizabeth P. Peabody (1804-1894), Caroline H. Dall (1822-1912), and Mary L. Booth (1831-1889). Between them they produced over a dozen historical texts for public and school use. Furthermore, Elizabeth contributed tracts about the pedagogy of teaching history and Caroline and Mary produced early forms of social history in the form of women's history and urban history.

These three case studies demonstrate how active women were in historical production. Further, they highlight the historical practices of three women prior to the Civil War in order to expand the historiography of the field of history to include the influence of women on the discipline of history, as a subject to teach in schools, and in the forming of the discipline prior to its professional consolidation during the 1870s.

The three in-depth narratives intersect histories of girlhood, female education and women's history in order to explain how they came to conceptualize their individual disciplinary practices, not just as students and/or teachers of history, but also as historians and authors, and thus public intellectuals. These narratives make visible and interconnect educational access,

intellectual development, and teaching by women who were aware of developing their educational schemes to promote learning and schooling as a necessity for human development. Thus, this dissertation uses the contributions of three female historians as a prism to observe how women learned and practiced history, as pupils, and as public figures.

Significance of Study

This project represents a pioneering examination of nineteenth-century female historians working prior to the Civil War. This dissertation is an exercise in archival retrieval of influential historical productions that shaped the disciplinary practices of history in America in three critical areas of construction: school textbooks, women's history and urban history. I present three full narratives, reconstructed through careful archival mapping and research, in order to forefront the written voice of my participants and their life cycle as authors, educators, and historians.¹⁰ This unique approach begins by examining the varied and dynamic levels of formal and informal education accessed by these three women. Then I explore their professional lives as historians, authors, teachers, and influential public figures. I tackle the heterogeneity of educational experiences and scholarly publications of these women as they functioned in their various social and public spaces and partook and inscribed their own academic, intellectual success. Examined together, the lives of these female professionals provide the opportunity to both normalize and test understandings about the life cycles of educated women.

¹⁰ Pat Sikes and Ivor Goodson, "What Have You Got When You've Got A Life Story?" in *The Routledge International Handbook on Narrative and Life History*, ed. Ivor Goodson (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2017): 60-71.

Further, my analysis of many of their publications and individual experiences as historians demonstrates that these three women adopted social, cultural, and biographical perspectives in their writings. Using their historical productions, I will demonstrate that the discipline of history in the nineteenth century, as practiced in the United States, was not solely driven by political, military, and economic chronicles. These three female historians also wrote tracts about the philosophy of historical practice, women's history, urban history and worked on translating history for political purposes.

Additionally, the contribution to historical practices made by these three women will be demonstrated by the comparative uniformity of their promotion of history as an important school subject and for autodidactic studies. Further, some of the guidelines still used in the teaching of history can be culled from my research. Together, these three women, alongside other key female historians of the Antebellum and Postbellum United States advocated for important integrated procedural approaches for the writing and teaching of history, which they saw as intersecting rather than distinct.¹¹ These approaches are arguably still used today: 1) encouraging the habit of reading to students;¹² 2) historical education for social and moral development; 3) examining

¹¹ In antebellum history, authors include, for instance, Hannah Adams (Peabody mentions using her work in class), Elizabeth Ellet, and Susanna Rowson. In postbellum history, authors include Mary Beard, Susan Lee, Deborah Logan, and Mary E. Thalheimer. These examples are given as comparables, in terms of the format for their history text, including the integration of published works (biographies and chronologies) that were meant as companions for the texts and served as pedagogical guides for the students. These books were not always secular in nature, especially before the Civil War, though some contained religious history as part of ancient history. In contrast, some female historians, such as Sarah J. Hale, Mercy Otis Warren, Emma Willard, and Frances M. Caulkins published texts that did not include pedagogical support within the text.

¹² Elizabeth P. Peabody specifically refers to reading as a "labor of history" and emphasized that reading was, and arguable remains, a "pre-requisite to entering upon this long course of history" see Elizabeth P. Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History; Being Part First of a Key to History. Questions Adapted to Irving's Life and Voyages of Columbus; and Robertson's History of America* vol. 1. (Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co., 1832):15.

society through the lenses of cultural, governmental, and social practices and initiatives, 4) the use of chronology and periodization as a method of organization; 5) the use of first accounts, such as diaries and journals, including biography/autobiography to impart a complete sense of a historical character; 6) the use of writing and classroom discussion to promote learning and demonstrate knowledge acquisition; 7) advocating the need for a historian to be multilingual (bilingual); and finally 8) idealizing that a strong love of history is critical to their writing and teaching of the subject.

Literature Review

I put forth Elizabeth P. Peabody, Caroline H. Dall, and Mary L. Booth as vibrant examples of female intellectuals who—regardless of social, cultural and political restrictions that existed—carved out scholarly public lives, in part to expand and blur, during their own lifetime, the public roles women could join or create. This dissertation examines women *in the process* of intellectual knowledge production, as a means of reconstructing their participatory role in the areas of history and teaching during the nineteenth century.

These three women are important examples of the varied and dynamic levels of formal and informal education accessed by women during their youth and adulthoods. As such the following categories are used to frame the Literature Review: Childhood/Girlhood; Women and Education; Antebellum Female Education; Women as Scholars; Woman as Teachers; Women as Authors; Women as History Authors. Because an important criterion was intellectual production that overlapped teaching and historical writings, these seven themes are dealt with in each of the individual Life History chapters. While the chapters narrate individual lives, they also show how these three lives intersected.

To accomplish this, I begin by examining their *girlhoods*, a term oft evoked by nineteenth-century women to refer to their childhood and youth.¹³ It is apropos to include historical sketches of girlhoods of the three women examined in this dissertation because carving out a public life during their adulthood—as teachers, authors, and historians—did not occur in isolation from their family life and childhood experiences. The challenge is to compose from the archival evidence accounts of childhood that give a clear sense of a developing person, and in particular their intellectual progression. Further this dissertation does not examine young girls as individuals preparing for the domesticities of household, marriage and motherhood, often thought to be central during a girl’s childhood during the Antebellum era. In fact, the absence of domestic and marriage preparation in the archival and secondary materials of all three women is significant to note. Instead, an academic-based education was the cornerstone of these three girlhoods. Finally, by examining the educational experiences that occurred during girlhood, we expand our understanding about the wide variety of ways in which girls were raised in Antebellum America.

Antebellum Girlhood

The history of American childhood(s) is an emerging area of social and cultural history within, and sometimes examined separately from, national histories of the United States.¹⁴

¹³ Margaret E. Sangster, *Fairest Girlhood* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1906); Margaret E. Sangster, *From My Youth Up An Autobiography* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1909). For a transatlantic examples, see Frances Ann Kemble, *Records of a Girlhood* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1879) and Valerie Sanders, *Records of Girlhood: Volume Two: An Anthology of Nineteenth Century Women's Childhoods* (Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2012).

¹⁴ Paula Fass, ed., *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* (London: Routledge, 2013); James Marten, ed., *Children and Youth in a New Nation* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Steven Mintz,

Interestingly, histories of American childhoods are often separated out from histories of American education, despite the parallel of age.¹⁵ Histories of nineteenth-century education tend to focus on institutional growth, teaching, curricula, and equitable access to schooling (amongst other themes). Nineteenth-century children in schools take on the identity and label of “scholar,” not individuals who are experiencing part of their childhood in school.

Over the past fifteen years, histories of American childhood(s), published under the umbrella of social and cultural histories, tend to focus on racial, economic and regional and religious differences of children within institutional spaces or families rather than what the children themselves experienced.¹⁶ This is partly due to the enduring struggle of access to written records of personal experiences and perspectives that were constructed during childhood.

Additionally, historians who research and write about childhoods of the past concur that the word itself—childhood—is a historical construct, underscoring the difference between attitudes about childhood during a particular era and actual experiences of children.¹⁷ Anne

Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004).

¹⁵ Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960); Daniel U. Levine and Robert J. Havighurst, *Society and Education* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1992); John Rury, *Education and Social Change: Contours in the History of American Schooling* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Joel H. Spring, *The American School: From the Puritans to No Child Left Behind* (Boston: McGraw-Hill Education, 2008); Steven E. Tozer, Paul C. Violas, and Guy B. Senese, *School and Society: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2002); David Tyack, *Seeking Common Ground, Public Schools in a Diverse Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

¹⁶ Marten, *Children and Youth in a New Nation*; Mintz, *Huck's Raft*.

¹⁷ Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood In Western Society Since 1500* (London: Routledge, 2014); Fass, *The Routledge History of Childhood*.

MacLeod has observed, “concepts of childhood change as societies change”.¹⁸ Therefore, in order to understand what a particular childhood was like, the historian must attempt to situate their narrative of a child’s life within the time and place so that the concepts that defined childhood expectations and experiences prevalent at the time under come through in the analysis.

Further, MacLeod notes that a more complete history of nineteenth-century American girlhood has yet to be fully evidenced and written.¹⁹ In contextualizing her extensive work on science education for nineteenth-century girls, Kim Tolley observes that narratives of girlhoods tend to be set up by what has called the “framework of deficit theories”.²⁰ These focus on discriminatory treatment of young girls rather than the opportunities they took part in or benefits they gained during their early lives. Historians Miriam Forman-Brunell and Leslie Paris rightly observe that: “in the nineteenth century, girlhood took many forms, reflecting the nation’s diversity, its divisions, and the particular circumstances of individual girls’ lives”.²¹ These variations were certainly influenced by race, class, ethnic and region, legal status and individual family circumstances. Arguably one common attribute shared by all nineteenth-century girls living in the US was the universal denial of full citizenship under the law upon reaching adulthood. Nevertheless, women from divergent backgrounds “worked to find their own voices

¹⁸ Anne Scott MacLeod, *American Childhood, Essays on Children’s Literature of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1994): viii.

¹⁹ MacLeod, *American Childhood*.

²⁰ Kim Tolley, *The Science Education of American Girls: A Historical Perspective* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003).

²¹ Miriam Forman-Brunell, and Leslie Paris, eds., *The Girls’ History and Culture Reader: The Nineteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011):1.

in varied circumstances”.²² In this dissertation I propose that examinations of these three girlhoods can reveal important clues as to how some women “transcended the presumed limitations of their sex”.²³ Pointedly, this recent scholarship on the childhoods of nineteenth-century American girls discussed above has advanced the historiography by focusing on the practice of historical recoveries. This approach seeks to reveal how girls articulated their childhood experiences by combining archive materials and published accounts that capture the lived realities of girls.

Here I intend to substantiate my own analysis through a combination of unpublished manuscripts (letters, diaries and school work) with reminiscences (memories and/or autobiographies). I also use other types of public and financial records, including *situated* publications, that is, those that were produced and/or read by the subjects themselves during the period under analysis. Together these materials make it possible to produce detailed accounts of the girlhoods of these three women.

New scholarship on American girlhood, in many ways, has developed from the implementation of creative methodological approaches about how to construct social and cultural histories from incomplete or dispersed archival collections. Paula Fass has described the process of gathering records about girlhoods as “exhaustive research” and the result of “disciplined

²² Forman-Brunell and Paris, *The Girls' History*, 2.

²³ Mary F. W. Gibson, and A. Daniel Cohen, *"Hero Strong" and Other Stories: Tales of Girlhood Ambition, Female Masculinity, and Women's Worldly Achievement in Antebellum America* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 2014): viii.

examinations” of public and private records found in disparate archival repositories.²⁴ This dedication and creativity seeks to locate to the greatest extent possible the ephemeral objects generated by or about the girls themselves about the world they inhabited. When examined together, these allow the social and or cultural historian to locate, reevaluate and reconstruct in order to fill in the missing pieces of the past.

For example, recent scholarship examines girls within the very social and economic structures they occupied as active participants of their social worlds. The combination of historical and literary narratives and traditional archival materials has been used to emphasize how their identities were formed within, at times, uncompromising circumstances. Historians Carol Deven and Anne MacLeod, using divergent experiences of young girls lives during the nineteenth century, conclude that education was a route to freedom.²⁵ Though notions of freedom were also varied, spanning the range of economic independence to legal emancipation, these new found freedoms from education also brought about cultural isolation.²⁶ As Kathryn Sklar has revealed about the girlhood of Catherine Beecher, there were turning points during her youth when she resisted adhering to her father’s expectations about religious conversion and marriage expectations. Catherine felt that she had to make difficult choices in order to maintain

²⁴ Paula S. Fass, "Cultural History/Social History: Some Reflections on a Continuing Dialogue." *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (2003): 39-46; 42.

²⁵ Carol Deven, "If We Get the Girls, We Get the Race": Missionary Education of Native American Girls” in *The Girls' History and Culture Reader: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Miriam Forman-Brunell and Leslie Paris (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011): 104-119.

²⁶ Anne Scott MacLeod, "The Caddie Woodlawn syndrome: American girlhood in the nineteenth century." in *A Century of Childhood, 1820-1920*, ed. Mary Lynn Stevens Heininger (Rochester, N.Y.: Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, 1984): 97-119.

the “female personal autonomy” she had become accustomed to during her girlhood.²⁷ In her study of nineteenth-century middle class white girls, Anne MacLeod explains that their childhoods were defined by a significant amount of personal freedom and that adolescence often marked the end of personal autonomy. Many adolescent girls, argues Jane Hunter, would attempt to hold on to certain intellectual freedoms by extending time spent in school or pursuing work prior to marriage.²⁸ Crucially for this study, Hunter has found that participation in urban life was a key factor in shaping middle class white girls into independent adults who were able to become active participants within the cultural and economic worlds of nineteenth-century America.²⁹ This interpretation of the importance of education and place is echoed in the narratives of the three girlhoods included in this dissertation. Furthermore, this dissertation will demonstrate how vocational independence was carved out of an academic education. Still, the maintenance of independence often involved a lifetime of social-cultural renegotiations, in part to negate isolation, within individual private and public spheres.

The process of creative, exhaustive research that gathers a wide-range of archive materials from dispersed archival repositories is the historical labor that girds this dissertation. Together these three girlhoods reveal that their education, both formal and informal, was provided as a means to further personal, intellectual ambitions, which in turn allowed them to

²⁷ Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catherine Beecher, A Study in American Domesticity* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1973): 32.

²⁸ Jane Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

²⁹ Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls*.

fulfill their goal of becoming financially and professionally independent. Individually and in the comparative analysis of the final chapter, the narratives demonstrate varied paths taken by these women despite their common attributes of race, gender, birth order, parental support, geographic regions and work as historians. Other similarities, including financial instability and disruptions within their families all serve to underscore that education was so important that death, separation between family members, and/or economic instability did not prevent these young girls from becoming well-educated and adult autodidacts. Thus, the three examples narrated in this dissertation demonstrate how integral education was during girlhood and how critical it was for adulthood. This includes how parental support of education was a critical factor in encouraging these young women to pursue, to the extent available and financially possible, a challenging education. The three girlhoods examined here also provide essential foundational context for examining the intertwined relationships of gender, education, intellectual efforts that went into research and writing about the past, and the historical publications generated from this work, which are the main themes of this dissertation.

Locating the stories of Nineteenth century women

In order to locate stories about the educational experiences of women that led them to pursue an active public life during the Antebellum era, a researcher needs to collect and analyze information from specialized fields within history and/or utilize data compiled from social science analysis. This dissertation explores the relationships between female education, history, female historians and female authors during the nineteenth century, with a focus on the culmination of these intellectual relationships prior to the Civil War and draws from scholarship from many of these areas. In many ways, women's stories from the early decades of the nineteenth century are intertwined in the primary and secondary evidence of national and

regional histories of America, and from that point, the regional histories of schooling and histories of women's public activities. Women's stories of this period are also entwined within the gendered conversations about intellectual work, publications, and within history, the transformation of the field itself, from branches of moral philosophy and belletristic art to the empirical practices of an independent discipline.

Julie Des Jardins refers to the work of uncovering and then reforming what we know about women, from these diverse spaces, within a particular time period, as "discovering women's hidden history".³⁰ As Des Jardins observed, "historical learning [that] women facilitated," occurred in both the "private and public spheres".³¹ Des Jardins found that the late-nineteenth century female historian was an "agent of public discourse, and yet...scholars have obscured her close association with the historical enterprise."³² Anne F. Scott, reflects on her own consciousness about where to find women's stories, as the title of her book mirrors, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible*. She also considers where these stories fit into our understandings about social change.³³ Throughout her book Scott offers a substantial enumeration of women, dating back to 1800, that discusses the "ongoing interaction between women and education at many levels with far-reaching consequences for our social structures."³⁴ Yet Scott maintains that we (historians) are still not fully clear, when it comes to women about the "relationship between

³⁰ Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America*, 1.

³¹ Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America*, 2.

³² Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America*, 3-4.

³³ Anne F. Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

³⁴ Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible*, xxv.

education and achievement” as a means to evaluate social and cultural change.³⁵ Even when women are highly visible, their influence over social and cultural change is still somehow less evident within larger chronicles. Mary P. Ryan proposes that women are visible within the “heterogeneous public life” of nineteenth century America and that urban spaces, particularly in the Northeast, demonstrate their significant presence.³⁶ Though female occupation of public, urban spaces are for Ryan visible, what is more difficult is how to make meaning of their presence in the public past. Ryan wonders about “the possible meaning that the placement of women in public hold for historians and citizens, its contribution to American historiography, and its implications for theories of the public”.³⁷ Yet she is certain that the social diversity of nineteenth century American life that is exposed from examining women in public roles cannot remain unrecognized, and we as historians must wrestle with how to integrate knowledge about women’s public lives into future historical discourse. Further, Jane Hunter, in trying to pinpoint the social and cultural changes that led to middle class girls becoming “liberated” from domestic work and tied to schooling during the nineteenth century, studied the economic changes of the 1830s.³⁸ By looking at the public spaces of the commercial elite of the Northeast, Hunter is able to demonstrate how the growth of domestic service, which was fueled by immigration, influenced middle class families to excuse their daughters from domestic duties, despite “the

³⁵ Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible*, 299.

³⁶ Ryan, *Women in Public*, 12.

³⁷ Ryan, *Women in Public*, 172.

³⁸ Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls*, 11.

compounding weight of the advice literature recommending otherwise”.³⁹ In Hunter’s analysis of how education became central to girlhood, she demonstrates how paying attention to economic and political changes illuminates other changes that occurred during the 1830s within different social classes. In terms of female education, what becomes evident in Hunter’s research is how an investment in a girl’s education influenced her own perception about work outside the home. Growth of urban spaces, industry and educational opportunities equated to educated women wanting to earn an independent living and make use of their skills as scholars.⁴⁰ When we follow the chronicles of commercial production (money), women become visible.⁴¹

As Scott proposes, this type of uncovering is meant to describe the process of disentangling women’s experiences from specialized scholarship and re-combining new findings and analysis to produce understandings about women; their education, intellectual outputs, and public influence that heretofore has gone unrecognized.⁴² This work requires the researcher to be cognizant of the content and historical arguments that guide the specialty fields of women’s history and history of American education and, with regards to the nineteenth-century historiography and authorship, the role gender has played in the designation of the label amateur for women. In this vein, this dissertation intends to make visible female scholars of the mid-nineteenth century who were intensely involved in the historical enterprise. Further, the intention

³⁹ Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls*, 19.

⁴⁰ Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work, A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁴¹ During a discussion about how to make women visible, “follow the money” was research advice given to me in the early stages of this dissertation by Dr. Christine Mayer of the University of Hamburg, Germany, Summer 2013.

⁴² Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible*.

of this dissertation is to connect, through a careful mapping of female educational experiences, the utility of education for various occupational roles, including earning a living from their intellectual output and occupying the masculine space of historian.

Female Education during Antebellum America

Several seminal pieces of scholarship examine women's educational experiences and opportunities during the first three decades of the American Republic. Thomas Woody was one of the earliest historians to consider the breadth of access and practice for women and girls attending various forms of schooling in the early nineteenth century. Woody explains that young girls learned orthography, poetry, elocution, arithmetic, justice (civics), painting, embroidery, Italian, and French or Spanish, and for those with a "firm judgment, Latin".⁴³

Lindal Buchanan, Catherine Hobbs and David Gold have found that many schools (public and private), as well as home instruction, replicated the curriculum laid out by Woody in his original monograph about American female education.⁴⁴ Buchanan, Hobbs and Gold have all highlighted how reading history and literature and learning the rules of English grammar and the art of elocution severed as foundational subjects in schools as well as home based learning that sought to replicate school curriculums.

Additionally, current historians have expanded the knowledge of curriculum choices and spaces of learning available to girls during the early nineteenth century, including how courses in

⁴³ Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States* (Vols. I & II) (New York City: Octagon Books, 1929): 65.

⁴⁴ Lindal Buchanan, *Regendering Delivery: The Fifth Canon and Antebellum Women Rhetors* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005); David Gold and Catherine Hobbs eds., *Rhetoric, History, and Women's Oratorical Education: American women learn to speak* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

the natural sciences, rhetoric, history, logic, geography, mathematics, ethics, and *belles lettres* were tiered. Many teachers offered their female students the chance to tackle advanced learning schemes and expanded attendance at schools.⁴⁵ These educational schematics served as the blueprint of academic learning for women (mostly white and middle and upper class) throughout the country before the Civil War.

Educational historians such as Margaret Nash, Mary Kelley, Kim Tolley, Nancy Beadie, and Carolyn Eastman demonstrate how archival-based research has broadened and rendered detailed understandings of how and to what extent American women have accessed scholarly educations. Many of these recent historical corrections, based on archival excavations, examine the larger cultural influence of the Enlightenment. The humanist ideologies of the Enlightenment had a wondrous and institutional building effect on the United States. One particular revision of the historical narrative about female education during this time, in terms of intellectual pursuits and public participation in the early part of the nineteenth century, was the focus of the 2008 spring issue of the *Journal of the Early Republic*.⁴⁶ An important contribution to the history of education resulting from this group of articles was the examination of intellectual developments in which girls partook. These findings showed that support for young girls' education was

⁴⁵ Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak*; Nash, *Women's Education*; Tolley, *The Science Education of American Girls*; Annmarie Valdes, "Speaking and Writing in Conversation: Constructing the Voice of Eleanor Parke Custis Lewis," in *Rhetoric, History, and Women's Oratorical Education: American Women Learn to Speak*, eds. D. Gold and C. Hobbs (New York: Routledge, 2013): 60–77.

⁴⁶ Caroline Winterer, et al, "Forum on Women and Civil Society," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 28, no. 1. (2008). Whole issue.

expanded beyond literacy and domestic skills.⁴⁷ As Rosemarie Zagari points out, this “new” view and, in turn, formation of female education, “portrayed women as rational beings, who with the proper education, were capable of the same intellectual achievement as men”.⁴⁸

Enlightenment writers used words such as *proper* to put into question the quantity and quality of education provided to young people. Hannah More and Mary Wollstonecraft, two important writers of the Enlightenment period whose works were well read by young upper-class women of the North and South in the United States, espoused some educational criteria that promoted a type of *proper* intellectual development not previously adhered to during British rule.⁴⁹

These post-Enlightenment ideas about what a “complete education” for young girls varied due to the complex growth of different types of primary and post-primary schooling options for families who could afford to pay for the various institutions.⁵⁰ Though there was a wide-range of subjects offered, scholarship agrees that among the many different educational institutions built during the Early Republic/Antebellum periods, a relatively consistent pattern of offerings emerges that includes but is not limited to: English, rhetoric (often including (orthography,

⁴⁷ Mary Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America's Republic* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Margaret A. Nash, *Women's Education in the United States, 1780-1840* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

⁴⁸ Rosemarie Zagari, “Politics and Civil Society: A Discussion of Mary Kelley’s ‘Learning to Stand and Speak,’” *Journal of the Early Republic* 28, no. 1 (2008): 61–73; 63.

⁴⁹ Catherine Clinton, “Equally Their Due: The Education of the Planter Daughter in the Early Republic,” in *History of Women in the United States: Historical Articles on Women's Lives and Activities*, ed. N. F. Cott (Munich: K.G. Saur): 3–24; Mary Kelley, “‘The Need of Their Genius’ Women’s Reading and Writing Practices in Early America,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 28, no. 1 (2008): 1–22.

⁵⁰Nash, *Women's Education*, 37.

poetry, elocution), history, mathematics, classical and modern languages (often French), natural science/philosophy, needlework, fine arts, music and dancing.⁵¹

Furthermore as Tolley observes, as the quality and types of coursework improved, female education took on a recursive nature. For example, science courses required a solid foundation in literacy and grammar.⁵² Training in grammar required exposure to transatlantic books; exposure to transatlantic books required learning a foreign language.⁵³ Most of these courses, which were open to upper and middle class girls of the North and South, occurred alongside home instruction. Attending a combination of informal and formal schooling was often necessary to receive the full force of what was then increasingly becoming an Post-Enlightenment, academically-based education.⁵⁴ Further, this rationale was used to influence parents to enroll their daughters in these formal schools, which also influenced the notion that the guiding pedagogical principle for curriculum should be systematic and based in academic learning.⁵⁵ As

⁵¹ Nancy Beadie and Kim Tolley, eds., *Chartered Schools: Two Hundred Years of Independent Academies in the United States, 1727-1925* (New York City: Routledge/Falmer, 2002); Lindal Buchanan, *Regendering Delivery: The Fifth Canon and Antebellum Women Rhetors* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005); Christine Anne Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York City: New York University Press, 1994); ;"; David Gold and Catherine Hobbs eds., *Rhetoric, History, and Women's Oratorical Education: American women learn to speak* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Willystine Goodsell, *The Education of Women: Its Social Background and its Problems* (New York City: The Macmillan Company, 1923); Nash, *Women's Education*; Tolley, *The Science Education of American Girls*; Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*.

⁵² Tolley, *The Science Education of American Girls*.

⁵³ Goodsell, *The Education of Women*; Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak*; Valdes, "Speaking and Writing in Conversation"; Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*.

⁵⁴ Beadie and Tolley, eds., *Chartered Schools*; Buchanan, *Regendering Delivery*; Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South*; Nash, *Women's Education*.

⁵⁵ Lawrence Cremin, *American Education, The National Experience, 1783-1876* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1980); Carolyn Eastman, "The Female Cicero: Young Women's Oratory and Gendered Public Participation in the Early American Republic." *Gender and History* 19, no. 2 (2007): 260-83; Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak*; Nash, *Women's Education*.

Kelley notes, many families and their daughters were demanding an academic based education, as mentioned at an 1822 graduation speech, entitled “Liberal Education” at the Lafayette Female Academy in Kentucky.⁵⁶

A strong connection can be made between higher levels of educational attainment and the varied public roles that women were able to carve out in the early nineteenth century, though the focus of the research about women tends to concentrate on the connection between education and the growth of schooling and the subsequent need for female teachers.⁵⁷ During the 1820s and 1830s burgeoning educational structures had graduated a large number of young educated women, many of whom used their acquired knowledge and skills to participate in a number of public roles that were available to them. As Anne F. Scott observes, “Educated women became the carriers of the newer values, and the spread of feminist ideas led more and more women to seek education...and each succeeding generation [after 1820] contained more independent women”.⁵⁸ Many of these women came into their own during the Antebellum period, a time that exhibited the largest growth of the century in private secondary-level institutions, along with the educational opportunities of the common-school movement.⁵⁹ Many prestigious academies and seminaries built during the Early Republic and Antebellum eras were run by key female leaders,

⁵⁶ Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak*, 34.

⁵⁷ Jackie M. Blount, “The Feminization of Teaching from 1850-1900.” *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* 23 (1996): 41–8; Geraldine Clifford, “‘Daughters into Teachers’: Educational and Demographic Influences on the Transformation of Teaching into ‘Women’s Work’ in America,” in *Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching*, ed. Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 115–34; Nash, *Women’s Education*; Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible*.

⁵⁸ Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible*, 87.

⁵⁹ Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak*; Nash, *Women’s Education*; Rury, *Education and Social Change*.

like for example Emma Willard's Troy Female Seminary and Catherine Beecher's Hartford Female Seminary. These schools built up complex curricula and lecture series that exposed women to some of the most advanced education available at the time to either gender.⁶⁰ These courses also tested the limits of male and female expectations of an education.

Nevertheless, we know little about how women translated educational proficiency into occupational attainment, beyond the role of teacher. As stated earlier, this dissertation considers how young women's education was shaped in formal and informal learning spaces, and the subsequent intellectual lives they carved out for themselves within a larger community/network of scholars, specifically historians, as this later aspect remains a lacuna in our current knowledge.

Women as Teachers

Perhaps the most ubiquitous paid public role women held during the Antebellum period was that of teacher.⁶¹ The four decades before the Civil War was a time of expansion in educational opportunity for many Americans. Common schools were expanding beyond the Northeast, and many new states were including educational provisions in their new State Constitutions.⁶² Arguably, expansion of public and private education followed the geographic pattern of expansion of the United States, and as Hunter and Ryan have shown, was highly influenced by America's economic growth.⁶³

⁶⁰ Nash, *Women's Education*; Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible*; Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*.

⁶¹ Cremin, *American Education*; Nash, *Women's Education*; Rury, *Education and Social Change*; Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*.

⁶² Cremin, *American Education*.

⁶³ Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls*; Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class, The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Ryan, *Women in Public*.

During this period, access to public schools (most elementary, some co-educational) and academies and/or seminaries (most secondary level) increased. For many white women, and some non-white women, education translated to increased participation in the social, political, and economic changes that occurred before the Civil War.⁶⁴ Organizations that sought to end slavery, support female suffrage, perform charity work, and/or run religious revival movements had their fair share of female participants who were smart and capable.⁶⁵ Increasingly, educated women were encouraged to be *in service* to society as teachers (in the home and school), nurses, and volunteers at benevolent societies, particularly those that served orphaned or sick children.⁶⁶ While some women chose to establish schools, female teachers filled the ranks of common schools as they grew across America.⁶⁷ As Ryan observes, by 1855 schooling became a part of middle class childhood, and “public school teachers were female”.⁶⁸ Pre-Civil War America thus initiated many educated women into a role that they have yet to relinquish, namely, that of the definitive public participant, *the female teacher*. This growing profession, which would include non-white women in formal teaching positions after the Civil War, afforded young, educated

⁶⁴ Though historians still do not have a full accounting of how many white and non-white educated women garnered public influence. Cremin, *American Education*; Eastman, “The Female Cicero”; Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak*; Nash, *Women’s Education*.

⁶⁵ Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Nash, *Women’s Education*.

⁶⁶ Dorothy G. Becker, “Isabella Graham and Joanna Bethune: Trailblazers of Organized Women’s Benevolence,” *Social Service Review* 61, no. 2 (1987): 319–36; Goodsell, *The Education of Women*; Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak*; Woody, *A History of Women’s Education in the United States*.

⁶⁷ Beadie and Tolley, eds., *Chartered Schools: Two Hundred Years of Independent Academies in the United States*.

⁶⁸ Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, 163.

women a fair amount of social and economic independence.⁶⁹ Daniel Howe observes that by the eve of the Civil War, the United States had given birth to an American Renaissance that included communications, literary, and intellectual advancements, as well many political organizations that were advocating for the expansion of citizenship and suffrage.⁷⁰ Educated women in the North and South were instrumental in these endeavors, as public participants and as teachers of many who entered public life regardless of race or gender.

The Progressive Era was also a time period in which the United States experienced a large growth in teaching by women. The public, and to some extent, the private lives of female teachers of the Progressive era have been examined by various authors in the book, *Founding Mothers and Others: Women Educational Leaders during the Progressive Era*, edited by Alan Sadvnik and Susan Semel.⁷¹ The biographical accounts that are included in this work are significant because the book examines women from different regions, backgrounds, and race, including the valuable context of how the female teachers themselves were educated. While scholarship about the growth of women in the profession of teaching and the growth of institutions—both public and private—is substantial, we know less about the lives, and indeed the intellectual experiences, of women teachers themselves and their influence over teaching practices and textbook production, particularly during the Antebellum Era.

⁶⁹ Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls*; John Rury, *Education and Women's Work: Female Schooling and the Division of Labor in Urban America, 1870-1930* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).

⁷⁰ Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*.

⁷¹ Alan R. Sadvnik and Susan F. Semel, eds., *Founding Mothers and Others: Women Educational Leaders during the Progressive Era* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).

Women As Scholars

Linda Kerber begins her book about the intellectual history of women with a quote from Judith Sargent Murray from 1798: “I expect to see our young women forming a new era in female history”.⁷² In many ways, despite the plethora of published work, historians are still ruminating on what this “new era,” the nineteenth century, was like for women. What Murray was wondering about, and in the present sense, what Kerber has written about, are the how nineteenth-century women would use their education (for those who acquired one) to become “independent,” “self-reliant,” experience forms of “civic freedom” and contribute to the intellectual development of the nation.⁷³ Significantly, one way women shaped the nineteenth-century, as Kerber discusses throughout her book, is as authors.

Women who authored history books during the Early Republic and Antebellum era were influential in part because their history books provided the language that described the transformations of the past. This influence was substantial for female historians like Mercy Otis Warren and Elizabeth Ellet, who wrote about American history, both nationally and locally.⁷⁴ These women, like those described in this dissertation, were at the forefront of inscribing historical knowledge, and in their books we can find political language that would be used to describe America’s birth and progress while it was still happening.⁷⁵

⁷² Linda K. Kerber, *Toward an Intellectual History of Women* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997): 23.

⁷³ Kerber, *Toward an Intellectual History of Women*, 24, 27, 41.

⁷⁴ See FN 9, this chapter.

⁷⁵ Baym, *American Women Writers and the Work of History*; Kerber, *Toward an Intellectual History of Women*.

One such woman, who seems to have defined the role of female teacher-historian-intellectual for the Antebellum era is Emma Willard, with whom I opened this dissertation. In many respects, she serves as a primary example of how teacher-intellectuals became influential in two, integrated ways, by teaching from the history books they produced.⁷⁶ Willard, aside from her work advocating for female education, was active in historical research and historical authorship. Recent scholarship has produced significant contributions about women engaged in intellectual production, including their roles as history teacher and/or author.⁷⁷

In *Schoolbook Nation*, Joseph Moreau devotes an entire chapter to the history of, what he labels, scholastic-based history chronicles produced during the Antebellum period. Moreau claims to have performed a thorough search of historical scholarship produced before the Civil War, yet the only female historian included in his analysis for this period is Emma Willard.⁷⁸ This dissertation alone identifies three more female historians within the same time period that Moreau mentions, and Baym's scholarship accounts for dozens more. In Moreau's entire book, which begins after the American Revolution and ends in the mid-1980s, he identifies only 21 female history scholars (out of a total of 152),⁷⁹ almost all of whom produced work during the

⁷⁶ Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible*.

⁷⁷ Baym, *American Women Writers*; Nina Baym, *Women Writers of the American West, 1833-1927* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011); Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America*; Sadovnik and Semel, *Founding Mothers and Others*.

⁷⁸ Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

⁷⁹ Left out of this accounting of Moreau's book are the following entities of authorship: Department of Social Studies, Detroit Public Schools; Franciscan Sisters of the Perpetual Adoration; I also did not include in the count authors cited as "*et. al*" as these names are not available, see Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation*, 384-385; entire reference section.

second half of the twentieth century. In examining the entire nineteenth century, Moreau identifies five female history authors, but does not contextualize their work in connection with other historical influences or as evolving from their work as educationalists. Moreau's analysis exists in stark contrast to the history of American female scholarship that had been uncovered by Nina Baym ten years earlier. This discrepancy between Moreau and Baym indicates that more research needs to be done.

To-date our most extensive knowledge of antebellum historians can be found in Baym's two monographs that explore the link between female intellectuals and their literary and historical productions; both works include a vast bibliographic accounting of female publications (too extensive to recount herein).⁸⁰ Throughout her two books, Baym lists and compares the published works published of these nineteenth-century women. Yet she provides her readers with only sparse information about these women, nor details if their intellectual development or teaching practices were artifacts of their own educational experiences and publications. Moreover, Baym does not discuss how particular historical texts influenced the construction of disciplinary practices for use within historical studies.

This dissertation traces the education, writings, and teaching of three women throughout the entire nineteenth century to demonstrate their influence in the development of history, as scholarship for public and classroom use alike. Similar to the recent publications mentioned in this review thus far, this dissertation will include an analysis of personal and school notebooks, academic lecture notes, and unpublished texts garnered from various archives as significant

⁸⁰ Baym, *American Women Writers and the Work of History*; Baym, *Women Writers of the American West*.

objects of historical scholarship that contribute to a more holistic understanding of the stages and influences of intellectual productions by three women. In this next part of this literature review, the terminology used to describe intellectual production for history itself is discussed.

The Nineteenth-Century and Female History Authors

Warren Susman argues that history is both the practice of chronicling myth—that which explains the “collective dreams of the society about the past”—and a practice that “brings order out of the disordered array that is the consequence of change itself”.⁸¹ This dissertation addresses the extent of work produced, and influence that female scholars had in the field of history, as they attempted to bring order to their own historical chronicles. This dissertation is also an exercise in dual historical recoveries, first from the archives and published works authored by women and second as a demonstration of the roles that women played in the field of history itself. This exercise will require reconstructions of intellectual identifications—i.e. *author* and *historian*.

In reality, we know very little about History as field of practice in America prior to the Civil War. George Gooch observes that “the life of humanity” (i.e. understandings formed about the past), in texts written to develop the field of history during the nineteenth-century was, like the field during the eighteenth century (and the seventeenth century and so on.), “ever progressing through decay and revival, each age linked equally to those which have gone before

⁸¹ Warren I. Susman, “History and the American Intellectual: Uses of a Usable Past,” in *Locating American Studies: The Evolution of a Discipline*, ed. L. Maddox (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1999): 17–37: 18.

and those that are to come”.⁸² However, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was a significant addition to the philosophical foundation for the purpose of writing history; the integration of Jacques Turgot’s (1727-1781) concept of *progress*. Specifically, Turgot’s notion was that writing history is about explaining progress, defined as: “the gradual evolution and elevation of man’s nature, a combined advance in material well-being, mental enlightenment and virtue.”⁸³ By the end of the nineteenth century Turgot’s idea about progress arguably would be more than foundational; an embedded understanding inextricably linked to the practice of history.⁸⁴

As noted above, and at the beginning of this chapter, there is scant research about the field of History as it was practiced in the US prior to the Civil War. James Banner recently observed that because we have thought about “the history of the discipline in the United States [as] solely correlative [to] the history of research universities,” while “ignoring” other spaces in which history was produced, we have yet to grasp what the field of history was like during the nineteenth century.⁸⁵ Instead, historiography seems governed by the idea that history practice, particularly in the earlier decades of the same century, was not a career, because the men who wrote history texts were gentlemen who were also statesmen, lawyers, doctors, clergymen,

⁸² George P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1913), 9.

⁸³ Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, 9. This foundational idea from Turgot earned him the label, according to Gooch, as the father of the philosophy of history.

⁸⁴ Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*; Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream, The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

⁸⁵ Banner, *Being a Historian*, 2.

editors and/or teachers.⁸⁶ Therefore, the field of history, as practiced in America prior to the Civil War has been historicized as male and non-professional. To-date the only endeavor to expand Callcott's understanding about the field of history and those who authored works of history is Baym's work on American women authors, some of whom participated in the historical enterprise prior to 1860.⁸⁷ The benefit of this dissertation is to establish further inroads into understanding the field of history from the perspective of female historical production through a narration of the lives of three women. This narration is done in order to contextualize their interest in studying, and at times teaching history. The analysis includes their contributions to the methods and approaches for constructing history, and their significance as history authors.

The adoption of these particular ideas from Foucault and Chartier are significant and purposeful, given the complexity of discussing female history authorship in America before 1880. A *history author*, according to Foucault, is defined by his or her self-sufficient composition which demonstrates "historical transformation"; he or she is given status as an individual, whose literary production is unshackled from a larger, more complex purpose, namely, to educate.⁸⁸ The author's knowledge is disseminated to the reader; thus, the history author exerts intellectual power over readers.⁸⁹ Roger Chartier agrees, a history author produces a

⁸⁶ Banner, *Being a Historian*; Callcott, *History in the United States*.

⁸⁷ Though Julie Des Jardins' work is significant, her historical analysis on female history authors is post 1870.

⁸⁸ Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays And Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard, trans Donald F. Bouchard and R. Simon (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977): 138. This is covered specifically in the chapters titled "What is an Author" and "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History".

⁸⁹ Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*.

work, and the meaning of that work is contained within itself.⁹⁰ How a piece of historical work is used, incorporated, or appropriated is ancillary to the work, although it can be correspondingly constraining as part of a literary production and the result of varied influences of composition. Bonnie Smith states that a history author is distinguished by positional traditions within the field of history--i.e., a history author takes on an “epistemological posture,” and may take on a positional stance in his or her writing. In defining the history author further, it is important to state that history authors, as a whole, form, inform, and reform historiography—the sum total of (re)written historical knowledge.⁹¹ For history, as Foucault explains, authors are the principal producers of sanctioned knowledge, even after death (although not all texts become sanctioned knowledge).⁹²

A crucial barrier that exists in the literature about history authorship is the gendered debates about the amateur status of women. This status of “amateur” was applied to women and men in the historiographic analysis of the field of history during the twentieth century as a means to separate historical practices and/or histories written prior to the rise of university training or outside the wall of the university during the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century. However, neither the designation of “gentleman-amateur,” nor the majority membership of male “amateurs” in organizations like the American Historical Association, seemed to exclude

⁹⁰ Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992).

⁹¹ Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History, Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2000).

⁹² Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*.

men from being considered as part of the formation of the discipline of history in America.⁹³ The label Women-amateurs, as designated in Smith's historiography, however, is not used in Novick's accounting, in part because his narratives are about the marginalization of particular groups of historians because of the professionalization of the field. While the application of the term "amateur" has been debated and contested, it remains a potent label to describe why women were barred from higher-education training in history and professional recognition for their historical authorships.⁹⁴ As Novick notes, after the Civil War, becoming a historian was an institutionally coordinated practice that required specific kinds of university training that was limited to men, by men.⁹⁵ Even when women began earning PhDs in history by the end of the nineteenth century, they were labeled as amateurs, even though they produced work across genres, methods, and topics.⁹⁶ By the end of the nineteenth century, historical practice in the United States became an intellectual field that promoted impartial, objective, and even scientific methods and facts; it was also exclusively white and male.⁹⁷

Whether intentional or happenstance, this has led to a serious deficit in recognition of which people qualified as historians prior to the growth of university training. For female historians who were working on foundational methods and approaches for the field of history as an academic subject in the United States, this kind of limitation has meant that their contributions

⁹³ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream, The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 4, 49.

⁹⁴ Banner, *Being a Historian*; Novick, *That Noble Dream*; Smith, *The Gender of History*.

⁹⁵ Novick, *That Noble Dream*.

⁹⁶ Smith, *The Gender of History*.

⁹⁷ Novick, *That Noble Dream*.

have yet to be fully extracted from the archives and written into the historiography, though headway has been made by Baym and Des Jardins.⁹⁸ Moreover, a full accounting of the female historians who gave birth to the field of history in the United States is still under construction.⁹⁹

Herein, I use the term *historian* to mean one who was engaged in intellectual production within the field of history.¹⁰⁰ Historians understand themselves to be historians by dedicating themselves to the labors of historical research and historical authorship, including the presentation of historical knowledge. In some cases, historians also discuss their approach and intent of their work meant to communicate to the reader how they view the significance of their own historical production. In the three cases presented here, all three historians communicated the purpose of their historical production, often in the introduction or preface section of the book.

The three women in this dissertation created history monographs and/or textbooks, whether for public consumption, use in the classroom, or both. As such, throughout this dissertation, I will focus on how the practice of history was manifested through historical publications, which are recognized as a significant form of knowledge production.¹⁰¹ The productions analyzed here are considered evidence of approaches that contributed to and influenced how history was practiced prior to the Civil War. Moreover, I do not apply the categories of “amateur” or “professional” to the women examined in this dissertation because

⁹⁸ Baym, *American Women Writers and the Work of History*; Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America*; Scanlon and Cosner, *American Women Historians*.

⁹⁹ Scanlon and Cosner, *American Women Historians*.

¹⁰⁰ James Banner, *Being a Historian, An Introduction to the Professional World of History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

¹⁰¹ Banner, *Being a Historian*.

first, these two categories were constructed and applied many decades after the production of the texts examined in this analysis, and second, the use of these terms in the secondary literature excludes female history authors (but not male authors) from the period under examination.

For the Antebellum period, it can be difficult to trace precisely the varied pathways of knowledge production and scholarly relationships that informed the writing of textbooks used in schools. Ruth Elson offers a useful account of the role schoolbooks in nineteenth century American schooling.¹⁰² From Elson's examination arise some critical understandings. First Elson tackles terminology, explaining the interchanging use of the terms *schoolbook*, *textbook*, and *books* used in classrooms. However, Elson argues, regardless of what they were called, textbooks (of all subjects) were embodied with "ideas" from the "social and cultural values" that reflected the "nineteenth century school," with most books being designed with a "practical end".¹⁰³ Female authorship of history books for classroom use is a critical aspect of this dissertation and they will be contextualized as educational objects created for the explicit purpose of educating.

Finally, upon closer examination of the footnotes and bibliographic references within the publications discussed above, it is clear that the authors, rather than drawing on the individual's experiences, they drew from prescriptive materials. These prescriptive materials include: conduct books, parenting manuals, newspaper and magazine articles and/or published writings about educational philosophy that put forth rationales and schemes for educating women. Prescriptive texts also include curriculum scripts (school listings and/or school primers) and educational

¹⁰² Ruth Miller Elson, *Guardians of Tradition, American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964).

¹⁰³ Elson, *Guardians of Tradition*, 2-3.

philosophies that particular female seminaries and academies published. While these (often published) scripts about women help us understand social and cultural expectations and many educational opportunities available at that time, they do not accurately portray individual experiences.

Here detailed life cycles known as Life Histories are put forth that to, some extent, represent the reverse approach. Here the focus is on the lived experience of three individuals, and put forth as important examples that demonstrate how women took part in and negotiated their social and cultural worlds, and in turn, opened new opportunities of public influence for their time. A more detailed explanation of Life Histories is set out in the Framework section below.

This review of the literature demonstrates that while there exists significant scholarship about the growth of academic based curriculum and education for many young women, particularly in literature, history and science. Yet we know little about how these educations influenced their adult lives. The Life Histories of the three women in this dissertation provide insight into how intellectual knowledge production in the areas of history and teaching contributed to foundational practices and subject content for the discipline of history during the decades prior the Civil War.

Framework and Methodology

The primary interrelationship that is examined here is between education (both formal and informal), occupational aspirations, and historical productions of three women. As the core chapters of the dissertation narrate, the historical publications and public influence of these three women are important for women's history, educational history, historiography and the intellectual history of women. To narrate the complex and contextual nature of these three lives, I have combined frameworks that each stem from a tradition that advocates that the voice and

views of the subjects under analysis remain in the forefront. This means that my analysis is authenticated by primary and published accounts of the women analyzed here and produced during their lifetime. Further, my methodological approach relies on collecting evidence from a varied cast of characters, grounded in evidenced “networks of human interaction” from “diverse sites” of “cultural teaching and learning” within the lifetime of the subjects, to construct the narrative.¹⁰⁴

Conceptual Framework: Life History

There is a transformation of understanding that takes place about a person’s life when new or previously unused source materials are introduced and incorporated into a historical narrative.¹⁰⁵ This incorporation produces a lived experience of the past by constructing a layered story that is guided by human actions.¹⁰⁶ When examining the past experiences of an individual, one draws conclusions of what life was like from materials of the time and place(s) in which the individual lived. Therefore, it is necessary to establish the extent to which these objects, spaces and/or ideas affected individuals during their lives. Historical analyses that examine institutional schemes, prescriptive values and/or legal and economic regulations can help us construct some understandings about the past. By turning our attention to individual documented experiences, we gain insight into the impact and changes from social-cultural, political and economic

¹⁰⁴ Milton Gaither, “Is It Time for Another Historiographical Revolution?” *History of Education Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (2013): 177–83, 182; Maxine S. Seller, “Boundaries, Bridges, and the History of Education,” *History of Education Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (1991): 195–206.

¹⁰⁵ Ivor Goodson, ed., *The Routledge International Handbook on Narrative and Life History* (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2017); Hermione Lee, *Body Parts. Essays on Life-Writing* (London: Pimlico, 2008).

¹⁰⁶ Ivor Goodson, “The Story of Life History” in *The Routledge International Handbook on Narrative and Life History*, ed. Ivor Goodson (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2017): 23-33.

directives. For example, one could examine child rearing practices published in texts of the past and through this appraisal, we can gain some insight into how ideas about some types of child raising techniques were understood in certain texts. However, if we have documentary evidence that a parent was guided by these specific texts and reflected on their use and influence, we can then begin to build an understanding beyond the texts themselves, and begin to consider their direct influence. While the weight of a collection of ideas (such as laws, religious beliefs, educational curriculum) is significant, without exploring its relationship to the individual and consider what any particular collection of ideas were meant to change, we do not have a clear sense of their capacity to influence. To point, a set of historians have proposed the label Life History to describe scholarship that “explores the relationship between the culture, the social structure, and individual lives”.¹⁰⁷

It may be suggested that Life History is another label for biography (and thus is an interchangeable term) in part because both yield a similar product—i.e. a historical narrative about a human person. However, Life History aims to distinguish itself in the way one approaches the project of biography throughout the whole research process. As Goodson explains, the life historian makes the “decision that a life history approach, inclusive of the writing/reporting style associated with it, is the most appropriate one for telling their story, for making their interpretation, their re-presentation, for getting their message across”.¹⁰⁸ This

¹⁰⁷ Goodson, “The Story of Life History,” 25.

¹⁰⁸ Sikes and Goodson, “What Have You Got When You’ve Got A Life Story?,” 68.

involves acknowledging the “reflective and reflexive” process of research and writing.¹⁰⁹ This approach is meant to convey a sense of past that is vibrant and as “close as it is possible to get” to what happened in the past.¹¹⁰ As such, Life History examines a person from different angles, paying attention to the complexities of archival investigations and the resulting re-presentation of a life that is put forth.¹¹¹ With this in mind, Life History openly celebrates the problematic process of research that is both studious and instinctive. One performs research, yet one also may follow one instinct to follow particular leads during the research process.

As I discuss below, Life History is a framework that can be used to examine lives of the past and present, yet, “what we do with dead bodies is different from what we do with live ones”.¹¹² Both may be used to create a narrative. Both utilize memory. However, dead bodies are re-presented when written in narrative form, live ones often partake in an act of remembering; these memories are then used to form the narrative. Live ones represent themselves in the narrative they take part in, dead ones are re-presented (described and inscribed) by the historian.

Considerations for Writing Life Histories

A Life History approach brings to mind the process of historical reconstruction—a mainstay carried out by social and cultural historians.¹¹³ It is in fact more similar to the narrative result of a methodical posture within social and cultural history practice that seeks to

¹⁰⁹ Sikes and Goodson, “What Have You Got When You’ve Got A Life Story?,” 68.

¹¹⁰ Sikes and Goodson, “What Have You Got When You’ve Got A Life Story?,” 70.

¹¹¹ Sikes and Goodson, “What Have You Got When You’ve Got A Life Story?,” 68.

¹¹² Andrew Bennett quoted by Lee, Lee, *Body Parts*, 13.

¹¹³ Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (London: Routledge, 2006).

“investigate, understand, describe, and explain what may have seemed obscure”.¹¹⁴ Beyond viewing Life History as a creative model used in historical reconstruction, the approach identifies that there are competing narratives and our understanding of a person’s life cycle changes when new evidence is discovered. Indeed, the tasks performed by the Life Historian to map, describe and re-present an individual portrait is often predicated by the intention to account for historical contributions that have been overlooked or ignored. Below I will expand on how recent scholars have used the Life History model as a format for re-presenting a past life that intersects directly with the research process and writing approaches used in this dissertation. This includes filling in the gaps that still exist about female participation in the historical enterprise of the nineteenth century, demonstrating interconnectivity amongst the three individuals, modifying how chronology is employed and a discussion of why it is important to situate the life of the individual in the past without using understandings of the present to comment on the past.¹¹⁵

In their seminal monograph *Women and Education, 1800-1900*, published in 2004, Jane Martin and Joyce Goodman called for a re-mapping of our understanding of women’s participation in the changing philosophy, policy, and practice of education.¹¹⁶ Martin and Goodman answered their own call by writing Life Histories of six women in the British context. Here the Life History framework is utilized to map out life cycles of women’s educational experiences and activism in part to expose how their networks “connected and advanced their

¹¹⁴ Lee, *Body Parts*, 1.

¹¹⁵ Haraway, “Situated Knowledges; Jane Martin, “Intellectual Portraits: Politics, Professions and Identity in twentieth-Century England” *History of Education* 43, no. 6 (2014): 740-767; Munslow, *Deconstructing History*.

¹¹⁶ Jane Martin and Joyce Goodman, *Women and Education, 1800-1980* (London: Palgrave, 2004).

interests".¹¹⁷ They note that their process of "biographical discourse" was an intentional reorientation away from examining women through the lens of institution-building.¹¹⁸ Instead, Martin and Goodman focus on individual women. As they state, their intention was to attend to the "lived connections between personal and political worlds...on the intertwining of self and everyday life, self and community, self and 'voice, 'self and others, to bring into fuller view the activities of a number of women."¹¹⁹ Martin and Goodman attend to the lacuna of knowledge about female participation and influence in education and their wider publics by supplying us with the stories of six lives that contain the biographical details that expose new understandings and patterns about the women themselves, and the society they each occupied. Likewise, this project puts forth three Life Histories in order to uncover key foundational participants neglected in the historiography, who were active in producing historical scholarship.

Several scholars who utilize the Life History method have noted how working with unpublished archival documents and/or the published writings of the individual under examination exposes new webs of relationships which can serve to "make visible, invisible bonds," and deal with aspects of "cultural invisibility".¹²⁰ By being attentive to these webs, interconnections between social worlds and individuals are illuminated and the researcher becomes familiar with the social and intellectual webs, also called networks, of who they are studying. These not only widen our understanding of the individual under examination, but may

¹¹⁷ Martin and Goodman, *Women and Education, 1800-1980*, 23.

¹¹⁸ Martin and Goodman, *Women and Education, 1800-1980*, 26.

¹¹⁹ Martin and Goodman, *Women and Education, 1800-1980*, 24.

¹²⁰ Martin and Goodman, *Women and Education, 1800-1980*, 20; 15.

also expose how other individuals within their networks were significant. Further, these networks also provide insight into the juxtaposition between social-moral expectations and individual negotiations within their social worlds. For example, Maria Tamboukou describes personal letters as “narrative assemblages” that detail the why and how of everyday life.¹²¹ Within this type of detail are the unique responses to the politics of life experienced by this individual that in turn give new meaning to understanding wider social and cultural realities of the past. These undiscovered personal details and publications are key when re-presenting a figure that has experienced some level of “cultural invisibility”.

Jane Martin, by narrating the life cycle of individual women, demonstrated through the use of a mixture of personal and public documents, the intellectual contributions to the field of history from connected cohorts of women.¹²² Their impact was demonstrated not just as individuals with “ideas” about history, but by establishing their “social status in relation to” the field of history during the early twentieth century.¹²³ In this dissertation, I use a similar model to narrate the life cycles of three female historians of the Antebellum Era utilizing published and unpublished archival documents that have revealed their intellectual networks as well as demonstrate their individual influence that resulted from their historical publications.

Life History proponents argue that one characteristic that distinguishes Life History from biography is the way chronology is employed. In biography, a cradle-to-grave format is often

¹²¹ Maria Tamboukou, “Epistolary Entanglements of Love and Politics, Reading Rosa Luxemburg’s Letters” in *The Routledge International Handbook on Narrative and Life History*, ed. Ivor Goodson (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2017): 381-391.

¹²² Martin, “Intellectual Portraits”.

¹²³ Martin, “Intellectual Portraits,” 740.

used. New approaches, such as beginning a story in the middle or end of a life, can be helpful in dealing with missing evidence that does not allow the historian to account for every aspect of a particular life. For example, in debating the varied and competing “make-overs” of Virginia Woolf’s life in film and books, Hermione Lee discusses how the rearranging of the various parts of Woolf’s life have placed her suicide as the chronological starting point of her story.¹²⁴ The point of beginning with the death of an individual is to become immediately curious about how they died and what happened before this point in time. Then Lee moves back through time, integrating the books written by Woolf as a means to introduce the intellectual bodies of work produced prior to her death. These publications become tools that assist in describing the life of Woolf and also inform the reader about ideas and imagined experiences that occupied Woolf’s mind.¹²⁵

A reorientation of how to begin a narrative is particularly useful for educational historian because it introduces an alternative method of how to examine educational experiences of the past. I found that concentrating on the middle or end of an adult life often provided clues about their childhood or later years that was not revealed in other part of the research process. In these Life Histories, I begin in the chronological middle or end, then I trace back and explore how, and/or if, formal and informal educational acquisition assisted a particular individual in their local environment. This approach allows for a viewing of the value of education for women beyond the school walls and within different time periods of a life.

¹²⁴ Lee, *Body Parts*, 28.

¹²⁵ Lee, *Body Parts*.

Furthermore, when it comes to the task of biographical writing, Lee has stated that biography has rules that may need to be broken, and writing about a life “needn’t be . . . only of one person, only by another person . . . of the whole life . . . or by someone who knew the subject”.¹²⁶ It may also be a narrative constructed from an arrangement of gathered (available) facts. Ultimately, this makes a Life History, like other approaches to biography, an “artificial construct” of saved artifacts.¹²⁷ Yet, this complicated negotiation is balanced by the validity of personal accounts and published scholarship left behind. Here Elizabeth P. Peabody, Caroline H. Dall and Mary L. Booth are re-presented as female historians. This re-presenting is supported through an analysis of archival bodies of work, published and unpublished, to demonstrate the process of how women accessed and participated within educational spaces and historical production during the Antebellum Era.

Beyond describing how recent scholars have employed the format of Life History, the writing of a Life History is an interdisciplinary practice that requires a range of skills to locate information that may exist beyond one’s initial academic training. Thus, the writer of a Life History often acquires new academic skills, perspectives, and research approaches as part of the construction. In the three cases re-presented here, I put forth three women using new and/or unemployed evidence about them that underscores how living a life based in individual, interdisciplinary pursuits yielded distinct bodies of work. Hermione Lee refers to this process using a metaphoric approach, employing the term “body” to refer to how the narrator understands

¹²⁶ Lee, *Biography*, 6-11.

¹²⁷ Lee, *Biography*, 122.

the person they are writing about by analyzing their bodies of work—their productions of literary, linguistic, historical, and pedagogical, and their unpublished writings.¹²⁸ This also includes their “relics, legends, and fragments, with the parts and bits and gaps which are left over after the life has ended”.¹²⁹ Thus, the *parts* of *somebody*’s life are often located in varied spaces and places of the nineteenth century and acquired from current, various spaces and places that hold their records. In other words, the *parts* of their lives are scattered amongst research institutions that have, through their disciplinary choices, decided to conserve a particular pathway of a person’s life. Below I discuss three interdisciplinary research approaches that assist in the task of Life History writing as it pertains to importance of situating one’s subject(s).

Situated knowledges. This study incorporates into its framework the theory of “situated knowledges,” first proposed by Donna Haraway in 1988 as a social-science practice for examining women across time and place without inscribing modern notions or values into their realities.¹³⁰ Situated knowledges, as a positional stance for historical research, demands that historians deconstruct frameworks that use a gendered point-of-reference structure or label to historicize women. Haraway has argued that historical constructs are not functional because they are embedded with gendered binaries that confine and/or reduce the actual story by placing historical parameters ahead of the narrative. For example, above I discussed the gendered use of the label amateur, which was applied to both male and female historians who lacked university training. But this label was also used as a construct of exclusion of female history publications

¹²⁸ Lee, *Body Parts*, 4.

¹²⁹ Lee, *Body Parts*, 5.

¹³⁰ Haraway, “Situated Knowledges.”

and approaches to practices for the field of history throughout the nineteenth century, though this label did not serve to exclude male amateur historians.¹³¹ As Haraway states herself, “feminists don’t need a doctrine of objectivity that promises transcendence, [nor do we want to] theorize the world, [...] but we do need an earth-wide network of connections, including the ability partially to translate knowledges [*sic*] among very different-and power-differentiated-communities”.¹³² In this this dissertation, being attentive to the intellectual networks of these three women, as well as their interconnectedness allows us to more see the kind of connections that Hararway highlights.

This dissertation is driven by archival evidence, rather than modern historical constructs, as a means of keeping the lives and scholarly works contextualized and situated within the nineteenth-century sociocultural spheres. This is done, in part, by locating within existing archival records recognizable forms of social and cultural influence within active networks of the past. Once these forms are located one can begin the process of situating one’s subject in the past and constructing a context based on their social-cultural and geographical spaces and places. Jane Martin has demonstrated how essential situating one’s subjects can be for writing biographical narratives as a project of recovery for neglected historical communities.¹³³ In particular, when the women you are recovering from the past have shaped and inspired the very field of research one is working in, history. Accordingly, this excavation of evidence will proceed with a perspective that follows a process that Foucault has described as “cultivat[ing] the

¹³¹ See discussion above, under heading “The Nineteenth-Century and Female History Authors”.

¹³² Haraway, “Situated Knowledges,” 580.

¹³³ Martin, “Intellectual Portraits”.

details” of the past to discover the “moments of intensity” and “its lapses” that lead to a re-evaluation of events that are seemingly settled in the historical record.¹³⁴

Finally, piecing together a Life History can offer unique insight into a particular time and place. But other than being a “good story,” what is the value of a particular Life History beyond a stand-alone history? How can it be integrated into larger historiographies that the subjects traverse? Here the intent of my analysis is to lead to a reevaluation of previously established understandings of how nineteenth-century women were educated and the social-cultural value of that education. Still, the use of the narrative form in the discipline of history, as Hayden White observes, is both essential **and** problematic.¹³⁵ While the narrative form is a natural mode of representation, the “simulacrum of the structure and process of real events” also makes the narrative suspect because facts can become “misguided interpretations,” interpretations can remain unsupported by facts, these errors can be hidden by the poetic nature of storytelling.¹³⁶

These challenges, along with Haraway’s diagnostic imperative to construct historical narratives of women that are meaningful and unburdened with modern conclusions (be they feminist, conservative, Marxists, or otherwise) about a subject’s intellectual and public participation are the challenges of this dissertation. My gathering of evidence is ultimately an act of choice that occurs in stages. The choices made and remade stem from basic questions of where to look, what to examine, and what to discard, guide the direction of the research. I perform this

¹³⁴ Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, 144-145.

¹³⁵ Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).

¹³⁶ White, *The Content of the Form*, 27-28.

gathering with a consciousness that values the narrative form for history as a methodologically sound approach that seeks to find “what is the true or most plausible story that can be told about the events of which they are evidence”.¹³⁷ That the evidence of the Life Histories in this dissertation “resemble[s] the events that [they] represent” is also critical herein.¹³⁸ Some of the evidence demonstrates assertive social and intellectual roles by the women I profile. For example, the public roles that these women took on during the nineteenth century may test the levels of influence by male historians within the same academic spaces and time. Still, as Lee observes, a strong biography makes one want to argue with the author; if that is so, these three Life Histories will certainly spark some debate.¹³⁹

Space and place matter. David Livingstone proposes that historical practice, like scientific forms of knowledge production, is a “human enterprise situated in time and place” and is “persistently under negotiation” by an individual who is called a historian because of his or her “command of historical knowledge”.¹⁴⁰ Continues Livingstone, “human activities always take place somewhere” (place) and “the spaces of everyday life, moreover, are not insulated from the vicissitudes of international exchange. The very opposite is the case”.¹⁴¹ All three women in this examination were educated, taught, and wrote in spaces and places that formed and informed who these women became, their intellectualism, and who their contemporaries were. These

¹³⁷ White, *The Content of the Form*, 27.

¹³⁸ White, *The Content of the Form*, 27.

¹³⁹ Lee, *Body Parts*.

¹⁴⁰ David N. Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003): 13; Banner, *Being a Historian*, 3.

¹⁴¹ Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place*, 5, 7.

spaces and places also form and inform the evidence that they left about their lives. The places and spaces inhabited by these women enabled and constrained their lives and the lives of those that they, in turn, affected.¹⁴² Herein, space and place include physically definable places, such as the home, school, and libraries but also intellectual places such as cities (foreign and domestic), literary clubs, and academic lectures through which these women circulated in which they attended, were members, performed. This examination will also consider abstract spaces—intellectual, social, cultural—both material and invisible.¹⁴³ In these three cases, particular social-cultural spaces sanctioned these women to foster within themselves and other academics the strengths that led them to become teachers, authors, and historians. As such, the historical knowledge production uncovered and discussed in this dissertation will bear the mark of its creators and their locations. Thus, historical practice will be analyzed within the myriad of venues that were constructed by these women, as a means of understanding the connections and boundaries through which historical knowledge was created, disrupted, integrated, and governed, as an academic subject and consumed as public knowledge.

Footsteps. Richard Holmes employs the figurative act of tracing the “footsteps” of the individual whose life is being examined, particularly because the initial work of evidence gathering is to “follow! follow!” the “footsteps” of the subject.¹⁴⁴ This tracing of “footsteps” involves levels of travel: to the places where the evidence exists but also to the time and places of

¹⁴² Burke and Grosvenor, “An Exploration of the Writing and Reading of a Life,”; Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place*, 17.

¹⁴³ Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place*.

¹⁴⁴ Richard Holmes, *Footsteps: Adventures of a Romantic Biographer* (New York City: Vintage Books, 1985): 14.

the subject. This including locating the “dead” objects (archival remnants), in this case historical publications, left behind by the three women that are featured in this dissertation.

When one begins to walk in the footsteps of one’s subject, the first travels are to the archives. There one may encounter objects ranging from published works to manuscripts of speeches, lectures, and notes written, all which serve as evidence of the subject’s career(s) and/or public life. One may also discover more personal objects, such as diaries, letters, and personal mementoes. Each trip represents a “new phase” in a historical pilgrimage.¹⁴⁵ This experience of travel may be particularly true if one’s research is conducted in spaces that the subject inhabited in the past. Still, as Holmes observed, the subject will always be “ahead” of the historian; he or she will have constructed and crossed bridges “still unaccounted for” and perhaps already destroyed by time. Yet, the historian will still need to produce the “living effect” of the subject’s life from “dead fact[s]”.¹⁴⁶ This is how the historian produces the map of a story—a *history*. The map is made after the travel is complete, and then the process begins again—“follow! follow!”. These crucial steps taken to recover archival documents and the locations of lives, while not always obvious in the Life History chapters, bind these analyses.

A critical example of the use of Lee’s and Holmes’ approaches for historical analysis was recently authored by educational historians Cathy Burke and Ian Grosvenor. Their work serves as an archetype for applying this approach in the construction of an educational historical narrative. Burke and Grosvenor use the bases of footsteps and body parts in writing their Life History of

¹⁴⁵ Holmes, *Footsteps*, 23.

¹⁴⁶ Holmes, *Footsteps*, 23-27.

Victorian school architect Edward R. Robson (1836-1917).¹⁴⁷ They reconstruct his life as an influential architect of English school buildings and simultaneously explore the process of biography, observing that the “writing and reading of a life” places the historian in the role of “ferryman between the dead and living”.¹⁴⁸ I was intrigued by their reflection about the role of the historian and the narrative that a historian produces. Does the historian act as an arbiter between the living and dead; as a eulogizer of what is to be understood about a subject’s life, world, and reality?¹⁴⁹ If so, how does the historian write a narrative that keeps the subject “situated” in the subject’s own world? Burke and Grosvenor address their role as ferrymen by taking on the roles of follower, collector and, ultimately, the makers of Robson’s life and influence. They accomplish this goal by situating Robson in the physical spaces that he designed and revealing his subsequent influence on English schooling despite the transnational influences on his architectural designs. Thus, Robson’s life remains chronological and spatially English, but the reader also comprehends the complexity of his national and transnational experiences, which fashioned his architectural aesthetic.

¹⁴⁷ Catherine Burke and Ian Grosvenor, “An Exploration of the Writing and Reading of a Life: The ‘Body Parts’ of the Victorian School Architect E.R. Robson.” in *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 201-220. For biographies of situated knowledges produced by women who lived during a similar time frame see Jane Martin and Joyce Goodman who, in their seminal 2004 monograph *Women and Education, 1800-1900* (London: Palgrave, 2004) call for a re-mapping of influential women in educational spaces and answered their own call by writing life-histories of six women in the British context.

¹⁴⁸ Burke and Grosvenor, “An Exploration of the Writing and Reading of a Life,” 203.

¹⁴⁹ Popkewitz uses the term historical “seeing,” and Burke and Grosvenor use the term ferryman. Arguably both terms are concerned with the role of the historian as an agent who constructs the past, see Thomas S. Popkewitz, ed. *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Following in the footsteps of Burke and Grosvenor, I aim to write Life Histories of three female historians, each of whom was a *somebody*. As they observe, this type of historical project gives rise to new questions, concerns, and pathways. To explore these, the researcher travels, in the quest to learn about *somebody*. The historian follows the footsteps of his or her subject's life and then, as a result, collects evidence of a life, reassembles the *parts* for the reader, and produces a *body* of work in itself. Reflecting on this process, Burke and Grosvenor highlight the stages of a historical project that seeks to examine a life that includes the mindset, struggles, and stages that the historian experiences as a result of such an undertaking. Including this type of awareness about the process of constructing a historical narrative is a definitional component of the Life History approach.¹⁵⁰

Finally, as Thomas Popkewitz notes, “seeing” into the mindset, struggles, and stages that the historian experiences as a result of such an undertaking—in this case, the writing of Life Histories—requires, on the part of the writer, consciousness of the act of writing about the past.¹⁵¹ This kind of historical consciousness, a form of meditation on the historian's struggle with research, archival access, facilitates the creation of the final “product,” this dissertation.

As noted above, the historical narration of this dissertation rests on Life History, to reconstruct and situate the person within their life.¹⁵² This approach, Lee proposes, disrupts what has been traditionally understood and expected from biographical and/or narrative writing about

¹⁵⁰ Holmes, *Footsteps*; Lee, *Body Parts*.

¹⁵¹ Popkewitz, *Rethinking the History of Education*, 3; see also FN 126, this Chapter.

¹⁵² Haraway, “Situated Knowledges”; Holmes, *Footsteps*; Lee, *Body Parts*; Martin and Goodman, *Women and Education*.

a subject-i.e. a chronological, cradle to grave accounting, objectively written. Lee challenges historians and literary writers alike to use the archival evidence available to contest or further illuminate a previous understanding of a person's life, the period in which that person lived, and/or his or her relationships to contemporaries.¹⁵³ Additionally, Lee challenges the narrator to explore the biographical "body parts" of a lived life without adhering to a strict chronological path of one's subject.¹⁵⁴ In this way, I aim to produce Life Histories that do not end in the "chronicler's own present" (the twenty-first century) but instead remain situated in time and place and provide "narrative closure" (to provide conclusions, not simply terminate the story) within the period under analysis, this case mid-nineteenth century America.¹⁵⁵

Research Question

The women whose Life Histories I present in this dissertation intersect with important intellectual movements of the nineteenth-century United States (e.g., Transcendentalism, educational expansion, and women's rights). I pose questions that recognize the significance of these women's lives to American history, and the carefully chosen methods I will use to narrate the lives of these three women will drive the research and analysis. The primary research question is:

¹⁵³ Lee, *Biography*.

¹⁵⁴ Lee, *Body Parts*; Lee, *Biography*.

¹⁵⁵ White, *The Content of the Form*, 5.

How did three female scholars active in the mid-nineteenth century navigate and utilize their formal and informal educational experiences to develop their intellectual and vocational aspirations in the field of history between 1830 and 1870?

Research Design

This dissertation employs an archival-based documentary analysis as the primary means of investigation for these three case studies. Gary McCulloch argues that it is necessary to obtain, read, and analyze an array of documents that, when compiled, provide insights and explanations for constructing a historical narrative.¹⁵⁶ He further contends that documents provide potent evidence of continuity and change in ideals and practice. Additionally, Arthur Marwick maintains that primary sources excavated from archives represent the rarest form of historical evidence created within the period of study.¹⁵⁷ He opines that although, on their own, these primary sources do not make history, “without the study of primary sources there is no history”.¹⁵⁸ The findings from my archival-based research will be supported and contested with published primary and secondary sources in the form of articles and books produced by historians with expertise in the time period under investigation.

The use of historical narrative serves as the primary means to form and communicate knowledge into the telling of a particular story; it is a discourse in the act of producing history.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Gary McCulloch, *Documentary Research in Education, History, and the Social Sciences* (London: Routledge, 2004).

¹⁵⁷ Arthur Marwick, *The New Nature of History; Knowledge, Evidence, Language* (Chicago: Lyceum Books, Inc., 1970).

¹⁵⁸ Marwick, *The New Nature of History*, 156.

¹⁵⁹ White, *The Content of the Form*.

It may sound self-evident that a historian narrates what is discovered from the archival record, a recounting of what is known. The emphasis here is on the three case studies that are utilized to describe the world of these women in order for their personal pursuits, capabilities, historical productions and public identities to become the primary definitional qualities. What is accomplished by bringing these three lives together is the understanding of the specificity of the individual women's experiences, and the patterns of cohesion between the three women.

While researching and transcribing diaries of antebellum girls at the Massachusetts Historical Society, the archivist asked if I wanted to see (what was colloquially referred to as) 'the book of women'. This was a typed, alphabetical listing of nineteenth-century women whose artifacts had been acquired by the Society. It was here that I found the initial group of women from whom I would select the case studies presented here. Three were chosen based on the pattern of themes that emerged from initial biographical data gathered during archival research: born during the Early Republic/Antebellum era, teacher, author, historian. An important criterion was that there existed a significant amount of archival material that detailed their lives, including their work as teachers (and why teaching was not always a part of their lives). Furthermore, it was significant that the personal details about their girlhoods and early adulthood had not been examined in connection with their public role as historians. Moreover, while the research stage of the project revealed that there are many women who published historical works during the nineteenth century, they only partially fulfilled these criteria. For example, some were not teachers, some published in the Post-bellum Era and/or were born, but not educated during the Antebellum Era.

It was also critical that their historical writings were published prior to 1870. The year 1870, in the current historiography, represents a starting point for examining history production

in the US, including the work of female historians.¹⁶⁰ Specifically, the date 1870 cues the beginning of the first decade of Post-bellum America, and there is a respectable amount of research during this period about educated women who accessed forms of higher education (universities, colleges and normal schools) in order to pursue their vocational aspirations.¹⁶¹ Jane Martin's recent biographical accounting of women historians in twentieth-century England whose scholarly productions helped shape modern historical practice stands as a significant effort to identify university educated female historians born during a period beginning in 1870.¹⁶² Similarly in the US context, Julie Des Jardin's chose the time frame of 1870-1880 to examine women historians because it signifies the beginning of the process of academic based professionalization of historical training.¹⁶³ In this sense, Des Jardin has built upon Novick's periodization of the professionalization of historical training and practice. However, Des Jardin recognized that the conventions that guided history writing prior to 1870 did not disappear, but were in fact "modified in the twentieth century to match the scientific milieu of the academy".¹⁶⁴ Des Jardin's understanding that there were important conventions in the field of history that were practiced by women prior to 1870 is supported by Nina Baym's two monographs on nineteenth-

¹⁶⁰ Martin and Goodman, *Women and Education*; Novick, *That Noble Dream*; Smith, *The Gender of History*.

¹⁶¹ Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America*; Martin and Goodman, *Women and Education*; Martin, "Intellectual Portraits"; Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald, eds., *Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Sadovnik and Semel, eds., *Founding Mothers and Others*; Scanlon and Cosner, *American Women Historians*.

¹⁶² Martin, "Intellectual Portraits".

¹⁶³ Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America*.

¹⁶⁴ Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America*, 6.

century female writers and historians.¹⁶⁵ Accordingly, by analyzing work prior to this date, this dissertation fills in gaps and supports recent research about female historical contributions in America, in particular publications prior to the Civil War.

I have singled out three women who were born, educated and initially published historical works during the Antebellum Era. Interestingly, the women in this dissertation at some point during their lives meet. They meet because of their active public intellectual engagement. This connection, both personal and public (revealed during the research stage) was intriguing, as it pointed to influential role of formal and informal intellectual networks in the Boston and New York region. Indeed, the extensive nature of archive materials and the way in which these three women were, as it turns out, publically connected supports Tamboukou's notion about how archival excavations serve to reduce the cultural invisibility of individuals who produced serious intellectual contributions for the field of history in the US during the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁶⁶ Moreover, following recent conventions of social history and life history, I will refer across the text to each woman by their first name (given name) as a means to further bring "a record to life" that place their name and what one comes to understand about that person whilst reading a biographical account to the forefront.¹⁶⁷ Thus, while putting forth a life history of a female historian is significant, there is great value in an assemblage of narratives that intersect that

¹⁶⁵ Baym, *American Women Writers and the Work of History*; Baym, *Women Writers of the American West*.

¹⁶⁶ Tamboukou, "Epistolary Entanglements".

¹⁶⁷ Ian Grosvenor, "'Seen but Not Heard': City Childhoods from the Past into the Present." *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 3 (2007): 405-29; 406; Michael Fielding. "Transformative Approaches to Student Voice: Theoretical Underpinnings, Recalcitrant Realities." *British Educational Research Journal* 30, no. 2 (2004): 295-311.

underscores how Life History can illuminate the tensions and eases of the larger social and cultural landscapes occupied by these three women and their individual accomplishments.¹⁶⁸

These women are, as noted in the Dissertation Scope:

Name	Born/Lived and worked	Historical Field(s)
Elizabeth P. Peabody (1804-1894)	Billerica, Massachusetts /Boston, Massachusetts	History Textbooks; Historical Chronology
Caroline H. Dall (1822-1912)	Boston, Massachusetts/ Georgetown, Virginia, Boston, Massachusetts	Women's History
Mary L. Booth (1831-1889)	Millville, Long Island, New York/ New York, New York	Urban History; Historical Translation

Finally, access to the archival materials that allowed for full chronicles to be written is essential. I utilized the following archives: Massachusetts Historical Society, The Boston Athenaeum, the Schlesinger Library at the Radcliffe Institute, The Concord Free Public Library, the New York City Public Library Archives, The New York State Archives, the Sophia Smith Collection at Smith College and the University of Wisconsin Archives.

Bias and Limitations of the Study

A distinct, ever-present ontological concern of historians is the reality that it is impossible to fully place oneself into a temporally located place and time. We sometimes call this temporal location The Past. The historian can never be placed in the past: s/he is only in the present. Despite this, the historian progresses onward, determined to understand the past and to reconcile the relationship between the past and present. Arguably, even the most complete archival object or written documentation of the past still is subject to historical interpretation. Archival

¹⁶⁸ Goodson, "The Story of Life History"; Tamboukou, "Epistolary Entanglements".

documents provide an opportunity to examine The Past, but in the end, the historian is faced with, and must attempt to make, interpretative assertions. Herein, I do not debate historical relativism but rather put forth an inescapable truth that the work of a historian is to make sense of historical text in the present, using language and constructs of the present. Thus, one must remain aware of one's own historical consciousness and account for the cultural claims and context of one's analysis. No historical position or claim remains stable.

Regarding bias, Rossman and Rallis argue that no researcher can be completely disinterested. Therefore, researchers must be aware of their own biases, including their beliefs and values, which they bring to the research.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, Rossman and Rallis assert that as long as researchers are clear about their theoretical and methodological orientation, and make their purposes explicit, issues of reliability and validity are served. Further, a historian practicing the craft cannot claim to rest on an objective platform because the very act of writing history is an act based in the construction of ideas, perspectives, and interpretation that are informed by a context of one's own accumulated knowledge.¹⁷⁰ Thus my expertise and current ideas about history are all informed by contexts that are themselves still under construction by other historians and cultural interpretations.¹⁷¹ As a historian, I am a subject constructing from objects of the past. This process is infinitely unstable. Yet it is a process that produces a valid historical

¹⁶⁹ Gretchen B. Rossman and Sharon F. Rallis, *Learning in the Field: An Introduction to Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2003).

¹⁷⁰ Peter Seixas, "Progress, Presence and Historical Consciousness: Confronting Past, Present and Future in Postmodern Time," *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 48, no. 6 (2012): 859–72.

¹⁷¹ Seixas, "Progress, Presence and Historical Consciousness".

representation so long as I remain aware that my historical constructions of these events are not objective, but rather are informative narratives of the past. Finally, given the manner in which the researcher becomes immersed in the archives while conducting research, the importance of addressing researcher bias is evident. Therefore, it is essential to explain some of my experiences and the manner in which they might affect this study.

I have spent more than a decade researching women's history and regularly give conference presentations and write about the intersection of gender and educational access and practice, including the professional practices of writing and teaching. Thus, the statements I make and the contexts I use in this dissertation are partly derived from my scholarly experiences. These experiences may also mean that I recognize the limitations of my own research and access to archival documents. Finally, all research is inherently limited. As such, the literature could benefit from an exploration that considers teachers and history authors of this time regardless of gender. This kind of comparison and accounting would be beneficial for the historiography of historical production; it would provide a more complete survey of knowledge production of the field of history as it stood before the Civil War in the United States.

CHAPTER TWO

ELIZABETH P. PEABODY, ANTEBELLUM HISTORIAN

Introduction

In 1849 Elizabeth P. Peabody edited and published *Aesthetic Papers*, the only issue of a journal that she had hoped would become popular beyond her network of intellectuals, the Transcendentalists. *Aesthetic Papers* contained a wide range of essays about medicine, philosophy, war, progress and an essay by the editor herself, titled “The Dorian Measure”. This essay was a historical and linguistic tracing, an “eye back over the records of history” and key political concepts.¹ In particular, “The Dorian Measure” was a discourse about what a Nation is, how a Nation becomes a civilization, and the role educational institutions play in developing the individual, and thus the national intellect.

This essay upheld the cultural, religious, and political history of the Dorian civilization, within the realm of Greek Antiquity, as a model of civilization and as a historical point of reference to compare notions of freedom, the rule of law and the necessity of an educated populace. At the end of the piece, Elizabeth employed her understanding of Greek history to critique America for being “dumb” in its implementation of “one language” in spaces of

¹ Elizabeth P. Peabody, “The Dorian Measure.” *Aesthetic Papers*. Boston: The Editor, 13 West Street, 1849: 64-65.

learning, commerce and politics, arguing that multilingualism was a hallmark of civilization.² Interestingly, Elizabeth pointed out that even her narrative of ancient Greece could not provide a “uniform” pattern for how a strong Nation developed, and she highlighted the limits of historical comparison.³ She reasoned that history was constructed from “inquiries” into the past that yielded “arrangements” of past events and understandings about other nations.⁴

Additionally, her essay pointed out, from a philological perspective, that the work of a historian involves dealing with interpretations of written records, and thus the study of languages was essential. All in all, “The Dorian Measure” is a mix of history, linguistics and commentary on historical methods written by a woman who was by all accounts a self-trained historian.⁵ By bringing to the forefront an example of Elizabeth’s definitional and philosophical perspectives about the discipline of history we glimpse her thinking and writing as a historian. She was a person interested in history—what history *is*—a collection of past events—and what history can become when read—a form of intellectual production used to understand the past.

At the same time, her essay positioned Elizabeth within a group of contributors, all of whom wrote tracts that grappled with the meaning of *aesthetic* concepts (hence the title of the journal). This word, as Elizabeth admitted, was “vague...[and] undefined” that is neither “theory

² Peabody, “The Dorian Measure,” 106.

³ Peabody, “The Dorian Measure,” 66.

⁴ Peabody, “The Dorian Measure,” 68-69.

⁵ James M. Banner, *Being a Historian, An Introduction to the Professional World of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); For self-educated antebellum women identifying as historians see Mary Kelley, “Designing a Past for the Present: Women Writing Women’s History in Nineteenth-Century America”. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, January 1, 1995: 315-346; Nina Baym, *American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790-1860* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995).

or philosophy” but cues combinations of ideas (be they historical, philosophical, literary, scientific or artistic) through writing or visual representation, that attempt to reveal an understanding of the human condition.⁶ The relationship between the cultivation of the individual and the development of the intellectual mind was of great interest to Elizabeth. Here the concept of the aesthetic, defined and re-defined throughout the articles included in the publication, demonstrates an appreciation of, and participation in, educational progress. Indeed, Elizabeth began her inaugural and only issue of *Aesthetic Papers* explaining the title of the journal:

The Editor wishes to assemble, upon the high aesthetic ground (away from the regions of strife, in any bad sense), writers of different schools, that the antagonistic views of Philosophy, of Individual and of Social Culture, which prevail among the various divisions of the Church, and of the Scientific and Literary world, may be brought together, and a white radiance of love and wisdom be evolved from the union of the many-colored rays, that shall cultivate an harmonious intellectual and moral life in our country.⁷

With the publication of *Aesthetic Papers* the world also witnessed the first published version of Thoreau’s “Resistance to Civil Government: A Lecture Delivered in 1847”—a tract that would later become Thoreau’s eminent work—*Civil Disobedience*.⁸ In *Aesthetic Papers* Thoreau laid out a political and economic based critique of the United States. He tackled issues such the invasion of Mexico and the continuance of slavery. He was incensed that taxes supported immoral causes without the permission, nor conscious consideration of what tax

⁶ Elizabeth P. Peabody, “The Word “Aesthetic”” *Aesthetic Papers* Boston: The Editor, 13, West Street, 1849: 1-2.

⁷ Elizabeth P. Peabody, “Prospectus”. *Aesthetic Papers* Boston: The Editor, 13, West Street, 1849: iii.

⁸ See, Boston Landmark Commission Study Report, 2011 “13-15 West Street Elizabeth Peabody Bookstore and Circulating Library,” Boston Commission Report Petition # 232.08: 19. A similar version of this tract was called “The Relation of the Individual to the State,” see Henry David Thoreau and Philip Van Doren Stern, *The Annotated Walden: Walden; Or, Life in the Woods* (New York: C. N. Potter; Distributed by Crown Publishers, 1970).

paying citizens would want.⁹ When a government acts thusly, argued Thoreau, it is the right of the citizen to resist and/or revolt against such violations against the citizenry.¹⁰ While Thoreau was referring to what he viewed in 1847 to be immoral acts—invading Mexico, war and slavery—this tract would become, and arguably remains, emblematic of the right of citizens to take a stand against what they perceive to be immoral laws and actions by their own government. “Resistance to Civil Government” became *Civil Disobedience* in 1866 and this title, would in turn, become a call to action—a doctrine employed to fight against inequality.¹¹

Why did Elizabeth include a political tract, that was a direct and unabashed critique of governmental power, in a journal that otherwise promoted the discussion of complex ideas about the aesthetic? The answer is not simple. A clue can be found in one of the alternative titles to *Civil Disobedience*, notably “The Relation of the Individual to the State,” that was used on January 28, 1848 by Thoreau when he spoke at the Concord Lyceum. The themes for his speech were individual liberty, the burden of taxes, and his experience of spending the night in jail (the previous summer) as a result of refusing to pay his own taxes.¹² Both Peabody and Thoreau highlighted in their writing the responsibility an individual had in developing a moral consciousness in part because educated, moral individuals are the building blocks of a strong society. With respect to the individual, Thoreau was careful to note in the version titled

⁹ Henry D. Thoreau, “Resistance to Civil Government: A Lecture Delivered in 1847.” *Aesthetic Papers*. Boston: The Editor 13, West Street, 1849: 189-211.

¹⁰ Thoreau, “Resistance to Civil Government”.

¹¹ Stern traces the first appearance of the title *Civil Disobedience* to the 1866 publication by Thoreau in a book titled *A Yankee in Canada, with Anti-Slavery and Reform Papers* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1866), see Thoreau and Stern, *The Annotated Walden*, 452.

¹² Thoreau and Stern, *The Annotated Walden*.

“Resistance” that it was an individual’s obligation to be conscious of their own virtue when making any choices, be it voting, paying taxes, or obeying laws (even those he determined to be unjust).¹³ An emphasis on a conscious, discretionary approach when making choices can be linked to Elizabeth’s understanding of the individual’s influence within the larger society. The educational development of the individual, argued Elizabeth in “The Dorian Measure,” served as a building block for civilization.¹⁴ Within a Nation, she observed, an individual is both a distinct, singular influence, and through participation, a member of the “body politic” and in both instances “wedded to custom,” consciously or unconsciously, when making decisions for life.¹⁵

The observations made by Elizabeth in “The Dorian Measure” were published in the middle of two decades of authorship that yielded a total of seven history books between 1832-1859.¹⁶ These books were written alongside published works about her pedagogical perspectives, including her interpretation of European approaches for teaching history. An assessment of her historical production reveals a woman with a motivated disposition, a curious mix of high

¹³ Thoreau, “Resistance to Civil Government”, 197.

¹⁴ Phyllis Cole, “Elizabeth Peabody in the Nineteenth Century: Autobiographical Perspectives,” in *Toward a Female Genealogy of Transcendentalism*, eds. Jana L. Argersinger and Phyllis Cole, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2014): 135; Peabody, “The Dorian Measure”; Amy Earhart, “Elizabeth Peabody on the “Temperament of the Colored Classes” in *Reinventing the Peabody Sisters*, eds. M. Elbert, J. Hall, & K. Rodier (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006): 77-90.

¹⁵ Peabody, “The Dorian Measure,” 66.

¹⁶ Elizabeth P. Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History; Being Part First of a Key to History. Questions Adapted to Irving’s Life and Voyages of Columbus; and Robertson’s History of America. vol. 1.* (Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co., 1832); Elizabeth P. Peabody, *Key to History, Part II; The Hebrews.* (Boston: Marsh, Capen, & Lyon, 1833); Elizabeth P. Peabody, *Key to History, Part III; The Greeks.* (Boston: Marsh, Capen, & Lyon, 1833); Elizabeth P. Peabody, *The Polish-American System of Chronology: Reproduced from General Bem’s Franco-Polish Method* (Boston: 13 West Street, New York: G.P. Putnam, 1850); Elizabeth P. Peabody, ed., *Crimes of the House of Austria Against Mankind* (New York: Rudolph Garrigue, 1852); Elizabeth P. Peabody, *Chronological History of the United States, Arranged with Plates on Bem’s Principle* (New York: Sheldon & Co., 1856); Elizabeth P. Peabody, *Universal History: Arranged to Illustrate Bem’s Charts of Chronology* (New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859).

intellect, moral sincerity and stout independence who was committed to the intellectual development of persons—herself, her students and community. She believed her roles as teacher, author and publisher were the most suitable means to influence members of society itself.¹⁷

Whilst reading “The Dorian Measure” I began to wonder if it was an essay about herself; a historical interpretation of her own cultural, aesthetic and historical expertise. I also wondered why Elizabeth did not promote her own historical publications with the same fervor that she promoted her work on pedagogy or the works of other authors such as Thoreau, Hawthorne, and Fuller. Perhaps this was due to her leadership role in publishing at that time in Boston. In this chapter, her historical works that pre-date other scholarly accomplishments, are brought to the forefront. I will focus on her historical competency and through a mapping of her childhood and education provide insight about her own intellectual capabilities.

Here the publication of the journal *Aesthetic Papers*, and its inclusion of Thoreau’s seminal tract, serves to introduce Elizabeth P. Peabody as a historian who was highly aware of the interconnections between history, politics and philosophy. Elizabeth also understood the importance of education in the cultural development of a strong nation. This publication, along with others discussed in this chapter represent her desire to influence the intellectual and moral life of the United States during the Antebellum Era. By 1849 Elizabeth, age 45, had a prodigious record of publications and was an active public intellectual within the Transcendental network of Boston. Her influence was multifaceted and longstanding—a teacher, author, publisher,

¹⁷ Cole, “Elizabeth Peabody”.

bookshop owner, and pedagogue. Elizabeth had worked hard to be known in all those roles, yet she referred to herself, beginning in her 20s, while still a young teacher, as *a historian*.¹⁸

Organization of Chapter Two

In Chapter Two I re-present a portrait of Elizabeth P. Peabody, including her early educational and teaching experiences in order to contextualize her growth as a historian. This narrative will also include her public roles as author, publisher and owner of a bookshop and circulating library in Boston. Still, the primary purpose of the chapter is to evidence her historical contributions, focusing on the earlier decades of Elizabeth's life, prior to the Civil War, when historical publications and teaching occupied a significant part of her life.

An accounting of Elizabeth's life will highlight core themes of the dissertation: historical authorships, educational background, and intellectual networks. This will include her historical contributions to the discipline of history in American. To do this, I implement compatible forms for writing biography to produce a Life History. Specifically, I use Hermione Lee's conceptualizations of *body parts* as a strong metaphor for describing archival research process. In addition, I draw on Richard Holmes' notion of *following* one's subject, through the spaces the subject occupied, including the work a subject created while occupying particular spaces. This integrated format has several advantages as a process of writing about a person's life. First it pays close attention to the social, physical and intellectual norms of the period under analysis in order to put forth a vivid sense of the past. Second, Life History is a creative methodology for telling a story about a past life that is not written in a standard chronological format. This method

¹⁸ Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, *Letterbook and Commonplace-book*, 1821-1832, Ms. N-672, Massachusetts Historical Society, emphasis mine.

of historical analysis is particularly appropriate for female subjects whose material productions remain excluded from larger historical narratives, perhaps in part because they remain “hidden” in archives.

By combining intellectual production with the tensions, contradictions and support within institutional, public, and private spaces and places I develop a situated, complex framing of a single subject, Elizabeth P. Peabody, that contextualizes her development as a historian. As I describe in Chapter One, a multi-layered approach for a historical narrative is particularly useful for the educational historian because it introduces alternative methods of examining educational experiences of the past. Instead of examining Elizabeth through the educational institutions she worked in or her relationship to her family members, the focus is on her educational and intellectual journey that led to her influential public persona in the field of history primarily drawn from previously unemployed archival materials.¹⁹

The first task will include constructing a portrait of her childhood, although this linear adherence is more about evidencing her intellectual growth than paying strict attention to chronology. Next I analyze her historical publications and pedagogy during the Antebellum period. Then the analysis follows Elizabeth during the year 1840 as she prepared and opened her bookstore and circulating library in Boston, which quickly became a key intellectual space of the transcendental movement. Next the analysis turns to her historical publications of the 1850s. Overall I propose that her previous intellectual pursuits, and in particular her educational philosophy, which would later bloom into a staunch advocacy for establishing kindergartens

¹⁹ Banner, *Being a Historian*; Baym, *American Women Writers*; Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History, Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2000).

during the late nineteenth-century, greatly influenced her historical output during the 1850s. The analysis ends as it begins, in the middle of Elizabeth's life and meditates on a revised portrait of her influence as an American educational progressive and historian.

Childhood and Education

Portrait of a New England Girlhood

This first section of Chapter Two constructs a portrait of Elizabeth's girlhood and early adult life. My analysis concentrates on the parts of her childhood that demonstrate her development as a young scholar. Specifically, this section examines her growth within literary and scholastic networks of influence. Elizabeth herself credits her intellectual capacity to both her upbringing and her own aptitude. She grew up in a household where her mother was also her teacher, and thus influential in constructing her non-domestic education. This upbringing included an early exposure to a network of scholarly individuals, most of whom she deemed significant friends and mentors throughout her life. In this sense, my analysis functions as a portrait of a child's intellectual development.

On May 16, 1804 Mrs. Elizabeth (Eliza) Palmer Peabody gave birth to her first of seven children; a blue-eyed girl with curly hair given the name, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody. This name—her mother's name—signified from birth the life-long influence of the Palmer-Putnam side of the family.²⁰ In recalling her own upbringing, Elizabeth explained that she was from a family of educated Americans. She attributed her “passionate pursuit” of history and teaching to

²⁰ Megan Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters, Three Women Who Ignited American Romanticism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005).

a “pre-natal” inculcation by her mother, who in the year of Elizabeth’s birth, 1804, was running her own boarding school in Billerica, MA.²¹ More telling perhaps was that Elizabeth believed her scholastic abilities to be natural, writing that she was related to many “highly cultivated women” and by way of example noted that her mother had been well-educated by her own father, Joseph Pearse, son of General Joseph Palmer.²² Indeed, Eliza Peabody had herself become a well-respected teacher by 1800. Elizabeth maintained that her mother prized “history and literature” as core, essential subjects for academic learning.²³ As for Elizabeth, she had come to believe that her artistic and intellectual capacity served a social-moral purpose, and like her female peers in America, had the capacity to influence the “intellectual culture” of their nation.²⁴ Likewise, Elizabeth credited her parents with instilling in her the tools of autodidacticism, which resulted in her ability to speak and read in ten languages.²⁵ Being multi-lingual opened up many intellectual pathways for Elizabeth to follow throughout most of the nineteenth century. Her linguistic

²¹ Elizabeth P. Peabody, “Mrs. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody-1800-1818, Letter from Miss E.P. Peabody” in *Female education in Massachusetts: Reminiscences of subjects and methods of teaching, American Journal of Education*, v. 34 (July 1884): 307-310; 308. (Only available from Massachusetts Historical Society SH 18UD B Horace Mann Pamphlets). The volume is listed as 34, however the Library of Congress’ serial record states the journal ceased with v. 32. As noted on the front cover, this pamphlet of educational reminiscences was reprinted from Bernard’s *American Journal of Education* and sold for 25cents a copy and items within this pamphlet written by Elizabeth and her sister Mary were pulled together from different volumes of the journal.

²² Peabody, “Mrs. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody,” 307.

²³ Peabody, “Mrs. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody,” 307.

²⁴ Elizabeth P. Peabody, “Principles and Methods of Education. Letter from Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody” in *Female education in Massachusetts: Reminiscences of subjects and methods of teaching, American Journal of Education*, v. 34 (July 1884): 289-306, 290. (Only available from Massachusetts Historical Society SH 18UD B Horace Mann Pamphlets).

²⁵ I have identified these as: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, English, German, French, Polish, Spanish and Italian (9), the tenth is presumably English, see Charles H. Foster, “Elizabeth P. Peabody” in *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Edward T. James (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971): 31-34.

abilities also account for her extensive knowledge and commitment to adapt European educational practices for American historical practice, and later in the century, her leadership role in the kindergarten movement in America.

Perhaps a significant feature of her childhood memories was Elizabeth's acknowledgement of the importance of being raised in a loving household.²⁶ Maria Porter, who published a mini-biography of the Peabody sisters in 1894 included a letter dated 1880, written by Elizabeth to Maria that stated:

There is nothing for which I am more thankful than that my best of mothers trained me from my earliest childhood in self-abnegation and devotion to the interests of humanity, or, in simpler phraseology, in love to God and love to man. I was the first-born child in a home where the atmosphere was love. My mother had a home school, and there I was carefully instructed in the English branches, and by my father was taught and well grounded in Latin and Greek.²⁷

As I have noted recently, “an untidy contemplation on the notions of love” as part of one's childhood, that includes efforts to contextualize the value of being raised in a loving environment, is a complicated, individualize experience.²⁸ Here love is an important aspect of a person's mindset, particularly if the subject under study has repeatedly mentioned it in their own writings.²⁹ In this case, Elizabeth connected a loving household to a love of learning and a devotion towards pursuing her intellectual goals. She made this connection several times;

²⁶ Maria S. Porter, “Elizabeth Palmer Peabody” *The Bostonian*, vol. 3, no. 4 (1896): 340-350.

²⁷ Porter, “Elizabeth Palmer Peabody,” 341.

²⁸ Annmarie Valdes, “For you seem principally to indulge in brain work pure and simple’: Utilising Life History Methods to Connect Women's Education and Agency in Nineteenth-Century America’, *History of Education Researcher* 97 (May 2016): 25.

²⁹ Valdes, “For you seem principally to indulge in brain work pure and simple”.

incorporating the importance of a love for learning into her first history book, *Key to History* (1832), and in her pedagogical tracts published in later decades. For example, in that same year, 1832, Elizabeth translated from the French an entire book about a love of learning, with chapter titles like “How the Love of Excellence Modifies Self-Love”. Work like this, and her subsequent publication in 1841, *Theory of Teaching*, underscores her perceptive, and arguably progressive, views about the connection between child’s positive emotional support and learning.³⁰

Biographer Megan Marshall notes that Elizabeth was raised in a busy household. The Palmer-Peabody household was chaotic and often filled with student boarders for her mother’s school, and as time went on, two sisters and three brothers, the youngest sister dying two months after birth in 1819. Further, Marshall underscores the fact that Elizabeth’s mother’s role as a teacher (running many of her schools, some from home) created a household environment that valued the benefits of educational attainment as equal to, and more permanent than, benefits gained from social rank.³¹ This meant that intelligence was not in conflict with femininity and a “good” marriage to a man from an important family was not considered the only future for the Peabody girls. Eliza Peabody’s approach of combining her teaching and home life served as an example for her daughters on how a woman could balance a scholarly life and duties at home.

Eliza Peabody was an austere, intelligent woman—both as mother and teacher to Elizabeth, who began attending her mother’s school in 1812, at age eight (the youngest age she would accept a student). Eliza Peabody’s approach to teaching was modeled after college

³⁰ Joseph-Marie baron de Gérando, *Self-education*, Trans. Elizabeth P. Peabody (Boston: Carter and Hendee, 1830; 1832); Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*, 10; Elizabeth P. Peabody, *Theory of Teaching, with a Few Practical Illustrations* (Boston: E.P. Peabody, 1841).

³¹ Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 81.

preparatory work for boys during that time. The curriculum centered on history, literature, languages and philosophy, and included classic works by Chaucer, Edgeworth, Goldsmith, Homer, Milton, Shakespeare, Spenser, and de Staël. She also had students perfect their writing skills by requiring them to write histories in the form of biography.³² However, Eliza Peabody did not practice co-education at her schools. Her sons, Nathaniel (1811), George (1813) and Wellington (1815) attended public school, primarily in Salem, where corporal punishment was used on the boys when their lessons were incomplete. This was a severe juxtaposition to the school room run by their mother, where students were encouraged to challenge ideas within a lesson and creativity was nurtured.³³ As a result, the sisters gained a well-attended to, academic education, with their mother paying scant attention to the curriculum and emotional well-being the schools provided for her sons.³⁴

Elizabeth also received a strong education in theology which is evident in her own writings and letters. For example, in a letter to her younger sister Sophia, (of whom Elizabeth was oft put in charge of educating formally and informally), the then nineteen-year-old wrote:

Theology, my dear Sophia, is a science of all others the most interesting, the most absorbing, and the most important. I have recommended to you the cultivation of your intellect, your taste, and your heart, by literature & science, by the fine arts, and by those habits of pious meditation, charitable judgement, benevolent feeling and severe self examination which taken together constitute religion. You cannot but feel that were there but one world, all I have said would apply and that to be happy in it, you could steer

³² Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*; Bruce A. Ronda, *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody A Reformer on Her Own Terms* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

³³ Ruth Baylor, *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, Kindergarten Pioneer* (Philadelphia: University Press, 1965); Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*.

³⁴ Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*.

no course so likely to ensure your wished for issue as the one you have perceived me to point out.³⁵

Still, Elizabeth's commonplace book reveals a more private and dynamic interpretation of how she understood her belief in God and God's love as a mandate to develop personal well-being and intellect through education. This she believed to be requisite for being socially active and happy. The following excerpts are from connected entries in her commonplace book (c.1829) where she explained her views:

A thousand times I have returned thanks to my Creator, for making me the thing I am, many as are my faults. He has made me ready to enjoy the words of his mighty Law. He has implanted in my soul a love of the grand & beautiful, both in the natural & intellectual world [...]

I have to regret some misspent hours; but I have not to regret having willingly misspent them...we are social beings, & that time spent is not misspent, which is devoted to the civilities of life[...] idleness is a crime, and God has made action, absolutely necessary to happiness.³⁶

These observations, written about seven years apart, demonstrate a consistency in Elizabeth's views. Specifically, her all-encompassing understanding that intellectual development is a pious act that demonstrates one's belief in God. Indeed, Elizabeth recalled that from an early age her exposure to Christian religious beliefs, beyond providing a sense of moral rootedness, instilled in her a personal mandate to pursue a path of knowledge and active social engagement. When she had heard Dr. William Channing speak, at the tender age of seven,

³⁵ Elizabeth P. Peabody to Sophia Peabody 31 March 1823 in Elizabeth Palmer Peabody *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, American Renaissance Woman*, ed. Bruce A. Ronda, 1st ed. (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1984):59.

³⁶ Peabody, *Letterbook and Commonplace-book*. Parts of the excerpt are undated but begin from a stream of entries regarding goodness, happiness and God's love in the year 1829.

declaring that human perfection, in God's view is manifested "in knowledge, in love and in activity" he introduced to her a humanized understanding of God, based in grace not fear.³⁷ These core ideals would assist in forming her approach to teaching children. Thus, Elizabeth's own childhood during the early decades of the nineteenth century (1810's and 1820's) was defined by intellectual pursuits and mentors more than female obligatory tasks such as household chores, socializing (publicly or between families) or any emphasis on ornamental types of learning.

This early meeting with Dr. Channing would prove significant, not just in shaping her understanding of God, as demonstrated above in her own words, but because it began a lifetime friendship. She served as his amanuensis, a teacher to his daughter Mary Channing, and a Sunday school teacher at Federal Street Church.³⁸ There, during the 1820s, a Sunday school program for adolescents took place where instruction was done in the Socratic method meant to spur learning beyond standard catechism lessons.³⁹ In return, Channing became, outside of her sisters Mary and Sophia, a lifelong confidant and mentor. This relationship became enshrined when in 1880 she published a biographical sketch of Dr. Channing. Similar to other books she wrote that included personal letters and information, this narrative adopted a "dialogic" format between her,

³⁷ Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 72.

³⁸ Baylor, *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*; Norman H. Pearson, "Elizabeth Peabody on Hawthorne," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 94, no.3 (1958): 256-276.

³⁹ Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*.

and in this case Channing.⁴⁰ Using a “first-person” structure yielded a text that, in parts, reads like an autobiography, a style indicative of nineteenth-century historical and literary writing.⁴¹

By adolescence, Elizabeth had gained a reputation as a local scholar. Elizabeth recalled that from her earliest memory she was encouraged to read. Consequently, she formed the habit of setting aside time to read daily, primarily about the “aesthetic”—works of literature and culture—and this habit of reading made it possible for her to become a history teacher in Lancaster, MA at the age of seventeen.⁴² Though she recalled that her mother considered her a slow reader and she feared her mother thought her “a dull little girl” and all around disappointing student.⁴³ Mrs. Peabody would use classroom time to encourage Elizabeth to become a strong learner through competition, in part by comparing her to stronger students, regardless of age difference.⁴⁴ Yet Elizabeth also recalled that she could not imagine that “any other mother” could have handled her strong will.⁴⁵

However, the privilege to pursue academic learning over domestic and/or laboring duties also stemmed from her social position as a member of the Palmer family of New England and the

⁴⁰ Cole, “Elizabeth Peabody in the Nineteenth Century,” 132; Elizabeth P. Peabody, *Reminiscences of Rev. Wm. Ellery Channing, D.D.* (Boston: Roberts Bros., 1880).

⁴¹ Baym, *American Women Writers*; Cole, “Elizabeth Peabody in the Nineteenth Century,” 132; Hermione Lee, *Biography, A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁴² Elizabeth recalled that she was sixteen when she began teaching history, but her advertisement for the school in 1821 put her age at seventeen, Peabody, “Principles and Methods of Education,” 290.

⁴³ Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 68.

⁴⁴ Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 68-69.

⁴⁵ Elizabeth P. Peabody to Mrs. Peabody February 8, 1847 letter cited in Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 68.

happenstance of having a well-educated mother as her teacher. It did not, however, directly correspond to the actual financial situation of the Peabody family, whose finances were never secure. Elizabeth's father, Nathaniel Peabody (1774-1855) could never quite get his careers as a physician (without an M.D.), then a dentist, to generate a stable income. He was also known to be stricken by depression, sometimes acted out with violent outbursts. These incidents over time reduced his influence over how the children were raised.⁴⁶ As such, Eliza Peabody's strong work ethic went beyond the intellectual and religious; it was also practical, as she was, until Elizabeth became a working adolescent, responsible for keeping the family out of poverty.⁴⁷ In this way Elizabeth's social class was, in terms of income, never secure. She had a respected social rank from a family line that could trace their heritage back many generations, but that was counter-balanced by a life of financial insecurity. Although she and her mother would have to work their entire lives to support the whole Peabody family, the ultimate result was that Elizabeth's education and independence gave her access to a fluid social circle. These struggles: economic instability, being raised by a strong-willed mother and an unstable but devoted father, as well as encouragement to break traditional expectations provide critical nuances in our understanding of how and why Elizabeth balanced several public roles (often at the same time) throughout her life, with financial stability and intellectual challenge being two critical motivators.

Historians Stephen Lasselonde and Colin Heywood observe that gender, its intersection with familial economic stability, and educational opportunities, serve as the primary contexts that

⁴⁶ Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*.

⁴⁷ This was due to both her individual household environment and her class, regardless of her families financial instability, Elizabeth's education allowed her to seek work as a teacher and thus maintain a certain status, see Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 91.

determined how children were raised.⁴⁸ This does not mean that girls and boys were not guided by gendered restrictions, but rather that cultural perceptions and expectations regarding gender were not necessarily the primary factor in making decisions regarding educational access, including the support of a girl's intellectual development. In this case, Elizabeth's educational experiences laid the ground work for her future influential public roles, regardless of gender restrictions and her lack of full citizenship. In the next section, I evidence Elizabeth's trajectory into school teaching, arguably a predictable career choice for educated antebellum women. Nevertheless, teaching served as both an outlet for her intellectual abilities and provided entry into complementary, public roles as a publisher and book store owner.

Adolescent Teacher

In 1819 Nathaniel Peabody's inability to maintain a steady income as a doctor prompted a family move, this time to Lancaster, MA. The Peabody family finances were at one of their lowest levels. Yet this move provided Elizabeth with her first opportunity to try out teaching. On the eve of her 17th birthday Elizabeth would have her own school (Figure 1).

⁴⁸ Colin Heywood, "Children's Work in Countryside and City," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, ed. Paula Fass (London: Routledge, 2013): 125-141; Stephen Lassoond, "Age, Schooling, and Development," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, ed. Paula Fass (London: Routledge, 2013): 211-228.

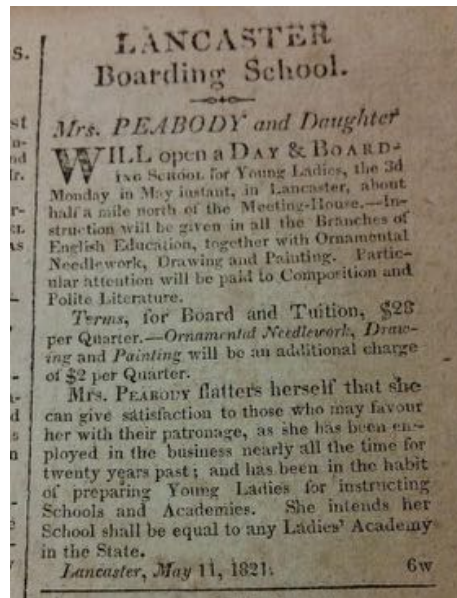


Figure 1. Peabody school advertisement, "Lancaster Boarding School" dated May 11, 1821 to be run by Mrs. Peabody and Daughter.⁴⁹

At Lancaster, Elizabeth recalled that the first subject she taught was history. Her students included her younger siblings, local children that ranged from 10-18, along with “two scholars older than myself”.⁵⁰ Elizabeth chose to teach history in way that today may seem like a traditional format; beginning chronologically with ancient history so that her students would acquire a sense of historical beginnings of their current “international modern society” (of the 1820s).⁵¹ She admitted later that when she taught American history lessons she had to keep explaining the context of European origins—particularly English history—so she made up her mind to begin with the ancient world and work her way chronologically. Her assigned history

⁴⁹ School advertisement in the *Massachusetts Spy* (Worcester, MA) 23 May, 1821, courtesy of the Massachusetts State Archives, Special Collection.

⁵⁰ Peabody, “Principles and Methods of Education,” 290.

⁵¹ Peabody, “Principles and Methods of Education,” 290.

readings Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Livy and Plutarch reflected this adherence to the importance of ancient history. For American history, Elizabeth chose contemporary historian Hannah Adams (1755-1831) as standard reading for her students.⁵²

By 1822 Elizabeth was also teaching arithmetic and followed the pedagogy of Warren Colburn, (a well-known New England math teacher), and his methods for teaching mathematics, which included integrating some of Friedrich Froebel's (1782-1852) methods for learning.⁵³ Colburn adapted Froebel's approach that advocated for children to "be led to discover".⁵⁴ Children should be allowed to explore and test the ideas they were being taught. Specifically with arithmetic, that learning be gradual and that lessons should be visual in order for facts and ideas to be "made a part of the mind".⁵⁵ It is interesting to note that Elizabeth did not advocate the use of memorization for arithmetic, but only for history. Children could proceed with calculations by using, but not memorizing, the rules of math. Yet she expected that students should recall historical dates by memory. Beyond academic subjects, Elizabeth had come to understand early in her teaching career that methods for teaching that integrated visual and sensory activities increased the learning and interest of her students.

Yet Elizabeth's position as a young teacher in a small town was vulnerable. Several painful "dressings-down" regarding her character and her teaching methods and being publicly declared a "good for nothing" by Lancaster's most prominent female resident, Dorcas Cleveland,

⁵² Peabody, "Principles and Methods of Education," 301.

⁵³ In truth she taught English, spelling and reading as well, but had found ways to integrate those lessons with historical studies.

⁵⁴ Peabody, "Principles and Methods of Education," 295.

⁵⁵ Peabody, "Principles and Methods of Education," 295.

caused admission to drop.⁵⁶ The young Elizabeth did not survive these public humiliations which ultimately compelled her to change schools. Elizabeth would later recall that she left in a “high heroic mood, intending to get money to educate at College my brothers”.⁵⁷ Luckily, her intellectual network rescued her and new teaching opportunities arrived in a timely manner. In May of 1822 she left Lancaster to join what she called the “literati” of Boston.⁵⁸ This city would become the primary urban space where Elizabeth would live, work, and hone her intellect, particularly during the 1840s. However, Elizabeth spent her 20s on the move from schoolroom to governess, and back to schoolroom. Between 1822-1826 she had at least three different teaching assignments, partly due to looking for work and partly due to disruptions in her family life. The Peabody’s first setteled on Colonnade Row in 1832, then Tremont Street in Boston by 1836, presumably because Elizabeth was then teaching at the Temple School with Bronson Alcott.⁵⁹ That her teaching positions were regionally linked within New England, and mostly near Boston, underscores her important role as economic provider for the Peabody family that began during her adolescence and lasted a life time.

A Girlhood of Antebellum America

The intellectual development of a singular *girlhood* is worth examining because it can reveal changes in social/cultural habits, privileges and progress (or lack thereof) from the lens of

⁵⁶ Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 116.

⁵⁷ Pearson, “Elizabeth Peabody on Hawthorne,” 271.

⁵⁸ Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 117.

⁵⁹ This experience teaching with Bronson Alcott was published while she was teaching at the Temple School see Elizabeth P. Peabody, *Record of a School: Exemplifying the General Principles of Spiritual Culture* (Boston: James Monroe and Company, 1835).

a detailed, individual experience. A rich description includes complexities that may be unaccounted for or incomplete in histories of American education and/or childhood that offer larger, institutionally based histories of educational experiences.⁶⁰ Here the point was to examine an individual girlhood of the Antebellum era through the lens of scholastic development in order to highlight the importance of a challenging education during a girl's childhood. Historian Ruth Baylor argues that understanding antebellum boyhood meant understanding the connection between domestic and scholastic life. Further, a Froebelian perspective about childhood and the critical role of education, argued Baylor, was just as significant for girls. Elizabeth's girlhood demonstrates an interconnection between family and intellectual networks in order to fashion a scholastic-based childhood.⁶¹

Elizabeth recalled that her upbringing was similar to “many such families in New England” who “partook of the same intellectual life [as ours], reading the same books, listening on Sunday to discourses of the same type which taxed the reasoning powers of the listeners; mothers teaching or superintending the education of their own children”.⁶² Further, Elizabeth's own early writings reveal a complex young woman very much aware of her own evolving and

⁶⁰ Holly V. Izard and Caroline F. Sloat, “A Teenager Goes Visiting: The Diaries of Louisa Jane Trumbull (1835, 1837)” in *Children and Youth in a New Nation*, ed. James Marten (New York: New York University Press, 2009):211-228; Paula Fass (ed) *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* (London: Routledge, 2013); see in particular Julia Grant, “Parent-Child Relations in Western Europe and North America, 1500-Present,” in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, ed. Paula Fass (London: Routledge, 2013):103-124; Margaret Nash, *Women's Education in the United States, 1780-1840* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); John Rury, *Education and Social Change: Contours in the History of American Schooling* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Kim Tolley, *The Science Education of American Girls: A Historical Perspective* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003).

⁶¹ Baylor, *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*; Friedrich Froebel, *The Education of Man*, trans. Josephine Jarvis (New York: A. Lovell & Company, 1885), originally published in 1826.

⁶² Peabody, “Mrs. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody,” 307.

interconnected relationship between pedagogue, historian and author. While Elizabeth's own recollections may not account for the academic accomplishments of all young people living in antebellum New England, even within comparable New England families, it makes the case that narrating an individual's childhood provides vital clues, situated observations and necessary context for understanding the person's life trajectory.

What we know about Elizabeth's girlhood is here constructed using archival material from her own words and writings with an integration of the existing biographical research on Elizabeth P. Peabody. However, a significant amount of archival documentation of Elizabeth's life survives today only through the transcriptions of historian Mary Van Wyck Church.⁶³ Church was commissioned to create transcribed copies of archival documents held by various archives in the Boston area for the centennial anniversary of Elizabeth's birth in 1904 and to date her texts remain unpublished. The Church manuscripts have filled in many historical gaps about Elizabeth's life. As Marshall notes in her biography of the Peabody family, Church's original transcriptions of archived documents by Elizabeth and her family, which are themselves in the form of a biography, hold many critical clues about the Peabody family. However, Elizabeth's nephew and literary executor, Benjamin Pickman Mann revoked permission for the publication of Church's work because of the level of familial exposure it contained.⁶⁴ That Benjamin was

⁶³ As Thomas Popkewitz critiques, historians often romanticize the archive as a space that catalogues the truth and call for the historian to recognize the complexity of what is deemed archival materials. Thus he reminds the historian to be aware that the materials in the archive are for historical reconstruction and should not be fetishized as the origin of past events, see Thomas S. Popkewitz, (ed). *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). Nevertheless, as Hermione Lee observes, while archival materials may be subjective, they are for biographical narratives, essential materials, see Lee, *Biography*, emphasis not in original.

⁶⁴ Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 552.

Horace Mann's son makes the decision to hide the contributions of Elizabeth suspect. Why would he prevent the publication of his aunt's biography and thus conceal her vast contributions to history, education, the kindergarten movement and Transcendentalism? One can wonder why he enacted such strict control over the family's archives. It certainly raises questions of personal motivation, especially if Marshall is correct in speculating that Benjamin Mann burned Elizabeth's original journals; and with them crucial evidence about her life. Was he motivated to maintain his father's highly public reputation as *the* central figure of Boston's educational initiatives and reform? While we may never understand the motivation of Benjamin Mann, this chapter contributes to evidencing Elizabeth's central role in in educational reform and historical production during the 1830s up through the eve of the Civil War, both in pedagogy and as a history teacher and author.

In 1830 Elizabeth, now an adult (age 26), began a once-a-week "reading party" teaching history through reading and discussion. It was designed to be a college-level course and she had upwards of 20 women sign up initially, in part because of her reputation within the growing Transcendentalist network.⁶⁵ Throughout various letters written the in early 1830s Elizabeth refers to this reading party as her "historical school".⁶⁶ Maria Porter, who was, as noted above, one of the first to publish a biographical sketch of the Peabody sisters, attended these history

⁶⁵ Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 215. Though historian Louise Tharp states that her "historical school began in 1827, see Louise Hall Tharp, *The Peabody Sisters of Salem* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1950): 89.

⁶⁶ Elizabeth P. Peabody to Maria Chase c. April 1833 in Peabody, *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 107-108. According to Ronda, this letter is either from April or May of 1833, but exact date of letter was presumed, given Elizabeth's attention to detail, illegible.

courses and recalled that “Miss Peabody had the most remarkable woman’s mind”.⁶⁷

Furthermore, in a letter dated April 1833 to her close friend Maria Chase, Elizabeth discussed how her course had morphed into a history and literary class—with additional readings drawn from philosophical or religious texts.⁶⁸ For example she paired Herodotus’ history with poetry from the Heroic ages. Another example was her combination of Hebrew poetry with readings about Jewish Law and Old Testament history. Elizabeth told Maria that she was charging 10 dollars per pupil (in Boston) for a course that met three days a week, indicating that teaching a course that combined history and literature was probably more profitable than one that was solely historical.⁶⁹ By this time she had been teaching for more than ten years and was in the midst of publishing a multi-volume set of history books all beginning with the title *First Steps to the Study of History* (1832, 1833). While the next two sections provide a fuller analysis of Elizabeth’s early historical production alongside her pedagogical publications, this section concludes in a similar manner to the beginning of this chapter, with Elizabeth P. Peabody immersed in her role as historian.

⁶⁷ Porter, “Elizabeth Palmer Peabody,” 340.

⁶⁸ Elizabeth P. Peabody to Maria Chase April 1833 in Peabody, *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 107. This letter did not contain the numeric day of the week.

⁶⁹ Elizabeth P. Peabody to Maria Chase April 1833 in Peabody, *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 107.

Elizabeth P. Peabody, Historian

Elizabeth is well known in educational histories as a teacher and leader of the kindergarten movement.⁷⁰ In histories of the United States she is known as one of two (along with Margaret Fuller) female leaders of the Transcendentalist movement.⁷¹ Her recognition within the Transcendentalist society of New England ranges from “peripheral” to “promoter of genius in others” or as significant as the “first of the New England transcendentalists to use the term “*transcendentalism*”.”⁷² Additionally, most narratives of Elizabeth put her into association with, or juxtaposition to, her sisters and other prominent intellectuals of New England. However, as it currently stands, there is scant scholarship that analyzes her role as a Boston publisher and bookstore owner and none that deal with her influence as a historian during this same time frame. Nevertheless, Elizabeth left behind a significant amount of personal and professional documents that have been archived, organized and here utilized to evidence her contributions to the discipline of history in addition to her germinal position within American liberal thought.⁷³

⁷⁰ Baylor, *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*; Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education, the National Experience, 1783-1876* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980); Josephine E. Roberts, “Elizabeth Peabody and the Temple School.” *The New England Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (September, 1942): 497-508.

⁷¹ Helen R. Deese, “Caroline Healey Dall and the American Social Science Movement”, in *Toward a Female Genealogy of Transcendentalism*, eds. Jana L. Argersinger & Phyllis Cole (Athen, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2014): 303-323; Helen R. Deese, “A New England Women's Network: Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, Caroline Healey Dall, and Delia S. Bacon.” *Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers* 8, no. 2 (1992): 77-91; Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought, The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Edward T. James (ed), *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971).

⁷² Deese, “A New England Women's Network”; Earhart, “Elizabeth Peabody”, 77; Megan Marshall, “Elizabeth Palmer Peabody The First Transcendentalist?” *Massachusetts Historical Review*, 8 (2006): 1, emphasis in original.

⁷³ Deese, “A New England Women's Network”; Marshall, “Elizabeth Palmer Peabody The First Transcendentalist?”.

The selected personal letters of Elizabeth P. Peabody (1820-1890) have been edited by Bruce Ronda and remain the most complete set of published letters.⁷⁴ Small sets of letters have also been transcribed by Sarah Allaback, Pauline Greason and Margaret Neussendorfer. These transcribed letters serve to fill out parts of Elizabeth's life, such as her advocacy for art education in female curricula designs, her role as bookshop owner in Boston, her travels throughout New England during 1851, and her friendship with William Wordsworth.⁷⁵ Together, these published letters demonstrate that Elizabeth had diverse interests and supported a variety of intellectual pursuits.

Furthermore, as these historians concur, Elizabeth was a person who held progressive ideas about female intellectual development and the improvement of education. Her ideas about education addressed curriculum, the physical design and use of school buildings to promote current ideas about successful educational improvements and the role of a caring teacher. More significantly, her educational philosophy, in the form of letters to her sister Mary Peabody Mann, were compiled and published by the author herself in 1841 under the title *Theory of Teaching*.⁷⁶

Beyond her letters there have been key biographies and several scholarly articles that examine specific portions of her life, particularly her role as a teacher. Bruce Ronda and Megan Marshall have written biographies that integrate primary and secondary research and offer rich

⁷⁴ Peabody, *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*.

⁷⁵ Sarah Allaback. "'Our School of Design': An Uncollected Letter by Elizabeth Palmer Peabody," *ANQ* 10, no. 1 (1997): 12-18; Pauline Greason, "Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody and Others Concerning a Problem at 13 West Street," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 12 (1985): 21-44; Margaret Neussendorfer, "Elizabeth Palmer Peabody to William Wordsworth: Eight Letters, 1825-1845," *Studies in the American Renaissance*, (1984): 181-211.

⁷⁶ Peabody, *Theory of Teaching*.

narratives of the life of Elizabeth P. Peabody.⁷⁷ In 2006, Monika Elbert, Julie Hall and Katherine Rodier edited a biographical volume about the Peabody sisters. These biographical accounts all place Elizabeth in a central role within the Transcendentalist movement by examining how education and academic proficiency, particularly in religion and philosophy, served as essential preparation for the educated, white, middle-class of Boston. These biographies all emphasize Elizabeth's relationships with her sisters Mary and Sophia, and their respective husbands Horace Mann and Nathaniel Hawthorne. Finally, the biographies written by Ronda and Marshall represent a sophisticated update of Louise Tharps' 1950 biography *The Peabody Sisters of Salem*, which also concentrated on the intertwined lives of Elizabeth, Mary and Sophia Peabody.

While all the authors mentioned above produced thorough accounts of the Peabody sisters, Ronda and Marshall put forth more detailed biographies of the three women, including details about their childhoods, re-positioning them as influential intellectuals in their own right. All of these authors have provided important details about the Transcendentalist networks, the Peabody family, and Elizabeth's exceptional intellectual abilities. Overall these authors cast Elizabeth in the primary role of teacher and public advocate of new teaching initiatives, with the intention of explaining how she became the primary force behind the kindergarten movement in America. But then again who was Elizabeth P. Peabody apart from her sisters, her family, and antebellum educationalists? What intellectual projects were central to her? Crucially, none of these biographies narrate her contribution as an American historian.

⁷⁷ Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*; Bruce A. Ronda, *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody: A Reformer on Her Own Terms* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

What is more, while these previous examinations were generated from painstaking work and analysis of significant primary and secondary sources, they still do not offer more than a conventional deliberation of the function and model of the “maternal teacher”. The seemingly permanent identifications of Elizabeth as teacher and kindergarten pioneer stem from seminal works like Ruth Baylor’s 1965 publication *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, Kindergarten Pioneer*. Baylor’s biography traces the European roots of kindergarten and Elizabeth’s influential role in promoting its implementation prior to the Civil War, and its growth thereafter.⁷⁸ This book, together with the biographical accounts mentioned above, construct Elizabeth to be one of the earliest *educational progressives* in America, although none would seem willing, despite the overwhelming evidence, to actually give her the honor of labeling her as such.

Also missing is an account of her role as a historian, including her pedagogical advances toward the teaching of history and her related work on historiography and chronology. Thus, this study is significant. This chapter rectifies these omissions by analyzing the familial, social and intellectual contexts that inspired her to focus on history as a subject to teach and write about, including an assessment of her contributions to disciplinary practices for history during mid-nineteenth century America.

Becoming a Historical Pedagogue

During the first half of the 1830s Elizabeth worked on three large projects simultaneously (beyond the history and reading class she conducted). The first was translating pedagogical approaches for teaching, primarily from French. The second was teaching at the Temple School

⁷⁸ Baylor, *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*.

in Boston with Bronson Alcott. The third was writing history books for school use. She was busy, but also appreciated the direction her life was taking. As early as the summer of 1830, Elizabeth wrote about the “legitimate independence” that her “individual mind” had brought about and she was determined to “enjoy” the social rewards that would be open to her as a result of her hard work.⁷⁹ In this letter to her friend Elizabeth Davis there is a concerted effort to thwart any public perception that her growing independence in society was un-ladylike and unchristian.⁸⁰ This private observation provides a crucial clue regarding her tendency to take on several intellectual projects at once throughout her adult life. Elizabeth also seemed interested in the personal sense of accomplishment that could possibly be gained from leading a life as a public intellectual. Mary Kelley adroitly observes that antebellum female historians were constantly in pursuit of “intellectual and cultural life”.⁸¹ Though some women worried about adhering to “conventions of femininity” whilst in public spaces, others, like Elizabeth (and the other two women in this dissertation) decided to appreciate the possibilities that came with public influence and not worry too much about “defy[ing] the world”.⁸² More significantly, because Elizabeth was always determined to work on several projects alongside her teaching, her history texts analyzed here are recognized as an important result of this simultaneity, not as separate from her other forms of intellectual production that occurred during the 1830s.

⁷⁹ Elizabeth P. Peabody to Elizabeth Davis Bliss 8 July 1830 in Peabody, *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 94-95.

⁸⁰ Elizabeth P. Peabody to Elizabeth Davis Bliss 8 July 1830 in Peabody, *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*.

⁸¹ Kelley, “Designing a Past for the Present”, 316.

⁸² Kelley, “Designing a Past for the Present,” 316; Elizabeth P. Peabody to Elizabeth Davis Bliss 8 July 1830 in Peabody, *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 94.

As will be demonstrated below, Elizabeth developed her first set of history textbooks from a standpoint of advocacy for history as an important subject to teach in schools. This perspective on the subject of history was connected to her pedagogical views which included explaining to teachers (within the text of the books) to be attentive as to how to best teach history in school so that the students would be attentive to their studies and grow to love the subject. Significantly, Elizabeth referred to herself as a historian, a status, to date, not used to describe her work and authority in the field of education.⁸³ Here this self-identification is brought to the forefront as a means of adding to our more complete understanding of her public influence. According to Elizabeth, her aim as a teacher and public scholar was to instill intellectual capacity and a public morality of duty through the teaching of History.⁸⁴

Additionally, Elizabeth has identified several publications that influenced her own pedagogical stance, including how her developing educational ideals influenced the writing of her history texts.⁸⁵ One such key publication that she had read was Swiss educator Madame Necker de Saussure's book *L'Education Progressive or Etude du Cours de la Vie* (1828, in English, *Progressive Education, Commencing with the Infant*).⁸⁶ Essentially this book promoted a then radical stance about the relationship between a child's human-ness and education. For Saussure, a child was a human soul subjected to the art of educational practice by their

⁸³ Peabody, "Mrs. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody."

⁸⁴ Peabody, "Mrs. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody."

⁸⁵ She was highly influenced by Friedrich Froebel as well but not in relation to writing history texts, see Peabody, "Mrs. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody 1800-1818," 310.

⁸⁶ Peabody, *Theory of Teaching*; Madame Necker de Saussure, *L'Education Progressive or Etude du Cours de la Vie*, trans. Emma Willard and Almira Phelps (Boston: William D. Ticknor, 1835).

instructors, who must in turn, remember that they are educating human beings, not just for academic success but also for “human life”. Saussure’s book was so important to the cohort of female historians and pedagogues working before the Civil War, that Emma Willard and Almira Phelps published a translated version in English for an American audience in 1835. Additionally, between 1830 and 1832 Elizabeth translated from the French an entire book about the love of learning, written by Joseph-Marie baron de Gérando, and titled *Self-Education, Or the Means and Art of Moral Progress*.⁸⁷ This publication was quite popular, so much so that Elizabeth wrote to members of her network to update them when the next section of her translation would be ready to read.⁸⁸

The direct influence of the first two tracts about methods for teaching children mentioned above, are clearly evidenced in Elizabeth’s initial history publications. These three texts were published at the same time as she was translating *Self-Education*; one in 1832, and two in 1833. These three history texts reveal a mixture of progressive ideals that emphasized a devotion to the study of history in order to develop a love of learning, and promote the development of a strong character in children so that they would come to understand and respect different societies.

The Three Keys To Learning History

In May of 1833 Elizabeth penned a letter to her friend, Sarah Preston Hale (who was an author and contributor to the *Boston Daily Advertiser*)⁸⁹ regarding the need to locate some

⁸⁷ Gérando, *Self-Education*.

⁸⁸ Peabody to Bliss 8 July 1830 in Peabody, *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 94; Elizabeth P. Peabody to Mary Peabody 8 February 1834 in Peabody, *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 123-5.

⁸⁹ Elizabeth P. Peabody to Sarah Hale 15 May 1833 in Peabody, *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 109-110. Sarah Preston Hale had sent two of her daughters, Sarah Everett and Lucretia Hale to be educated by Elizabeth in

Grecian-themed illustrations for her new book. She was in the midst of a letter-writing campaign, contacting historians, such as George Ticknor and Edward Everett (relative to the Hale family), inquiring about where to locate such images. This book, *The Greeks*, was intended to be part of her *Key to History* series and she wanted it published soon. The letter to Hale provides a glimpse into Elizabeth's intellectual networks in the early 1830s and underscores some of the work involved in putting together a history book at this time. Elizabeth wrote several letters during the Spring of 1833, and they serve to evidence the work of a budding historian, as these letters are filled with enquires about historical authors, translations and illustrations she needed in order to complete her work.⁹⁰ These types of letters, many written to women who attended her "historical school," also demonstrate how her teaching of private, fee based history courses supported her authorship, research preparation as well as generating income and expanding her social network.

Elizabeth's advocacy for the study of history for young women was a stance she repeated throughout her life. In a letter from 1833 to Maria Chase she discussed her "historical school in Boston" as one measure she developed in order to assist women with their "intellectual cultivation".⁹¹ The notion of history as important for women to study is also mentioned in her first history textbooks. She notes specifically that her history books, while intended for both genders, were "most important to women".⁹²

the Boston region but no dates or place of attendance are noted in archive; Hale Family Papers 1757-1988, "Generation III," MS71, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College.

⁹⁰ Peabody, *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 105-118.

⁹¹ Elizabeth P. Peabody to Maria Chase c. April 1833 in Peabody, *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 107-108.

⁹² Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*, 13.

It is useful to begin with the first part of the title that Elizabeth gave to her first volume of history books: *First Steps to the Study of History*. These words—*first steps*—cue a couple of intentions by the author. Firstly, these books were for school children and meant to fill her perceived gap in history education. As Elizabeth observed, “no study is more neglected in schools, and even colleges” than history.⁹³ Second, these books were designed with a specific pedagogical method, borrowed from Germany, that combined a Socratic form of question and answer, and chronological forms of knowledge building. This approach included the incorporation of additional history books into the lessons so that *history* would not become a process of recalling myths and fables, but instead facts, with their interpretive causes and effects.⁹⁴ In addition, the beginning of the first book contains a warning about the dangers of allowing a teacher who is not properly trained in history to teach students. This approach to teaching, warned Elizabeth, would result in history lessons designed around “falsehoods”.⁹⁵ Thus *first steps* signals an early example of historical studies purposely designed for American children that includes notes about prerequisites required for the teacher within a book filled with chronological facts and lessons to teach history.

Another important word used in the title of all three books is *Key*. Here the dual meaning of this word is utilized. Firstly, that which is *vital*, and secondly, the object(s) and pedagogical approaches needed to *open* the mind of her students toward “different religions, and different governments, and different circumstances of social life”. By developing a particular “plan” to

⁹³ Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*, 1.

⁹⁴ Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*, 2-8.

⁹⁵ Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*, 7.

teach history—selection of topics, authors and lessons—the history teacher participates in series of crucial choices in order to determine what are the *key* facts, readings and understandings would be presented to the students during history instruction.⁹⁶

Volume One

This combination of teaching strategy and historical facts is most evident in the first book in the series, titled *First Steps to the Study of History; Being Part First of a Key to History*, published in 1832. According to Elizabeth, her aim as a teacher and public scholar was always to instill intellectual capacity and a public morality of duty through the teaching of History.⁹⁷ The first section of the book begins by advocating for the increased study of history because “many parts of our knowledge rests upon historical facts, and that we are enabled by history to understand better and more readily other parts of “human knowledge.”⁹⁸ The book’s introduction underscored three *key* facets about learning history. First that history is the process of acquiring knowledge of facts and events, second that the purpose of history is to understand the causes and effects of particular events, and third, that the foundation of knowledge rests in part on historical facts. Her integration of progressive ideas about how children learn are also made visible when she wrote:

Children are eminently social, and their views of what others do and think, is the most powerful influence which is exerted over them. From the very first they should be taught to look abroad into different states of society. They should know, from the very first, that they have a large field of thought to

⁹⁶ Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*, 10.

⁹⁷ Peabody, “Principles and Methods of Education,” 289-306.

⁹⁸ Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*, 11.

range in... which still leave individual points in the characters of those subjected to them, touching a universal sympathy, will lay the corner-stone of a true liberality of heart.⁹⁹

The historical focus of *Key to History*, volume I is colonial American History and begins with the land discoveries made by Christopher Columbus. Further, the content is designed to complement two additional history books, which in Elizabeth's opinion were popular then: Washington Irving's *A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (1828) and William Robertson's three-volume work, *The History of America* (1777). These books were recommended by Elizabeth as examples of "contemporaneous writers" who covered the important historical events like the Age of Discovery, Spanish colonization and what Robertson called the "civil war" with Great Britain.¹⁰⁰ The intent by Elizabeth was that these three books—Irving, Robertson and hers—would be read together. Irving and Robertson's books served to provide the student reader with expansive accounts of events. *Key to History* (volume I), would fill in missing historical information and provide the methodological support needed for students to comprehend Irving and Robertson's narratives. As Elizabeth stated:

The following Key is intended to supply that deficiency of instruction in history, which is so prevalent in this country. It does not propose to give much original matter, but to lead by a system of questions and directions, through the best authors, arranging them so that in the first place they may give a vivid, clear, and chronological view of things, and afterward philosophical views. Such accounts of the lives and opinions of various authors, and such criticisms of the works, will be given, as may be necessary for the students to judge of the worth of their testimony.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*, 9.

¹⁰⁰ Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*, 11; William Robertson. *The History of America* vol 1 (London: T. Cadell, 1821): iii.

¹⁰¹ Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*, 11.

Thus, Elizabeth's overall plan was that her book would provide the key to unlocking an understanding of important events written by Irving and Robertson. Her book was meant to illuminate for the student reader, through the use of guided questions, the historical value of particular individuals and events. The recognition that 'guidance' was needed for the student and teacher, and that deficiencies in content needed to be attended to, represents a significant turning point for history instruction in American education. Methodologically for the discipline of history, it meant the introduction of a "plan" i.e. lesson plans for learning and the constructing of the course syllabus (the arrangement of authors assigned).¹⁰² Additionally it meant the writing or rewriting of narratives and/or the locating of valid sources to remedy identified historical errors.

An examination of Elizabeth's early history books makes plain the beginning of a particular style of historical construction that is present in her historical publications during the 1850s. This perspective rests on the notion that a historical narrative should pull from specific events, with outcomes deemed 'successful' that together construct histories of social, political, economic and scientific progress. Specifically, we can observe Elizabeth writing a history that traces *the success of the present backward through a narrative of progress*. For example, regarding Christopher Columbus, Elizabeth wrote:

[A]bout three hundred and fifty years ago, America was not known by civilized people; but a man of genius having some knowledge of astronomy, and considering that the world was round, determined to sail west in order to arrive at the eastern shores of the continent already known.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*, 10.

¹⁰³ Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*, 17.

Elizabeth gave specific instructions what to do with these facts about Columbus and other famous explorers of this time period. She advocated a “storytelling style” for teaching. The students would follow along with their own map to sketch “the names of the places discovered, in order of the discovery; which would also serve to quicken attention to the history, and engrave it on the mind”.¹⁰⁴ Additionally, the lengthy series of questions about Columbus in her book certainly contributed to making a hero out of him. In part this is because their pattern has a guiding quality that underscores facts about the success of events rather than the consequences or reactions to events during the Age of Discovery. Nevertheless she advocated reading history “with discrimination”.¹⁰⁵ Some questions were more leading than others: “What bold idea did his daring genius conceive?” or “What were the grounds on which Columbus made up his mind?” or “What particular troubles had Columbus [in the Carribee [sic] islands] ? And “What did he do to save the history of his discoveries?”¹⁰⁶ Some were more comprehensive such as “What were the characteristics of Christopher Columbus, intellectually and morally?”¹⁰⁷ This question placed at the end of the section on Columbus and designed to cue the student to address positive aspects of his character and the intention of his actions. These questions in succession over dozens of pages begin to construct a figure in total control of these fateful voyages. Furthermore, these series of questions are about individuals, first Columbus, then key members of his crew, for example, Juan Ponce de Leon. The same pattern occurred in the places her book intersected with Robertson’s

¹⁰⁴ Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*, 18.

¹⁰⁵ Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*, 10.

¹⁰⁶ Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*, 21; 31.

¹⁰⁷ Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*, 46.

America, with the focus on Diego Velasquez, Hernando Cortez, Francisco Pizarro and Bartholomew de Las Casas.

With this first book we can observe Elizabeth practicing the writing of American history in a particular way that would later become a more standard approach for writing history books for school use.¹⁰⁸ First the writing of a narrative based on historical “success” as a means of a historical building up to explain the progress of the present, and second, the use of questions, some of them leading, that reinforced the format of historical progress in American text books.

Elizabeth’s first attempt in writing a history textbook for students was not successful in terms of producing a singular historical narrative that rested on its own. Its success as a book was instead, pedagogical. Elizabeth was confident enough in her own historical knowledge that she felt her section on the Age of Discovery could pair with additional history books “of this country”.¹⁰⁹ The intended use of this first book was to be a historical guide, and not a comprehensive history in its own right. By guiding her readers, Elizabeth was able to directly influence them as to what facts were important and what knowledge they should retain. In effect, she was guiding the reader to pay attention to certain particulars and ignore others, and as such, assisting in anointing the explorers of the Age of Discovery as a *key* subject to study in American History. Thus proving that one did not have to write a full text work of history in order to construct historical memory.

¹⁰⁸ Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

¹⁰⁹ Peabody, *Key to History, Part II*, 1.

Volume Two

The second volume in the *Key to History* series outlined the religious and cultural history of the Hebrews.¹¹⁰ At first the main theme of the book, Judaism, seems out of context, given the Christian character of American school lesson in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century. Elizabeth was clear to point out that the intention of this book was not to impress upon students “any particular view of religion,” but rather as part of a course on “ancient history...ancient writers [and] ancient writings.”¹¹¹ She explained that in order for students to understand ancient history, including the rise of Christianity, the history of the Hebrews, including an understanding of their “geography, natural production, laws, [and] political and religious forms [which led to] a spiritual culture” was necessary.¹¹² While students needed to use a Bible in order to reference passages and answer many of the questions from the book, the format of the questions were not to encourage religious belief, but instead attempted to substantiate people and places from the Old Testament. For example, some of the questions that referenced chapters and Bible verses often tested a student’s geographic knowledge and asked them to analyze the content, as opposed to promoting beliefs and moral lessons:

How many years did the Israelites remain in the land of Egypt (Exodus xii. 40.) What great changes took place in the condition of the Israelites, in the last century of their residence in Egypt; and how did it happen?; Did the various tribes drive out all the ancient inhabitants of the lands they dwelt

¹¹⁰ Peabody, *Key to History, Part II*.

¹¹¹ Peabody, *Key to History, Part II, 2-4*.

¹¹² Peabody, *Key to History, Part II, 2-4*.

upon? (Judges i.); Describe the circumstances of the war between the house of David and the house of Saul, and its final issue? (iii, iv, v.).¹¹³

Continuing on this theme of knowledge and analysis over beliefs and morals, there is a section on the Hebrew language. This blend of literary developments (specifically poetry), was written in the form of a dialogue between Eutyphron and Alciphron, and is drawn directly from G.J. Herder's work *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, which sought to promote the poetic value of the Old Testament.¹¹⁴ This section is then followed by lessons on the geography and archeology of Palestine, leading into the political and geographical history of the Hebrew during the periods of ancient Egypt and Rome. It is probable that since Elizabeth already knew that the third volume in this series would focus on the ancient societies of Greece and Rome, the second volume was written knowing that further, secular historical connections with the religious history of the Hebrews would be made within the third volume for the period of time she labeled the "Oriental History" of the east (i.e. Ancient Middle Eastern history).¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Peabody, *Key to History, Part II*, 30, 33, 36.

¹¹⁴ Robert H. Clark, *Herder: His Life and Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); Johann Gottfried Herder, *Spirit Of Hebrew Poetry* (Burlington, VT: E. Smith, 1833); Peabody, *Key to History, Part II*, 57.

¹¹⁵ Peabody, *Key to History, Part II*, 2.

Volume Three

In the third volume of this series, Elizabeth focused on Ancient Greek history, geography, literature, religion and philosophy. Volume three is largest of the three texts, (surpassing 400 pages), and traces the development of “the Grecian nation” as a means to construct a history of Greece as connected to Europe, and distinct from southern Asia or Egypt (northern Africa).¹¹⁶ Again, Elizabeth is careful to note that the intention of the book is to lead the student through analytical questions about the subject at hand. There is more text dedicated to questions than narratives of events, underscoring the expectation that her text be read in tandem with other historical works. In this case, those by Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Plutarch.¹¹⁷ In fact, a significant portion of the text is a series of questions that relate to Homer’s *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* and the student was expected to have copies of these works to follow along.¹¹⁸ This is followed by another section on Greek philosophy, further underscoring that without the additional outside texts, this book cannot stand alone as a history text. Moreover, given the organization of the book, the purpose was to teach about ancient Greek culture and religion through history and literature which, according to Elizabeth’s personal letters was a similar approach she used in her “historical school”.¹¹⁹ The planned fourth volume, *The Middle Ages*, was never published (but advertised in volume 2). The focus was to be on the development

¹¹⁶ Peabody, *Key to History, Part III*.

¹¹⁷ Peabody, *Key to History, Part III*.

¹¹⁸ Peabody, *Key to History, Part III*, 125-178.

¹¹⁹ Elizabeth P. Peabody to Sarah Hale April 1833 and Elizabeth P. Peabody to Maria Chase c. April 1833 both in Peabody, *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 105-108.

of Western Europe. Thus, the four books would have connected the East and West historically and culturally, and in turn explain the rise of the Western nations that eventually “discovered” the New World; some of whom were outlined in volume one, making the three (almost four) volumes interconnected.

Elizabeth spent much of the 1830s teaching and working with fellow pedagogues experimenting and implementing core educational practices in Boston. With these publications, Elizabeth’s influence would now reach beyond her Bostonian based network. Although educational philosophies for teaching and learning were in their infancy in American schooling, Elizabeth’s history textbooks evidence a growing understanding about how she connected what she understood about a child’s nature—as a social being—and the purpose of academic learning—through the subject of history. Elizabeth continued throughout the 1830s to develop her philosophical perspectives on educating children, primarily within her intellectual circle, the Transcendentalists. This network was a significant part of Elizabeth’s life during the 1830s and 1840s and served to mutually reinforce her development as a pedagogue and historian.

These three books serve as important educational objects that evidence her historical and philosophical intellect and her entry into the world of published history. That these books were written for school use further underscores Elizabeth’s primary intellectual interest during the 1830s: researching, reading and writing about pedagogical practices for teachers. Though she would not publish history texts again until the 1850s, she remained embedded in the intellectual tasks of teaching and her growing public role in the Transcendentalist movement that would provide her with more opportunities grow as a scholar. Nevertheless, the 1840’s were particularly significant for her as a historian. Elizabeth had begun a new venture in 1840, that of bookshop owner, a role that required vast knowledge of scholarship and in particular historical and literary

texts. And it is here that we begin to follow Elizabeth into her bookshop at 13 West Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Books, Books, Books

No. 13 West Street, Boston, Massachusetts

In the city of Boston, Tremont Street buttresses⁷ the entire eastern side of the Boston Commons, between Boylston Street, traveling northeast, ending at Park Street.¹²⁰ In between lies West Street, and turning east, at 13 West Street, sits a three-story brick row house, built during the Federal period, where in the late summer of 1840, Elizabeth opened her bookstore and circulating library.¹²¹ There are no architectural drawings of her home/bookstore from this time, and the earliest photograph of West Street is from 1865, more than a decade after her bookshop closed (Figure 2). The Boston Landmarks Commission notes that when Elizabeth chose this location it was primarily a residential area that was in the middle of transitioning into a hub for commercial use, mostly book publishing.

¹²⁰ Boston Commons is America's oldest public park, founded in 1634.

¹²¹ A couple of years later Peabody moved her publishing work to 109 Washington Street, one block east of Tremont, which the Peabody family continued to lease until 1852, thus both spaces were near the Boston Commons and buttressed what is know today at the Financial, Theater and Chinatown districts, see Leslie P. Wilson, "'No Worthless Books': Elizabeth Peabody's Foreign Library, 1840-1852" *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 99 (2005): 113-152; Boston Landmark Commission Study Report.



Figure 2. West Street, view from Boston Common ca. 1865. Elizabeth's Bookshop was located between Tremont Street (Boston Commons) and Washington Street.¹²²

Elizabeth's efforts to establish her bookstore and library have been extensively documented by Leslie Wilson.¹²³ Megan Marshall has written that this "debut in the mercantile world" was the result of Elizabeth's vision to create a space that would be "a locus of conversation" for her widening intellectual network.¹²⁴ What I wondered was why did Elizabeth

¹²² Boston Landmark Commission Study Report, 9.

¹²³ Wilson, "No Worthless Books"

¹²⁴ Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 391.

decide to pursue an occupation of bookstore owner at this point in her life? Indeed she had already become a teacher and an author of history textbooks and educational pedagogy.¹²⁵ Leslie Wilson notes that family financial obligations were primary in her decision.¹²⁶ Mary Kelley emphasizes that the decades between 1820-1850 represent an apex of America's "reading revolution," a period of intense public engagement in secular literature, particularly history, biography, travel and fiction.¹²⁷ Elizabeth may also have been motivated by an opportunity to remain in the city limits of Boston. In a letter to Rebecca A. Lowell, just four months prior to the opening of her bookshop, Elizabeth seemed sanguine about leaving her scholarly circle. "I have now closed my visit to Boston and do not know that I shall again leave Salem till next winter...the tone of the whole class was so modest and docile—& refined—& dignified—& everything was so elegant about Miss Fuller".¹²⁸ Another clue can be found in letters between Elizabeth and Dr. William E. Channing, many of which are contained in a later publication of hers titled *Reminiscences of Rev. Wm. Ellery Channing*, published in 1880. In *Reminiscences*, Elizabeth provides insight into the effect of being included in the intellectual network that would later become known as the Transcendentalists. Between 1838-1839 she traveled weekly from Salem to Boston to partake in Margaret Fuller's "Conversations" and lectures by Emerson. In

¹²⁵ Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*; Peabody, *Key to History, Part II*; Peabody, *Key to History, Part III*; Peabody, *Record of a School*. Despite the title, *Record of a School* is a book about educational pedagogy.

¹²⁶ Wilson, "No Worthless Books".

¹²⁷ Kelley, "Designing a Past for the Present." 318.

¹²⁸ Elizabeth P. Peabody to Rebecca A. Lowell 1 May, 1840 Peabody, *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 237-238.

this theosophic space of inquiry, recalled Elizabeth in 1880, she came to understand the civic value of wisdom as the highest ideal a human being could attain.¹²⁹

A month or so after her sanguine letter to Rebecca in May of 1840, Elizabeth was already discussing her plans with her longtime confidant Dr. Channing. In letters written to Elizabeth, dated June 7 and 22, 1840, Dr. Channing was honest with Elizabeth about the risks associated with becoming a business owner, pointing out that teachers expect “order and method” and a business venture may not provide such daily stability.¹³⁰ Channing also gave her his full support for both the bookshop and circulating library, specifically noting confidence in her judgment of books and that her gender posed no foreseeable roadblocks. These letters evidence how quickly Elizabeth was moving towards her new intellectual endeavor—trusting in her own intellectual capabilities to make it a success.¹³¹

Elizabeth’s commercial venture was divided into three parts: a standard bookshop, a circulating foreign library, and a space to sell homeopathic medicines that was utilized by her father.¹³² She spent a lot of time and energy thinking about the types of books she wanted to sell that were appealing to her perceived customer base, but also designed to attract street traffic. An examination of one of her earliest advertisements reveals that her early intention was to attract a

¹²⁹ Peabody, *Reminiscences*, 402.

¹³⁰ Peabody, *Reminiscences*, 407-409.

¹³¹ Wilson, “No Worthless Books”.

¹³² The addition of homeopathic medicines fulfilled both a Bostonian demand for European-style medical treatments (mostly German) and the pressure to make the bookshop a successful family-run business. Additionally, German medical texts were popular in Antebellum America, thus available texts and medicines in place made business sense; see Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley, (Editors) *A History of the Book in America*. v. 2. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

wide variety of customers. The advertisement that Elizabeth distributed shows that she drew heavily from European publishing companies, mainly located in London and Paris, but also many German speaking publishers from Vienna, Berlin, Hamburg, and Leipzig.¹³³

Her bookshop not too unfamiliar to modern commercial bookstores, where popular books and varied stationary and writing supplies were bought and sold for public consumption. She offered religious texts, history, literature and science books (some common, some rare). Other standardized choices included Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Shelley, Milton and Coleridge as well as a plethora of books in French, Italian and German. Elizabeth also considered the needs of local youth by selling Greek and Latin books, including grammar books in the Modern languages used in local schools. The art supplies she sold, imported from London along with quality stationary, as noted in her advertisement, were chosen by the recommendations of her sister Sophia and from artist Washington Allston.¹³⁴

Here we can observe Elizabeth's skills as a multi-linguist and her in-depth understanding of authors, American and European and books of interest, national and international. Her aesthetic, which was developed by her educational experiences, social-cultural network and continued practice of self-education and history authorship were invaluable for this venture.¹³⁵

¹³³ Wilson, "No Worthless Books," 128.

¹³⁴ Peabody, *New Bookstore and Foreign Library*; Peabody, *Reminiscences*, 412.

¹³⁵ Elizabeth P. Peabody, *New Bookstore and Foreign Library*, two pages: Boston, 13 West street. August, 1840 (Boston: s.n., 1840), E.P. Peabody Ms. Broadside Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society. Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Further, Elizabeth drew upon her intellectual circle to donate books for circulation and also attended local book auctions to acquire regional based book collections. In 1878 she gifted what was left of her books from this venture, thus significant portions of her catalogue remains housed in the Concord Free Public Library, see Wilson, "No Worthless Books", 117; 134.

An examination of her foreign library rules (Figure 3) demonstrates Elizabeth's liberal intention of allow access for both genders (unlike some other private libraries) but still maintaining a subscriber-type membership of five dollars a year, and library-like rules for book borrowing that hints towards class barriers. She seemed to comprehend the similarity of rules put forth by private libraries in Boston at that time, but also needed to make money.¹³⁶

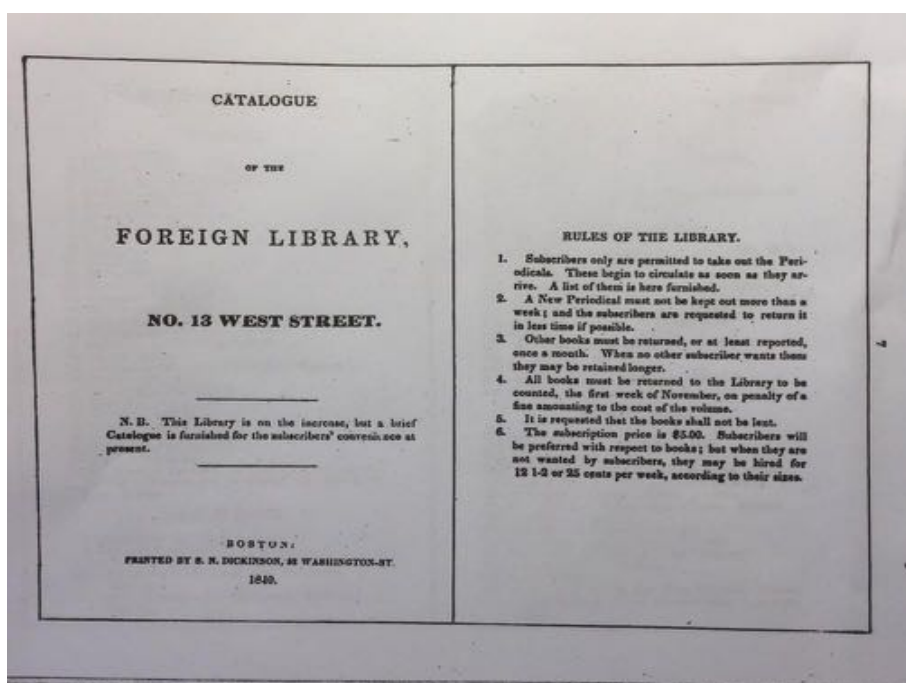


Figure 3. Subscription rules for Elizabeth's Library, 1840.¹³⁷

¹³⁶ Kenneth E. Carpenter, "Libraries" in *A History of the Book in America. Vol 3: The Industrial Book 1840-1880*, eds. Scott E. Casper, Stephen W. Nissenbaum, Jeffery D. Groves and Michael Winship (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007): 308-309.

¹³⁷ Elizabeth's 1840 catalogue of multi-lingual literary and historical works was reprinted, "Catalogue of the Foreign Library, no. 13 West Street," *American Transcendental Quarterly* 20, supp pt. 1. (Fall 1973): 7-18. Elizabeth also received books from George Bancroft Emerson and her cousin George Palmer Putnam, see Boston Landmark Commission Study Report: 15.

These announcements are important for a couple of reasons. First, they make clear how serious Elizabeth was at making her new business endeavor successful. Second, they demonstrate her discernment about the reading needs of her intellectual network which was comprised of family, friends, colleagues mostly within New England, but then expanded to include publishers and booksellers both regionally and internationally.

By following the footsteps of Elizabeth as she established this particular physical space that housed debates about philosophical and metaphysical notions of existence, human behavior, and increased access to multi-lingual publications, we uncover important, integrated body parts about Elizabeth's lifelong pursuit of knowledge. I argue these components of her life provide insight into her development as a historian. She purposely carved out a space to think, read and converse about historical, literary topics, and current political and cultural topics, all of which contributed to her own philosophical growth and her network of transcendentalists. Equally significant is that her publishing career began in her bookshop, under the title E.P. Peabody, beginning in December of 1840 with Nathaniel Hawthorn's *Grandfather's Chair* and W.E Channing's *Emancipation*.¹³⁸ It was Elizabeth's faith in his literary abilities that anointed Hawthorn as a gifted author and by the end of the decade with her publication of *Aesthetic Papers* (1849) the world witnessed the first version of Thoreau's "Resistance to Civil Government."¹³⁹ One year later, in 1841, Elizabeth began to publish her own books with her first solo publication/authorship, *Theory of Teaching*, which narrated through letters, her experiences

¹³⁸ Ronda, *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 205; see also reprints of *The Dial: A Magazine for Literature, Philosophy, and Religion*, vol.1 (New York: Russell, Inc, 1961).

¹³⁹ Thoreau, "Resistance to Civil Government".

as a young teacher. *Theory of Teaching* gave a public voice to Elizabeth's teaching experiences with parts of the text focusing on what it meant to be human (for both student and teacher); and the idea that the significance of one's character and moral compass were perfected through knowledge.¹⁴⁰ As such, this book serves as a roadmap of her educational philosophy. But how did these experiences as publisher and owner of a bookstore and circulating library influence her historical sensibilities?

Mary Kelley notes that during the Antebellum period women (and men) understood “the power of print [and the] equally important power of history” and were therefore interested in constructing “a usable past” for their readers.¹⁴¹ Exposing students to the past—to their national history—was thought to build character. This kind of intellectual and dispositional motivation certainly pertains to Elizabeth P. Peabody, who already had underscored in earlier publications the importance of developing a *usable past* for her students. She defined the usefulness of history as a process. First the students would “survey the events of time in relation to the development of various great principles” which would be followed by “historical criticism” leading to the development of “philosophical views”.¹⁴²

Her books continue to be housed at the Concord Public Library today. An analysis of what remains of Elizabeth's collection of books demonstrates her keen interest in history.

¹⁴⁰ Peabody, *Theory of Teaching*. The use of personal letters as a form of female public voice (published or unpublished) in antebellum America was actually common practice among learned women, see Mary M. Kelley, “The Need of Their Genius’ Women’s Reading and Writing Practices in Early America,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 28, no. 1 (2008): 1–22; Annmarie Valdes, “Speaking and Writing in Conversation: Constructing the Voice of Eleanor Parke Custis Lewis” in David Gold & Catherine Hobbs eds., *Rhetoric, History, and Women's Oratorical Education: American women learn to speak* (New York: Routledge, 2013): 60-77.

¹⁴¹ Kelley, “Designing a Past for the Present,” 322.

¹⁴² Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History*, 11.

According to the records of the Concord Free Public Library, approximately 415 volumes or about 250 titles, remain from the original stock of books from her bookstore when it finally closed in 1852. Originally about one-thousand books were donated to the Concord Library by Elizabeth between 1878-1886 so that they would be preserved, so the exact amount of history books she owned, first for the business, then privately, is difficult to ascertain.¹⁴³ But some important determinations can be made from what does remain from her bookstore inventory. They are in English, Italian, German, and French, with about 25 percent of the archived collection strictly history books, with the remaining books related to intellectual subjects such as religion, literature, philosophy, with no identifiable books of fiction.¹⁴⁴ From this glimpse of what remains of an extensive collection acquired for her bookstore and foreign library (throughout the 1840s), we can further observe Elizabeth as an active participant in self-education for a variety of subjects such as: history, art, religion, literature, and philosophy. This kind of collection of knowledge, as Kelley notes, was crucial for the preparation for historical writing by women. Moreover, as Nina Baym proposes, history that was constructed during pre-Civil War America was meant to “link individuals to the nation, to construct them as national subjects”.¹⁴⁵ Therefore the preparation to write histories that accomplish this kind of link would

¹⁴³ Peabody Books, 1524-1878 (Bulk 1820-1850) Vault A35, E.P. Peabody, Unit 1 Concord Free Public Library, Concord, Massachusetts. Further, it can be observed from these numbers that the Concord Free Public Library lost a significant amount of the collection between 1879 and the early 1980s when the library moved the book to Special Collections.

¹⁴⁴ In my analysis of the Concord Library book list I identified books as historical only if they used the words “a history” or “a universal history” in the title of a person, nation/place or event such as (e.g. war, revolution, slavery). I did not include histories of religion or literary figures, in order to maintain a conservative, secular definition of a ‘history book’ owned by Elizabeth P. Peabody.

¹⁴⁵ Baym, *American Women Writers*, 20.

logically be themselves, national histories or (auto) biographical accounts of the past. For example, in Elizabeth's collection of works we find titles such as the *History of Catherine II, Empress of Russia, Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern, History of Spain and Portugal* and the *Histoire de Napoléon*; all illustrative of the kind of books she bought that fit this model of histories of individuals and/or nations.¹⁴⁶

While Elizabeth's circulating library and bookstore filled an intellectual niche, it did not fulfill a market one. In the twelve years the Peabody family occupied this space, rarely did they profit from it as a business. Yet this home for books, built by Elizabeth was a space where social, cultural and political thought and action was nurtured during the antebellum era of Boston.

Here we entered the body part of Elizabeth's life and followed her while she was working as a businesswoman and public intellectual—and how this vocation led to a new one: publisher. By creating a space for individuals, where men and women were given equal access to books and conversation, Elizabeth's foreign library and bookshop helped shape her local community. By doing so, she contributed directly to the shaping of literature and educational practices in America. Furthermore, Elizabeth's personal pursuit of knowledge was voracious. Though her business was failing, she was able to return to writing history books (mostly for school use) coming from an arguably more learned position, after a decade of exposure to a transnational array of historical publications. In this context, Elizabeth's decade as bookshop owner and publisher assisted in honing her skills as a historian, which in turn influenced her style of narrative and adoption of a particular form of chronology, as I discuss in detail below. During the

¹⁴⁶ Peabody Books, 1524-1878 (Bulk 1820-1850) Vault A35, E.P. Peabody, Unit 1 Concord Free Public Library, Concord, Massachusetts. The finding aid for this archive lists all of the titles available in this collection.

1850s Elizabeth honed the practice of combining her pedagogical directives written within the text of her books, with a stricter notion towards the writing of history as an expansive narrative buttressed by chronology. This next set of books, though not an official series, were also connected by pedagogical method, and as she would finally reveal in 1859, an educational mandate by the Board of Education of Massachusetts, who had recognized her intellectual abilities to produce these books for school use in Massachusetts and New York.¹⁴⁷

Elizabeth had spent the 1830s teaching and writing, the 1840s running her bookshop and publishing, and by the end of 1850s she would return to her work on educational philosophy and lead the charge to establish the first kindergarten on the eve of the Civil War.¹⁴⁸ But during the 1850s she returned to writing history books. The result was three publications: *Polish-American System of Chronology* (1850), *Chronological History of the United States* (1856) and *Universal History* (1859). The first and last publication were world history books, though it is probably more accurate to call them histories of western civilization, and her second book, published in 1856, was an American history text.

In the final section of Chapter two I examine how her historical works advance our understanding of how the practice of writing and teaching history occurred during the Antebellum Era. Elizabeth's books combined historical narratives with chronological charts, together representing a new way to teach about the time and place of historical events. These books are unique examples of educational objects, and they provide insight as to how history as a

¹⁴⁷ Peabody, *Universal History*.

¹⁴⁸ Baylor, *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 84-100.

subject to teach was conceptualized prior to the Civil War. Likewise, these three books demonstrate the influence of her various intellectual pursuits of the previous thirty years.¹⁴⁹ For example her 1850 publication, *The Polish-American System of Chronology*, was published by her own publishing house at 13 West Street, and begins with a long explanation of the pedagogy of learning history. Interestingly, the title of ‘Preface’ was replaced with the word ‘Advertisement,’ representing her understanding that books need to sell. Moreover, the three books she wrote during this decade required several of her intellectual skills; her depth of knowledge of world history, including ancient history, her understanding of progressive learning models, her ability to speak and read in French and Polish, logic, geography, and geometry. In terms of her own intellect, these books are the result of her individual intelligence, her network of scholars and continued practice of autodidacticism.

The Science of History

The Polish-American System of Chronology was the first of Elizabeth’s three history books written during the 1850s, and demonstrates a more considerate approach towards the writing of history (i.e. narrative based writing). This included an increase in the secular character of the writing, which in this case of the 1850 and 1859 publications, confined the rise of Christianity to a series of historical events that occurred over centuries and across geographical areas and excluded any religiously based moral lessons. Yet at the same time, the entire chronological method adopted in all three books published during the 1850s is based on Christian dating, beginning with “twenty-five centuries before Christ [and then moves forward] twenty-

¹⁴⁹ Peabody, *The Polish-American System of Chronology*, Though perhaps not clear from the title, this is a world history book combined with Bem’s method of chronology.

five centuries after Christ”.¹⁵⁰ This system of chronology, conceptualized by Polish General, Josef Bem, was a memorization tool that could be used to organize large sets of historical events. These books were part history, part scientific and mathematical application of dates and events into a grid. The point—reiterated from her previous history texts from the 1830s—was to “lay the foundations of historical knowledge in the minds of the young” by integrating a more scientific approach, organized around one significant Christian event, the birth of Jesus Christ.¹⁵¹ As Elizabeth wrote in 1850:

The Charts of Chronology are intended to do for the science of history what maps do for that of geography; and they will make it as easy to lay the foundations of historical knowledge in the minds of the young, as we are able to do those of geographical [...] It is obvious to common sense, that where every man in the community—we had almost said every woman—has a direct influence upon the measures of government, as in our country, a general knowledge of history is absolutely necessary to the common weal; and when it shall have become as usual for every common school pupil to know the great epochs of time, and the leading events of history, as it now is for them to know the general topography of the globe.¹⁵²

The way the historic charts were presented varied, and their design is what I call descriptive chronology. Essentially events were divided by centuries and years, and included a short description of the event (i.e. birth, death, or battle). There are four quadrants per grid equaling one century (each quadrant 25 years) (Figure 5). And as noted above, the time frame was organized by the twenty-five centuries before or after Christ, labeled as BC or AC. Thus, the count goes down or up, depending upon when the series of events took place. So, using the grid

¹⁵⁰ Peabody, *The Polish-American System of Chronology*, 6.

¹⁵¹ Peabody, *Universal History*, v.

¹⁵² Peabody, *The Polish-American System of Chronology*, 3.

in Figure 5 as a visual guide, the first square in the top left hand corner could be either 100 BC (with the square next to it 99 BC) or 1 AC (with the square next to it 2 AC). Further, within each quadrant there are twenty-five squares, and each square has nine boxes, with each box representing one of the nine sub-themes (Table 1) students were meant to track for a particular nation, which presumably (thought that is not made fully clear) had its own square (or entire grid, in some cases).

The details included in these small historical sketches also varied, as demonstrated below with pictures of the charts that are from similar books on world history, published about a decade apart (Figures 4 & 5). This method was based on memorization technique that utilized the coloring of nations and events on to a grid. Done repeatedly as a historical exercise, it was thought that a student would develop the ability of historical recall. Moreover, students would learn to recall the time, place and significance of other events relative to the colored box of the original event that was asked to be recalled. With color, students would be able to both picture a nation/society and its major historical events in a progressive order. “Particular years are associated with particular events; and leading events are first impressed on the memory, through the senses, by being indicated in colors within the representations of the years in which they occurred.”¹⁵³ This example below also highlights that the association of color with an event, and its corresponding description was presented to students in a much more detailed fashion in the later edition. For example, in the 1859 history text, *Universal History*, the grid sheets used to chart the events were provided on every set of pages so that the student could plot the events

¹⁵³ Peabody, *The Polish-American System of Chronology*, 4.

while moving through the book (Figure 5). Furthermore, in the earlier edition, the nation and corresponding color association is simple, “Macedonian blue black” (Figure 4).¹⁵⁴ In the 1859 edition the directions are more complex, “Tarquin adds to Rome twelve Etruscan States. Vermilion, 2d.”¹⁵⁵ Here the direction of “2d” cues to the student to mark this as it relates to a theme, (listed below in Table 1), specifically number two, “annexations,” though what the ‘d’ meant remains unclear.

¹⁵⁴ Peabody, *The Polish-American System of Chronology*, 65.

¹⁵⁵ Peabody, *Universal History*, lii.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE	
472	Olybrius.
473	Glycerius.
474	Julius Nepos.
475	Romulus Augustulus, last emperor of the Western Empire, defeated by
476	Odoacer, king of the Heruli, who establishes a kingdom;
493	Composed by Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths.

EASTERN EMPIRE. (Homonies the block.)	
284	Arcadius, brother of Honorius.
409	Theodosius II. and his sister Pulcheria.
439	He publishes the Theodosian code.
450	Marcian calls the council at Chalcedon.
457	Leo, the Thracian, first sovereign crowned by the patriarch.
474	Leo II., who dies, and Zeno, his brother, becomes emperor.
491	Anastasius I. Green and blue factions rage.
518	Justin.
526	Sendi Belisarius against the Persians.
527	Justinian I.
529	Belisarius defeats the Persians.
529	Justinian code first published.
534	Belisarius defeats the Vandals in Africa.
537	Justinian builds St. Sophia in Constantinople.
565	Justin II. Belisarius dies in prison.
578	Tiberius II. Constantine.
582	Haurice, the Avaricious.
602	Phocas, a monster in body and mind.
610	Heraclius, victorious over the Persians.
641	Heraclius Constantine, 103 days; then Heraclionas, with two colleagues.
648	Constant II. robbed by the Saracens.
668	Constantine IV., Pogonatus.

Figure 4. Chronological Chart from *The Polish-American System of Chronology* (1850).¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ Peabody, *The Polish-American System of Chronology*, 65.

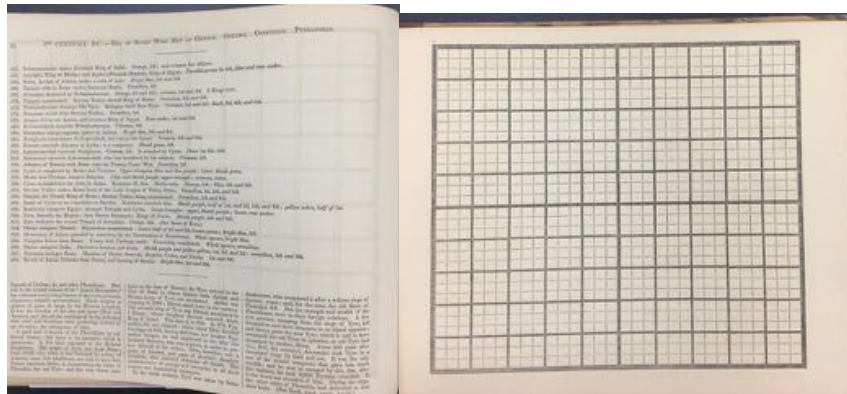


Figure 5. Chronological Chart with grid from *Universal History* (1859).¹⁵⁷

Table 1. Sub-themes for charting events.¹⁵⁸

1.	Wars, Battles, or Sieges (Beginnings of war)
2.	Conquests, Annexations, Inheritances or Unions (United States)
3.	Losses, Dismemberments, Disasters or Division of States
4.	End of State. Fall of States.
5.	Foundation of a State, Revolution of a Government, or Accession of a Monarch
6.	Miscellaneous Events, (different from those in either of the other subdivisions); Treaties and Sundries
7.	Births
8.	Inventions, Discoveries, Works or Deeds of Illustrious Persons

¹⁵⁷ Peabody, *Universal History*, lii-liii.

¹⁵⁸ Peabody, *The Polish-American System of Chronology*, 8; Peabody, *Chronological History of the United States*, 10. Why the United States is listed under the second theme is not explained but appears in the category in 1850 and 1856 publications.

9.	Deaths of Remarkable Individuals
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All three of her chronology books had narrative sections to explain and connect events and their outcomes. Additionally, Elizabeth included references to particular history authors thought to be essential additional reading. For example, in *The Polish-American System of Chronology*, the second half of the book is specifically geared toward what Elizabeth called the “mature student”.¹⁵⁹ In this part of the book historical narrative was paired with authors of particular histories. In the example below drawn from ancient history, Elizabeth cited four authors in total for Persia and Greece:

Any one who wishes to know of old Persia must study Sir John Malcolm’s History of Persia, and especially the first volume of Heeren’s Researches in Asia. There he can learn the reasons for believing that Persepolis, and Zoroaster, (who writes of it as a city more than a thousand years old in his day,) date farther back in time, not only than the Hebrews, but farther back than the Egyptians, Ethiopians, Babylonians, Assyrians, or Brahmins.¹⁶⁰

From Homer, the oldest author of Greece whose works are extant, the first impression of it had best be taken. Cowper’s translation of Homer is quite common in this country. The second book, in giving an account of the fleet, gives the geography and relations of the tribes at the period which is treated, which was some two hundred years before the age of Homer.¹⁶¹

These narrative sections also followed the nine themes mentioned above. Continuing with the same examples on ancient Persia and Greece, Elizabeth wrote about conquest, revolt war and the consolidation of power:

¹⁵⁹ Peabody, *The Polish-American System of Chronology*, 109.

¹⁶⁰ Peabody, *The Polish-American System of Chronology*, 134.

¹⁶¹ Peabody, *The Polish-American System of Chronology*, 156.

There is no question that Cyrus united the kingdoms of Media and Persia, and was sole king of both at last; and that he conquered Lydia, and consequently came into possession of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, which had been provinces of Croesus's empire; for the Lydian kings had been great conquerors.¹⁶²

About the beginning of the fifth century, when Darius was king of Persia, the Greek city of Asia revolted against him, and sought aid in Greece. Athens was the only state that took any part; but, in a fit of daring that seems marvellously [sic] great, when we consider the fearful odds between the dimensions of Athens and the domain of the great king,—which stretched from the Indus to the Nile, to the Mediterranean, and beyond the Black Sea into Europe,—the Athenians sent a little fleet across the Archipelago, and landed a small army, which went to Sardis and burnt it.¹⁶³

A critical aspect of the narrative sections, as they relate to the nine sub-themes is that Elizabeth used them to weave the narrative and determine chapter headings for the book. For example, the heading “Modern History” is also a concept constructed out of the sub-themes as they related to the rise and fall of ancient societies, particularly Rome, as a way of organizing Roman history within larger sets of histories of “civilization”.¹⁶⁴ In the case of the United States, the nine themes were the basis for constructing the rise of the United States from the tyranny of a sovereign king. Yet while monarchial power is venerated in “Modern History” (of Europe) it is eviscerated in the name of democratic representation, the *true* legacy of Rome.¹⁶⁵ The main idea of *representation* is developed throughout *Chronological History of the United States* alongside a *new* term meant to apply to this particular history—“the people”.¹⁶⁶ Elizabeth wrote in 1856:

¹⁶² Peabody, *The Polish-American System of Chronology*, 135.

¹⁶³ Peabody, *The Polish-American System of Chronology*, 159.

¹⁶⁴ Peabody, *The Polish-American System of Chronology*, 69.

¹⁶⁵ Peabody, *Chronological History of the United States*, 188.

¹⁶⁶ Peabody, *Chronological History of the United States*, 50.

The peculiarity of the history of the United States is, [sic] that it is a history of political discovery and experiment...while all previous history is a series of biographies of remarkable men, who have undertaken, more or less, to farm out the world for their own families. But all individualities of persons are swallowed up in that of the nationality which inspires the Federal Union of the United States of America [...] a destiny stated with terrines in the first sentence of the Declaration of the American Independence.¹⁶⁷

As if asking—how did the United States come to be—this approach adopts a perspective that the United States was born of historical “destiny” and would continue to become strong in the name of *progress for the people* as the main framework to guide the narrative.¹⁶⁸ As such the United States was historicized as the inheritor of English cultural values which are contextualized as transforming into democratic social values, with the narrative sidestepping issues of slavery, treaties with indigenous groups and lack of full suffrage (i.e. counterexamples of democratic values). Instead the emphasis of the narrative is on republican political organization, elections, natural resources, freedom of religion and speech, and full faith in the Federal Constitution.

Thus the American Constitution of Government, like the constitution of a human being, distributes the executive will, the deliberative judgement, and the moving passions, so that they may fairly keep each other in activity as well as in check. The people at the ballot box are the passion; the Congress is the deliberative judgement, the President is the executive will; the Judiciary is the conscience.¹⁶⁹

Finally, unlike Elizabeth’s other two books published during the 1850s, *Chronological History of the United States* is predominantly in the form of historical narrative, with minimal utilization of Bem’s chronological charts. This choice is explained in the notes “To the Teacher”.

¹⁶⁷ Peabody, *Chronological History of the United States*, 179-180.

¹⁶⁸ Peabody, *Chronological History of the United States*, 179; 7. The notion of “progress is first introduced on page seven in notes “To Students in History”.

¹⁶⁹ Peabody, *Chronological History of the United States*, 185.

Here Elizabeth states that American history is young, with its origin set in the “sixteenth century” and that her additional books on chronology would provide “valuable help” on how the charts work as well as provide context from “European History” to support and understanding of American History.¹⁷⁰ She then goes on to stress that the emphasis of this book would be for “young Americans” to understand their own history, presumably through narrative and less from memorization of events.¹⁷¹

Her final book utilizing Bem’s charts was published in 1859 and was her last published history book. In the introduction there is an article, reprinted from the *College Review and Journal of Education* (1856) outlining the purposes of teaching history in schools, and specifically why the Board of Education in Massachusetts suggested the adoption of the Bem method for chronology for school use. The reason was to figure out a way for students to learn “the whole of history....in order, and symmetrically”.¹⁷² This reprinted article provides crucial context as to why Elizabeth, who is referred to in the article as being “an experienced teacher of history,” was chosen to write these three books using the Bem method.¹⁷³ The reprinted article goes on to emphasizes how schools, (in this case schools in Massachusetts) were interested in history texts that could deliver content and but also had a clear methodical perspective to assist in teaching the content, in part due to a perceived lack of knowledgeable teachers for their schools:

¹⁷⁰ Peabody, *Chronological History of the United States*, 5-6.

¹⁷¹ Peabody, *Chronological History of the United States*, 6-7.

¹⁷² Peabody, *Universal History*, iii-iv.

¹⁷³ Peabody, *Universal History*, v.

Bem's method, as arranged by the "Guide to Recitation," with a manual, also supplies the place competent instructors of history, which are sadly wanting in American schools. Any earnest teacher can teach the Charts by following directions and order simplicity; learning himself while drilling the pupil. An invaluable attainment is made, even if the student gains nothing more in his school-days than the minimum, —a knowledge of the Chart.¹⁷⁴

This critique is tempered by the fact that there were no standards for training history teachers at this point in American education. Still, it is altogether possible that the application of a scientific approach to learning historical events could arguably render the subject less interesting, reducing the study of history to the memorization of facts. Elizabeth's final publication in fact demonstrates a reduction in detailed content, (particularly in the first half of the book) and instead asks students to memorize events and related thematic concepts. It is also a book that required students to digest large sums of information. For example, in a section on Ancient Rome, during the sixth century, BC., rule by democracy is reduced to a one line description and a directive for memorization; that the student color in a "whole square, bright blue" on a memory grid (like one in Figure 5).¹⁷⁵

However, in the second half of the book, which is distinguishable by the change in page numbering (from Roman numerals to Arabic), the historical content becomes quite condensed. It can be argued that a teacher well-versed in history would be needed to make sense of this dense narrative of events and figures in a way that would render these facts memorable knowledge. For example:

¹⁷⁴ Peabody, *Universal History*, v-vi.

¹⁷⁵ Peabody, *Universal History*, lii.

Louis XIV's idea of the State was *Me*. He degraded letters by patronizing them, and quenching all the free spirit of genius; he desolated Europe with wars to establish the supremacy of France, which he arbitrarily assumed as a fact; he lived a life of vice, and, in his old age, thought to please God by repealing the edict of Nantes and persecuting Protestants.¹⁷⁶

The passage above is indicative of the entire second half of the book. These knotty statements, crowded with historical implications—in this case about Louis XIV—make it plain that a historian trained in European history would be needed for disentangling such dense passages riddled with prejudicial statements. Though it is apparent that immense effort went into the logical organization of hundreds and hundreds of events, the missing contextual understanding may override the presumed utility of the chronological historical knowledge.

Summary

A full accounting of historical publications written by women during the nineteenth century has yet to be written, though significant progress has been made.¹⁷⁷ As historian Nina Baym maintains, the purpose of studying history during the early nineteenth century was part of a larger idea that educated citizen were the key to a healthy democratic society. She expounds this point by adding that those who were actively participating in the construction of the discipline of history were mostly women. As Baym explains, “[f]or women, to study history was to write it; and from a very early moment in the national life, for women to write in any quantity

¹⁷⁶ Peabody, *Universal History*, 139.

¹⁷⁷ Baym, *American Women Writers*; Nina Baym, *Women Writers of the American West, 1833-1927* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011); Julie Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Teresa Anne Murphy, *Citizenship and the Origins of Women's History in the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Jennifer Scanlon and Shaaron Cosner, *American Women Historians, A Biographica Dictionary* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996).

and on any topic was to think about publishing".¹⁷⁸ Elizabeth P. Peabody published extensively during the Antebellum era, including seven history books, writings about educational philosophy and practice, both for history and about children and early educational models.¹⁷⁹ In this vein, Elizabeth represents a contributory example that supports Baym's conclusion that antebellum women were actively engaged in constructing history for public consumption.

Furthermore, as it relates to the research questions posed in this dissertation, this chapter demonstrates how ideas about disciplinary practice were articulated by particular female historians, in the case Elizabeth P. Peabody. For my analysis of her contributions to the field of history in America I chose to highlight two important foundational understandings about Elizabeth's intellectual productions. First, acknowledging that Elizabeth self-identified as a historian and her unique contributions to the field intersected with her work on pedagogy. Second her publication profile further evidences a practicing historian who made significant contributions to the field of history by writing text books for school use that considered new methods for teaching history and chronology.

All six history text books examined here serve as testaments to how Elizabeth promoted the importance of history as school subject. While her three volumes series, *Key to History* represent books that were underdeveloped in terms of historical narrative, they provided a blueprint for organizational aspects of history in terms of themes to teach, questions to ask students, and methods for imparting dense information to students. In her second set of books,

¹⁷⁸ Baym, *American Women Writers*, 29.

¹⁷⁹ Her seventh book about the political history of Austria was not analyzed in the context of this chapter because it was not intended for school use., see Peabody, *Crimes of the House of Austria*; Peabody, *Theory of Teaching*.

though not meant to be an official series, Elizabeth demonstrated her depth of knowledge in history and her willingness to experiment with European pedagogical practices. The integration of chronology, in the form of building large scale time lines that intersected with knowledge of geography and national events, was not commonly included in history texts used for schools during this time. The inclusion of Bem's method for chronology, as interpreted by Elizabeth represents a significant change for history text books.¹⁸⁰

That is to say, an association of particular events with particular years was not uncommon. What was new in the 1850s was the practice of providing dozens of pages of dates and events meant to encourage the reader to picture in their mind "threads of the web" of time and events in order to comprehend the relationship of these events over time.¹⁸¹ However, there have been no large-scale comparison of historical methods used to teach history in America prior to the Civil War in the existing literature. Therefore, it is important to point out here that the use of chronology in this way is not seen in the additional history texts examined in this dissertation, nor in the secondary literature.¹⁸²

Moreover, Elizabeth's combination of historical narrative and a scientific method for plotting dates and events on grids that counted time by years, decades, centuries and millenniums demonstrates a serious attempt to introduce a new way of thinking about how to teach history in American schools. This approach was meant to introduce a more scientific perspective of how to

¹⁸⁰ Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation*.

¹⁸¹ Peabody, *The Polish-American System of Chronology*, 4.

¹⁸² Baym, *American Women Writers*; William E. Marsden, *The School Textbook, Geography, History and Social Studies* (London: Routledge, 2001); Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation*.

write and visualize past events in order to make them memorable and connected. The idea of applying a “scientific” approach to historical construction would again be introduced, as Peter Novick explains, later in the nineteenth century, in order to give increased validity to the process of historical research.¹⁸³ Thus, while her application of chronology and historical themes today may seem standard, in the 1850s they were both unique and challenging.

Additionally, with these six publications we can observe the thought process that went into establishing historical themes. While it may be true that nineteenth-century historians *thought this way* and used similar themes to organize events, Elizabeth P. Peabody stands out as one of the only historians who wrote about their thought process or shared insight into how they were organizing past events in the introductory sections of their books.¹⁸⁴ The critical difference here is that Elizabeth’s historical productions during the 1850s are evidence of a melding of content and the reasoning behind the choices she made, which makes these texts essential specimens of early disciplinary practices for history as a taught subject.

Finally, this *Life History of Elizabeth P. Peabody* serves to expand our understanding of the varied sites and genres of female intellectual production that occurred during the nineteenth century. As Mary P. Ryan notes, while progress has been made in women’s history to counter limited understandings of how nineteenth-century women “trespass[ed] into the public realm”

¹⁸³ Novick, *That Noble Dream*.

¹⁸⁴ Baym, *American Women Writers*; Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation*.

historians must continue to “undertake the search for women from a direct, relatively unobstructed, squarely public vantage point”.¹⁸⁵

I began by constructing a portrait of Elizabeth’s childhood and educational experiences as a means to demonstrate how the lens of an educated girlhood exposes the “origins” and “motivational impulses,” particularly from her family and intellectual networks, which together contextualize in what manner, and for which reasons Elizabeth chose to publically engage in American society.¹⁸⁶ Additionally, I highlighted how gender and economic instability did not prevent Elizabeth from establishing by 1840 simultaneous vocations as teacher, author, publisher and businesswoman. Next, this chapter analyzed the production of six of her history text books, as a means to trace her contributions to the discipline of history as it was taught in schools. Throughout these publications, one constant demonstrated by Elizabeth was her unwavering support of historical studies and their role in developing one’s intellectual capacity. As she stated repeatedly, “[f]or general discipline of the mind, and stimulus to effective action, history is the most important of studies”.¹⁸⁷ In these books Elizabeth demonstrated her knowledge of the field of history, including an in-depth understanding of historical authorships, and an understanding of how to organize historical themes and events so that students would effectively learn history. Her historical productions serve as crucial examples of how disciplinary practices of writing, reading and teaching history in antebellum America were inter-related activities and thus she laid the

¹⁸⁵ Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public, Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1990): 8-9.

¹⁸⁶ Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catherine Beecher, A Study in American Domesticity* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1973), xiv-xv.

¹⁸⁷ Peabody, *Universal History*, i.

groundwork for the pedagogical work in history and social studies that occurred during the late nineteenth century.

CHAPTER THREE

CAROLINE H. DALL, SEEKER, OBSERVER, HISTORIAN

Introduction

This chapter examines the life and work of Caroline Healey Dall, a burgeoning social historian and social scientist. She authored histories about women, with the intention, according to her, to both correct the historical record, but also to create a chronology to provide historical context for social, cultural economic and the political world she occupied.¹ As her publications reveal, these issues included fair wages, expansion of educational access, suffrage and equality under the law for single and married women.² While all three women examined in this dissertation authored historical works, Caroline is the only one of the three to delve into the subject of women's history from a social, legal and economic perspective. Her attempts to reanalyze female figures of the past were directly connected to her desire to understand her present, particularly the decades just prior and immediately following the Civil War. Indeed she

¹ Caroline H. Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched* (Boston: Walker, Wise and Company, 1860).

² Caroline H. Dall, "Report Concerning the Laws of Massachusetts in Relation to Women," In *Reports on the Laws of New England, Presented to the New England Meeting Convened at the Meionaon, Sept. 19 and 20, 1855*. In this speech she makes a clear distinction that the current laws do not "oppressively" affect single women in the way they affect married women.

authored many of her historical works during a period when many women who sought a public voice were hopeful that racial and gender equality would be legalized, beginning with the suffrage amendments, including the incorporation of the Fourteenth Amendment into the Constitution. For Caroline Healey Dall, the value of writing and reading historical narratives about women is that they provided a more complete timeline of the past that included the social, cultural and political contributions made by women and in turn could be referenced to support the cause for full citizenship during her lifetime. In this vein, Chapter Three is a biographical accounting of how Caroline came to frame herself as a historian; a role she defined with words like “seeker” and “observer”.³ A historian, observed Caroline is one who chooses who or what is included to construct a historical record, and what and who “drifts down the dark gulf of the past”.⁴

As noted in Chapter One, by using the format of Life History and tracing and connecting segments of an individual’s life to their intellectual proclivity towards history I am able to demonstrate how some women developed a scholarly perspective that led them to want to research and produce works of history. In the case of Caroline, her educational, familial, geographic location, and vocational experiences together assist in explaining how she came to focus on historical reconstruction of women in her published works, culminating in the writing of her own memoir. Most significantly, Caroline’s intellectual production, particularly her publications and lectures created in the decade just prior to the Civil War hold a striking

³ Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*, vi.

⁴ Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*, vi.

similarity to what is today called “social scientific history,” despite that fact that this terminology was yet to be used with the discipline of history.⁵ According to Peter Novick, the initial debates about social scientific historical production during the early decades of the twentieth century centered on the issues of “values and intentions” within historical research. Novick traces how the recognition that individual perspectives and bias about the past came to be a precondition for those who took on a social science approach in their history writing. To produce objective history would come to mean being open about one’s presumptions and frames of reference used in their work.⁶ Caroline, like most antebellum historians, did not concern herself with debates about objectivity, though this is essentially how she approached her historical writing. She advocated that historians reveal their frank intentions, and use data and case-study documentation for evidence. Her own frankness was that she declared that the point of reconstructing women’s history was to rid society of embedded prejudices about a woman’s place, capabilities and legal rights.

Organization of Chapter Three: Biographical autopsy II

This biographical account of Caroline Healey Dall will highlight core themes of the dissertation: historical authorships, educational background, intellectual networks and the influences of her historical contributions on American historical knowledge production. This is accomplished by assembling and analyzing the various *body parts* of Caroline’s life and

⁵ The use of the term “social scientific history” was initially debated during the inter-war period by American historians, and arguably began with the 1937 publication of *Approaches to American Social History*, edited by William E. Lingelbach, see Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 179.

⁶ Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 180.

published works as a means of evidencing her evolution as a historian, including her work as an early social scientist. This biographical construction, like the other chapters of this dissertation, will be formed with *situated body parts*. By this I mean sourced materials, both primary and secondary, created by the subject under analysis or produced during the time and place of said subject.

By weaving together three important *parts*: her writings, her teaching and life experiences we can observe a woman growing into her own intellectual self. Caroline, like the two other women examined in this dissertation has not been studied as a historian. Instead the emphasis has been on her work as a reformer for women's rights. While there were many female historians authoring works prior to the Civil War, most were not documenting a social history of women in the past as a means of connecting them with women of their own lifetime. This places Caroline in a unique position within this dissertation and within the wider network of nineteenth-century female historians and authors.⁷

Chapter Three begins in the middle of Caroline's life, the mid-to-late 1860s, as she continued to balance her intellectual pursuits while struggling to fit into her social-cultural network of Boston as the Civil War came to a close. By beginning in the chronological middle, then writing a narrative that traces backward and forward within an individual's chronology, I am able to 1) demonstrate from the outset an embedded intellectual within their specific locale; 2) explore how, and/or if, educational acquisition, both formal and informal assisted a particular

⁷ Nina Baym has produced two monographs that include a vast bibliographic accounting of nineteenth-century female authorship in America, see Nina Baym, *American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790-1860* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995) and *Women Writers of the American West, 1833-1927* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011).

individual to progress within their local environment and 3) utilize historical narration to test and reconstruct notions about separate spheres, acts of citizenship, the masculinity of public space and female vocations during nineteenth-century America. As noted in Chapter One, I do not seek to provide a chronological cradle-to-grave account (a *Bildungsroman* trajectory),⁸ but instead concentrate on activities that demonstrate Caroline's evolution as an intellectual and ultimately a social historian during a era where woman remain unrecognized as such.

Part two of Chapter Three examines Caroline's childhood and adolescence, with a particular focus on her educational experiences, both as a student and young teacher as a means to contextualize pathways chosen during adulthood. To end this chapter, I will unpack Caroline's work and contribution to the field of history by analyzing examples of her historical authorships, with an emphasis on how history was utilized by Caroline as a means to contextualize and critique her present and advocate for future change. Thus, Chapter Three begins and ends with Caroline immersed in historical productions.

Part One: Introducing Caroline, In The Middle Of It All

A Historian In The Making

In 1860 Caroline Healey Dall published her first history book about women titled *Historical Pictures Retouched*. It was, according to the Preface, the result of eight years of

⁸ There are many noted challenges to a standard form of biography that is formed on the chronological trajectory of the subject. This particular reference is from Jane Martin and Joyce Goodman's notion that analysis of the complexities of particular parts of a life (instead of the whole) is useful when the author would like to put the emphasis on what the subject produced or locate the influence of a subject's social-political activities, see Jane Martin & Joyce Goodman, *Women and Education, 1800-1980* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004): 28.

research, during which she also published several other historical and non-fiction tracts.⁹ This book, like all of her published work was born out of ongoing speeches she was invited to give and research she was consistently conducting that dealt with the social, economic and political life of nineteenth-century women. *Historical Pictures Retouched* was also, like other pieces she published in this same year, an attempt at defining herself as a historian. For Caroline a historian performs two main duties: historical research and writing; she marked these two roles as that of Seeker and Observer.¹⁰ “It is the business of the Seekers to collect, collate, test, and simplify material; to decide what is worth saving, and what must be permitted to drift down the dark gulf of the past”.¹¹ Caroline noted in *Historical Pictures Retouched*, as well as in her personal journal, that authors who are Seekers produce histories that serve as foreground for future historical productions. The role of the Seeker, wrote Caroline is to write down every fact and detail the “writer knew,” producing histories crowded with detail but wholly lacking in “mental perspective,” and thus not completely effective for understanding of the past.¹² Yet these histories are useful, in that they provided necessary research for the Observer “to make use of this material, and permit philosophical thought, general knowledge, and rare culture, to do their work with the accumulations so brought together”.¹³ The Observer narrates the story of human life but also uses the past as a tool to understand the complexities of the present. Caroline’s view

⁹ Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*.

¹⁰ Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*, v.

¹¹ Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*, vi.

¹² Dall, 12 April 1859 in Caroline. H. Dall, *Selected Journals of Caroline Healey Dall* Vol. 2 1855-1866, edited by Helen R. Deese, 2 vols. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 2013): 228.

¹³ Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*, vi.

was that history should explain the origins of a particular phenomenon—the Observer, with the help of the Seeker—uses knowledge of the past to explain the present—and together these two types of historians provide a “glimpse of [our] human origins”.¹⁴ Caroline clearly placed herself in the camp of the Observer, although her unpublished history journals and notes are evidence of her work as a Seeker. In doing so, gave herself the task of *Retouching*—or more accurately correcting the historical record of women—noting that “many an historical judgment waits to be reversed”.¹⁵

Further contemplating the social-cultural influence of history as a subject of study and the influence of historians, Caroline published an essay in the February 1860 edition of the *English Woman's Journal* titled “The Influence of Classical Literature.” In this piece Caroline provided additional clarity to her views on history and its significance to the present society she inhabited:

We must speak now of history. For the most part, it has been written by men devoid of intentional injustice to the sex, but when a man sits in a certain light he is penetrated by its color, as the false shades in our omnibus strike the fairest bloom black and blue. If the positive knowledge and Christian candor of the nineteenth century cannot compel Macaulay to confess that he has libelled [sic.] the name of William Penn, what may be expected of the mistakes occasioned by the ignorance, the inadvertence, or the false theories of the past? Clearly that they also will remain uncorrected.¹⁶

For Caroline, the problem with past historical narratives remaining “uncorrected” is that they become stable interpretations of histories that construct “woman [as] an inferior

¹⁴ Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*, vii.

¹⁵ Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*, vi.

¹⁶ Caroline Healey Dall, “The Influence of Classical Literature,” *English Woman's Journal* 4, no. 24 (February, 1860): 391. Presumably Caroline is referencing nineteenth-century English historian Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859).

being...[men] enact[ing] laws and establish[ing] laws to sustain these views...they [historians] will write history in accordance with such views, and whatever may be the facts, they will be interpreted to suit them.”¹⁷ What Caroline was attempting to do with her publications and public voice was to expose the entangled relationship between histories that silenced influential women of the past with the social, economic and legal practices that attempted to reduce a women’s influence during her life. Women of the past and present, wrote Caroline, were in a “straight jacket”.¹⁸

To be freed, this entanglement had to be recognized and then used to begin an unraveling towards equality. Caroline H. Dall, as evidenced by her publications, personal journals, history lecture notes and public speeches would spend her lifetime trying to correct both the historical record and the current social, political and economic straight jacket that was held together by an embedded acceptance of social, economic and political inequality. An entanglement she fought to undo over her lifetime.

The year 1860 was a watershed for both Caroline and the United States. The country would soon be at war with itself and, when the war was over some five years later, a different America would emerge; one that rejected many of the political and economic reforms that in 1860 seemed viable for women. The expansion of the franchise and the notion that political inclusion would translate into other reforms that would reduce gender and racial inequality were, arguable, ideals that were killed in the war. As such, many sections of this chapter concentrate on Caroline’s life prior to the Civil War, a time when we can observe a woman embedded in a world

¹⁷ Dall, “The Influence of Classical Literature,” 391.

¹⁸ Dall, “The Influence of Classical Literature,” 391.

of reform, advocating increased educational access, the anti-slavery cause and equality for women of all social classes. Analyzing Caroline's life and intellectual production as embedded in this context is important for maintaining a more situated sense of her life and offers a new lens to view this period in America.

In this first section, we observe Caroline, like the title of part one cues, *in the middle of it all*. This time period is when Caroline became a public scholar, in that her public positions as teacher, lecturer, community advocate and author all served as formats for her to grow as a public intellectual and in turn be a transmitter of knowledge to her public.¹⁹ The beginning and end of the Civil War were also the years when Caroline authored her most inclusive historical works of women's history. By beginning in the middle, I am able to fully situate my biographical subject as publicly active individual within her Bostonian world, but also embroiled in serious national events. Through Caroline and her networks, we can observe a nation gearing up for war and struggling to maintain the ideals, intellectual and political, that stemmed from transcendental and anti-slavery networks, which serve as a contrast to the conservative aftermath of Reconstruction.²⁰ I also trace, as the chronology moves backwards to her childhood, how she came to be an influential public figure and historian.

¹⁹ It is interesting to note that despite her participation in the Abolitionist Movement and living through the Civil War, she chose never to write about these two subjects, nor is it clear that her advocacy for equality included non-white women.

²⁰ For Caroline, transcendentalism was influential as a social-cultural movement, in that it was a manifestation of the post-Kantian era of intellectuals who sought to put into cultural practice forms of democracy, mostly through published and verbal critiques on restrictions of freedoms, (individual, intellectual and political) and emphasized the role of the individual will and responsibility with freedom. This manifestation of ideals was a meditation on the Kantian notion of freedom offered as a counter utopia to the present political reality that protected racial and gender disenfranchisement and rejected equality under the law. Caroline noted later that it was Kant who first used the term "transcendental" when he asserted that there was a very imperative class of ideas which transcend experience, but are the means by which experience is to be tested" see Caroline H. Dall, *Transcendentalism in*

War Means No Silks and Ribbons

It mortified us to see rich dress silks sweeping the streets, to hear of disproportioned entertainment given, of enormous & utterly unprecedented sales of fancy goods, at a time when all foreign nations seemed terrified by the heavy expenses & possible issues of our national struggle. We felt ashamed to dress richly, to provide luxurious tables, to keep unnecessary servants...[that] an absurd profit is made on the one article of ribbons.²¹

During a critical year of the Civil War, 1864, Caroline led the formation of The New England Women's League, an organization that worked on reducing the public purchase of luxuries during the war. As an act of solidarity, during a time "when every dollar was needed to clothe and feed the soldier" [...] Caroline promoted "[a]n open effort to create a simpler style of living" within the local Boston community.²² The purpose of the League was to prevent "disproportioned" styles of living in the North during the war.²³ By forming this league, Caroline questioned the wearing of "silks and ribbons" not just because they were material objects of the wealthier classes, but because purchasing luxuries during this "unsettled state of the country"

New England: A Lecture Delivered Before the Society of Philosophical Enquiry, Washington, D.C., May 7, 1895 (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1897), 12. Regarding Kant, here I mean to reference three pervading ideas of his from 1784: 1) that an alliance between the individual and government rests on the freedom of "upward progress" and a denial of this is a "crime against human nature" 2) there is a connection between civil freedom and intellectual freedom which develops the mentality of people to treat each other with dignity and 3) the "practical sphere" (here posed as an alternative to the public and/or private sphere), is the space where knowledges and morals, often developed in the public/private sphere, are enacted and further redefined, and is thus considered the space where theories are actually put into practice, see Immanuel Kant, *An Answer to the Question: 'What is Enlightenment?'* trans. H.B. Nisbet (London: Penguin Books, 2009): 6-7, 10, 43.

²¹ "Report of the N.E. Women's League for diminishing the use of luxuries during the War" (1864), Dall Papers 1829-1956 MC 351, Box 4, Folder 49, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

²² "Report of the N.E. Women's League," 1864.

²³ "Report of the N.E. Women's League," 1864.

meant supporting, with one's pocketbook, capitalistic control over the war.²⁴ To purchase silks and ribbons during the war meant continued support of mills and, in particular, foreign imports, which translated to steady profits—war or no war—and a blindness toward political or social concern as to how, or what negotiations were made to keep the manufacture of unnecessary goods humming. If manufactures made profits from luxuries during the war, why would they be motivated to help produce goods at reduced prices needed for the soldiers or to end trade relationships that fueled the war?

Caroline was never afraid to be austere, especially when it came to a public outcry about the lack of parsimonious behavior of Boston's upper class. And, as evidenced in her history publications, she was an advocate for economic fairness. Her propensity to fight for issues she viewed as socially and politically significant often rendered a disproportionate reaction from close and distant members of her social and intellectual network of the Boston/Cambridge region. Her journal entries are riddled with reactions and justifications of her public experiences, with her word choices suggesting an air of self-defense about her own perspectives on social rights and wrongs. Yet Caroline's reprimand above on silks and ribbons serves as an interesting contrast to the quotidian style she used in her journals to mark events related to the Civil War. Her journal writings during the early 1860s are filled with accounts of her social-cultural activities and pay little attention to the severe tragedies that occurred during the war. And when she does, she seems to put the war in the background of her intellectual life. For example, she records attending most of Emerson's lectures at the outbreak of war while noting "our hearts

²⁴ "Report of the N.E. Women's League," 1864.

were with the troops”.²⁵ She writes about the cancellations of anti-slavery meetings in Boston and New York right after war broke out with little remorse, despite her staunch involvement in the cause.²⁶ Her journal entry about attending the same church services as Mrs. Lincoln (who was in town to visit her son, Robert Todd Lincoln, who continued his Harvard education during the most of the war) and the “anti-slavery discourse” of the Sunday sermon is sanguine and stored amongst her daily routine.²⁷ Key military “turning points” for the North during the war, such as New Orleans (April 16-29, 1862), Gettysburg (July 1-3, 1863) and Vicksburg (May 18-July 4, 1863) are written with quick observance of thankful relief, but no more sentiment than that. She combined the news about Gettysburg and Vicksburg in a simple note: “Lee’s defeat”.²⁸

However, the 1863 draft riots garnered her full attention, in particular when her only son William, aged eighteen, decided to join the local Boston volunteer militia to prevent further riots in the city. Caroline’s response was that although he was fit to serve she would not forget the “sinking at my heart” that this decision caused.²⁹ That decision alongside the slew of reports (two years into the war) about deaths and injuries of local men underscore to the reader of her journals the local experience of the Civil War. Through her journals, we can observe that larger issues such as death of soldiers and the end of slavery, when examined from the perspective of an individual, seem less critical. Overall, Caroline’s journal entries during this period seemingly

²⁵ Dall, 17 April, 1861 in Dall, *Selected Journals*, vol. 2, 336.

²⁶ Dall, 23 April, 1861 in Dall, *Selected Journals*, Vol. 2, 337.

²⁷ Dall, 19 May, 1861 in Dall, *Selected Journals*, vol. 2, 339.

²⁸ Robert E. Lee. Dall, 10 May 1862 and 7 July, 1863 both in Dall, *Selected Journals*, vol. 2, 380; 458.

²⁹ Dall, 15 July, 1863 in Dall, *Selected Journals*, vol. 2, 461. This entry was written the day after the Boston draft riots of July 14, 1863.

place the war at a distance, and her intellectual and reform activities at the forefront, reminding the reader that when one steps into the life of an individual living through a war, life pursuits themselves are not stymied, but instead flourish. From an individual perspective, the Civil War occurred parallel, and not at the forefront of people's lives. This more personal view is part of an overall reorientation of perspective that Life History narratives can offer. Caroline's journals reveal a woman embedded in complex forms of intellectual production and reform activities that not only continued during the Civil War, but were spurred on by the hope of emancipation and universal suffrage that a Union victory could provide. This requires viewing the Civil War as a period that opened up spaces for some women to blossom as public leaders and intellectuals, a consideration often missing in the grand narratives about the war.³⁰

Further, during the beginning of political Reconstruction, on the eve of the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, which was held as a sign of hope for addressing the issue of citizenship in the United States, many of Caroline's closest friends, some of whom were schooled in the liberal notions of the Transcendentalist movement, formed The New England Women's Club (NEWC, 1868). Born out of the women's rights movement, the club was established as a place outside of the home for women to participate and mentor each other through intellectual, cultural and philanthropic activities. In many ways, the club was a copy of their Transcendentalist network from before the war. The founding members were former members of this Bostonian intellectual circle or were directly influenced by the social, religious and political ideals espoused

³⁰ Bruce Catton. *The Civil War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004); Ellis J. Joseph. *American Creation* (New York: Vintage Books, 2007); Eric Foner, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010).

during the 1830s and 1840s.³¹ In particular, that education and cultural development of the individual was essential to create more tolerant and knowledgeable citizens that would, in turn, assist in creating a wider society that supported liberal notions founded in the rights and privileges of the individuals.

While men were allowed to be associate members of the NEWC, the club was established and run by women, many of whom, like Elizabeth P. Peabody, Julia Ward Howe and Caroline M. Severance (first president) had already become influential New England women.³² To encourage membership, the social-cultural activities of the club included an annual birthday celebration of Margaret Fuller, poetry picnics, plays, courses in English literature and foreign languages and lunches to celebrate famous women. It was just the kind of organization that would have invited Caroline Healey Dall, a friend, fellow Bostonian, reformer, historian and author to join. Instead these leading women, many of whom Caroline respected and championed on an intellectual level, such as Lucretia Mott and Marie Elizabeth Zakrzewska, decided to blackball her from joining.³³ It seems ironic that while Caroline spent most of her life as a Boston reformer, and in particular, fighting for women not to be marginalized in any sense, she was in

³¹ In this context, Caroline emerges as one of many women who were “thinkers and actors” of the Transcendentalist movement, see Jana L. Argersinger and Phyllis Cole, editors, *Toward a Female Genealogy of Transcendentalism* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2014): 6.

³² New England Women's Club. Records, 1843-1970, MC 178/M-145, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

³³ Caroline H. Dall, *Selected Journals of Caroline Healey Dall* Vol. 1 1838-1855. Edited by Helen R. Deese, 2 vols. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 2006): xix. As discussed later in this chapter, Caroline was the editor of Marie Zakrzewska's 1860 autobiography.

fact, marginalized by her colleagues, both male and female, but this does underscore the fickle nature of intellectual networks.³⁴

What is interesting about the exclusion of Caroline from the NEWC is that it allows for an opportunity to observe how intellectual critique functioned in an exclusionary way within intellectual networks. When women like Caroline and their female counterparts decided to focus their intellectual energies beyond topics of domesticity, religion and patriotism they opened themselves up to forms of intellectual critique that precipitated their own reexamination of social-cultural and political perspectives—which is an essential function of knowledge production. As Caroline moved within intellectual networks and built a professional life through public lecturing and publication, there was a proportional output of intellectual critique from and towards Caroline which adds to her creditability as a public intellectual.

Furthermore, many NEWC members, like Elizabeth P. Peabody and Ralph Waldo Emerson, had been known and admired by Caroline since she was eighteen, when she had wandered into their orbit as a young woman. As the then eighteen year old Caroline Healey wrote in her journal on August 7, 1840:

...went into Elizabeth Peabody's Book Room—Saw a magnificent illustrated edition of the new translation of the Arabian Nights. My heart felt sick—when I came away, I longed for one—to have money at my own command—those splendid English Editions of the Classics—how my eyes longed to read them! and Dante Petrarca—& Ariosto—in the finest of Paris print & paper.³⁵

³⁴ I have not found in the archival evidence of a clear reason why she was not allowed to join the NEWC, an organization whose members would have been so familiar to Caroline. But her journals do evidence a lifetime of conflicting perspectives and levels of support within her own network.

³⁵ Caroline H. Dall, *Daughter of Boston*, ed. Helen R. Deese (Beacon Press, Boston, 2005): 19.

This account was written just as Elizabeth Peabody's bookshop had opened in Boston (see Chapter Two) and demonstrates how young Caroline Healey was not afraid to desire luxuries—at least in the form of books and stationary—as reading and writing would come to be the backbone of her vocations. This journal entry written during her early adulthood represents many similar entries written throughout her life regarding her desire to learn and be connected to an intellectual network, be independent, and for all women to have money at their own command was a core goal of her reform work. Yet her public views on justice and equality sometimes put her at odds with her contemporaries, and by the end of the Civil War her personal relationships with key female leaders in the Boston region had deteriorated. But Caroline's life was full of contradiction, personal and intellectual. Hers was a life that regularly tested the boundaries of social acceptance and as such, was a life lived in a symbiotic relationship of opportunities fashioned and accorded by intellectual ability and an earned recognition, even by those who sought to limit her influence.

In fact, the central paradox of Caroline's public life as a public advocate for equality, reformer, author and historian was that the more educated and vocal she became, the more righteous she became, and thus opened herself to public and private critique, even by those who loved and admired her. As such the main purpose of beginning with some of Caroline's activities in the 1860s is to introduce some of the defining characteristics, perspectives and individual complexity of this female reformer and historian who is the focus of this chapter. Caroline was an activist for equality; one manifestation of that activism was to reconstruct women of the past. This intertwined understanding of past and present was the basis of her historical writings and work in the budding social sciences.

Even though Caroline was raised as the eldest daughter of a rich man within the Boston urban elite, she protested from an early age against the influence of rank over merit and continuously pondered how unfair it was that certain groups (i.e. the upper class; the law-makers) were allowed to prey upon vulnerable groups (i.e. the poor; women; disenfranchised). For Caroline, the great evil of the nineteenth century was inequality; social, political, economic, gender and racial inequality that was institutionally supported by laws that sanctioned slavery, disenfranchisement, unregulated labor and wages and unequal access to schooling. Her life mirrored the social, political and economic instability nineteenth-century white women experienced, regardless of upbringing. But Caroline understood that her position, although vulnerable, was, compared to other groups that were more severely disenfranchised, politically and economically, a position of privilege. This understanding fueled her public work towards equality. Her understanding of the Christian notion of the 'chain of being' was not that humans are ranked and tiered according to their closeness to God, which is connected to their class, but that humans are linked together by the existence of their humanity, making them equally divine. And more particularly, she understood that an increase in rights and privileges of one group could lead to an increase for other groups and eventually all people. Her public activities demonstrate her understanding of the interrelated fates of vulnerable groups of nineteenth-century America.

Caroline lived a long life, dying in Washington, D.C. in 1912, leaving a country entrenched in segregation, the issue of universal suffrage unresolved, and although not fully realized, a world on the brink of war, in part due to a lack of universal implementation of racial, social, political and economic equality on an international scale. The parts of her life examined in this chapter demonstrate a woman living a liberal life—not as a woman ahead of her time—but a

woman embedded in her time. Thus, reformist activities were not unique in Caroline's life, but instead, defined her life. But how did she come to build such a life?

The next part of this chapter focuses on Caroline's childhood and adolescence, tracing the body parts of her earlier life that led her early work as a teacher, including the familial and economic circumstances that influenced her public and private pathways. It is also a biographical sketch of an educated girlhood of antebellum America and seeks to contribute to a growing historical understanding of girlhood during the nineteenth century. The section ends with her marriage to Charles Dall, the birth of her children William and Sarah and Caroline's continued attempt to "fit-into" expected roles, as a Minister's wife, while pursuing her own goals of writing, public advocacy and eventually, authorship of historical works.

Part Two: Childhood, Education, Educator

A New England Girlhood, Revisited

Historical narratives written about *early* nineteenth-century American childhood postulate that most girls, regardless of social class did not receive a comparatively sophisticated level of formal academic learning.³⁶ By bringing forth the body parts of Caroline's early life and her earliest teaching experiences, I evidence Life History examples that test standard notions in the current historiography about female education, adolescent labor experiences in teaching and

³⁶ Growth of public schools, co-education and the slow growth of female colleges and/or female admittance into colleges and universities, mostly after the Civil War, are considered crucial 'turning points' that change this notion. See Julian Grant, "Parent-Child Relations in Western Europe and North America, 1500-Present," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, ed. Paula Fass (London: Routledge, 2013):103-124; John Rury, *Education and Social Change: Contours in the History of American Schooling* (New York: Routledge, 2013). On the other hand educational historian Margaret Nash argues the growth of female seminaries and academies during the antebellum period did provide formal academic learning for many young women, albeit not to all social classes, see Margaret Nash, *Women's Education in the United States, 1780-1840*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

post-teaching opportunities. I have also highlighted the life-long significance of continued self-education for antebellum women. Further, the history of nineteenth-century childhood, adolescence and adulthood is complex and varies according to gender, class, social-cultural environment and geography. Definitive concepts like age of discretion, labor, education (i.e years in school), independence, social-emotional development and marriage are often used as markers during this period.³⁷ For example, Caroline Cox's study of boy soldiers in early America postulates that during the decades of the early national period, the time when Caroline, the subject of this chapter, was growing up, American constructs about childhood evolved. A consequence of this shift was that childhood was prolonged, and the journey towards adulthood and its corresponding responsibilities was extended.³⁸ In the case of Caroline, her adolescence ended abruptly due to her father's financial ruin, thus work and independence were initiated by a larger familial loss, not by adherence to social markers. Thus the pathway towards adulthood is complicated by circumstances that do not directly adhere to social-cultural norms espoused in the early nineteenth century that postulate conservative socio-cultural ideals for women such as the four cardinal virtues of "piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity".³⁹ Rather a study of Caroline's life illuminates an understanding that women established new norms through

³⁷ Stephen Lassonde, "Age, Schooling, and Development," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, ed. Paula Fass (London: Routledge, 2013): 211-228.

³⁸ Caroline Cox, "Boy Soldiers of the American Revolution" in *Children and Youth in a New Nation*, ed. James Marten (New York: New York University Press, 2009): 17.

³⁹ Barbara Welter, *The Cult of Womanhood: 1820-1860* (1966), in *Locating American Studies: The Evolution of a Discipline*, ed. L. Maddox (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999):43-66, 44; For examples of publications regarding ideal American morality for females see Martha Saxton, "French and American Childhoods, St. Louis in the Republic" in *Children and Youth in a New Nation*, ed. J. Marten (New York: New York University Press, 2009): 69-90.

negotiation of circumstances, as a form of agency, and thus established in certain spaces a self-determining lifestyle.⁴⁰

Moreover, as Holly Izard and Caroline Sloat observe, regionally specific notions of maturity were significant and the cultural benchmarks of what a New England womanhood meant must be considered in historical analysis.⁴¹ In antebellum New England steps toward social maturity included: becoming educated; participating in extended visits away with relatives as a sign of independence; teaching Sunday school; and the demonstration of an understanding of social rules through the teaching of them to others.⁴² Here we can observe a more solid historical context for Caroline, yet how she went about “meeting” these New England markers towards adulthood is nuanced by how she negotiated through her own intellectual and social networks, a negotiation that began during her childhood. Thus, we can observe a complex childhood and adolescent world, regionally specific to New England, but also diverse in opportunity and experiences.

In the present case Caroline left a lifetime of journal entries, lecture notes, unpublished novels, public speeches, and publications (monographs and articles), including an autobiographical sketch of her own childhood and adolescence allowing for the addition of information drawn from personal experiences. While the utility of personal memories may be limited due to its subjective nature, for biographical narrative these archival pieces are essential

⁴⁰ Martin and Goodman, *Women and Education*, .

⁴¹ Holly V. Izard and Caroline F. Sloat, “A Teenager Goes Visiting: The Diaries of Louisa Jane Trumbull (1835,1837)” in *Children and Youth in a New Nation*, ed. James Marten (New York: New York University Press, 2009): 211-228.

⁴² Izard and Sloat, “A Teenager Goes Visiting”.

materials.⁴³ It is significant that Caroline's journals do not focus on idealized, prescriptive notions about her role in her household or her future household, but instead focus on her intellectual pursuits. Historian Valerie Sanders maintains that women who published autobiographical accounts or journaled their experiences of growing up as a girl saw "themselves both as individuals and representatives of their generation; not so much role models as recorders of childhood as a stage that should not be overlooked or underestimated".⁴⁴

Moreover, Caroline wrote her own autobiography in direct response to Edward Everett Hale's *A New England Boyhood* (1900), and is thus a critical female voice about New England girlhood and even in its singular nature remains an artifact of the "writer tell[ing] [her] own story".⁴⁵ Caroline wrote in her memoir *Alongside* (1900), "I feel as if some of the Boston women of today would like to know what the girls of that time were about," thus revealing to the reader the main purpose of writing an autobiography of her childhood.⁴⁶ Indeed, both the title and introduction notes by Caroline suggest that she meant for people to read her story 'alongside' Edward Hale's *Boyhood* in order to get a sense of an antebellum New England boyhood and girlhood.

In the first part of this chapter I narrate Caroline's childhood and educational experiences and pay particular attention to her intellectual development. Specifically, this chapter seeks to

⁴³ Hermione Lee, *Biography, A Very Short History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁴⁴ Sanders, *Records of Girlhood*, 2.

⁴⁵ In the original quote, Lee refers to eighteenth century biographer Samuel Johnson who argued that the "most truthful life-writing is when 'the writer tells his own story,' since only he knows the whole truth about himself," see Lee, *Biography*, 47.

⁴⁶ Caroline H. Dall, *Alongside* (Boston: Thomas Todd, 1900): 1.

bring forth a Life History that locates her knowledge productions through patterns of intellectual drive and accomplishment. The final two sections recount Caroline's first teaching experience away from home and how she negotiated decisions about marriage, work and finding a permanent place to live. Like the other women in this dissertation, decisions to marry and raise children while remaining intellectually active and employed proved difficult, and in fact Caroline is the only woman in this study to marry and start a family. Thus, her story, and the counter story of rejecting marriage and family life by the other two women examined in this dissertation, all contribute to the historiography of social history that complicates standardized understandings of how women were socialized towards domesticity and yet chose to navigate a different path.

Possessed By Plato But Not Discouraged

Caroline Healey Dall, was born in 1822 in the city of Boston, and spent her childhood and early adolescence as a member of a large, wealthy family. Her family's economic status provided Caroline with a private education comprised of governesses, tutors, and private schooling (including becoming multi-lingual), as well as a network of other well-connected families. This lifestyle came to an abrupt end when Caroline, at age 15, was removed from school without warning, the result of a sudden and severe financial undoing of her father Mark Healey, whose newly built wealth had disintegrated from the Panic of 1837. There would be two more severe setbacks by the economic depression of 1840 and her father's bankruptcy in 1842.⁴⁷ These financial disruptions would serve as precedent, for Caroline would spend almost her entire adulthood wrestling with financial instability, eventually becoming head of household and a *de*

⁴⁷ Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, xvi.

facto single parent of two children. And, like Elizabeth P. Peabody, combined a lifetime of teaching, speaking, publishing and taking in borders to earn a steady income, although her main vocation was as a public lecturer on women's history and advocate for economic equality.

Caroline was the oldest of eight children and was often tasked to run the household, not just because of her position as the eldest, but also because her mother, Caroline Foster was ill most of her life, both mentally and physically.⁴⁸ Further, although her father did encourage her academic progress and recognized her literary talents, he was also her staunchest critic. Caroline deeply loved her father and spent her lifetime trying to please him, but she also refused his requests to remove herself from the center of reform activities, particularly her participation in the anti-slavery movement.⁴⁹ Yet despite periods of emotional and economic chaos in her household, Caroline excelled academically and socially. In her memoir, *Alongside*, Caroline idealized her childhood, in particular, between the ages of seven and twelve when she lived at 24 Chestnut Street in Boston. She considered the city her playground, noting the beautiful days, dancing parties, walks on the wharf eating oysters freshly caught and steamed, and ice cream served in a glass. Caroline wrote in 1900:

My dearest companions at that time were Elizabeth, the daughter of Robert G. Shaw, and a relative on my mother's side, and Catherine Wild, a beautiful child... [I]f we exhausted the resources of North Street, we crossed the Common to a lane which we call Boylston Place, and which is now the dreariest nook in Boston, so that it is hard to believe that flowers ever blossomed there. This lane or court was then surrounded by wooden houses

⁴⁸ It is probable that Caroline's mother (also named Caroline) suffered from a type of mania or lunacy. The editor of her journals uses the term "bipolar" (a twentieth century term) and notes that the mother's disorder was passed on to two of her younger sisters who died in the McLean Asylum of mental disorders, see Dall, *Selected Journals* vol.1, xvi-xvii.

⁴⁹ Dall, *Daughter of Boston*.

with gardens, and in the shelter of the extreme end we always found our lilacs.⁵⁰

In terms of her academic development, besides attending Joseph Hale Abbot's school and also receiving private lessons, for example in penmanship, Caroline recalled that at age seven her chamber (bedroom) at Chestnut Street was also the family library.

Here I had a chamber of my own, a chamber which was also the family library, for three sides of it were shelved for my father's books, and glad I am that it was so, for by the free use of those shelves I had mastered all the English classics and translations of many others before I was twelve years old, beside making the acquaintance of "Dorcasina Sheldon," "Charlotte Temple," and "Eliza Wharton."⁵¹

To one private library in Boston, I was in my childhood greatly indebted. This was before Ticknor and Prescott and Felton opened their shelves to me. This was the library of Daniel P. Parker. [...] I was not therefore without resources. I had the Boston Library, the Parish library, and the private libraries of Mr. Parker and my father, as well as the smaller collections of other friends, but until Elizabeth Peabody started her foreign library, and I made the intimate acquaintance of President Felton, I never had books enough nor any opportunity of study properly [...] One very unfortunate result followed: I began to write for the press while I was still child.⁵²

Thus, we observe in Caroline's own words the influence of a combination of mentorship and autodidacticism that her intellectual network of Boston/Cambridge provided. Of course, her access to home libraries of important male intellectuals of her lifetime and early writing experiences were not "unfortunate". This comment of self-deprecation, written after a long

⁵⁰ Dall, *Alongside*, 26-40; 26. Caroline makes it clear in the opening paragraph of her book that this memoir should be viewed as a narrative of a New England Girlhood, and juxtaposes her story with E.E. Hale's *New England Boyhood* also published in 1900.

⁵¹ Here Caroline is careful to separate scholastic and fictional reading, Dall, *Alongside*, 20-21.

⁵² Dall, *Alongside*, 66, 69-70. Daniel P. Parker was a family friend, businessman, and shipbuilder in Boston who was an early trustee for the Boston Athenaeum, therefore his personal library may have been quite extensive, see Dall, *Daughter of Boston*, 365n31.

career of publication, can be viewed as more of an “expected” commentary from a woman who filled her journals with “complaints” about her public success. Yet, some of her contemporaries thought of her complaints as ego disguised as humility, which put her at odds within her own network.⁵³ As Caroline wrote on March 14, 1859, “they are an old subject...[and] I am weary of hearing my own egoism discussed.”⁵⁴

During her early adolescence (ages 13-15), Caroline had written several unpublished novels (Figure) and had published several works about religious topics in local newspapers.⁵⁵ But her religiosity did not equate to conservative socio-political beliefs. Caroline was raised a Unitarian; whose church doctrine was a comparatively liberal Protestant religion. Particularly the doctrines that recognized the free will of the individual and the coexistence of rational thought, science and philosophy with faith.⁵⁶

⁵³ There are countless entries in Caroline Dall’s journals that read as a juxtaposition of compliant—i.e. someone/something did not meet her expectations and her ego—i.e. that she triumphed over the situation. Elizabeth P. Peabody her friend and critic called , see, Elizabeth P. Peabody to Caroline H. Dall u.d. Friday, 1859 in Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, American Renaissance Woman*, ed. Bruce A. Ronda, 1st ed. (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1984) 302; Dall journal entry, Monday March 14, 1859 in Dall, *Daughter of Boston*, 277. Elizabeth’s letter to Caroline is undated but Caroline notes in her March 14, 1859 journal entry that she receive this letter that day after nightfall.

⁵⁴ Dall, 14 March 1859 in Dall, *Daughter of Boston*, 277.

⁵⁵ Dall, 19 March 1838: “Wrote in “Grace Lethbridge” for about 2 hours”; On 19 November 1838 Caroline was writing “Ellen de Vere” which she notes finishing and then moving on to a new novel “Padanarum” on February 5 1839, see Dall, *Selected Journals* Vol. 1, 6, 16, 20. Regarding unpublished novels, see Dall Papers 1829-1956 MC 351 Schlesinger Library Radcliffe Institute. Many of her newspaper articles were re-published in Caroline H. Dall, *Essay and Sketches* (Boston: Samuel G. Simpkins, 1849).

⁵⁶ Dall, *Daughter of Boston*; Dall, *Transcendentalism in New England*.

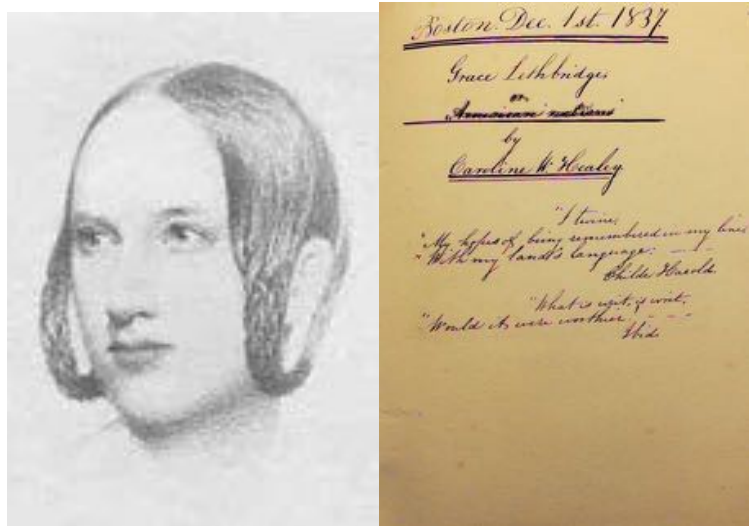


Figure 6. Portrait of Caroline Wells Healey Dall, by Alvan Clark, ca.1836 and title page from unpublished novel “Grace Lethbridge” 1837.⁵⁷

From an early age, Caroline yearned to be taken seriously. She regularly wrote about doing “something noble,” her “literary struggles,” and a longing to be recognized for her literary talent, and strong “Ambition” for social and economic justice that had yet “disgraced” her in the eyes of her more conservative father.⁵⁸ The ambitions she had to be a writer, social advocate and public intellectual were regularly tempered by a concern that family, and members of her social world would reject her perspectives on life, rendering her “alone” and “friendless”.⁵⁹ Regardless, she remained undaunted:

Read Young’s Memoir of Bowditch; How should I glory in living such a life as his. Young—says, “Any man could accomplish his ends, if surrounded by advantages, and provided with means, but it is the privilege of Genius to

⁵⁷ Series IV, “Writings,” Box 4, Folder 62, Dall Papers 1829-1956 MC 351 Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

⁵⁸ Dall, 2 September 1838 and 14 August 1839, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 13; 24, emphasis in original.

⁵⁹ Dall, 18 September 1838, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 13.

triumph over obstacles, to work without means—and to be successful amid persecutions!” I believe I have forgotten this, at any rate, I am grieved and penitent, that these pages are blotted with the records of discontent and gloom. God may forgive me, but I cannot forgive myself, I may not possess Genius, but God has given me mental faculties which I will endeavour [sic] to exert for the good of all!⁶⁰

By age 16, her political and economic perspectives had already begun to differ from her social sphere and familial expectations. Beginning innocuously (perhaps) with her protest, on the grounds of legal precedent, of the English Corn Laws (enacted in 1815 before she was born). Caroline wrote “My instinct tells me---that though these Laws—may protect one portion of the community—they—prey upon another”.⁶¹ Caroline’s support of Anti-Corn Law League, she went on to write, was based on the notion of “freedom & equal rights” for all and was not just an English concern, but of interest for all human beings. That same year, remarking about the slave revolt on the ship *Amistad* (of August 26, 1839), Caroline wrote: “I think that their act [mutiny] was only a justifiable act of self defence—and that they are by the laws of our country—free—and independent.”⁶² Indeed, Caroline’s journal entries, her work by age fifteen (1837-1842) operating a nursery school for workingwomen in Boston’s North End, and her work as a Sunday school teacher demonstrate a young woman in the midst of a personal socio-political revolution towards a “ministry to the poor”.⁶³

⁶⁰ Dall, 15 November 1838, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 16, emphasis in original; The book Caroline was reading was Alexander Young’s *The Varieties of Human Greatness: A Discourse on the Life and Character of Nathaniel Bowditch, LL.D.* (Boston, 1838).

⁶¹ Dall 18 August 1839, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 25, emphasis in original.

⁶² Dall, 9 September 1839, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 27.

⁶³ Here the word ministry is meant to cue both a religious and serve-based understanding of Caroline’s views that were developing in her youth, see Dall, *Alongside*, 80-86.

Caroline's intellectual evolution is further evidenced in her journal entries during her late adolescence, a time after her formal schooling had ceased, with regular notations of attendance at local scholarly lectures and events within the Boston/Cambridge area. In particular, her association and participation in events at the Boston Society of the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.⁶⁴ Caroline noted her attendance at poetry readings, lectures and social events with local academics. Here we can observe that Caroline had begun to practice a form of autodidacticism in the areas of law and economic history, two subjects which would form the foundation to much of her authorship. Moreover, by the age of eighteen Caroline described herself as being in-love with learning, teaching, and writing. As she wrote in her journal on August 17, 1840, "went into Miss Peabody's Book Room—and possessed myself of Plato."⁶⁵ By the following year Caroline had been invited to participate in Margaret Fuller's weekly "Conversations" held at 13 West Street.⁶⁶ Later, both in written accounts in her journal and two key publications about her experiences in the Transcendental orbit, Caroline confirmed the life-long influence of this intellectual circle that had begun in the eighteenth year of her life.⁶⁷ Thus,

⁶⁴ See Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, in particular the years 1838-1840, for examples of Caroline's consistency in attendance of these types of activities see 19, July 1839, 22-23; 27 December, 1839, 29; 17 January 1840, 32; See also "Abstracts of Lectures delivered before the Society for The diffusion of Useful Knowledge," 1837-1838 in Series V, "Notes and Clippings," Box 8, Folder 122, Dall Papers 1829-1956 MC 351 Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

⁶⁵ Dall, 17 August 1840, in Dall, *Daughter of Boston*, 19.

⁶⁶ Edward T. James, ed. *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971): 428.

⁶⁷ Caroline regularly demonstrated this influence in her personal relationships, using markers of transcendental idealism to express love and disappointment with those she met within this network. For example see Dall, 11 August 1852, Caroline wrote: "I have been reading Margaret Fuller's Life. How like you she is in many things." In this entry, Caroline in admiration of Fuller's influence and challenges to social conformity with the larger society, compared Fuller to John Patton, a man she loved, in part because he challenged her intellectually during

these informal learning experiences, instead of further entrenching Caroline into a more conservative, upper-class perspective, fueled her love of learning, social advocacy and internal discernment and serve to contextualize Caroline's vocational pursuit as a public advocate for legal and economic equity.⁶⁸

And it is here that we enter the body part of Caroline's earliest experiences as a teacher. Caroline began her early career teaching young children in Sunday school, but these experiences prompted Caroline to revisit her own knowledge of history and going forward thought of historical studies as necessary for understanding the world one inhabited. Yet Caroline, unlike Elizabeth (Chapter Two), did not have a mentor to help train her to become a teacher. This she learned while working as a Sunday-school teacher. Yet very quickly and perhaps drawing on her own educational experiences, Caroline used history and literature texts in her early practices, understanding that religious and moral instruction required a historical context.

“I was an heiress...and now—a poor—schoolmistress”⁶⁹

Teaching young children (usually ranging between 6-12) at various Sunday schools in Boston is where and how Caroline acquired her teaching skills. These early teaching experiences also further shaped her sense of social justice. Caroline recalled that she was “little more than a

this time in her life (1850s), Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1: 384; see also, Caroline Wells Healey Dall, and Margaret Fuller, *Margaret and Her Friends; or, Ten Conversations with Margaret Fuller Upon the Mythology of the Greeks and its Expression in Art* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1895); Dall, *Transcendentalism in New England*.

⁶⁸ Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*; Caroline Dall, "Woman's Right to Labor," or, Low Wages and Hard Work: in Three Lectures, delivered in Boston, November, 1859 (Boston: Walker, Wise, and Co., 1860); Caroline Dall, *The College, The Market, and The Court; or Woman's Relation to Education, Labor and Law* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1867).

⁶⁹ Dall, 1 January 1843, Dall, *Daughter of Boston*, 71-72.

child in experience,” when she began to teach.⁷⁰ Yet her teacher record books demonstrate a competent, eager young teacher who was concerned with more than lessons in scripture. She was concerned with improving the intellectual lives of her students.⁷¹ Like many female teachers of the 1830s and early 1840s Sunday school was often their first “school room” and many of these teachers as, Anne Boylan notes, realized that teaching their students to become literate was a necessary precursor for religious instruction.⁷² For Caroline, whose students were children from the lower classes, the two hours spent at Sunday school was often their primary opportunity to become literate. This inspired Caroline to establish mini-libraries at many of the churches she worked with, such as the one at West Church, which contained a combination of literary, historical and religious works.⁷³ These books inspired her lessons and assisted in teaching literacy. It’s possible that because she was a teacher at Unitarian Sunday schools her ability to construct a more humanist approach was not hindered, as Unitarians did not follow the curriculum structure of the institutionalized Sunday School Union that had formed in 1824. This union was the largest private organization that promoted basic instruction, regardless of age,

⁷⁰ Dall, *Alongside*, 47.

⁷¹ Series III, “Teaching and Lectures,” Box 2, Folders 26-28, Dall Papers 1829-1956 MC 351 Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

⁷² Anne M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790- 1880* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

⁷³ Series III, “Teaching and Lectures,” Box 2, Folder 26, Dall Papers 1829-1956 MC 351 Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute. Beyond having access to private libraries as noted earlier in this section, public access to books was an issue that remained important to Caroline throughout her life, as discussed more fully in later sections of this Chapter. She was a public supported of increasing the amount of books and periodicals in the Boston Public Library, founding member of the American Social Science Association and also worked on book collections for children during the 1870s, see Series V, “Notes and Clippings,” Box 8, Folder 126, Dall Papers.

gender or color throughout the nineteenth century.⁷⁴ This fact alone allows us to glimpse the importance of Sunday school for children.

Working as a Sunday-school teacher raised Caroline's awareness of her students' lives outside of school and over time her teacher records indicate that taking a personal interest in her students made her a more effective teacher and community member. She took prodigious notes on her students' well-being, family life, regularly noted who needed school supplies or clothing.⁷⁵ This care also included visits with parents to discuss their child's progress.⁷⁶ Caroline was also not shy from using guilt as a form of discipline. In a letter spoken aloud to them on November 20th 1839 she said:

When I was a little girl, I was often careless, and neglectful as you sometimes are—yet I dearly loved my teacher, and when her sad reproving glance was fixed upon me- the tear would start to my eye and I went home to weep bitterly—sometimes for hours for my ingratitude. Children I wept then, because I had offended one I loved—I weep now, because those whom I love are grieving me—and it seems to me that if you fail in your duty, I must have failed in mine. If I could go back—some half dozen years-and come to Sabbath school⁷⁷—again—I would grasp eagerly indeed at every shadow of a blessing, —I would rouse every [aspect] to my one great task-and I know how hard it is to sorrow—for past folly—for the sins of childhood in mature years—I urge you to do the same while you have yet the power.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Boylan, *Sunday School*.

⁷⁵ Series III, "Teaching and Lectures," Box 2, Folder 26, Dall Papers 1829-1956 MC 351 Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

⁷⁶ Dall, *Alongside*, 82; in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, xxi;

⁷⁷ It is unclear from the archival records that Caroline attended a Sabbath School, though highly probable.

⁷⁸ Caroline wrote at the bottom of the letter that she she read it aloud to her class, see Series III, "Teaching and Lectures," Box 2, Folder 27, Dall Papers 1829-1956 MC 351 Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

From this letter, we hear Caroline's voice as a young teacher, revealing her closeness in age, her want to be liked and trying to find her way. We also can observe a serious, but affectionate Caroline who was not afraid to tie emotion with discipline in her teaching style. This type of obedience mixed with duty and love embodies both Caroline's character and early approach to teaching. Here we can also observe Caroline in the act of what historian Barbara Finkelstein called "intergenerational communication" of a nineteenth century teacher.⁷⁹ This observation of human action within a social structure is rare in terms of historical evidence and allows a glimpse into conversations that took place in classrooms that real particular values, feelings and expectations that are not understood by looking at curricula and textbooks.⁸⁰

Her character, personal views and teaching style were soon tested upon arrival at Miss Lydia's English's all-girls school in Georgetown in 1842 where she obtained her first full-time teaching position. In Georgetown the young Caroline, age twenty, came face-to-face with new realities: personal independence, slavery, and in particular the use of slaves at her new school. She also faced severe religious differences, including the realization that the liberal, Unitarian ideals she believed in did not exist outside (and later she realized inside) her New England/Bostonian world.

Why did Caroline decide to leave home? Helen Deese proposes that her father's bankruptcy and debt of well over half a million dollars had put an end to a romantic connection, and possible marriage, between her and a historian Samuel F. Haven, who worked for the

⁷⁹ Barbara Finkelstein, *Governing the Young: Teacher Behavior in Popular Primary Schools in Nineteenth-century United States. Studies in Curriculum History* (New York: Falmer Press, 1989): 9.

⁸⁰ Finkelstein, *Governing the Young*.

Antiquarian Society in Worcester.⁸¹ This dual failure, argues Deese, prompted Caroline to search for a teaching position away from home and public scrutiny. It is also possible that the experience of being by the side of her younger brother as he died of scarlet fever on December 11, 1841, and the subsequent role of having to deal with his body, including the family mourning and burial may have hasten a want for change.

I wrote to the ministers—prepared the inscription for the plate—and thanked God that he gave me strength. We laid Charlie in his coffin—and I gathered the robe about his feet while father untied the bandage about the head— [...]—and then came his teacher with the book and slate—his little hands had pressed on Tuesday—It seemed more—hard—to bear—with every passing moment—and I put them where father’s eye might not seen them.⁸²

What is certain is that there was a combination of personal misfortunes that hastened Caroline’s initiation into adulthood and influenced an attempt at an independent life, even if it meant facing her fear of becoming “the loneliest of lonely things, an independent woman”.⁸³

Georgetown, Washington, D.C.

Her teaching position at Georgetown was similar to Elizabeth Peabody’s early experiences as a teacher. Caroline taught she would teach different academic subjects, with an emphasis on history, rhetoric and mathematics. Right before she left she sat practicing her calculations, based on Warren Colburn’s approach to learning math, over and over again until she felt confident to teach.⁸⁴ That some of her teaching books are filled with pages of math

⁸¹ Dall, *Daughter of Boston*, 60.

⁸² Dall, 11 December, 1841, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 115.

⁸³ Dall, 28 June 1842, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 135.

⁸⁴ See Chapter Two on Elizabeth’s Peabody’s use and advocacy of Colburn’s approach to math.

equations certainly points to her desire to be a good teacher and her discipline to self-educate, especially by attempting to correct a possible weakness in skills she knew she would need at her new school.⁸⁵

Becoming a full-time teacher positioned Caroline within a local domain of community matters all of which tested young Caroline's views on equality and justice and served to influence her scholarly pursuits later in life. Shortly after arriving in Georgetown, Caroline came across Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's recent publication *Poems on Slavery* (1842) at the house of fellow Unitarian and east-coast transplants, George and Annie Abbot.⁸⁶ The Abbot home had quickly become a haven for Caroline, who by December of 1842 was still struggling to reconcile her place in this this new environment where she lived and taught, including a continuous socio-religious conflict with Miss English that seemed to prevent her from feeling fully welcomed at the school.⁸⁷ Even the addition of her sister Fannie in late October of 1842, who was offered enrollment at the school free of charge, did not seem to provide any relief from feeling of social and cultural isolation.⁸⁸ Caroline felt out of place and her journal entries during the first term are filled with stories that underscore an evolving understanding of what it meant to be Unitarian "Yankee".⁸⁹

⁸⁵ "Colburn's Algebra" and "Colburn's Sequel," Series III, "Teaching and Lectures," Box 2, Folder 29, Dall Papers 1829-1956 MC 351 Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

⁸⁶ Dall, *Daughter of Boston*, 368 n15.

⁸⁷ Dall, 25 September, 1842; 3 October, 1842; 15 October; 8 December, 1842, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 156, 160, 164.

⁸⁸ Frances Wells Healy (1829-1902). It is worth noting that Fannie was not comfortable at the school either and left after just three months, see Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, fn 103, 166.

⁸⁹ Dall, 8 December, 1842, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 166.

It is clear from her journal entries that Caroline was experiencing a world that caused her to feel like an outsider and therefore purposely sought the company of fellow Yankees living in Washington D.C. Yet these experiences were a sign of personal growth that led Caroline to further advocate for particular social-political ideals she held, such as helping the poor, educating both free and enslaved children and, drawing on previous experience, also used Sunday School as the space to begin this work.⁹⁰ For example during her time at Miss English's school Caroline regularly assisted enslaved girls with reading, letter writing and other form of literacy development despite the absence in her journal entries of a strong stance on Abolition that characterized the latter half of the 1840s, and in particular her abolitionist work in Toronto. Hence, time spent in Georgetown grew Caroline's advocacy for equality of educational access, in part because teaching at Miss English's school exposed Caroline to the reality that there was little tolerance, even amongst fellow Abolitionists in her learning community, for assisting free or enslaved "colored" girls.⁹¹

For example, the *Christian Register* published one of Caroline's poem in the March 11, 1843 issue titled "To H.W. Longfellow," which was a public thank you for his literary exposé on the issue of slavery. While Caroline had already begun writing in a sympathetic manner about the issue of slavery in her journal, this was her first shared public expression of what she had been experiencing since arriving in Georgetown. In fact this poem is a literary embodiment of her journal, a testament from a "woman's heart" about personal experience Caroline had helping a young enslaved woman Mary Smith write a farewell letter to a man she loved out of fear her

⁹⁰ Dall, 8 December, 1842; 26 December, 1842, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 166-168.

⁹¹ Dall, 21 January, 1843, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 175.

future children would be slaves.⁹² Mary, who worked at the school had been anticipating being set free and could not foresee marrying and having children with an enslaved man, all of whom could be sold at any point in the future and asked Caroline to write an “affectionate letter” of rejection.⁹³ Wrote Caroline:

She came to be that I would write
Farewells she could not speak,
Would say—that tho’ she once had loved,
She dared not still be weak

“I am a slave,’ she said, and tears
Sprang to her dark proud eye;
“And all who draw their breath from mine
In servitude must die.”⁹⁴

This service of writing a letter for Mary and the subsequent publication of a poem memorializing this experience, like her role as a Sunday school teacher, evidences how Caroline’s life experiences influenced her socio-political outlook, which in turn motivated her to publish her views on important issues, in the form of poetry, journal articles or books. This was a pattern of intellectual practice she maintained throughout her life.

In sum, as the eldest child of a large, initially wealthy family, Caroline did receive a sophisticated education (arguably better than all her siblings, including her brothers). But when financial ruin took that away, she continued to self-educate and used her networks negotiate opportunities to work (as opposed to marriage) as a teacher at various Sunday school classrooms,

⁹² Caroline Healey, “To H.W. Longfellow,” 11 March 1843 *Christian Register*, vol. 22, no. 10, p. 40.

⁹³ While it is unclear from Caroline’s journal if Mary would ever be free, it is clear that the man she loved labored on an estate and thus there was a good chance that he would be subject to resale, which would have meant a familial separation if they married, see Dall, 29 December, 1842, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 170.

⁹⁴ Healey, “To H.W. Longfellow”, 40, tenth and eleventh stanzas.

without any formal training or mentorship. She used these initial teaching positions to negotiate full time teaching, publications and a position of respect within her own community.

Additionally, while still an adolescent she used wages from teaching to assist in paying for her sisters' schooling, perhaps fearing they would be neglected, and her father's high level of class-consciousness (the embarrassment of allowing his eldest female child to pay for his other children's education) did not interfere with Caroline's early employment opportunities in Boston or Georgetown.⁹⁵

Overall, Georgetown proved life changing both professionally and personally.

Professionally she had come to understand that her Yankee beliefs made her an outsider and during her first year there Caroline was already thinking about her life "[w]hen I leave Geo'town".⁹⁶ Even invitations to important D.C. functions, like a levee at the White House, or sitting in on public Senate meetings did not seem to negate the professional dissatisfaction that built up during her stay there. A final blow was when the D.C. religious communities refused to allow her establish a "colored free school".⁹⁷ She officially resigned her teaching position on April 30, 1843, effective at the end of the school year.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Dall, *Daughter of Boston*.

⁹⁶ Dall, 2 January 1843, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 172.

⁹⁷ Dall, 2 January 1843; 21 January, 1843; 13 February, 1843, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 172-173, 175, 176.

⁹⁸ Dall, 30 April, 1843, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 179

“Who wants to marry a brain?”⁹⁹

Another turning point came in the winter of 1842 when Caroline met Charles Dall her future husband. Their affection grew from a like-mindedness on issues surrounding community services that the Unitarian church could provide, including plans to establish a “colored free school”.¹⁰⁰ Within three months of meeting they were talking about being “as one” and became engaged.¹⁰¹ According to Helen Deese, Caroline was never quite sure she fully loved Charles and was perhaps motivated by the idea of negotiating a match on her own so that she would no longer be on her own.¹⁰² This worry of being on her “own” repeated itself with all of her personal relationships and is arguably a well-reasoned concern for a women who sought to carve out an independent public voice and vocation that tested the social-cultural norms of her time.¹⁰³ More significantly, Caroline wanted to be an independent woman and also establish personal and professional relationships with men (both before and after her eventual split from Charles) she believed to be her mental equal. Ultimately, she struggled to maintain a sense of independence within these relationships. She had similar struggles with her female colleagues she considered

⁹⁹ This quote is from a conversation recorded by Caroline that she had with her two friends Margie Cranch and Martha Sewell soon after her engagement. What is interesting is that from the context of the journal entry, the women were referring to the intellectual ability of men—yet Caroline seems to understand, given the context of a prior entry that it is her intellectual abilities that will be under scrutiny, and she be expected to tame her intellectual abilities once married. Dall, 26 May, 1843 and quote from 27 May 1843, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 179-180.

¹⁰⁰ Dall, 21 January 1843, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 175.

¹⁰¹ Dall, 5 March 1843, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 177.

¹⁰² Dall, *Daughter of Boston*; *Selected Journals* vol. 1.

¹⁰³ There are numerous entries that deal with this concern over time. For examples during the period her and Charles were together see, Dall 11 January, 1850; 12 November, 1852; 13 July, 1853; 17 January 1854, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol., 303, 398, 413, 445.

her intellectual equal. Caroline also learned that educational attainment did not negate the disempowered experienced of wage and vocation inequities as well as moral issues surrounding judgment of one's personal virtue.¹⁰⁴

Nevertheless, she seemed determined to marry Charles and build a happy family life, which officially began on September 24, 1844.¹⁰⁵ But marriage did not bring Caroline a sense of personal or financial stability. She commented in 1847 "that there should be so many hours, when it seems to us, as if marriage did not fulfil [sic.] it's [sic.] destiny".¹⁰⁶ The most difficult issue was the effect of having to regularly move because Charles could only find work in "supply preaching" which left Caroline to essentially devote her intellectual energy towards her role as Minster's wife, which often meant setting aside her own intellectual pursuits and social causes.¹⁰⁷ Though Caroline was frustrated by the instability brought on by marriage to Charles, she still found ways to remain active in causes that were important such as Abolition and women's rights. For example, when the Dall's arrived in Toronto in May of 1851 Caroline used this as an opportunity to become politically active and served as an agent who assisted fugitive slaves arriving in Toronto. And despite the distance, she remained actively involved with many Woman's Rights Conventions being held throughout the Northeast.

¹⁰⁴ Argersinger and Cole, *Toward a Female Genealogy*; Teresa Anne Murphy, *Citizenship and the Origins of Women's History in the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

¹⁰⁵ Dall, *Daughter of Boston*, xv; Dall 29 September, 1844, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 199. This was her only marriage and despite many important personal relationships during her lifetime, Caroline never divorced.

¹⁰⁶ Dall, 29 April 1847, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 243.

¹⁰⁷ Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 237.

Over time though, Charles' inability to find a permanent position as minister, and the financial instability that went along with this, as well as his regular bouts of depression, gave rise to a period of uncertainty in life that Caroline found (at times) unbearable. She struggled to carve out her "own path," at one point poignantly reflecting "that I must not grieve if I can work".¹⁰⁸ By 1855 Charles left for India to work as a minister. This meant a de facto divorce because it was a permanent personal and financial separation. Even the care of their two children, William (born in 1845) and Sarah (born in 1849) did not motivate Caroline to encourage Charles to stay with the family.¹⁰⁹ While Charles' financial and occupational uncertainty caused Caroline a fair amount of discontent during the eleven years prior to their "Boston divorce," it also seemed to strengthen her resolve to stay intellectually active. Observing her own situation, Caroline wrote in her journal the words of the Psalmist, "the iron has entered into my soul".¹¹⁰ Like the Biblical Joseph, whose words inspired this sentiment, she wished her body and mind to be set free. In 1855 Caroline became a free, married woman.

Un-fettered from "Iron"

Interestingly, the majority of Caroline's historical writings and lectures about women did not deal directly with issues of domesticity or motherhood and after 1850, the religiosity of

¹⁰⁸ Dall, 20 March 1852; 5 May, 1852, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 365, 370.

¹⁰⁹ Dall, 28 February, 1855, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 517.

¹¹⁰ The term "Boston divorce" or permanent separation without an official divorce is from Dall, *Selected Journals*, vol. 1, 495; the Biblical reference of being fettered to iron is drawn from Psalm 105: 18, see Dall, 5 May 1852, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 370.

earlier works seems to have greatly diminished from her scholastic writings.¹¹¹ Given the volume of published works Caroline read for her own pleasure and for research, she must have been aware that many women established writing careers based in the subjects of domesticity and motherhood. Instead, as noted above, Caroline's public speeches and published works, particularly in the decade leading to the Civil War, focused on historical reconstruction of female subjects, economic and political concerns of vulnerable groups (past and present), as well as working within the genre of biography, including autobiography. Was this her way of separating her personal and public life? Were her publications the result of her evolving perspectives about female political and economic independence? For example, writing from Toronto, Caroline's sharply critiqued two important publications: Julia Kavanagh's *Women of Christianity* (1852) and Sarah Hale's *Woman's Record* (1853):

I have, of course, little time for reading now. Finished Miss Kavanagh's *Women of Christianity*, and meditate a review of that stupid book Mrs Hale has put out "*Woman's Record*." I wish I could write it over, and consider it no small misfortune, that the task fell into her hands.¹¹²

In February and March of the following year a fully articulated critique/book review of Hale's book was published in *The Una*. This initial foray into critique demonstrates Caroline's evolving views about historical recovery, particularly regarding women of the past. She was not shy about noting Hale's failure to produce sound scholarship in her encyclopedic work, yet she wrote her critique under the pseudonym "Iron":

¹¹¹ Teresa Murphy also notes that Caroline's publications were not formats to promote patriotism, an additional theme found in histories written by antebellum women, see Murphy, *Citizenship and the Origins of Women's History*.

¹¹² Dall, 28 December, 1852, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 401.

When we heard some three years ago, that Mrs. Hale was engaged upon a work of this kind, we felt a sense of pleasant expectation, that did not fade until we took the volume, all sky-blue and gold between our hands, and sat down to read it. *Pleasant* expectation, for we had always found in her, the faithful, toiling mother, and reverent woman. We did not expect to find in it the result of wide scholarship, or profound research; but we looked for a truthful, simple record at the least, and had little thought, or fear, of an encyclopedia written to sustain a theory. Some objections, however, may be made to the book, upon its face. The author was right in thinking that the world wanted such a book: needed it, rather, for every laborer in the field, knows the extreme difficulty of ascertaining with accuracy, those details of the world's history, which relate to woman. But the world does not want it written thus.¹¹³

In Caroline's commentary, we observe an evolution in the field of history as it was being practiced in antebellum America. In particular, it was a time when women were both authoring history texts and also critiquing each other, as noted above, as 'laborers in the field' of historical production. Here we can also observe Caroline expressing an unshackled view as she readied herself to begin the work of a historian. Yet even after more than a decade of vocational and intellectual success, she still felt "on the brink of a precipice" trying to balance duty, personal dignity, fearing social exile, wanting to be self-reliant, but worried that she would be a lonely, independent woman.¹¹⁴

Part Three: Becoming a Social Historian

In this final section of Chapter Three the focus returns to Caroline's pursuits as a public speaker and author, both of which allowed her to be immersed in the role of Observer and

¹¹³ Iron, "Woman's Record" by Mrs. Sarah J. Hale. (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1853). *The Una* 1, no. 2 (March 1853): 11.

¹¹⁴ These two journal entries, written almost a decade apart demonstrate Caroline's continuous struggle maintaining a successful public and private life, see Dall, 22 November 1851 and 28 June 1842, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 355, 135.

Seeker—or as she wrote—Historian.¹¹⁵ The final part is made up of three sections: First an examination of Caroline's public life and the narrative spans the chronology of one year. The particular focus here is the situated body parts of her intellectual ideas—lectures, advocacy and published works, all which illuminate her intertwined social, economic and political perspectives.

Additionally, in 1859 we can observe Caroline as a budding social scientist and social historian concerned with how women could gain economic security through fair wages and increased vocational opportunities. The analysis investigates Caroline's publication, *Historical Pictures Retouched* as a means of evidencing her early contribution as a historian of women's history, including the use of historical revision and persuasion in order to demonstrate her work as a social historian. Within this context, I include Caroline's editorial work on the autobiography of Dr. Marie E. Zakrzewska and its connected intellectual body part, the book *Sunshine* (1864). Caroline wanted to expand her publishing opportunities as she became involved in writing about the history of medicine, female doctors and health concerns, primarily of women and children.

All of the pieces of scholarship that are examined in this section were published between 1859-1864. They demonstrate the complexity of her research interests as they intersected with issues of social advocacy, specifically increased access to alternative, but existing educational curriculum, like medical science, that would expand opportunities for women. The final section is a summation of Caroline's contributions to the field of history prior to 1870. By focusing on the decades before 1870, I de-center the location of where and when historical production took

¹¹⁵ Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*, v-x.

place by examining productions outside academic institutions and associations with the intention of re-imagining the intellectual domain of historical production prior to 1870.

A Woman's Right to _____.

There would have been many words and/or phrases Caroline would have chosen to complete that sentence. Fair wages, the vote, equality under the law, and/or be able to pursue one's occupational goals without being barred by gender restrictions. But if the sentence were to be filled in with just one word, that word would be *education*. Yet all of these rights were viewed by Caroline as interconnected and formed the basis of her advocacy for women. Written in the introduction of *Woman's Right To Labor* in 1859 she put forth her "logical formula" regarding essential rights for women:

The right to education—that is, the right to the education or drawing-out of all the faculties God has given—involves the right to a choice of vocation; that is, the right to a choice of the end to which those faculties shall be trained. The choice of vocation necessarily involves the protection of that vocation,—the right to decide how far legislative action shall control it; in one word, the right to the elective franchise.¹¹⁶

During the late 1850's public speeches about women rights (beyond suffrage and abolition) had become a regular vocation for Caroline. Helen Deese (noted editor of Caroline's journals) writes that Caroline had listed her vocation in the 1860 census as "Lecturer".¹¹⁷ Three years prior in Maine, Caroline had been part of series of lectures on human rights, abolition and woman's suffrage. Caroline gave three speeches that year in Ellsworth, Maine the first on "social

¹¹⁶ Dall, *Woman's Right of Labor*, v-vi.

¹¹⁷ Deese, *Daughter of Boston*, 252.

hygiene” alongside contemporaries Wendell Philips, Harriet K. Hunt, and Susan B. Anthony.¹¹⁸ Her second and third speeches, given in July of 1857, were about working conditions and human rights, although critics of her speeches claimed that her true intention was to claim further rights for women. This of course makes one wonder about the content of the lectures, particularly what she meant by social hygiene.¹¹⁹ If Caroline’s 1859 speech exemplifies what women were willing to publicly talk about, then certainly the speakers left their mark, as Caroline’s approach to economic and political topics left little room for interpretation.

¹¹⁸ The community of Ellsworth, Maine hosted a large suffrage convention in 1857, reportedly the largest one after Seneca Fall of 1848. The three local leaders were Ann Jarvis Greely, Sarah Jarvis, and Charlotte Hill, see Shannon M. Risk, ““In Order to Establish Justice”: The Nineteenth-Century Woman Suffrage Movements of Maine and New Brunswick” (PhD dissertation, University of Main, 2009); 55; Dall, *Daughter of Boston*, 252.

¹¹⁹ It is possible that the meaning of social hygiene was related to new social movements building at the time that worked on preventing sexually transmitted diseases, though the Progressive Era Social Hygiene Movement is thought to begin in the 1870s and 1880s see “Social Hygiene.” *American Journal of Public Health*. vol. III, no. 11 (November, 1913): 1154-1157.

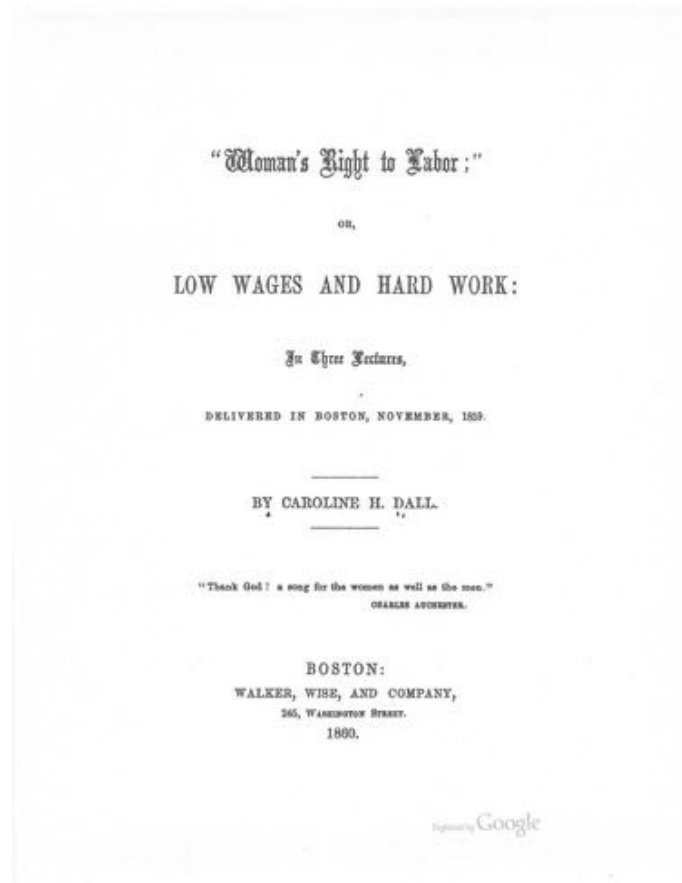


Figure 7. 1860 publication of a Woman's Right to Labor.

"Death or Dishonor?"¹²⁰

The delicate ladies on Beacon Street, who order their ices and creams flavored with vanilla or pear-juice, may not know that bituminous coal, rope-ends, and creosote, furnish a larger proportion of the piquant seasoning than the blossoming bean or the orchard tree; but every man of science does.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Dall, *Woman's Right of Labor*, 1.

¹²¹ Dall, *Woman's Right to Labor*, 1. Caroline, like Elizabeth in her publication of *Theory of Teaching*, 1841, dedicated her speech to Anna Jameson (1794-1860), noted British (born in Ireland) author.

The above excerpt is the first sentence from a speech-turned-monograph titled *Woman's right to Labor; or Low Wages and Hard Work: In Three Lectures* delivered by Caroline to a Boston audience in November of 1859 (Figure). Perhaps to gain their attention, she began by impressing upon her audience the truth about the purity their ice cream by planting the idea in their heads that what they were consuming was the result of artificial production that supports economic disparity between those that consume and those that produce. While this opening statement may have aroused attention, her speech makes an even more severe turn as Caroline quickly revealed the actual subject of her speech: prostitution. Caroline argued that prostitution existed because it was a viable option for women, primarily due to low wages and poor working conditions that they experienced, but also because women did not have equal protection under law. She publicly exposed what she called the “slop-shop” approach to women’s wages and the public dishonor of the working conditions experienced by women partaking in wage labor jobs in urban factories in the United States, Canada, England, France and Germany. Thus spoke Caroline:

I would have you look on vice, that you may learn to loathe it; I would have you realize, that what a noble friend of ours has called the “perishing classes” are made of men and women like yourselves [...] the question which is at this moment before the great body of working women is “death or dishonor:” for lust is a better paymaster than the mill-owner or the tailor, and economy never yet shook hands with crime. Do you object, that America is free from this alternative? I will prove you the contrary within a rod of your own doorstep. Do you assert, that, if all avenues were thrown open, it would not increase the quality of work; and that there would be more laborers in consequence, and lower wages for all? Lower wages for *some*, I reply; but certainly higher wages for women; and they, too, would be raised to the rank of partners, and personal ill treatment would not follow those who had position and property

before the law. You offer them a high education in vain till you add to it the stimulus of a free career.¹²²

One can imagine an audience of proper men and women consuming vanilla ice-cream (per Caroline's implication) and pausing mid-lick at the utterance that dared to compare audience members to those of the "perishing classes". Her implication that the audience members tolerated prostitution (hinting that it was even practiced by some) instead of loathing it, was a direct attack on public morality, but her larger point was the lack of economic opportunities and ill treatment that in the case of some women, led them to prefer prostitution over wage labor. Nevertheless, Caroline would not have been surprised if she caused shock. Earlier that year, on February 16, Caroline had given a similar speech to an audience in Dorchester and was given immediate feedback by her hosts Mrs. Elizabeth Hall and Miss Eliza Clapp who were appalled by her frankness and found her accusatory nature towards men "unwomanly".¹²³ Undaunted, the very next day Caroline sought the advice, while staying with the Hall family, from Mr. Nathaniel Hall, explaining that her speeches were based in facts and personal experiences. Mr. Hall in turn, admitted to Caroline, as she noted in her journal, that there was an "unwritten history of Harvard (i.e. licentiousness)".¹²⁴ Caroline responded by pointing out that she herself lived opposite four houses of vice. "Have you seen young girls enter them to their death—and the "solid men" of Boston visiting them openly by daylight—do you wonder that I find strength to speak?"¹²⁵

¹²² Dall, *Woman's Right to Labor*, 2; 5, emphasis in original.

¹²³ Dall, 16 February 1859, in Dall, *Daughter of Boston*, 270.

¹²⁴ Dall, 17 February 1859, in Dall, *Daughter of Boston*, 271.

¹²⁵ Dall, 17 February 1859, in Dall, *Daughter of Boston*, 271.

Gathering data was an important part of historical process for Caroline. In a *Woman's Right to Labor* she put forth pages of data, including, but not limited to how many prostitutes were currently working in varied cities like New York, Liverpool, Toronto and London. Caroline also used statistical data from census reports about vocations, wages, hours and abuse, including the psychological state of many of these laborers and prostitutes as well as the integration of historical and legal data. Put together, she presented case studies (some told in the first person, with real names disguised) about the financial destitution many women were facing at the time and used frank language to explain why women chose prostitution over honest labor. For example, drawing from census statistics printed in the *Edinburgh Review*, females were drawn to criminal activity (vice being the implied criminal act) in Scotland because there were approximately “fifty thousand women working for less than sixpence a day, and a hundred thousand [women working] for less than one shilling”.¹²⁶ Drawing from statistics published from a three year study (1855-1858) of vice in New York City by Dr. William Sanger, Caroline noted that of the 2,000 prostitutes interviewed, 525 stated they chose vice over “destitution”.¹²⁷ Then to further her point, she added a quote from Dr. Sanger’s research who wrote, “that the public are responsible for this evil, because they persist in excluding women from many kinds of

¹²⁶ Dall, *Woman's Right to Labor*, xii, 12. Dall used newspaper articles from major cities to inform her work, here she was using information gathered during 1857 and 1858 from the *Edinburgh Review* as well as research conducted by William Tait in Edinburgh on prostitution in 1840, see Marilyn Hill. *Their Sisters' Keepers : Prostitution in New York City, 1830-1870* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993): 23.

¹²⁷ Dall, *Woman's Right to Labor*, 16. Dr Sanger’s study is also described in Hill’s *Their Sisters' Keepers*, 23-26. It is interesting to note that some women chose prostitution simply because it paid better but Caroline, in keeping with the moral argument she was trying to make, and perhaps indicative of a moral bias formed by her background (i.e. class and education) left those admissions out of her research.

employment for which they are fitted, while for work that is open they receive inadequate compensation.”¹²⁸

Overall the work presents one tragic case after another. As one reviewer commented, *Woman’s Right to Labor* was “crammed with facts” about how women were treated, domestically, politically, economically, such as being vastly underpaid, or sold by their husband or “harnessed like beasts” for work in the coal mines.¹²⁹ Her conclusion was that vocational credentials and “active brains” need work. The solution Caroline offered was expanded employment and educational opportunities as essential to solving poverty and prostitution for women living on both sides of the Atlantic.¹³⁰ Furthermore, Caroline was cognizant of how embedded historical prejudice sanctioned economic inequity and lack of educational access. Written in a footnote, Caroline advocated a historical reconstruction of women as a means to reduce embedded prejudices about a woman’s capabilities:

When a woman’s power to work is called into question, men almost always remark, that she has shown no *inventive* genius whatever [sic]. Should a proper history of the arts ever be written, this will be found to be an entire mistake.¹³¹

Thus, *Woman’s Right to Labor* was a book that bridged history with social science to construct her socio-political position, well before social science methods were regularly used by

¹²⁸ Dall, *Woman’s Right to Labor*, 17-18.

¹²⁹ James F. Clarke, *Christian Examiner* 68 (1860): 150-151; Dall, *Woman’s Right to Labor*, 45, 47.

¹³⁰ Dall, *Woman’s Right to Labor*, 87.

¹³¹ Dall, *Woman’s Right to Labor*, 31, emphasis in original.

American intellectuals.¹³² Her own methods of research led Caroline into another public role, that of public library advocate—another essential part of educational access.

Books Need A [public] Home¹³³

In 1859 Caroline also campaigned to create a department of Social Science within the Boston Library. Her purpose was to make resources available to the “stranger or novice” with clear classification such as census data, economic reports and political debates from Europe (the United Kingdom in particular).¹³⁴ She campaigned for what she sometimes called the “Institute of Social Science” and she initiated a letter writing campaign to appeal to local intellectuals for support in her cause. In the middle of the campaign she recorded in her journal: “getting one alcove of the City Library devoted to reports upon all meetings relating to Societary [sic.] Reform”.¹³⁵ Her requests for resources were specifically aligned with historical and social science based research such as international, urban census information (e.g. population; household data), government documents (e.g. U.K. Parliamentary records), as well as national labor and educational statistics (e.g. wage figures; attendance). Here we can observe Caroline

¹³² For other examples of Caroline’s social science approach to research and writing see, Dall, “Report Concerning the Laws of Massachusetts in Relation to Women”; Caroline H. Dall, *The College, the Market, And the Court, Or, Woman's Relation to Education, Labor And Law* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1867).

¹³³ It is interesting to note that there was a decline in private circulating libraries like the one owned by Elizabeth Peabody (see Chapter Two) due in part to the growth of public libraries, like the Boston Public Library, which was established in 1852, see Boston Landmark Commission Study Report, 2011 “13-15 West Street Elizabeth Peabody Bookstore and Circulating Library,” Boston Commission Report Petition # 232.08: 17.

¹³⁴ Caroline H. Dall, *Memorial A Concerning a Department of Social Science in the City Library*, 16 March 1859. This plan was subsequently submitted to the Board of Trustees of the Boston Public Library and submitted a full reply to Caroline, dated 19 April 1859. Ms. Dall Papers 1829-1956 MC 351 Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

¹³⁵ Dall, 17 March 1859, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 2, 224.

requesting crucial data that would support a more present day understanding of Social Science research. Asking the head librarian of the Boston Public Library in 1859:

If you have any such works have you them in large or small numbers? Are they arranged together so as to be consulted easily by the same person, without intervention for the convenience of the philanthropist or political economist? I trust you will believe that I do not ask these questions idly or without an important end in view?¹³⁶

That view was increased access to knowledge. Ultimately the Boston Library and historian George Ticknor (whom Caroline had solicited for support) did not agree that there should be a separate section in the library to access these sorts of documents. The library committee seemed to think it inconvenient and Ticknor, who wanted the library to have a well-stocked department of Social Science, also wanted the *library*, not its patrons, to have control over what books, journals and documents would be bought and how they were organized.¹³⁷ It is perhaps not surprising that in 1865 Caroline became a founding member of the American Social Science Association (ASSA), including being the primary author of its by-laws. Overall the ASSA committee was unsupportive in allowing women to serve and were considering one of two respectable female doctors, Dr. Marie Zakrzewska or Dr. Lucy Sewell, in lieu of Caroline, whose reputation as a contentious supporter of women's rights seemed more antagonistic against (in Caroline's words) the "reactionary, conservative movement" that had begun "since the[Civil]

¹³⁶ Caroline H. Dall to Edward Capen, 19 March 1859 in Ms. Dall Papers 1829-1956 MC 351 Box 4, folder 57, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

¹³⁷ Caroline H. Dall to George Ticknor, 23 May 1859 and George Ticknor to Caroline H. Dall 23 May 1859, Ms. Dall Papers 1829-1956 MC 351, box 4, folder 57 Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute. George Ticknor wrote back to Caroline the very day he received her letter, hence the identical dates.

war”.¹³⁸ By agreeing to “serve under protest” Caroline negotiated her way on to the committee and one of her first acts was to establish a “Department of Education,” despite the committee’s refusal to liaise with “sectarian” colleges like Vassar, Antioch and Oberlin, as per Caroline’s wish.¹³⁹ Overall she found working with this committee frustrating, yet thought if she conceded to criticism and resigned it would mean conceding a permanent space for a women to participate in the governing of the ASSA in the future.¹⁴⁰

Caroline utilized her educational agency to advocate for spaces of learning outside of the more traditional space of the school room. She viewed public spaces like libraries as important for educational development, activism and exposure to international ideas. Together these body parts of Caroline’s ideas and actions provide a window into how her lifelong advocacy for social and political equality, developed in late adolescents, led to decades of public advocacy for education and equality men and women. By focusing on one year of Caroline’s life I sought to demonstrate how her approach to social advocacy was connected to research about economic and social conditions. This connection led her on a lifelong campaign against inequality. Specifically, regarding access to education, and programs that led to increased access to “new” vocations and spaces for learning, like libraries, so that all have access to knowledge. Tied into these core connections was her work on historical reconstruction of female figures and her recognition of the value of women’s history.

¹³⁸ Dall, 22 September 1865, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 2, 603.

¹³⁹ Dall, 22 September 1865, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 2, 603.

¹⁴⁰ Dall, 22 September 1865, in Dall, *Selected Journals*, vol. 2, 603; Dall, “To the Social Science Association,” 15 & 31, 1865 in Dall Papers 1829-1956 MC 351, Series III “Teaching and Lectures,” Box 4 folder 57.

The interest which is at this moment felt in every thing related to the intellectual development of woman, and the questions which all thinking men are asking themselves as to her present position in society, make the most insignificant facts of her past history valuable.¹⁴¹

The year 1859 also marks a professional turning point for Caroline because she began a new project—editing an autobiography of Dr. Marie E. Zakrzewska, a Prussian doctor of Obstetrics and Gynecology who had immigrated to the United States in 1853 to finish her medical studies at Cleveland Medical College (Case Western Medical School). Additionally she was in the final stages of publishing her largest work, *Historical Pictures Retouched*, a monograph mostly comprised of women’s studies articles she had published in *The Una* and other writings, into what she called “a new vol. of biographies to keep up public interest”.¹⁴² These publications were buttressed by her continued work as a lecturer, visiting cities throughout New England and speaking about “The Progress of the Woman’s Cause,” continuing her practice of turning her public lectures into future publications.¹⁴³

Retouching Historical Pictures: Past and Present

Using the philosophical metaphor of Plato, Caroline begins her book by asking: “*Where shall we find the Apology for Aspasia?*”¹⁴⁴ This sets the tone for her social history of women, told through smaller biographical accounts that would provide a new historical framing of

¹⁴¹ Dall, *Historical Pictures*, 135.

¹⁴² Dall, 11 May 1860 1865, in Dall, *Selected Journals*, vol. 2, 293.

¹⁴³ Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 2, 277-278; Dall Papers 1829-1956 MC 351, Series III “Teaching and Lectures,” Box 4, folder 47, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

¹⁴⁴ Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*, 7. Caroline believed that a critical role of the historian was to produce an *apology*, in the form of historical reconstruction, to correct the record of the past, particularly for accounts that caused a prejudicial framing of a particular group or individual within the historical record.

women (for the present and the future). By attempting to rectify past historical accounts with a purpose of reconstituting the status of women in the present and for the future, I argue, we can observe Caroline functioning as a social historian. This approach for writing history would be consistently used by Caroline for the rest of the century, with her final publication being her own autobiography published in 1900.

Historical Pictures Retouched (1860), is organized into two main parts, both of which promote female subjects as active participants, not “courtesans” of important historical events.¹⁴⁵ Part I of the book titled “Studies” puts forth small sketches of women, presented in chronological order using standardized periods like Ancient, Medieval, and Enlightenment to organize the many stories of recovery. There are also three sub-sections devoted to specialized topics: the first on the women of Bologna, the second about women and the medical sciences and the third about women during the Enlightenment. Caroline, admits as the title of the book denotes, the intention of the work was to restore, like an artist, a famous piece of art work in order to fix what was damaged, and through careful, *retouching* or illumination, bring back to life *historical pictures* of women, all of whom when “brought together” serve as female witnesses of the past in order for women of the present to “reflect on such possibilities, and fit themselves for the service”.¹⁴⁶ Part II of *Historical Pictures* was given the title “Fancies” as a cue that the final section of the book was about a more creative form of historical recovery that bridges fiction and non-fiction. This final section follows the life of a “semi-historic” woman of the seventeenth century, Mary Stevens who, according to Caroline, was a famous woman in New England (although this fame is

¹⁴⁵ Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*, 4.

¹⁴⁶ Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*, vi-vii.

not made clear to the reader). The stories about Mary Stevens were told to Caroline from a descendant of another famous colonial family of the eighteenth century, Lady Mary and Sir William Pepperrell of Maine. Thus these stories combine fiction and oral history with existing physical spaces of historical importance (e.g. Pepperrell House of Kittery Point, Maine) to highlight the life of Mary Stevens during colonial America. Although this dissertation does not include an in-depth examination of Caroline's creative writing productions, fictional and semi-fictional writing was an important intellectual outlet for her since childhood. Although its placement in this large monograph with the serious intention of recovering the historical reputations of so many women remains unexplained.

While there are many sections of this book worth examining, I have chosen to focus on the body parts of the book that are related to work that immediately followed the publication of *Historical Pictures*. Explicitly her work on the history of women in the medical sciences, her interest in health in general and well as her use of biographical, chronological narrative as a genre for social history. Moreover, the book reads like a continuous public conversation, through the pages of her books, about the significance of the social-cultural connections she was drawing between educational access and present day social-political developments within the context of the western world.

Another Breach In The Wall

We cannot regard the position of woman in medical science as a matter of secondary importance, or in any respect unworthy the most serious consideration of all who are interested in the future growth of society. It is true that woman entered this arena through a breach in its wall; for had not the opportunity presented itself for the uneducated woman to sustain, perchance

assist, Nature in the most natural office of mid-wife, we should hardly have seen any partitioning for opportunities of culture as early as the time of Agnodike.¹⁴⁷

The above statement from the opening of Chapter 7 of *Historical Pictures* the reader travels back in time to Agnodike (Agnodice c. 4th century BC) to begin the examination of the role of women in the medical sciences. The point of tackling such a large period of time was to build a longer historical argument that promoted and explained, in the present (nineteenth century), the social utility of female education. Here drawn from the medical sciences, although this argument is made throughout the book using non-medical examples. The first part of Chapter 7 provides a historical overview of over millennia of women fulfilling the role of mid-wife or in some cases doctor in what is today is known as the field of Obstetrics. The second half of the chapter provides a more in-depth history of women from the post-Medieval period through the Enlightenment and beyond the practice of midwifery that evidences a connection between key medical developments and the corresponding women responsible. For example, the story of Anna Morandi (c.1714-1774), Professor of Anatomy, is told in two different chapters. In Chapter 4 Caroline argues that Bologna was the center of female intellectualism in eighteenth century Italy In Chapter 7 Morandi is presented alongside other famous medical women of the eighteenth century throughout Europe.¹⁴⁸ Morandi was known for introducing the use of wax for making anatomically accurate body parts to advance the understanding of the human body. The production of these wax body parts were introduced to solve the problem of body expiration and

¹⁴⁷ Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*, 135.

¹⁴⁸ Caroline notes that Morandi was born in 1716, but current research places her birth year at 1714, see Rebecca M. Messbarger, *The Lady Anatomist The Life and Work of Anna Morandi Manzolini* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

deterioration which often negatively affected anatomy lessons. With a scalpel and colored wax Morandi produced three-dimensional figures of the human body, motivated by her Italian medical training that emphasized “experiment, classification and exposition” which was in direct opposition to the use of theoretical teaching promoted in medical training during this period.¹⁴⁹ The production of wax figures of the human body quickly became a critical part of studying human anatomy and led to the invention of the use of wax manikins to teach anatomy in medical schools.

Another interesting example is the life and work of Englishwoman Sarah Stone who authored publication *Complete Practice of Midwifery* in 1737. Born in the late eighteenth century (with an unknown death date), the height of her practice was between 1701-1737. Her fame was drawn primarily from her publication *Complete Practice* which underscored the notion of training of midwives and that it was a practice that went well beyond attending “normal” births. This work, argued Stone, involved years of training and mentorship, in part because midwives dealt with serious issue like hemorrhaging, transverse presentation, and death of mother and/or child.¹⁵⁰ Her book became an important contribution because it promoted the practice of empirical observations to inform practice and training for women.¹⁵¹ Here Caroline used the life of Sarah Stone to promote the serious nature of medical work that women had already been involved in for centuries. As such, her reconstruction of female participation in the medical sciences throughout the centuries advocated for their continued, and essential presence in the

¹⁴⁹ Messbarger, *The Lady Anatomist*, 5.

¹⁵⁰ Sarah Stone, *Complete Practice of Midwifery* (London: T. Cooper, 1737).

¹⁵¹ Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*, 156-157.

medical sciences. This in turn promoted the need for advanced levels of educational training for nineteenth-century women.

All in all, Caroline narrates the historical contributions of thirty women during the eighteenth century (89 women in all). It is an accounting of female intellectual contributions that includes teaching, authorship and inventions that moved medical practice forward. Her history of women in the medical profession also acknowledged female how power relations between men and women working together within intellectual spaces often rendered women vulnerable to discredit when they relied on the “honorable conduct” of men as witnesses to their work.¹⁵²

“Women have introduced remedies, detected differences, and adapted contrivances, which have at once escaped the observation and exceeded the power of men”.¹⁵³ This book and the edited biography of Dr. Marie E. Zakrzewska that immediately followed sought to reverse that reality.

The Doctor Is In

It is not fully clear from the archival documents why Caroline chose to take on the role of editing the autobiography of Dr. Marie E. Zakrzewska. Dr. Zak, as her friends call her, was a midwife trained in Berlin who had immigrated to the United States in 1853 to finish her medical training, and fulfill her goal of becoming a doctor of Obstetrics. According to Caroline, her success in this role occurred rapidly. By 1856 Dr. Marie Zakrzewska had worked with Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell to establish the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. In October of 1856 Marie travelled to Boston on a fundraising trip for the hospital she and Blackwell were

¹⁵² Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*, 157.

¹⁵³ Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*, 149.

building. The hospital was to be staffed only by a corps of women trained to be doctors and nurses. Caroline attended the fundraiser that Marie hosted and noted, “What I heard went to my heart, I shall never forget it. She & I are of one kind”.¹⁵⁴ Caroline’s initial meeting with Marie was so successful that Marie spent that evening as her house guest, underscoring the immediate bond this two women formed.

When in 1859, Marie accepted a teaching position at the New England Female Medical College of Boston, Caroline was present for her arrival and her debut at this growing institution that was expanding to include a hospital alongside the school. Again, Caroline carefully noted the intellectual parallel that made them kindred spirits. While giving lectures from a series during February of 1859 called “A Woman’s Claim to Education,” in the Boston area, Marie gave a lecture titled the “Medical Education of Women” in the same month at Mercantile Hall in Boston, which Caroline attended.¹⁵⁵ Perhaps equally important was that Marie was a living example of what Caroline desired to make memorable both in the present and for a future. What could be more tempting than the opportunity to put into publication her social-political ideal—the highly-educated woman—with Marie as her living example.

For Caroline, Marie’s vocation as a doctor represented the socio-economic ideal that education should put women on a path of varied vocations which would provide them with financial security but also provide benefits for the wider society. In this case, medicine and the promotion of medical education were fields where few American women could gain training and construct a vocation. Marie, who went on to build female run hospitals and trained women in the

¹⁵⁴ Dall, 19 October 1856, Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 2, 69-70.

¹⁵⁵ Dall, 26 February 1859, *Selected Journals* vol. 2, 216.

field of Obstetrics and Gynecology in Boston and New York, represented a model for the hidden potential for all women.¹⁵⁶

This was also an opportunity for Caroline to step into the role of biographer—but in this case of a living person, which represented an additional layer to her then developing style of historical work that combined the social, economic and political present and past. She also continued her work writing and presenting lectures about women’s history, many containing the titled “Women in the Present” (1849-1867).¹⁵⁷ In this case, Caroline took on editing an autobiography. Yet it is difficult to fully determine how much of this work was written by Marie given that the style of writing and perspective are so similar to Caroline’s own autobiography written decades later. This is further complicated by the fact that Marie did not learn English until 1853. According to a subsequent memoir written about Dr. Zak, “she had no aptitude for language and that it took years for her to learn to read English and it “was never a natural form of expression”.¹⁵⁸ Therefore it is possible that Caroline’s role as editor was significant.

Holmes and Lee confer that an important part of biography, at least since the nineteenth century is about writing about the life of someone to make them come “alive in the present”.¹⁵⁹ Biography, in many respects has always been a central part of historical knowledge production. The life of an individual, retold in the form of a narrative with a structure that begins in birth and

¹⁵⁶ Marie E. Zakrzewska and Caroline H. Dall, eds., *A Practical Illustration of "Woman's Right to Labor;": Or, A Letter From Marie E. Zakrzewska* (Boston: Walker, Wise, and Company, 1860). Note the re-use of the phrase “Woman’s Right to Labor” by Caroline.

¹⁵⁷ Series III “Teaching and Lectures,” Box 3, Folder 39, Ms. Dall Papers 1829-1956 MC 351 Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

¹⁵⁸ *Marie Elizabeth Zakrzewska* (Boston: New England Hospital for Women and Children, 1903): 13.

¹⁵⁹ Hermione Lee, *Body Parts, Essays on Life-Writing* (London: Pimlico, 2008): 2.

ends in death has existed since history itself was practiced as a form of written documentation.¹⁶⁰ However, biography during the nineteenth century, and specifically in the western context, as Lee notes, had begun to be written by a disciple of the subject, who often approached their life story with “sympathy and respect, as an equal”.¹⁶¹ This was certainly the case here. Furthermore, Caroline’s purpose for editing an autobiography of a woman she identified with so strongly was complicated by her own embedded perspective of *presentism*. She seized this opportunity to promote the life and work of Dr. Marie E. Zakrzewska as a means of criticizing the “*weakness of women*” who in her view were not willing to negotiate vocational obstacles of 1860 in order to carve out “career”.¹⁶²

A couple of years later Caroline noted in her journal that Marie wanted to begin a journal together with Mary L. Booth (Chapter Four) as the literary editor and Wendall Phillips as its financial backer. The proposed title for a journal that never materialized was “American Woman’s Journal”.¹⁶³ Yet one cannot help but speculate, despite this one set back, that here were women acting upon professional activities, inspiring others, and forming networks that were changing lives in the present. A month later, on March 5, 1862, Caroline attend the graduation of Dr. Lucy Sewall from the New England Female Medical College and Dr. Zakrzewska gave the keynote speech that announced the opening of the New England Hospital for Women and

¹⁶⁰ Lee, *Biography*.

¹⁶¹ Lee, *Biography*, 59.

¹⁶² Zakrzewska and Dall, *A Practical Illustration of "Woman's Right to Labor"*, 3-4.

¹⁶³ Dall, 20 February 1862, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 2, 368.

Children.¹⁶⁴ The creation of these educational spaces, be they libraries, medical classrooms, or teaching hospitals would change the lives of generations of women long after the work of Caroline and Marie was muted by a ‘Reconstructed,’ post- Civil War understanding of professional status of women that restricted female access to critical educational spaces. Thus, understanding the intent of editing the autobiography of Dr. Marie E. Zakrzewska serves as a gateway to understanding a complicated female network of educational and intellectual production during the middle of the nineteenth century.

Sunshine (1864)

On the one hand, the writing and publishing *Sunshine* appears as an anomaly because the topic, scientific health benefits of sunlight was unlike Caroline’s previous research topics like suffrage, labor, history and education. On the other hand, *Sunshine* signals the influence of working on the history of medical education and female doctors and is indicative of her social perspective about the welfare concerns for women in general. The chronology of this publication demonstrates that she was inspired her past two publications. Yet Caroline carefully notes that the first draft of this work was written in 1856 and she had been urged by people in the medical field (presumably within the Boston area) to publish it. Furthermore, she sought to connect herself with contemporaneous work such as that of Florence Nightingale’s *Notes on Nursing* (1859), perhaps as a contemporary comparison for women publishing books about healthcare that are based on science and modern notions of common sense care.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Dall, 5 March 1862, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 2, 369.

¹⁶⁵ Caroline H. Dall, *Sunshine: A New Name for a Popular Lecture on Health* (Boston: Walker, Wise and Company, 1864): vi-vii.

The book begins with a brief history of the science of light and how humans have since ancient times (Biblical times) come to understand the benefits of light. Perhaps in an effort to sound scientific, Caroline writes about the vibrations made when light travels from the sun, rendering light and heat as a powerful source over life on earth and therefore “we can discern the kind of relation which their presence [sunbeams] bears to human health”.¹⁶⁶ Her sections on the need for light and ventilation in factories for the working class, and her advocacy for well-lit classrooms in schools as a preventive measure for eye strain on children, positions Caroline’s opinions as socially modern.¹⁶⁷ Perhaps influenced by Nightingale’s section on light in *Notes on Nursing*, Caroline also puts forth a strong argument for the need of *solar light* in hospitals and asylums, both to increase the sanitary condition of these spaces and to decrease the “depressing effect” of darkness, concluding that recovery of body and mind must occur in healthy rooms.¹⁶⁸

While this tract may on face value seem uncharacteristic, it is also an interesting body part of her intellectual production. Here we can observe Caroline attempting to add her voice on an area she herself believed held a future for women, namely work in the medical and health fields. Given her lack of professional training, her approach to the writing of this ‘scientific’ text was mostly historical and practical. In the end, she seemed to be summarizing scientific ideas and health practices promoted within her intellectual network rather than producing original material. As such, this piece is more the result of her education and exposure to the world of medicine and health, and her established authority as a public figure rather than an attempt to carve out a new

¹⁶⁶ Dall, *Sunshine*, 21.

¹⁶⁷ Dall, *Sunshine*, 26.

¹⁶⁸ Dall, *Sunshine*, 28, 41, emphasis in original.

vocational path. This work however, does point to her unwavering advocacy for improved social conditions for women and children and soon after this publication Caroline began work with local female houses of refuge in the Boston area.¹⁶⁹

At the core of her perspective was a depth of understanding of how embedded prejudices that exist in past narratives, to some extent both directed and influenced present social inequality. The danger she recognized was that historical lessons of inequity are passed down, often in the form of history books into the minds of readers, and in particular young students. By producing histories of women, Caroline attempted to reduce learned prejudice. In essence Caroline's view of how the past and present were connected girded her work as a social historian.

Summary

Overall this chapter traced important body parts of Caroline's childhood, educational experiences, public life and intellectual activities, including historical authorship as a means of evidencing an embedded intellectual within their specific locale. This biographically-based examination of her life from a scholastic perspective ultimately demonstrates a clear connection between the value of education and an opening of new occupational choices for Caroline during the mid-nineteenth century. While current histories of education clearly demonstrate that many educated women prior to the Civil War became teachers, narratives of particular female vocational experiences beyond time spent in formal teaching spaces remain scant. In Caroline's case, like Elizabeth Peabody (Chapter Two), some women continued the work of teaching, but in

¹⁶⁹ Helen R. Deese, "Caroline Healey Dall and the American Social Science Movement", in *Toward a Female Genealogy of Transcendentalism*, eds. J. Argersinger and P. Cole, (Athen, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2014): 303-323.

spaces other than a formal classroom. Hence, their experiences as a teacher fueled their other public pursuits, particularly in the area of authorship.

What is more, my examination of her education and intellectual work demonstrates that for Caroline, becoming a historian was not a straightforward march, but an integrated process of (self) education, public speaking, writing and publishing. My examination of Caroline's life illuminated her public role as "lecturer" as being *the* catalyst for research and publication. In fact, a significant part of her archival remains include dozens of history notebooks that were used for teaching as well as developed outlines for future publications.¹⁷⁰ While it is unclear how often Caroline taught history, what is clear is that after leaving Georgetown her teaching alternated between duties at Sunday-school and the informal practice of home-based teaching in the subject of history. Her work while living in Toronto is an excellent example of this pattern. Her journal entries between 1851-1852 include regular notations about Sunday school work, including building a library and teaching "History Class". While in Toronto she also continued her research about Margaret Fuller, whom she included in both her first full historical monograph *Historical Pictures Retouched* and *Transcendentalism in New England*, another speech-turned-monograph published at the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁷¹ Between 1853 and 1866 Caroline had hit her intellectual stride. She became interested in publishing biographical pieces, and during the second half of the nineteenth-century Caroline spent time working on life histories, including her own.

¹⁷⁰ Dall Papers 1829-1956 MC 351, Series III "Teaching and Lectures," Boxes 2-4, folders 26-60, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute.

¹⁷¹ For example, Dall, 2 December 1851; 13 December 1851; 20 March 1852 in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 355, 356, 359; Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*; Dall, *Transcendentalism in New England*.

Furthermore, by narrating the life of a woman whose intellectual world was that of a historian I am directly responding to the central research question of this dissertation: how female scholars navigated the production, dissemination, and teaching of the field of history, including the production of history texts and working as teachers (1820–1870). I illustrate how this dissertation is part of a larger, re-evaluation of a more complete understanding of who a historian was during the nineteenth century. What James Banner refers to as a disruption of the current chronology of professional historical practice in America that demands the inclusion of heretofore unheard voices.¹⁷²

The body parts assembled in this chapter clearly demonstrate Caroline’s historical production during a time in the United States, as Banner has pointed out, that has yet to fully recognize who practiced within the discipline of history. Banner is careful to distinguish “discipline” from “profession” arguing that these terms should not collapse into each other when trying to understand American historiography. A discipline is a body of knowledge with frameworks, or boundaries that legitimize language, approaches, dissemination and review/critique of said knowledge. Because many of these boundaries were determined by academically trained historians, whom have been given the title “professional” alongside an academic degree, the terms are often rendered indistinct, and thus narrow the understanding of the history of historical practice. Banner states:

Historians are defined as historians not by the kind or location of their work or by the audiences they address but rather by holding themselves out as people who seek to know what happened in the past and why it did so and

¹⁷² James Banner, *Being a Historian, An Introduction to the Professional World of History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

then present that knowledge to others in the formats—whether articles, books, films, radio transmissions, Web sites, or museum exhibits—of their choice. Historical knowledge is the coinage of their authority.¹⁷³

Caroline's status as a historian is evidenced by bringing together the intellectual body parts of her publications that are a melding of her Observer and Seeker approach, and together her work illustrates what nineteenth-century historical practices produced. In this dissertation, I have argued that Caroline Healey Dall's historical production are similar to social history practices of today because her work examined issues surrounding gender equality, educational access, and historical reconstruction of the lives of women. By assembling the body parts of her intellectual life as it evolved we come to understand the kind of historian Caroline was and why her work focused on issues of economic and social equality for women. Through a lens of the past and present, Caroline viewed women as a group in need of advocacy due to prejudicial customs and beliefs. Her approach to historical research as a form of social history sought to reconstruct the lives of women of the past as a means of improving the status of women in the present.

Finally, an examination of Caroline's educational experiences, formal and informal serve as a model to demonstrate the opening up of intellectual spaces and vocational opportunities for women. My analysis here offers an illustration of how archival based Life History reconstruction can contribute to a better understanding of the connection between education and civic influence during nineteenth century Boston. In the end, the body parts examined here add to a growing

¹⁷³ Banner, *Being a Historian*, 3-4.

historiography of girlhood, teaching, authorship, female civic roles and female intellectualism during the Antebellum era of America.

CHAPTER FOUR

MISS MARY LOUISE BOOTH, URBAN HISTORIAN AND TRANSLATOR

Introduction

In the Spring of 1889 there were several obituaries written about Mary L. Booth (Figure 8) who described herself as ‘translator, historian, first editor of *Harper’s Bazar*.¹ Her funeral address by the Reverend Arthur W. Eaton was included with her death notice in the journal she edited for over two decades. As Rev. Eaton eulogized, ‘for more than thirty years Miss Booth has graced the world of letters, rendering her generation a service it has no disposition to forget’.² These sentiments were echoed by Dr. Marie Zakrzewska who reminisced that Mary had a ‘moral courage’ that allowed her to make headway in the vocations that she pursued.³

Mary’s well-known monograph about the history of New York City, published on the eve of the Civil War, was widely regarded as setting the standard for historical writing and research of local history and was re-printed and updated several times.⁴ Harriet P. Spofford, author of

¹ This list of vocations was written on the back of a photograph taken by Brady Portrait Gallery of New York of Mary L. Booth during the 1860s and was found with a letter to an unknown male in which she indicates she wrote this description of herself, see Mary L. Booth to Dear Sir 24 February 1882. Ms. Mary Louise Booth folder, Cairns Collection, University of Wisconsin Special Collections.

² “Miss Mary L. Booth” *Harper’s Bazar* XXII, no. 18, (March 30, 1889).

³ Marie E. Zakrzewska, “Mary L. Booth”. *The Woman’s Journal* XX, no.14, April 6, (1889).

⁴ Mary L. Booth, *History of the City of New York*. 2 vols. (New York: W.R.C. Clark, 1867).

Our Famous Women (1884), noted that *History of the City of New York* (and its several editions of 1859, 1867, 1880) “became the basis of a more important work upon the same subject”.⁵

Benson L. Lossing, noted historian of *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution* (1852) praised her history of New York City for its “completeness”.⁶ Mary was proud of her history of New York City and would sometimes quote passages from her book in letters to fellow “New Yorkers” in order to demonstrate a form of urban kinship amongst her network of writers and historians.⁷ She was encouraged to author similar urban histories of European capitals such as London, Paris, and Vienna, but the outbreak of the Civil War and the intense translation work she did for the Union cause disrupted these opportunities.⁸

⁵ Harriet P. Spofford, *Our Famous Women. An Authorized Record of the Lives and Deeds of Distinguished American Women of Our Times* (Hartford, Conn: A.D. Worthington & Co, 1884): 120-121. Here Spofford is referring to historian Martha J. Lamb and her book *History of the City of New York: Its Origin, Rise, and Progress* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1877).

⁶ Madeleine B. Stern, “Mary Louise Booth”. in *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Edward T. James (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971): 207.

⁷ Mary calls her friend Lucy “a born New Yorker,” then recalls some colonial history meant to be a shared understanding between the two women, see Mary L. Booth to Lucy C. White 10 April 1973, New York Public Library Archives, Mss Col 7532 Mary Louise Booth.

⁸ Spofford, *Our Famous Women*, 121.



Figure 8. Mary Louise Booth (1831-1889) Picture c. 1860s.⁹

In 1865 American biographers Evert and George Duyckinck wrote to Mary and asked her to send them autobiographical details of her life for a supplemental edition to their *Cyclopedia of American Literature* that was first published in 1855.¹⁰ The letter she wrote in response was vague about her personal details, but exact about her historical work. Mary explained that her life

⁹ Photograph Mary Louise Booth by Brady's National Photographic Portrait Galleries, New York. Ms. Mary Louise Booth folder, Cairns Collection, University of Wisconsin Special Collections.

¹⁰ Mary Louise Booth to Messrs. Duyckinck 2 June 1865. New York Public Library Archives, Duyckinck Family Papers, 1793-1889, Mss Col 873, b. 2 f 26. Mary L. Booth's biographical information appeared in Evert A. Duyckinck, and George L. Duyckinck, (eds). *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* (New York: Charles Scribner and Company, 1866): 147-148.

was a “difficult subject to speak of personally”.¹¹ Instead, she provided the Duyckinck brothers only information about her historical work, including a detailed description of the translations she did during the Civil War. She included a published letter of support by French historian Henri Martin, who vouched for her capabilities as a writer and translator. The subsequent 1866 publication of the *Cyclopaedia* supplement contains, aside from a few lines about her birth and education, almost word for word what she detailed in her letter to the Duyckinck brothers.¹²

Mrs. Anne W. Wright, her “closest companion for twenty-eight years” said that Mary had filled her life with “happiness” and was so devastated when she died, that Anne herself soon followed.¹³ Mary’s relationship with Anne was described by Spofford in a biography (published while Mary was still alive), as “one of those lifelong and tender affections which are too intimate and delicate for public mention”.¹⁴ This strong bond with Anne, travels through Europe, and the establishment of a happy household, located near Central Park, and known for its “winter evening” soirees attended by notable literary figures, such as Louise Alcott, all indicate that

¹¹ Mary Louise Booth to Messrs. Duyckinck 2 June 1865. New York Public Library Archives, Duyckinck Family Papers, 1793-1889, Mss Col 873, b. 2 f 26.

¹² Duyckinck and Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature*, 147-148.

¹³ Anne W. Wright to Mrs. Dall 26 March 1889, Caroline Wells Healey Dall papers Ms. N-1082; P-323, Reel 16, Massachusetts Historical Society. Anne Wright, before living with Mary for twenty-eight years, beginning in 1861, was married to Captain Charles Wright (1814-1857). Anne Wright died in 1890, see Obituary, “Mrs. Anne W. Wright” *New York Times*, 19 April 1890.

¹⁴ Spofford, *Our Famous Women*, 132. Mary often wrote letters of clarification if there was an error in judgement or publication about herself, and to date there exists no letter of clarification, denial or candidness about her intimate relationship with Anne; Anne however was more candid. Mary did however often use the term “we” in letters to friends when referring to her and Anne, see for example, Mary L. Booth to Emily E. Ford 9 November, 1875, New York Public Library Archives, Mss Col 7532 Mary Louise Booth; Stern, “Mary Louise Booth”.

Mary, along with her professional activities, had carved out for herself a full life.¹⁵ These personal details, written by close friends and fellow historians begin this chapter as a way of entering into Mary's life in order to gain an immediate awareness of this women whose own modest, personal accounting of herself was restricted to just seven words: "translator, historian, first editor of *Harper's Bazar*".¹⁶

Indeed, many of her friends were keen to write insightful details about this "tall, commanding woman [with] soft brown eyes" who willingly and regularly provided literary support to her fellow writers.¹⁷ Her literary opinion was referred to as "your verdict" by Antoinette Blackwell (*nee* Brown) and served as an indicator of her influence in the world of publishing.¹⁸ Mary herself, perhaps unintentionally, left crucial details of the physical and intellectual world she inhabited in the form of her history of New York City. As such, this narrative integrates Mary's own observations, contained in her publications, as a means to give additional "voice" to places and spaces Mary occupied in order to temporally situate her within nineteenth-century New York City.

Mary's protective stance about her personal life renders her on one level, a mysterious person. For me Mary's silence about her personal life speaks loudly, both as a protective stance

¹⁵ Mary L. Booth to Mrs. Emily E. Ford, 9 November 1875, New York Public Library Archives, Mss Col 7532 Mary Louise Booth; Stern, "Mary Louise Booth".

¹⁶ Written on back of photograph of Figure 8, Photograph Mary Louise Booth by Brady's National Photographic Portrait Galleries, New York. Ms. Mary Louise Booth folder, Cairns Collection, University of Wisconsin Special Collections.

¹⁷ Stern, "Mary Louise Booth," 208.

¹⁸ Antoinette Blackwell to Mary L. Booth 25 August 1871. Alma Lutz Collection Ms A-11, U133 Folders, 1-7, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe; "Miss Mary L. Booth" *Harper's Bazar*.

and also a “silent” request to be taken seriously for her intellectual production, regardless of gender. Research in the archives initially rendered her a convenient historical subject for a conventional biography with limited personal perspective.¹⁹ Fortuitously, researching the local history of Long Island and following Mary’s narrative of New York City has provided background not accounted for in the archives. With this in mind, Chapter four is put forth as a re-presenting of Mary’s life that combines what she wanted to be known for, her public influence, and what I have uncovered by following the clues left by her, Anne, her previous biographers and the city of New York.²⁰

The fragmented archival evidence of Mary Booth’s life makes it challenging to write a comprehensive Life History that predates her famous role as editor for *Harper’s Bazar*, a position she held for over two decades. Indeed, the main biographies that exist are short and provide scant details of her childhood, schooling, and historical contributions. What is clear from the archival materials was that Mary was quite adamant in pursuing a life as a writer who became a historian, a journalist, a translator and a journal editor. Thus, this chapter represents perhaps the most literal and figurative meaning of Hermione Lee’s metaphor, *body parts* for Life History construction. Additionally, because the majority of available archival evidence pertains to Mary’s professional life, I integrate into the construction Richard Holmes’ notion of a *following* through the spaces a person occupied.²¹ Here that will include surveying what she wrote about the city

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

²⁰ Pat Sikes and Ivor Goodson, “What Have You Got When You’ve Got A Life Story?” in *The Routledge International Handbook on Narrative and Life History*, ed. Ivor Goodson (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2017): 60-71.

²¹ Richard Holmes, *Footsteps: Adventures of a Romantic Biographer* (New York City: Vintage Books, 1985): 18.

she lived in, and the work she produced, as a means of bringing to the forefront the physical, intellectual and intimate norms of Mary's life.

The goal here is through the utilization of her letters and publications, together with published accounts from the nineteenth century, to generate a more complete and to-date, unwritten record of Mary's life. Here the emphasis will be on reconstructing her childhood, her education, and her work as a historian in order to fully comprehend how Mary became interested in history. In particular, how she came to be America's first urban historian, a contribution to the practice of history in America that has yet to be recognized.

Organization of Chapter Four

Similar to Chapters Two and Three, this narrative of Mary L. Booth will highlight core themes of the dissertation: educational background, historical authorships, intellectual networks and her contributions to American historical knowledge production. I reconstruct the life of Mary L. Booth by assembling the various body parts of her life and published works as a means of evidencing her evolution as a historian, with an emphasis on her work as an urban historian and translator. Each section that I build makes connections between Mary's girlhood, education, intellectual relationships and historical production by examining and then reconstructing the *situated body parts*—the archival remnants—both primary and secondary—created by the subject under analysis or of the time and place of an individual's life.²² While secondary sources will be used for contextual support and/or for challenging current understandings of social, economic

²² Hermione Lee, *Body Parts, Essays on Life-Writing* (London: Pimlico, 2008).

and political experiences of nineteenth-century women, the focus is to (re)inscribe Mary as a historian of the nineteenth century.

Part One will narrate the childhood and educational experiences that led her towards establishing herself as a writer and historian. Part Two of this chapter analyzes her work as a historian, and focuses on her interpretations of New York City as representative, according to Mary, for understanding American history. In addition, I will examine her historical translations as political act during the Civil War. I end Chapter Four with an analysis of Mary's contribution for the field of history. In particular, her promotion of New York City as the center of the US before the Civil War, (as opposed to Boston or Philadelphia). This first urban history of NYC serves as a lens for both local and national history of the nineteenth century. I finish my analysis of her historical work by examining the impact of imparting European historical perspectives throughout the Civil War through her translations. The ideas put forth in the translated texts served to support the Union political platform. These translations were also influential in inscribing into public debate the impact of slavery and the expansion of citizenship rights as worthy causes, politically and socially while the war was still being fought.

Part One

Quod Ero Spero: The Childhood and Education of Mary Louise Booth

Nineteenth-Century Girlhood and Education

Anyone outlining the social history of American middle-class white girls prior to the Civil War may conflate social restrictions and expectations stemming from familial, domestic and social-cultural duties, including the limited spatial dimensions a woman could comfortably

occupy during the Antebellum era, with a woman's childhood experiences.²³ A linking of gendered adult social expectations and barriers with childhood experiences may lead to the assumption that girls from the working and middle class spent their early years primarily preparing for, and accepting, social roles and vocational opportunities that were limited due to future expectations and governed by the domestic sphere.²⁴ While it cannot be disputed that antebellum women's lives were controlled by legal and economic regulations that instigated forms of *dependence*, some, particularly white, middle class women, initiated a life of *independence* that began during their childhood.²⁵ By using the lens of education (both formal and informal) during girlhood, a more multifaceted depiction of a young girl's life emerges. The picture that materializes here is one that establishes how familial support of non-domestic pursuits and expectations, stemming from intentional exposure to challenging learning environments, instilled a sense of self-reliance by early adulthood (18years old).

This chapter, like the other Life Histories in this dissertation that include the background of girlhood provides context as to how they overcame social, economic and vocational barriers. Various historians of Childhood and the Intellectual History of Women agree that individualism

²³ Carol Lasser and Stacey Robertson, *Antebellum Women Private, Public, Partisan* (Langham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2010); Anne Scott MacLeod, *American Childhood, Essays on Children's Literature of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1994); Lucia McMahon, *Mere Equals: The Paradox of Educated Women in the Early American Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012).

²⁴ Jane Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Lasser and Robertson, *Antebellum Women*; Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public, Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1990).

²⁵ Lasser and Robertson, *Antebellum Women*, 2. There were other forms of protection women did fight for and receive for example Lasser and Robertson are careful to point out that legislation for economic rights for women, specifically the right to inherit land and money and that her inheritance would be protected from being revoked by her husband's debts, grew state-by-state after 1830.

and intellectual self-fulfillment were guiding principles that informed transatlantic child rearing schemes used by many nineteenth-century Americans.²⁶ Hugh Cunningham, among others, has identified that education “beyond the elementary level” during the nineteenth-century was crucial for “social advancement”.²⁷ This connection remains relatively unexplored in the lives of women beyond the vocation of teaching. Her I link child rearing practices of a young girl’s life, that focused on educational accomplishments, as a critical precursor to her ability to enact upon individualized practices such as economic independence and intellectual self-fulfillment throughout her adulthood.

As noted in the Literature Review in Chapter One, the term *girlhood* is employed alongside, and in some instances as a replacement, for the term *childhood*. The reason for this is because the term *girlhood* was used during the nineteenth century by female authors who published books about their own childhood as a means to relate a journey of self-discovery by a girl, including memories of events they deemed significant—influences during their early years—that were strong enough to overcome a particular barrier despite their gender.²⁸ These

²⁶ Julia Grant, “Parent-Child Relations in Western Europe and North America, 1500-Present,” in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, ed. Paula Fass (London: Routledge, 2013):103-124; Linda K. Kerber, *Toward an Intellectual History of Women: Essays by Linda K. Kerber* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

²⁷ Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood In Western Society Since 1500*. (London: Rutledge, 2014): 100. See also Geraldine Clifford, “‘Daughters into Teachers’: Educational and Demographic Influences on the Transformation of Teaching into ‘Women’s Work’ in America,” in *Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching*, ed. Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991): 115–34; Jane Martin and Joyce Goodman, *Women and Education, 1800-1980* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); John L. Rury, “Who Became Teachers? The Social Characteristics of Teacher in American History,” in *American Teachers: Histories of a Professional Work*, ed. D. Warren (New York: Macmillan, 1989): 9–48.

²⁸ For example, a contemporary of Mary Booth, Margaret E. Sangster, who served as editor of Harper’s Bazar after her death and who briefly knew her from French lessons at a school in Brooklyn wrote two books about her girlhood, see Margaret E. Sangster, *Fairest Girlhood* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1906) and

crucial influences may have included unlimited access to books (including family libraries), travel, foreign language acquisition and/or other articulations of personal freedoms.

Further, giving preference to the term *girlhood* offers an opportunity to integrate a few short descriptions about other educational and intellectual experiences and perspectives from female contemporaries who grew up during the decades of Mary's childhood. Together these recollections serve to aid in constructing a contextualized world that (re)situates Mary's experiences within her educational background, including her desire to work and live independently, which was similar to young educated women, and thus not exceptional nor uncommon during the first half of the nineteenth century.

A Precocious Girl²⁹

Mary Louise Booth was born on April 19, 1831 in the town of Millville (now Yaphank), Long Island, New York. Her home, restored by the Yaphank Historical Society in 2011, was originally built on Main Street, which ran through the center of town, parallel to the Connecticut River.³⁰ Today her home (Figure) stands as a symbol of her family's significance to the town, her father's central role as schoolmaster for one of the first schools built there, and Mary's fame

Margaret E. Sangster, *From My Youth Up An Autobiography* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1909). For a transatlantic examples, see Frances Ann Kemble, *Records of a Girlhood* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1879) and Valerie Sanders, *Records of Girlhood: Volume Two: An Anthology of Nineteenth Century Women's Childhoods* (Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2012). In this dissertation see, Caroline H. Dall, *Alongside* (Boston: Thomas Todd, 1900), who explained that she meant for people to read her story 'alongside' Edward Hale's book about boyhood in order to get a sense of what an antebellum, New England boyhood and girlhood were like.

²⁹ Precocious was one of many endearing terms used to describe young Mary by her biographers, Spofford, *Our Famous Women*, 117.

³⁰ Tricia Foley and Karen Mouzakes, *Yaphank* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012).

as the first editor for *Harper's Bazar*. Her home, aptly named the Mary Louise Booth Birthplace Museum, is also a physical representation of Long Island as part of an important geographical region for examining the early growth of education for women. Indeed, Long Island has a history of being a commercially viable space that invested in public education as early as the second decade of the nineteenth century.³¹

Manhattan and the adjacent Long Island were important commercial areas for the Dutch but the British considered this territory both financially and militaristically vital for their colonial expansion.³² As Mary details in her history of New York City, Long Island was legally and commercially connected and governed by Manhattan since the British took over the Dutch Colony “on the 12th of June, 1665”.³³ The commercial and geographic importance of Manhattan and Long Island attracted immigrants for centuries after the first waves of European and English settlements beginning in 1609.³⁴ Long Island’s economic viability was the result of its natural coastline, connection to the Connecticut River, vast forests and potential for agricultural development. Together this made it ideal for establishing sawmills, gristmills and textile mills (mostly wool) to support agricultural production and trade during the Early Republic.³⁵ During

³¹ Foley and Mouzakes, *Yaphank*; Natalie A. Naylor, *Women in Long Island's Past, A History of Eminent Ladies and Everyday Lives* (Charleston, SC, The History Press, 2012).

³² Booth, *History of the City of New York*; Naylor, *Women in Long Island's Past*; Walter Nugent, *Habits of Empire, A History of American Expansion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008).

³³ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 157.

³⁴ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 19; Naylor, *Women in Long Island's Past*.

³⁵ Booth, *History of the City of New York*; Foley and Mouzakes, *Yaphank*. Apparently there was also large profits to be made in the manure trade which in the 1830s accounted for one of the most profitable ventures in NYC and Long Island, see Catherine McNeur, *Taming Manhattan, Environmental Battles in the Antebellum City* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

the 1840s Manhattan and Long Island became connected by the Long Island Railroad which assisted in keeping these industries thriving and New York City an important financial center during the nineteenth century.³⁶ It is this kind of consistent viability that attracted families like the Booth's and Monsells during the seventeenth centuries.

Millville, the town where Mary's parents settled to raise a family, as its name cues, existed because of these milling industries. Her father worked as a dyer at a local wool mill. Though sometime during the middle of Mary's childhood, he became the one of the local schoolmasters of Millville, during the first wave of public funding for schooling.³⁷ As a result, Mary's family progressed from a status of working class into middle class, in part because her father had taken on an important leadership role in the community.

³⁶ McNeur, *Taming Manhattan*; Naylor, *Women in Long Island's Past*. Daniel Howe argues that in the 1820 and 1830s New York City and Philadelphia were vying to be the center of American commercial business and banking, see, Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought, The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

³⁷ Foley and Mouzakes, *Yaphank*.



Figure 9. Restored home of Mary L. Booth, Yaphank, Long Island, New York.³⁸

Mary was the eldest daughter of four children (two girls and two boys) born to William Chatfield Booth and Nancy Monsell Booth, who moved to Millville around 1829. Her father was a descendant of John Booth, and her family's heritage on her father's side can be traced back to the mid-seventeenth century to English settlers from Cheshire, England, along with her family crest (Figure).³⁹ The motto imprinted on the Booth family crest, *Quod Ero Spero*, translates, according to the Yaphank Historical Society, to "what I hope to accomplish I shall accomplish".⁴⁰ Later Mary updated the design of her family crest as evidenced from stamps on her personal correspondence. This redesigned family motto included the addition of her initials MLB in the

³⁸ Image courtesy of Yaphank Historical Society. http://www.yaphankhistorical.org/hist_booth_restore_2.html. Accessed September 4, 2016.

³⁹ Foley and Mouzakes, *Yaphank*.

⁴⁰ Foley and Mouzakes, *Yaphank*, 62.

center, just below the lion at the top, underscoring Mary's attachment to her family crest, though its full significance to Mary is lost to the past.⁴¹



Figure 10. Booth Family Crest, courtesy of the Yaphank Historical Society, Long Island, New York.

Though many current biographies note that Mary's mother was the granddaughter (some suggest daughter) of refugees fleeing the French Revolution, recent genealogical mapping proves that Nancy Monsell (1802-1887) (alternate spelling Munsell) was actually descended from residents of New Haven and Long Island, dating back to the mid-seventeenth century.⁴² Thus, a family connection to French Revolutionary refugees may have become part of a family legend,

⁴¹ Mary L. Booth to Mrs. Youmans 29 April 1872, Mary L. Booth Letters, 1859-1872, Mss Collection AHMC, The New-York Historical Society, New York, NY; Foley and Mouzakes, *Yaphank*.

⁴² Notes from Oral Phone Interview with Tricia Foley, August 2, 2015 curator of the Mary L Booth archives at the Yaphank Historical Society, Long Island New York; see also http://longislandgenealogy.com/Surname_Pages/booth.htm via Yaphank Historical Society, accessed July 24 2016. Long Island Genealogy says her mother was the daughter, see Spofford, *Our Famous Women*, 119; Stern, "Mary Louise Booth," 207.

perhaps due to Mary's proficiency in French and her intellectual networks in France. Curiously there is no evidence of Mary denying her French heritage that was written in biographies published during her lifetime, despite her practice of making sure erroneous information about her life be corrected.⁴³

Beginning in 1813, Long Island became home to 13 school districts, which began in Brookhaven, with the building of six identical one room school houses (20 foot by 24 foot). One of these schoolhouses was built in Millville in 1815 at "Swezey's Corner," which was the entrance to town (Figure 11).⁴⁴ This school, where her father taught would be the first of a series of schools for Mary. William Booth, who became a teacher as a second career, was Mary's primary educator until the age of eight. That her parents believed her to be a child prodigy had positive consequences. Beyond her early linguistic abilities, she read, by age ten, works by David Hume, Edward Gibbon and Archibald Alison on philosophy and history.⁴⁵ Exposing Mary to foundational books about the practice of history certainly points to a particular type intellectual influence that was more likely to have been guided by her father than her teachers. As all of Mary's biographers highlight, William Booth was very attentive to Mary's education and his own library was at her disposal.⁴⁶

⁴³ Mary L Booth to M.L. Simons 5 September 1873, Ms Yaphank Historical Society, Long Island, NY.

⁴⁴ "Mary L. Booth: Biography and Phrenological Character"; Foley and Mouzakes, *Yaphank*, 15; 67; 76. Image of schoolhouse courtesy of the Yaphank Historical Society, Long Island, New York.

⁴⁵ Bolton, *Some Successful Women*, 36; Spofford, *Our Famous Women*, 188.

⁴⁶ Bolton, *Some Successful Women*; Foley and Muzak, *Yaphank*; "Mary L. Booth: Biography and Phrenological Character"; Spofford, *Our Famous Women*.



Figure 11. 1815 Schoolhouse on Yaphank Road.

Mary (Figure 12) was believed to be a gifted child and words like “shy,” “studious” and “bookish” were used to describe her during her formative years.⁴⁷ A description of her intellectual acumen as a child was made public by a mid-nineteenth century periodical about her early years. In 1860, Mary’s life (she was then 29) was the subject of an article published by the *American Phrenological Journal*. According to the article, she was chosen because of her well-known intellectual capabilities.⁴⁸ The article provides crucial details about her educational background not found in other biographical sketches of her that were written during the same

⁴⁷ Harriet, P. Spofford, *A Little Book of Friends* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1916): 117; Stern, “Mary Louise Booth,” 207.

⁴⁸ “Mary L. Booth: Biography and Phrenological Character”. *American Phrenological Journal* 31, no. 5 (May 1860): 71-73.

century. The article is part biography and part character and intellectual analysis, as phrenology, the scientific study of the size and shape of the cranium, was a popular form of intelligence diagnosis during the middle of the nineteenth century, particularly in the US and UK.⁴⁹

According to the article, Mary was known to possess a superior memory. For example, as a child she would recite long tales and poems that were read to her. She was an early talker and was reading before the age of four.⁵⁰



Figure 12. A Young Mary L. Booth.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Though later repudiated, the practice of phrenology held sway in both the US and UK during the nineteenth century, see Samuel H. Greenblatt, "Phrenology in the Science and Culture of the 19th Century" *Neurosurgery* 37, no. 4 (1995):790-804. Fanny Kemble also mentions the prevalence of phrenology during her childhood, see Kemble, *Records of a Girlhood*, 151.

⁵⁰ "Mary L. Booth: Biography and Phrenological Character," 71.

⁵¹ Image from "Mary L. Booth: Biography and Phrenological Character". Image creation and date unknown, but bears the marker of being printed by Waters and Son, NY.

This description of her mental capabilities is supported by two biographical sketches published during the late nineteenth century by Harriet Spofford and Sarah K. Bolton. Both of whom wrote that Mary could read the entire Bible by age five, and Plutarch before age seven. Seven was also when she began receiving lesson in Latin from her father William Booth.⁵² Mary's ease of language acquisition led her parents to support her study of French and German alongside her Latin lessons. As a result, from age seven until she reached "womanhood" Mary spent a significant amount her schooling becoming a multi-linguist.⁵³ Even during her early adulthood Mary continued to perfect her French by attending conversational lessons after she left formal school, a skill that would open up a career as a translator while living in Manhattan.⁵⁴

At age eleven she entered the Miller's Place Academy, Long Island. By age twelve, a seminary in Greenport, Long Island. But her parents found the classical education courses lacking there, and she transferred to the Bellport Academy where she studied languages, belles-lettres and mathematics.⁵⁵ When her family moved to Williamsburg (Brooklyn) in 1844 her formal schooling ended (age 13). However, she continued to take private lessons in Latin, French and Mathematics under Professor Paul Abadie of the Williamsburg Collegiate Institute, who first

⁵² Sarah K. Bolton, *Some Successful Women* (Boston: D. Lothrop Company, 1888). Foley and Muzak, *Yaphank*; Spofford, *Our Famous Women*.

⁵³ Bolton, *Some Successful Women*, 39. The Yaphank Historical Society finding aid indicates that Mary Louise Booth could speak seven languages. I have found evidence of English, Latin, French, Italian and German. It is unclear what the other two are—but I guess them to be Greek which was sometimes taught alongside Latin, and Spanish, given its popularity in classical curriculums of the time.

⁵⁴ Sangster, *From My Youth Up*, 268.

⁵⁵ "Mary L. Booth: Biography and Phrenological Character".

suggested she carve out a career as a translator.⁵⁶ By sixteen she began teaching at her father's school in Williamsburg, at Public School no. 1. Nevertheless, as she clarified later in life, this role was "never as a regular teacher" and she did not work at her father's school for long. Within two years Mary left the teaching profession permanently.⁵⁷ She did not seem to want to partake in a profession that many young, educated women chose or were encouraged to pursue.⁵⁸

Whilst Mary's education was a combination of informal, scholastic-based learning at home and formal learning at a series of schools, it always challenging, being a didactic preparation for an intellectual, independent life. For example, though she was described as being in "delicate health" (she contracted rheumatic fever as a child) and preferred to be solitary during adolescence, this did not seem to prevent her from leaving home as soon as she was able.⁵⁹ When she turned eighteen Mary left Brooklyn and moved to Manhattan, which served as her permanent residence until her death, age 58, in 1889.⁶⁰ It was her intent to become a writer and live independently. In order to support herself she worked sewing vests during the day, and spent her evenings researching and writing. Indeed, for several years, Mary received no pay for the news

⁵⁶ "Mary L. Booth: Biography and Phrenological Character".

⁵⁷ Mary L Booth to M.L. Simons 5 September 1873, Ms Yaphank Historical Society, Long Island, NY; Foley and Mouzakes, *Yaphank*, 62.

⁵⁸ Nancy Beadie and Kim Tolley, eds., *Chartered Schools: Two Hundred Years of Independent Academies in the United States, 1727-1925* (New York City: Routledge/Falmer, 2002); Eastman, "The Female Cicero"; Christine Anne Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York City: New York University Press, 1994); Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak*; Nash, *Women's Education*; John Rury, *Education and Women's Work: Female Schooling and the Division of Labor in Urban America, 1870-1930* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).

⁵⁹ Bolton, *Some Successful Women*; "Mary L. Booth: Biography and Phrenological Character," 71.

⁶⁰ Jennifer Scanlon and Shaaron Cosner, *American Women Historians, A Biographical Dictionary*. (Westport, CT, 1996); Stern, "Mary Louise Booth"; Zakrzewska, "Mary L. Booth".

articles she did publish.⁶¹ However by 1856 she was working for the *New York Times* as a piece-rate reporter.⁶²

It was in this role that she became acquainted with Drs. Marie Zakrzewska and Elizabeth Blackwell while writing a story on the establishment of the New York Infirmary. This meeting led to Mary taking up residence with Dr. Zakrzewska in an attic apartment within the Infirmary during 1857, as both women were in need of economical housing in Manhattan. It was during this year that they conceived the idea of Dr. Zakrzewska writing her autobiography that was edited by Caroline Dall and published in 1860 (see Chapter Three).⁶³ Yet, despite a slow start as a paid writer, Mary was intent on earning a living and put her intellectual energies into writing and publishing.

During the 1850s Mary was busy with a variety of occupations. Her primary income was derived from translating publications from French to English. This work also served as a way to get published, and as a result she became a member of an active historical and literary network of French intellectuals. During the 1850s Mary also became politically active in the Suffrage Movement, and was secretary at the August 1855 convention in Saratoga, New York, alongside

⁶¹ At the time of writing, I have been unable to locate copies of articles that she purportedly wrote. This may be because her name was not included in the by-line, as was often the practice with print newspapers during this time, which during the Antebellum era were considered too ephemeral or local to regulate over the issue of authorship, see Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley, *An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840. History of the Book in America*; vol. 2. (Chapel Hill: Published in Association with the American Antiquarian Society by The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

⁶² Stern, "Mary Louise Booth,"; Zakrzewska, "Mary L. Booth".

⁶³ Zakrzewska, "Mary L. Booth".

leaders such as Lydia Mott, Antoinette Brown (Blackwell), Susan B. Anthony and Ernestine Rose.⁶⁴

Finally, Mary, like the other women examined in this dissertation, rose and maintained a status of middle-class on her own. First, she had a distinct family heritage that dated back to the colonial period which provided social, though not economic status, within her communities of Long Island and Manhattan.⁶⁵ Second, her education and work experiences overtime helped her establish a well-paid, independent life apart from family support (i.e. parent or husband). Her education, similar to that of her contemporaries (including the women in this dissertation), was a mixture of formal and informal schooling, tutoring from her father and access to a wide range of books from a family library. Certainly, parental recognition of her intellectual capacities represents a particular kind of precursor that created a purposeful, supportive environment for a life course based on personal freedom, not expected familial duties. Hence Mary's upbringing serves as a vibrant example of an early nineteenth-century girlhood that was shaped by a scholarly education and parental support which provided the fundamental structure for her to pursue her personal aspirations and become financially independent.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Foley and Mouzakes, *Yaphank*, 63; In line with demonstrating the professional connections of the three women examined in this dissertation it is important to note that Mary L. Booth and Caroline H. Dall both worked directly with Susan B. Anthony in the year 1855, see Edward T. James, (ed), *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*. (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971): 207; 428; Caroline. H. Dall, *Selected Journals of Caroline Healey Dall* Vol. 2 1855-1866, edited by Helen R. Deese, 2 vols. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 2013): xxxviii.

⁶⁵ Foley and Mouzakes, *Yaphank*.

⁶⁶ Annmarie Valdes, "For you seem principally to indulge in brain work pure and simple": Utilising Life History Methods to Connect Women's Education and Agency in Nineteenth-Century America'. *History of Education Researcher* 97 (May 2016):14-30.

An Antebellum Girlhood in New York

As noted in the above section, a particular challenge with narrating Mary's childhood (during the 1830s), is that she herself was quite private about her personal life, and there are sparse records about her childhood. I have reconstructed the varied body parts of Mary L. Booth's girlhood through a mapping of her academic experiences that she undertook in order to lay down a foundation for the intellectual life she carved out in alignment with Mary's own wish to be known for her "works [publications], which I esteem as the best of my life".⁶⁷ I included some personal details that she often found "difficult subject to speak of," in order to provide important background that yields a more complete picture of an educated, independent nineteenth-century woman.⁶⁸ One background question that has guided this line of enquiry is how did Mary's girlhood and educational experiences compare with her contemporaries? Below I briefly compare Mary with her peer and colleague Margaret Sangster in order to better understand how girls raised in the same geographical location, with similar social and economic status, were given access to educational support that centered on arithmetic, literature, history, and foreign languages, including Latin and helped shape their individual motivation to carve out a professional life.

An emphasis on literature, history and multilingualism was also common for Margaret Sangster (1838-1912) who for a short period attended the same school in Brooklyn as Mary L. Booth and coincidentally became editor of *Harper's Bazar* after her, beginning in 1889. Margaret

⁶⁷ Mary Louise Booth to Messrs. Duyckinck 2 June 1865. New York Public Library Archives, Duyckinck Family Papers, 1793-1889, Mss Col 873, b. 2 f 26.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

had similar recollections about the role of education during her girlhood in Brooklyn, including the prominent role her family library played in her early, more informal, but challenging education. As Margaret revealed,

I poured indiscriminately over Rollin's Ancient History, Plutarch's Lives and Hume's History of England. A great delight cast its radiant glow over my horizon when on a certain birthday a number of charming small books bound in red found their way into the house. They included the lives of many celebrated persons,—kings, queens, emperors and commanders on land and sea, and were written by one of the Abbots, probably John S.C. The same author wrote a Life of Napoleon that I eagerly devoured following it soon after by an enthusiastic study of "Napoleon and His Marshalls," by J.T. Headley. "The Rollo Books," by Jacob Abbott, reached me too late for my enjoyment since at eleven I found them too juvenile.⁶⁹

At twelve Margaret began attending "The French and English school" in Brooklyn, "on the corner of Forth and South Ninth Streets" run by Monsieur and Madame Abadie from where she would receive a certificate of completion in 1855 at age sixteen.⁷⁰ There she studied Latin, Greek, history, philosophy, mathematics and French. When she was fifteen, Margaret met Mary Booth, then twenty-five, at the Abadie school. Mary was introduced as an "outside student who desired an opportunity for French conversation".⁷¹ This education would serve as the backbone of Margaret Sangster's success as a writer and editor.

Including Margaret's experiences serves to underscore the consistent importance of multilingualism in a young, middle-class girl's education. As Carol Lasser and Stacey Robertson rightly observe "[e]ducation played a critical role for antebellum American women who sought to

⁶⁹ Sangster, *From My Youth Up*, 72-73.

⁷⁰ Sangster, *From My Youth Up*, 113.

⁷¹ Sangster, *From My Youth Up*, 268.

enhance their participation in public life”.⁷² The meaning of public life varied for specific women. For young women like Mary and Margaret it meant pursuing their dreams as a writer. For Mary specifically, this also meant historical publications and earning an independent living in New York City.⁷³

Further, New York City had a particular role to play, as a commercial and cultural center that used local city and village taxes to build schools, particularly in the areas of Long Island and Manhattan.⁷⁴ Mary herself documented the cultural explosions that occurred in Manhattan between 1825-1855 that attracted international performers, merchants and writers, and spurred the building of new theaters, opera and music houses, libraries, parks, museums, houses of publication, journals, schools and New York University (1831).⁷⁵

Mary’s and Margaret’s girlhoods, along with the additional chapter sections on girlhoods contained in this dissertation, together underscore the critical role of education for young girls. While it is important to clarify that class and race had an enormous impact on female educational access, parental support in the forms of commitment and financial means were crucial for educational attainment to be achieved.⁷⁶ But why distinguish girlhood from childhood? Part of the distinction is derived from nineteenth-century memoirs by women who included their educational experiences as a critical part of childhood and youth.

⁷² Lasser and Robertson, *Antebellum Women*, 30.

⁷³ Catherine Clinton, *Fanny Kemble’s Journals*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); Sangster, *From My Youth Up*; Zakrzewska, “Mary L. Booth”.

⁷⁴ Foley and Mouzakes, *Yaphank*; McNeur, *Taming Manhattan*.

⁷⁵ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 723-754.

⁷⁶ Nash, *Women’s Education in the United States*; McMahon, *Mere Equals*.

Current scholarship by Historians of Childhood agree that Childhood came to be seen as a distinct stage, in a modern sense, by western countries during the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ Philippe Ariès called childhood a time of “quarantine,” that included, and was in fact extended, by time spent being educated.⁷⁸ Historian Stephen Lassoode postulates that concepts like age of discretion, labor, education (i.e. years in school), independence, social-emotional development and marriage are often used as markers that bound the beginning and end of childhood during the nineteenth century.⁷⁹ While these markers are significant, they don’t account for the varied outcomes within these indicators that are made visible from examining individuals lives of girls during this period. I argue our understanding of nineteenth-century developmental markers between childhood and adulthood like “education,” “independence,” and “labor” are broadened by examining even just one girlhood.

Here Mary’s girlhood like the two other girlhoods included in the analysis together function to illuminate important contributions to the history of American antebellum childhood. In the present case, Mary gained high levels of social and economic independence from carving out more than one professional career and her ability to do this stemmed from particular levels of familial support and educational access during her childhood. An examination of the Booth family underscores the critical role her father played in supporting the intellectual development of his daughter. His support that continued as she carved out new vocational paths and an

⁷⁷ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*; Paula Fass, (ed), *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* (London: Routledge, 2013).

⁷⁸ Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962): 396-97.

⁷⁹ Stephen Lassoode, “Age, Schooling, and Development,” in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, ed. Paula Fass (London: Routledge, 2013): 211-228.

independent lifestyle that began with Mary moving to Manhattan at eighteen on her own to pursue writing.

Furthermore, through the lens of Mary's life we can observe a social-cultural evolution of both familial and governmental support of education for women that grew prior to the Civil War. My narrative of her girlhood revealed that she had read works by famous historians Archibald Alison and Edward Gibbon. These would prove to be important models for her historical productions. For example, Archibald Alison's most comprehensive historical work titled *History of Europe*, published between 1833-1843 (comprising ten volumes in total) was one of the earliest publications in English on the period of the French Revolution up through the restoration of the Bourbons.⁸⁰ This book was popular in the United States and beyond, selling 100,000 copies by 1848 (and was translated into French, German and Arabic).⁸¹ Alison was a follower of Edward Gibbon, the famous English historian of the Enlightenment who authored *The History of the Decline and Fall of The Roman Empire*, first published in 1776.⁸² Gibbon's book was significant because of the historiographical methods he introduced at the end of the eighteenth century. Gibbon became known for his heavy reliance on primary sources and his narrative style for constructing historical arguments, his core one being that the influence of Christianity was central to the decline of the Roman Empire and Roman culture, a new interpretation then.⁸³

⁸⁰ Leslie Stephen, "Alison, Sir Archibald (1792-1867)" in *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 1. (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1885): 286–290.

⁸¹ Stephen, "Alison, Sir Archibald," 289.

⁸² Charlotte Roberts, *Edward Gibbon and the Shape of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁸³ Roberts, *Edward Gibbon*.

This early exposure to history authors was significant because it introduced to Mary models of comprehensive histories that were foundational for her own knowledge of ancient, European and French History. It also demonstrates the need and use of translated history books for learning during this period. Moreover, this early exposure to specific history authors like Alison and Gibbon seems to have served as a model of historiographic methods of writing and researching history that are reflected in Mary's first monograph. Namely her long, narrative style and use of archival materials in order to produce an "authentic" chronicle that was grounded in "facts and dates"—methods which today seem ubiquitous, but were new approaches for historical research and writing in the American context by the mid-nineteenth century.⁸⁴

Finally, Mary's girlhood serves as an important example of how the Antebellum era was an important transitional time for educational opportunities for girls. Some of whom, like Mary, may have experienced a mixture of informal home-based learning, public (tax-funded) and/or private schooling in part due to the social-cultural promotion of the educated female. Ultimately, however, educational opportunities were restricted or expanded based on class, race and familial circumstances. In Part Two of this chapter my analysis will examine Mary L. Booth's historical productions written during the late 1850s and Civil War. Her early preparatory work in history, the philosophy of history and her multilingualism were essential for Mary to be able to write, translate and publish historical works during this period.

⁸⁴ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, xv; George P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1913).

Part Two: Becoming a Historian

In this section I explore important intellectual body parts of Mary's historical production: her monograph on the history of New York City and her work translating American history and political pamphlets written by French authors during the Civil War. As outlined in the Introduction to this dissertation, my analyses are an exercise in dual historical recoveries, first from the archives and published works authored by women and second to demonstrate of the influence that women had in the field of history itself. The works of Mary L. Booth discussed here represent a distinctive experience within nineteenth-century historical production. Firstly, Mary was one of the first female historians writing in America—for an American public—to author a monograph solely focused on the development of New York City. Secondly, the translation work examined in this dissertation was specifically performed by Mary as a political act for the Union cause during the Civil War. Hence, there is reason to approach her translation work as an activity of historical production that was used to recast and restructure historical discourse about the past in order to build public moral support for Abolition and political and legislative support for emancipation.

Mary's book, *History of the City of New York* was commissioned by local leaders who were interested in promoting the historical, cultural and economic value of their city. They wanted her to produce a history that gave New York City its due, both in the creation of the United States as well as its place as the commercial and cultural center of the country. Mary seemed to have agreed that it was important to write a history that would trace the "broad, cosmopolitan character, the liberal, tolerant spirit, and the genial, hospitable nature ingrafted

[sic.] on the city by its early settlers” that carried over into the nineteenth century.⁸⁵ Spofford, wrote that Mary was encouraged by members of her intellectual network to produce a second version of her urban history for school use. This never occurred. Mary wanted her book to be read by the wider public, and as noted earlier, teaching or any work related to schools was not of interest to her.⁸⁶ From the beginning the *History of the City of New York* was trumpeted as a model for writing urban and national history and Mary was encouraged to write more urban histories about European cities.⁸⁷ But the Civil War broke out on the eve of this publication and visiting archives and writing was no longer an easy task to perform in a city embroiled in war.

The American Civil War and Mary’s staunch support of the Union cause turned her attention towards translations. Between 1860 and 1866 she translated nine history texts from French, of which five were directly related to the US Civil War. In this section I analyze her translations from a corpus of work on three related works about slavery: *The Uprising of a Great People* (1861), *Results of Slavery* (1863) and the pamphlet “Reconstruction” (1865). These three works were chosen specifically because their chronology of translation and immediate publication occurred during the Civil War and thus connected to Mary’s intention to be politically active during the conflict. Moreover, the three works develop interconnected political and moral critiques of slavery. In particular, these publications all promote that slavery was both the cause of the Civil War and *the* most important political and economic problem for the US to resolve.

⁸⁵ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, xvii.

⁸⁶ Spofford, *Our Famous Women*; Mary L Booth to M.L. Simons 5 September 1873, Ms Yaphank Historical Society, Long Island, NY.

⁸⁷ Spofford, *Our Famous Women*.

Explicitly, how the practice of slavery, in a nation governed by a Constitution and democratic ideals, had caused the political and cultural decline of the US during the 1850s and an economic dependence that made the South the “Master” of the North.⁸⁸ As such, these works, read in succession, form a continuous conversation about the political and economic significance of slavery, why Abolition was the only viable choice, and what the US government should do about the tenuous future of political equality the US. Finally, these three translations were chosen because of their perceived influence by the translator herself. From Mary’s point of view these works exposed the severe consequences of slavery to the wider public, including how the election of Abraham Lincoln should be understood as a new beginning; a new path towards the re-establishment of democratic principles to guide US legislative acts of federally supported civil rights. I argue that identifying the political intention of the translator to mold public and historical understanding of events, in this case critical issues surrounding the Civil War, provides important context for understanding the significance of translations within the field of history. With the addition of Mary’s translated work, I open a line of inquiry of how alternate forms of historical knowledge production can influence availability of historical resources, both here and in Chapter Five.

Miss Booth, Urban Historian

Part one of this chapter evidenced how Mary was thought to be a genius by her parents and thus was exposed to history and the philosophy of history from young age. Like many educated young women of antebellum America, Mary was drawn to history as an intellectual

⁸⁸ Agénor comte de Gasparin, *The Uprising of a Great People: The United States In 1861*, trans. Mary L. Booth (New York: C. Scribner, 1861): 22.

vocation.⁸⁹ Furthermore, the portraits of serious intellectual work on history by antebellum women evidenced by Nina Baym and Mary Kelley's research, and the Life History chapters of this dissertation, all serve as a stark contrast to George Callcott's observation that the antebellum historian was male, involved in other vocations apart from history and treated the work of history as a "hobby" and/or work to "occupy their hours of leisure".⁹⁰ Further the serious task of constructing an urban history was a far cry from Des Jardins's proposal that American female historians, beginning with Mercy Otis Warren (1728-1814), wrote history as a "leisure activity," a "patriotic obligation" and/or "their maternal duty."⁹¹ But arguably closer to Des Jardins's other proposal that women wrote history for "public consumption" *because* they were on the "sidelines, and in the background of noteworthy events".⁹² Indeed recent publications cited throughout this dissertation, along with the Life History chapters together provide a critical, updated understanding of the varied intellectual productions of historians during the nineteenth century.

Mary's monograph on New York City was unique in comparison to other popular subjects and themes around which other nineteenth history books were organized. While many

⁸⁹ Nina Baym, *American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790-1860* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995); Mary Kelley, "Designing a Past for the Present: Women Writing Women's History in Nineteenth-Century America". *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, (January 1, 1995): 315-346.

⁹⁰ Baym, *American Women Writers*; George H. Callcott, *History of the United States 1800-1860, Its Practice and Purpose* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1970): 72; Kelley, "Designing a Past for the Present".

⁹¹ Julie Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003):1.

⁹² Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise*, 1. For examples of antebellum women writing local histories, see Frances M. Caulkins, *History of Norwich, Connecticut from Its Possession by the Indians, to the Year 1866* (Hartford, 1866); Eliza Buckminster Lee, *Sketches of a New-England Village, in the Last Century* (Boston: J. Munroe, 1838).

historians, male and female, published monographs on national histories, biography, or war (e.g. American Revolution), Mary was one of the few historians publishing in the US during the mid-nineteenth century who wrote a local, urban history. Her urban history covered an extensive chronology (1609-1867) with unique illustrations of the past drawn from archival collections no longer in existence (Figure).⁹³ Arguably, Mary's monograph represents a noteworthy illustration of "eyewitness history," a term used by Baym for historians of the nineteenth century who lived their life in a place "where they thought history was in the making".⁹⁴ As a native of Long Island, Brooklyn (Williamsburg), and finally Manhattan, Mary certainly qualifies as an eyewitness to the changes that occurred as New York City grew during her own lifetime to become what she called the "great centre of the United States"; the "American Mecca, toward which all eyes are turned".⁹⁵

⁹³ Baym, *American Women Writers*; Booth, *History of the City of New York*, xi-xvi; 89; Callcott, *History of the United States*; Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America*.

⁹⁴ Baym, *American Women Writers*, 94.

⁹⁵ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 787; Mary L. Booth, *History of the City of New York* Third Edition (New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, 1880): 5.



Figure 13. “Nieuw Nederlandt” artist unknown, from *History of the City of New York*, 1867 edition, page 89.

Overall, the *History of the City of New York* is a thorough account of the metropolis itself and surrounding regions (i.e. Long Island, parts of New Jersey) that spans approximately two hundred and fifty years. The 1867 edition is divided into two volumes that are organized chronologically and interlace important individuals, indigenous and national groups, key settlements, wars, economic and political developments. The 1867 edition of Mary’s monograph is used in this analysis because it includes an account of how New York City dealt with the physical, economic and political repercussions of the Civil War. The 1867 edition was also chosen because it was updated soon after her historical and political translations during the Civil War, and thus is viewed as part of her intellectual productions performed in tandem during the 1860s. Nevertheless, it is significant to note that the 1880 edition of this book has few differences. The preface was rewritten, there is a different New York publisher, it was published

as a single volume, and is twenty-seven pages longer. There are the same number of chapters, twenty-three in all (numbered and paginated the same as the 1867 edition) with the last chapter covering thirteen years of urban history over twenty-seven pages, extending the monograph from 882 to 910 pages in total, excluding the index. As such her analysis of the colonial eras (Dutch and English), the American Revolution, and New York City during the Antebellum era remains static through her three editions (1859, 1867 and 1880). Further her analysis of New York City's role during the Civil War remains unchanged between the 1867 and 1880 publications. Finally, all the chapters (in all three editions) includes the history of key geographical and environmental changes, including how changes in the landscape were the results of social, economic and political developments. Though the book tackles significant national events, they are all narrated through the lens of New York City, making it a model for future urban histories written later during the nineteenth century.⁹⁶

Her monograph was also an expression of civic pride, as she noted in the preface:

There is certainly too great an indifference prevailing in respect to the memories of our city...the busy New Yorkers throng [in and past historic spaces] without bestowing a thought upon its eventual history...If this work avail [sic.] in any way to bring these records of the past before the minds of the citizens and inspire them with a love for their native or adopted city, it will answer the purpose for which it is designed.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ In fact a contemporary of Mary L. Booth, Martha J. Lamb (1826-1893) authored *History of the City of New York: Its Origin, Rise, and Progress* (New York: The A.S. Barnes Company, 1877). Mary published fictional pieces written by Martha in *Harper's Bazar* during the early 1870s and the two women were both well known in New York City's literary and historical circles. Martha Lamb's idea to write an urban history therefore was directly influenced by Mary's previous success and format for historical production of an urban history.

⁹⁷ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, xvi-xvii.

Mary's urban history of New York City is quite extensive. Volume One (1867) traces key colonial settlements that began in 1609 and ends in the year 1769, during a period when the city was experiencing almost daily riots, particularly after the issuing of the Declaratory and Townshend Acts (1766, 1767).⁹⁸ Part of what makes Mary's monograph unique as an urban history is that it includes narratives of some of the indigenous groups that inhabited Manhattan and its surrounding territories. These groups were connected by "an unbroken chain of waters" and territories that would eventually be incorporated to form the boroughs of New York City.⁹⁹ Her book begins with a pattern for her narrative used throughout the book: a series of interweaving geographical and political changes that fashion the making of New York City. *History of the City of New York* also introduced (then) the political significance of home rule that was prevalent in NYC many decades prior to the outbreak of the American Revolution. Her objective was to prove her historical claim that events that occurred in New York City were central to the national history of America.

Beginning with the section titled "Aborigines of Manhattan" several chapters within Volume One recount some key events of the "native Manhattans" and other seventeenth-century indigenous groups who were living in the New York region with an emphasis on how these groups dealt with Dutch, and later, English settlements.¹⁰⁰ Mary sets up a clear juxtaposition in the narrative that in the present may seem ubiquitous: the native groups were warriors/hunters who needed the land (of Manhattan) to *survive*; the Dutch were merchants who needed the

⁹⁸ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 19; 437.

⁹⁹ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 23.

¹⁰⁰ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 19-20

resources and sea access provided by the same land to *thrive*.¹⁰¹ This chapter provides a detailed accounting of indigenous groups and the cultural, economic and political changes that occurred as a result of the growth of colonial settlements by the Dutch, French and British. This is accomplished by constructing careful connections between exploration, commerce and the ensuing political authority, including the political concerns of the Continent, exerted by Europeans to protect their "new" commercial spaces. The immigration that followed, all of which were supported by the technology of ships and fire power, hastened this change. Mary also developed a narrative that explained how commercial interests quickly reshaped the region of Manhattan, from a fur-trading outpost to a port city for the slave trade within the span of twelve years (1617-1629). For example, in explaining the initial wave of Dutch colonial immigration and the initial purchase of colonial lands by the Dutch Mary wrote:

A formal treaty of peace and alliance between the Dutch and the Iroquois was concluded [1617], and the other tribes renewed their acknowledgement and supremacy of the Five Nations. The pipe of peace was smoked, and the hatchet buried in the earth...[w]ell indeed would it have been for them, could it always have thus remained buried.¹⁰²

Hearing of the glowing accounts of the province of New Netherland, Robinson entreated permission of the Dutch to settle there, promising to take with him four hundred families if the government would pledge itself to protect him against all other powers. [...] On the 4th of May, 1626, Peter Minuit, the new Director, arrived at Manhattan in the ship Sea Mew, commanded by Adriaen Joris...[s]oon after his arrival [September 1626] he bought the whole island of the Indians for the Dutch West India Company for the sum of sixty guilders, or twenty-four dollars.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 35-45.

¹⁰² Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 44-45.

¹⁰³ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 48; 52. John Robinson was a Puritan minister from Holland.

This famous purchase of Manhattan hastened severe changes in political, economic, social and legal regulation of this land, and arguably all new settlements henceforth. Though only the Dutch could govern Manhattan, colonial immigrants were given permission to settle all other land “sixteen miles on one side or eight miles on both sides of a navigable river, and extending as far inland as they chose”.¹⁰⁴ As Mary continued a few pages on:

[I]n 1629, an act was proposed by the Assembly of Nineteen and ratified by the States General, granting to any number of the West India Company who should found a colony of fifty persons, upward of fifteen years of age, within four years after notice of his intention, the title of Patroon...[t]he patroons were required to satisfy the Indians for the land, and to maintain a minister and schoolmaster; and the Company promised to strengthen the fort at Manhattan, to protect the colonists against all attacks both from the English and the natives, and to supply them with a sufficient number of negro-servants for an indefinite length of time. This was the first introduction of slavery into the province of New Netherland.¹⁰⁵

Moreover, Mary explained the success of the Dutch settlement in the context of the deterioration of the relationship between the Native American groups and Dutch (and other Europeans allowed to settle in Manhattan). Beginning with the Massacre at Pavonia that commenced “on the twenty-fifth of February, 1643,” Mary wove a narrative that included short periods of “hollow” truces, consistent depopulation of indigenous groups (sometimes by Europeans inciting indigenous civil wars), consolidation of Dutch power, and increased English immigration.¹⁰⁶ The arrival of the last Dutch governor Petrus Stuyvesant in 1647 and the subsequent introduction of political representation for “the inhabitants of Manhattan, Breuckelen,

¹⁰⁴ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 55.

¹⁰⁵ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 55-56.

¹⁰⁶ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 111;117.

New Amersfoort and Pavonia” according to Mary quelled decades of conflict and allowed for the rebuilding of the key forts, government buildings, churches and the main school, in part through in introduction of taxation *with* representation.¹⁰⁷ But, as Mary carefully added, “[t]he dispute between the Dutch and English” was still “pending”.¹⁰⁸ While the Dutch maintained control for almost two more decades, English control was imminent and political and territorial changes in Manhattan, like other North American settlements during the seventeenth century, were chronicled alongside, and the result of, political conflicts settled in Europe and England.

English control of Manhattan began on September 8, 1664 when the Dutch evacuated, but only became official after the conclusion of the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667) and the Treaty of Breda (1667) during which the Dutch were offered the return of their Manhattan territory, which they rejected.¹⁰⁹ Though England lost the Second Anglo-Dutch War, their American colonial possessions in the Northeast had grown significantly. The territory was renamed New York, after the Duke of York (King James II) and the additional territories of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware would all be carved out under English rule.

Volume one ends with colonial America on the verge of war with the British. Again, Mary shaped her narrative to demonstrate New York City's prominent role, placing the city as the “cradle of Revolution.”¹¹⁰ She chronicles all of the restrictive economic legislation passed by the British parliament during their colonial rule as central to the cause of rebellion. She also

¹⁰⁷ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 132.

¹⁰⁸ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 134-135.

¹⁰⁹ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 150; 160.

¹¹⁰ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, xvi.

chronicles the political tensions (over the span of eight chapters), New Yorkers experienced that began with the accession of William and Mary to the British throne in February of 1689. Questions of monarchical legitimacy relating to this accession caused confusion over which British magistrates still had power over local rule of the city, thus introducing a core tenet of the American Revolution: that “the people themselves must rule”.¹¹¹ This culminated with the city’s earliest local election: “On the 29th of September, 1689, by order of the Committee of Safety, the people assembled in their wards and elected their alderman and councilmen and for the first time, their mayor also.”¹¹² Though the rebellious election was ultimately unsuccessful, Mary’s narrative placed New York City as central for instigating acts of political autonomy almost a century before the American Revolution began.

Volume Two (1867) of Mary’s monograph, on the other hand, was organized by wars: The American Revolution and the US Civil War. From the outset of Chapter 14 through Chapter 18, Mary constructed a narration that set Royalist and Patriot, then later in Chapters 19 through Chapter 23, Unionist and Confederate apart. Mary outlines throughout these chapters the political, economic and moral divide between the two groups. For example, her telling of the battle of Golden Hill in January of 1770, a two-day conflict that tested the will of the “American Patriots to resist parliamentary taxation,” or on any other regulation “which might be construed into a precedent for future oppression”.¹¹³ In this case the destruction of one of the many Liberty-Poles (that symbolized the idea of representative government), by the British soldiers. Her point

¹¹¹ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 220.

¹¹² Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 225.

¹¹³ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 446.

was to underscore that this important skirmish between the soldiers and the “citizens”¹¹⁴ occurred six weeks before the Boston Massacre:

Golden Hill—a conflict of two days duration—which, originating as it did in the defence of a principle, was an affair of which New Yorkers have just reason to be proud, and which is worthy of far more prominence than has usually been given it by standard historians. It was not until nearly two months after that the “Boston Massacre” occurred, a contest which has been glorified and perpetrated in history; yet this was second both in date and in significance to the New York “Battle of Golden Hill”.¹¹⁵

Later in a similar style, Mary argued that New York City held a “peculiar position” during the Civil War because, from the outset of succession, it became clear that “she” [the city] would be “obliged to bear the brunt of battle, and to furnish the money...exhausting [her] resources to preserve peace.”¹¹⁶ Moreover, when President Lincoln asked for men to serve for three months and for the State of New York to appropriate thirteen thousand dollars, the legislature responded with men willing to serve two years and the sum of three million dollars, with New York City giving an additional one million dollars, all within the week following the battle at Fort Sumter. Then several million more by the end of 1862 that added up to sums that no other city in the Union could match.¹¹⁷

Mary’s own political involvement during the Civil War, examined more thoroughly in the next section, underscores what she described throughout Chapter 23 as the “unanimous” support

¹¹⁴ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 451.

¹¹⁵ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 453.

¹¹⁶ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 787.

¹¹⁷ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 791-792; 797.

for the Union by citizens who made up “Political New York” and “Civil New York”.¹¹⁸ These two categories included members of the city’s government and those who lived there, both native and foreign born. Chapter 23 also includes many heroic stories of New Yorkers “in the thickest of the fight” and the work of women who ran the many relief societies that attend to the “sufferings of the sick and wounded.”¹¹⁹ The book ends somberly and simultaneously upbeat. She chronicles the “murder of President Lincoln,” a cholera outbreak, and fires, yet with New York City steadfast as the center for technological developments and a land transformed from “marshes” to “a compact mass of buildings” by 1867.¹²⁰ America’s mecca, “toward which all eyes are turned”.¹²¹

New York, New York: A Historiographical Reorientation

Mary (re)oriented the story of the rise of the United States away from places like Jamestown, Virginia, Boston and Plymouth, Massachusetts intentionally. Instead, she focused on New York City as the main location to comprehend colonial and national development. Mary was consistent throughout her book in producing a narrative about how New York City transformed itself into the “commercial metropolis of the western hemisphere”.¹²² There are several places in her book that demonstrate this reorientation of New York City as the center of events that ultimately changed the course of both colonial and nineteenth-century America.

¹¹⁸ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 787.

¹¹⁹ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 790; 799.

¹²⁰ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 846; 872-873.

¹²¹ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 5.

¹²² Booth, *History of the City of New York*, xv.

First, her monograph chronicles a detailed account of Native American groups living in and near a growing metropolis by weaving their experiences within aggressive and progressive foreign colonial expansion. Though her accounting primarily demonstrates the negative effects colonization had on indigenous groups, it also provided a blueprint of events, individuals and land holdings that were significant to the tribal groups that were living in this region before “Columbus had first unlocked the door of the new continent.”¹²³ This includes the juxtaposition of indigenous groups valuing land and resources differently from their European counterparts as well as how the outcome of European conflicts changed the landscape of colonial possessions, which in turn led to rebellious acts based in the principles of popular sovereignty during the late seventeenth century.

Additionally, Mary highlighted over several chapters the military and economic rationales that spurred the British to take over Manhattan, and by the American Revolution make it their headquarters for military. For example, she associated daily acts of political and economic rebellion occurring throughout New York City to explain the growing military presence by the British. She also made distinctions in her analysis to contextualize the outbreak of the American Revolution and the ultimate success by the American rebels. Principally, that despite a strong military presence, the British parliament and local administrators both failed to recognize “the perplexities of home affairs,” in particular how the daily rebellious activities made war inevitable.¹²⁴ This included examples of early efforts to exert home rule in Manhattan.

¹²³ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 25.

¹²⁴ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 219.

Manhattan, argued Mary, was also the center for the Union cause during the Civil War. The significant economic contributions, manpower, and propaganda campaigns that came from New York state and NYC were instrumental in the eventual success of the North, and consequently, the restoration of the Nation. Mary also established historiographical groundwork about the eventual progressive rise of America after the Civil War, even though these events had yet to occur. She argued that issues surrounding resources and sovereignty of states would continue after the Civil War, despite the ratification and incorporation of Amendments Thirteen, Fourteen and Fifteen to the US Constitution. The ushering of these core Amendments, Mary notes, contributed to developing the basis of civil rights for citizens, though was careful to point out that the term citizen empowered some groups by simultaneously disempowering others.¹²⁵ Thus, she constructed an urban history that placed major historical events that occurred in her city as central to establishing and maintaining of the United States. Her intent being “to chronicle some of the prominent events that transpired in our city during this time, and to aid in storing up materials for the future historian”.¹²⁶

Together these examples illuminate Mary’s intention from the start: to write a history that evidenced the evolution of New York City from a small Dutch port to one of the most important centers of American life, during her own lifetime. More significantly, Mary’s history of this city represents the first historical publication that provided an American audience with a “continuous history of the foundation and growth of the city...of its broad cosmopolitan character, the liberal

¹²⁵ Booth, *History of the City of New York*.

¹²⁶ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 786-787.

tolerant spirit, and the genial, hospitable nature ingrafted on the city” that prevails today in historical memory.¹²⁷

Mary was only twenty-eight years of age when her over 800 page, two volume monograph was published. At this point in her life she was also writing for the *New York Times* and translating historical and non-historical books, mostly from French writers. Participating in these varied acts of writing and publishing assisted in developing her career as a New York writer. In this next section I detail some core examples of her translations and their impact on the political propaganda in the North during the Civil War.

Miss Booth, Translator

Before moving into the historical themes and the purposeful timing of the publishing of historical works translated by Mary, I will foreground questions that relate to the tensions surrounding history authorship and translated historical works as a means to establish a framework by which this heretofore under-examined aspect historical production—translation by nineteenth-century women—can be considered. Michel Foucault argued that a *history author* is defined by his or her self-sufficient composition; he or she is given this status as an individual, whose historical production is unshackled from a larger, more complex purpose of an author’s work, namely, to educate.¹²⁸ The author’s knowledge is disseminated to the reader; thus, the history author exerts intellectual power over readers.¹²⁹ Further as Chartier adds, a history author

¹²⁷ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, xvii.

¹²⁸ Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1977).

¹²⁹ Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory*,

produces a *work*, and the meaning of that work is contained within itself.¹³⁰ How a piece of historical work is used, incorporated, or appropriated is ancillary to the work. Although it can be correspondingly constraining and/or influential on the discipline of history as a whole. Here we get to the crux of the complexity of translation. The author's knowledge is further disseminated to readers and appropriated both by the translator and readers. The translator participates in appropriation in two ways: firstly, the act of secondary authorship and then its corresponding influence over the composition. The readers of the translated knowledge (in the cases presented here, French to English) also appropriate the work because they are given an opportunity to digest knowledge that would not be available without the translation. Although the translated version is ancillary, the newly produced translation is now both a self-sufficient composition and an appropriated composition simultaneously.

Somersaulting further into this complexity, how can nineteenth-century female historians who worked on historical translations receive credit for growing knowledge production in this tenuous role? As it stands, more standardized forms of monographs written by nineteenth-century female historians remains unaccounted for in the historiography, even when well-evidenced. In part, this is because the history of the discipline was constructed with strict notions of practice and knowledge production bound in gender and educational status.¹³¹ In particular antebellum women were shackled by labels based in "professional training" created in the latter-half of the nineteenth century and codified in the twentieth-century, but applied to them, regardless of the

¹³⁰ Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992).

¹³¹ Baym, *American Women Writers*; Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

chronology of professional practice. As Peter Novick notes, two decades after the Civil War, becoming a historian was institutionally coordinated practice that required specific kinds of university training. But what about practices and production that took place earlier in the century? I argue that when compiling a history of nineteenth-century practices and publications, the work of historical translators cannot be ignored as they are part of the make-up of the growing discipline of historical practice in America. When we pay particular attention to the unaccounted creators of this field, we discover another, unrecognized layer of the historical craft—translation. This current section addresses these complexities through examples of Mary’s historical productions during the Civil War and are contextualized here as political acts of influence.

Lasser and Robertson have noted that political activism by women was common by the 1850s and thus not subject to severe public criticism, particularly activism associated with the antislavery movement.¹³² These “political endeavors” included “published pamphlets, letters to newspapers” and lobbying “local, state and national political bodies” primarily about issues such as “slavery, Indians, temperance and woman’s suffrage”.¹³³ In this context Mary’s interests in the antislavery movement and her activities in the New York Suffrage movement were quite in keeping with public participation by women. However, the diversity of women’s political activities during the Antebellum era have yet to be fully recovered, though some headway has

¹³² Lasser and Robertson, *Antebellum Women*.

¹³³ Lasser and Robertson, *Antebellum Women*, 56-57.

been made.¹³⁴ This dissertation opens up a line of enquiry about an aspect of mid-nineteenth-century political participation by women heretofore not analyzed: the examination of translations of historical tracts being written and published with the intention of supporting the Union causes during the Civil War.

By the outbreak of the US Civil War Mary had built up substantial relationships with key French historians and writers such as Augustin Cochin (1823-1872), Victor Cousin (1792-1867), Count Agénor de Gasparin (1810-1871), Édouard René Lefèvre de Laboulaye (1811-1883), and Henri Martin (1810-1883). This is not a comprehensive list, but rather the names of authors she worked with frequently. These men were also associated with the Loyal Publication Society of New York (LPS), a pro-Union agency created during the midst of key Union losses in 1863.¹³⁵ The historians in this network were interested in integrating the antislavery sentiment of many European intellectuals into their publications that were regularly disseminated during the war.¹³⁶

As such Mary serves as model for examining a specific type of political participation, translated propaganda. In what follows, I tackle three works translated by Mary during the Civil War, two books and one pamphlet, all published in succession during the war. These translations

¹³⁴ Baym, *American Women Writers*; Nina Baym, *Women Writers of the American West, 1833-1927* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011); Catherine Allgor, *Parlor Politics, In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 2000).

¹³⁵ Frank Freidel, "The Loyal Publication Society: A Pro-Union Propaganda Agency," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 26, no. 3 (December 1939): 359-376. Mary's assistance in translations also include: Agénor Gasparin and Mary L. Booth. *The Uprising of a Great People the United State in 1861* (New York: C. Scribner, 1861); Agénor E. Gasparin, *Letter from MM. de Gasparin, Martin, Cochin, and Laboulaye, to the Loyal publication society of New York*, trans. Mary L. Booth (New York: C.S. Westcott & Co., Union printing house, 1866).

¹³⁶ Freidel, "The Loyal Publication Society; Valdes, "For you seem principally to indulge in brain work pure and simple".

were part of an attempt by French historians in Mary's intellectual network to shape historical understandings about crucial events they deemed to be the central cause of the war: slavery. These historians considered emancipation a cause for fighting and equality under the law central to bringing about national reunification.

History, translated. In 1861, just weeks after Abraham Lincoln took his oath of office, Count Agénor de Gasparin finished his latest history book on slavery in the United States. His book included an account of key events that led to the political crisis that would become known as The Civil War. By June of that same year, Mary had finished her translation of his book, titled *The Uprising of a Great People: The United States in 1861*. In the translator's preface, Mary outlined Gasparin's qualifications as an expert historian on slavery and argued that his background as a statesman, politician and a man of letters, together with his experiences working on the emancipation of slaves from the French colonies, rendered his analysis on the "present crisis" for the America public as essential.¹³⁷ She remarked: "Few men are better qualified to judge American affairs than Count de Gasparin".¹³⁸ One book reviewer agreed, writing six months later that "we have as yet seen no American publication of any kind which can bear comparison with this French work" on the events which led the Northern and Southern people to be at odds with each other.¹³⁹ Noting the significance of Mary's efforts, the review stated, "we hope that the translation will have extensive currency within our own borders; for it cannot fail to

¹³⁷ Gasparin and Booth, *The Uprising of a Great People*, v-viii.

¹³⁸ Gasparin and Booth, *The Uprising of a Great People*, vi.

¹³⁹ Gasparin and Booth, *The Uprising of a Great People*, 583.

inspire and nourish true patriotism”.¹⁴⁰ Underscoring nationalist sentiment, Mary herself acknowledged that the book was for “all true lovers of liberty and of the Union, of whatever State, section, or nation.”¹⁴¹ Echoing a similar sentiment at the end of the Civil War about her own intention to influence public opinion about emancipation, Mary wrote: “it will be my highest source of gratification through life if I have been able to contribute something, however humbly, to the cause of the country and of liberty.”¹⁴²

The thesis of *Uprising*, (hinted in the title), takes the position that the United States, then separated into the North and the South (because of the election of Abraham Lincoln and the resulting secession that immediately followed), was taking the crucial, though painful steps towards a rising (*Uprising*) away from its dependence on slavery and toward emancipation and justice. Maintenance of the Union in 1861 meant the continuation of slavery and the political threats of secession by the Southern States to control the future of the United States.¹⁴³ An understanding of political and economic *liberty* is understood on several levels. Liberty of the North from the tyranny of the South. Liberty for the slaves from Southern Masters. Liberty for the country from the practice of slavery. Liberty from a commercial system predicated on the violence of human ownership. And these points were made by historicizing the recent past as an unrecognizable horror:

¹⁴⁰ Gasparin and Booth, *The Uprising of a Great People*, 584.

¹⁴¹ Gasparin and Booth, *The Uprising of a Great People*, viii.

¹⁴² Mary Louise Booth to Misters Duyckinck 2 June 1865. New York Public Library Archives, Duyckinck Family Papers, 1793-1889, Mss Col 873, b. 2 f 26.

¹⁴³ Gasparin and Booth, *The Uprising of a Great People*, 29.

I content myself with remarking the enthusiasm which prevails in the majority of the cotton States. One could not commit suicide with a better grace. It is easy to recognize a country hermetically sealed to contradiction, which is enchanted with itself, and which ends by accomplishing the most horrible deeds with a sort of conscientious rejoicing. The enthusiasm which is displayed in proclaiming secession, or in firing on the American flag, is displayed in freeing the captain of a slaver, a noble martyr to the popular cause. There is something terrifying in the enthusiasm of evil passions. When I consider the folly of the South, which so heedlessly touches the match to the first cannon pointed against its confederates; when I see it without hesitation give the signal for a war in which it runs the risk of perishing; when I read its laws, decreeing the penalty of death against any one who shall attack the Palmetto State, and its dispatches, in which the removal of Major Anderson is exacted, in the tone which a master employs toward a disobedient servant, I ask myself whether the present crisis could really have been evaded, and whether anything less than a rude lesson could have opened eyes so obstinately closed to the light.¹⁴⁴

The perspective above was part of a larger print campaign by European historians and Northerners of how to capture the true severity of the situation—how to make it clear to the public that sections of a country would choose ruin—of a nation and ultimately their confederacy—to protect the practice of slavery.

Significantly, the use of this translation was part of a policy shift by those who controlled Northern political propaganda, that included the publishing houses that printed Mary's translated books. The shift intended here was towards promoting the cause of *emancipation* (not abolition) as the only way forward. *Uprising* promoted the notion that it was no longer enough to be morally and politically against slavery; instead it was time to fight for emancipation, a word meant to impart a sense of freedom. Not an ending of slavery, but the beginning of one's legal liberty. Emancipation of the enslaved in America and of the North from the political subjugation

¹⁴⁴ Gasparin and Booth, *The Uprising of a Great People*, 120. Recall that Palmetto State is the nickname for South Carolina.

of the South. Here Abolition was viewed as a moral demand and emancipation a legislative act of freedom for human beings—true liberty for those people (not property) held as slaves.¹⁴⁵ Thus *Uprising* is an early example of the print campaign to restructure the moral and political purpose of the Civil War, a position communicated through Mary’s translation. She was careful to point out in her translator notes in 1861 and 1863 that the “attention of the American public” was to be towards “liberty” and that the purpose of these publications was to promote the idea that the decision to end slavery “must ultimately proceed from the great principles of truth and justice”.¹⁴⁶ This meant emancipation, not abolition.

A similar perspective about emancipation was posed by Cochin, who in his book, *The Results of Slavery* (1861) defined it as “the *immediate* proclamation of the principle of freedom.”¹⁴⁷ Like *Uprising*, *The Results of Slavery*, was written and published towards the end of 1861, after the election of Lincoln, during key initial losses by the Union forces, and before a severe policy shift by Union leaders after 1863. Together these two books underscore similar perspectives about the practice of slavery in America. Specifically, how the practice of slavery represented a turn away from the meaning of liberty and freedom that was codified in the US Constitution, and towards an economic dependence that embroiled a country in civil war. For example, Chapter Four in *Results of Slavery* is devoted entirely to explaining how to end slavery in the United States from a constitutional perspective and how to proceed with issuing and

¹⁴⁵ Gasparin and Booth, *The Uprising of a Great People*; Augustin Cochin and Mary L. Booth, *The Results of Slavery* (Boston: Walker, Wise, and Company, 1863).

¹⁴⁶ Gasparin and Booth, *The Uprising of a Great People*, viii; Cochin and Booth, *The Results of Slavery*, vi.

¹⁴⁷ Cochin and Booth, *The Results of Slavery*, 109.

fulfilling promised emancipation.¹⁴⁸ Chapter Four begins by accounting for how the Southern States have used the Three-Fifths Compromise in the Constitution to gain more representation in the US Congress with a small population. This uneven representation is then used to maintain slavery, though the Southern legislators deem slavery to be a States Rights issue. To combat this, Northern leaders would need to draw meaning from the Preamble of the Constitution, particularly the phrase: “*establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings and benefits of liberty to ourselves and our prosperity,*” from which was concluded: “[t]he principle of slavery is openly and strongly rebuked by the spirit of the American Constitution, inscribed in the Preamble. A fact so radically opposed to this spirit is merely tolerated, but by no means sanctioned.”¹⁴⁹ The chapter goes on to cite Amendments One and 10 as well as Article I, Section VIII and Article IV, Section I as Constitutional authority to end slavery, but reiterates the main philosophical argument: “slavery takes away and disturbs every one of our liberties”¹⁵⁰

Mary considered Count Agénor de Gasparin and Augustin Cochin excellent historians. She wrote that their “philosophical, political and practical study” of the crisis surrounding the practice of slavery provided much needed insight about how the US found itself embroiled in a civil war.¹⁵¹ As Mary translated for Cochin, “the country of Franklin seems transformed into the

¹⁴⁸ Cochin and Booth, *The Results of Slavery*.

¹⁴⁹ Preamble of US Constitution as quoted in Cochin and Booth, *The Results of Slavery*, 102, emphasis added by authors.

¹⁵⁰ Cochin and Booth, *The Results of Slavery*, 102.

¹⁵¹ Gasparin and Booth, *The Uprising of a Great People*, iii; Cochin and Booth, *The Results of Slavery*, 2.

stage of Barnum”.¹⁵² This kind of transformation in the US, in the form of a “decline,” was a far cry from the portrayal of progress the US experienced that she underscored in her history of New York City only two years earlier. Though she translated other works during the Civil War, *Uprising* and *Results of Slavery* stand as representatives of the French perspective that was being advocated by Northerners who were leading the charge to publish tracts that emphasized the political ideal of “emancipation” and “liberty” over past public campaigns that focused on “abolition” and “anti-slavery” discourse.¹⁵³

This change in emphasis was significant in shaping public perception of what the country was fighting with itself over. Citing the release of *Results of Slavery* as being “just before the emancipation proclamation” Mary connected its influence to how US leaders framed the cause and purpose of the war after 1862.¹⁵⁴ This re-framing began January 1, 1863 when President Lincoln issued through Executive Order *The Emancipation Proclamation* which states in part:

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² Cochin and Booth, *The Results of Slavery*, 3.

¹⁵³ James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

¹⁵⁴ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 838.

¹⁵⁵ Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863; Presidential Proclamations, 1791-1991; Record Group 11; General Records of the United States Government; National Archives.

A Letter to President Johnson. During President Lincoln's first term, the Loyal Publication Society of New York (LPS) issued ninety pro-Union pamphlets between 1863-1865 (with a distribution of 900,000 at its height).¹⁵⁶ This organization was just one part of a larger pro-Union campaign existed in New York City. The LPS had essentially three main goals in their pro-Union stance: suppress the Confederate rebellion, end slavery and influence the writing of a Constitutional Amendment for black suffrage. In the months after the assassination of President Lincoln, the LPS increased their publications, in attempt to keep their core message alive while the nation mourned. The death of Lincoln was described by Mary as a time of political uncertainty, particularly from the perspective of Pro-Union New Yorkers who believed the "life of the republic" was ensured by Lincoln's reelection.¹⁵⁷

The LPS also worked closely with European writers and historians to mold anti-Southern public opinion in Europe, in part to prevent European nations from funding the Confederate efforts to win the war. For example Édouard Laboulaye's "Separation: War without End," (pamphlet #8) warned of the disastrous economic results in Europe if nations supported the Confederacy.¹⁵⁸ Given that Édouard Laboulaye was a French Senator and Professor of Legislation at the College of France, his opinion would have been highly regarded by the

¹⁵⁶ Freidel, "The Loyal Publication Society," 359. Publisher and cousin to Elizabeth P. Peabody (Ch 2), George P. Putnam was a member of the LPS publication committee.

¹⁵⁷ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 843.

¹⁵⁸ Freidel, "The Loyal Publication Society," 359; Gasparin, Agénor, and Mary L. Booth. "Reconstruction a Letter to President Johnson." Loyal Publication Society [Pamphlets] No. 87. New York, 1865. A full list of publications produced by the Loyal Publication Society is included as a *List of Publications* in the index of this document.

network of intellectuals that worked for the LPS.¹⁵⁹ Underscoring his influence, historian Carol Harrison wrote that Laboulaye “was France’s foremost authority on the United States in the 1860s.”¹⁶⁰ Later he and Mary would work together to bring the Statute of Liberty to New York City; an image first conceived at Laboulaye’s house one evening at a dinner in 1865, where amongst his guests was sculptor Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi.¹⁶¹

Given Mary’s prior writing and publishing experiences, and her political and historical networks, it is not surprising that she was chosen to translate one of the final LPS’s pamphlets, number 87. This pamphlet was the only one directed towards President Johnson titled: ‘Reconstruction A Letter to President Johnson’ by Count Agénor de Gasparin.¹⁶² The tone throughout the translation is that of a letter—a personal address from Gasparin (representing France)—to the new US President. The pamphlet, seventy pages in length, contains many political positions that were eventually considered, or implemented, by the Federal government during the period of Reconstruction. One of the core questions asked in ‘Reconstruction’ concerned the re-admittance of the Southern states without federally based protective measures for the newly freed slaves:

Permit me, Mr. President, to dwell not he truly disastrous consequences which would be entailed by a resolution of Congress admitting the representatives of the South before the establishment of guarantees. [...] These questions would escape your control; you would no longer be masters of the situation. The

¹⁵⁹ Carol E. Harrison, “Edouard Laboulaye, Liberal and Roman Catholic” *French History and Civilization: Papers from the George Rudé Seminar* 6 (2015): 149-158.

¹⁶⁰ Harrison, “Edouard Laboulaye,” 149.

¹⁶¹ Harrison, “Edouard Laboulaye,” 156-157.

¹⁶² Gasparin and Booth, “Reconstruction”.

rights of the colored race, for instance, would depend on the opinions that might prevail at Charleston and Richmond... You are not a centralized country. The rebel states once readmitted, their sovereignty would raise up barriers which would everywhere arrest your action. The negroes would find themselves imprisoned as it were in a new condition which would not be much better than the old one.¹⁶³

Another issue raised throughout 'Reconstruction' was how to truly insure the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, given the entrenched inequality amongst the different races.

There is no air respirable between slavery and freedom. [...] We have predicted (and you will not contradict our prophecy) that the crime of the North will not be spared any more than the crime of the South; that the problem of the freedmen will be resolved in that impulse of intelligent generosity which has resolved the problem of the slaves; that after having fought the South with those brave negroes whose blood has flowed under your flag, you will not have the heart either to thrust them outside the common law, or to drive them from your omnibus and street cars. [...] You will pursue to the end the reparative reaction which has already been manifested to your honor in the greater part of the Northern states. You will treat your companions-in-arms as men and equals. [...] To do this, to save a race, and to defend the honor of the country, you have a single moment.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Gasparin and Booth, "Reconstruction," 13.

¹⁶⁴ Gasparin and Booth, "Reconstruction," 22-24.

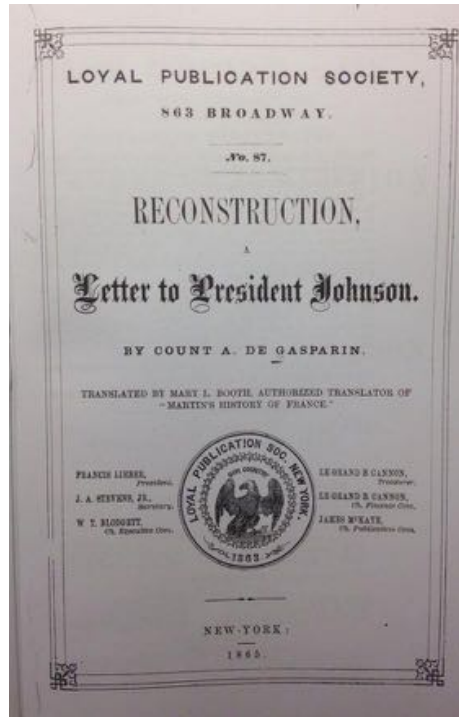


Figure 14. “Reconstruction”: A Letter to President Johnson, translated by Mary L. Booth, 1865.¹⁶⁵

With Mary’s translation of “Reconstruction” (Figure) we can observe that the core matters of Southern re-admission to Congress, emancipation and legal reform were issues that Europeans were also concerned about. That the LPS and American publishing houses published foreign viewpoints also points to the fact the policy directives about reunification were not confined to New England liberals nor United States Congressional leadership serving at the time.

The Role of Translation

The fragile relationship of authorship and translation and the influence the subsequent translated work is based not so much on the credit of original authorship and value of the original

¹⁶⁵ Ms. Mary Louise Booth folder, Cairns Collection, University of Wisconsin Special Collections.

piece, but rather on the value of new work, in the new language, for a new set of readers.

Moreover, the translation of specific sources is sought to provide crucial context for certain events, and may be sought by academic and/or governmental groups involved in producing said literature about events unfolding at a particular time. This in turn causes the translated work, and arguably its translator, to gain significance and influence because they are the key that unlocks the original piece. The work analyzed here was deemed worthy of translation by Union leadership of the North because of circumstantial events that unfolded during the Civil War. Here Mary was the key.

The political influence, quantity and consistency of translations produced by Mary, as well as the care and protection of her work that she noted in her letters, makes this body part of her life worth accounting for, but it may raise more questions than answers. Given that the intent of New York political leaders and the LPS publications were to mold public opinion, the role Mary had as the key to unlocking this French publication was central in persuading the American public.¹⁶⁶ French historians and politicians were able to influence US policy directives, particularly about emancipation and US reunification and Mary's translations were essential for this to happen. Further, without skilled translator's like Mary there would have been fewer opportunities for literate Americans to be exposed to European intellectual and political thought. Her participation allowed access to knowledge that otherwise would have been limited to those

¹⁶⁶ By way of example the US War department cites Mary's translation regarding role of the Loyal Publication Society played during the Civil War, see United States, *Bibliography of State Participation in the Civil War 1861-1866* (Charlottesville, Va: Allen Pub. Co., 1961): 1040.

with access to European publications and had the ability to read it all. The demand for Mary's translations further evidences there was a need for such knowledge.

Moreover, Mary's personal letters about her translation work from the 1870s demonstrate her serious approach to this work and that publishers were very interested in individuals with this skill set.¹⁶⁷ During the 1870s we can glimpse the serious stance Mary took on as a translator. In writing to the Boston publishing house of Estes and Lauriat in 1876 over a conflict of publication rights, Mary's tone about her abilities was confident:

I beg to inform you what I have been engaged on a translation of Henri Martin's Popular History of France ever since its commencement...I have done this with the full sanction of the author, who has promised every assistance in his power, and who permits me to use his name in authorization of my translation...As I was the translator who first introduced M. Martin to the American public and have enjoyed his thorough confidence and approbation, I think it would have been courteous, at least, for you to have apprized me of your desire to publish the work, and to have learned my own plans in this matter.¹⁶⁸

With this date, we can observe Mary working two vocations simultaneously, editor and translator. The translation of Martin's book was scheduled to be published by a competing publishing house, J.H. Crates and Company of Philadelphia. Mary chose to use her editorial stationery at Harper and Brothers to write this letter, which adds a layered quality of empowerment to the effort she put into settling her rights to this translation. The book mentioned in this letter was ultimately translated by her, but published by Estes and Lauriat the following

¹⁶⁷ See letters written by or to Mary L. Booth in Alma Lutz Collection, Ms. A-11, U133 Folders, 1-7, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe and Ms. Mary Louise Booth folder, Cairns Collection, University of Wisconsin Special Collections.

¹⁶⁸ Mary L. Booth to Messrs. Estes and Lauriat 20 October, 1876, Ms. Mary Louise Booth folder, Cairns Collection, University of Wisconsin Special Collections.

year.¹⁶⁹ According to Marie's obituary, Mary made little money from the "literary labors" of translation.¹⁷⁰ Marie noted that Mary considered her translation work prior to her position at *Harper's* her "college," it was "learning" Mary needed to do before demanding pay for her work.¹⁷¹

Additionally, both her biographer and Marie's obituary considered Mary a highly skilled translator, particularly in French.¹⁷² That she continued to work with this same group of French historians and writers, and that these works continued to be published even after her death in 1889, serves as additional proof that her skills at translating were acknowledged and needed for public consumption. Finally, through these three examples we can observe a woman actively engaged in molding public opinion about issues like emancipation, black suffrage and national unification. I argue that when Mary translated Gasparin's and Cochin's words she participated in a political act of propaganda that directly affected how the American government's actions were being influenced and evaluated, both in Europe and by northern elites.

It can be argued that an analysis of translated history may raise more questions than answers for the discipline of nineteenth-century history.¹⁷³ Is the translation of historical work for a new audience still the work of the historian or is it a commercial act of practicality? If the former, how can this process be described in a way that reveals the work of a translator as

¹⁶⁹ Henry Martin, *A Popular History of France: From the First Revolution to the Present Time*, trans. Mary L. Booth (Boston: D. Estes and C.E. Lauriat, 1877).

¹⁷⁰ Zakrzewska, "Mary L. Booth".

¹⁷¹ Zakrzewska, "Mary L. Booth".

¹⁷² Spofford, *Our Famous Women*; Zakrzewska, "Mary L. Booth".

¹⁷³ Valdes, "For you seem principally to indulge in brain work pure and simple".

significant and influential to the discipline. If the latter, how do we then reconcile the commercial dissemination of historical production as knowledge separate from the discipline itself which relies on access to said knowledge. I do not think we can. Without translators and translated historical tracts, historians would be restricted in their own knowledge development. James Banner argues that the discipline of history was and is, manifested in part through the authorship of historical knowledge because it is a production of a body of knowledge.¹⁷⁴ This dissertation highlights the tension between Banner's viewpoint and the viewpoint that a translation of a body of knowledge is a form of historical production and is thus included in the varied practices of the discipline of history. This chapter grapples with this tension through the lens of a female history author and translator working within the discipline of history during the mid-nineteenth century.

Mary L. Booth's life in many ways seems to embody the benefits of education, geography and circumstance. Her early writing experiences and the fame of her book opened up new avenues and expanded her intellectual network, within New York City and beyond. Her steady rise as a proficient writer, researcher and translator eventually led to the Harper Family identifying her as a leader for their new journalistic aspirations at *Harper's Bazar*. As the first female editor of a major magazine in the US, Mary was able to hone her skill as a writer and businesswoman—as she negotiated payments for published works—and her own annual salary of \$4,000. In this role, she has been memorialized tenderly:

¹⁷⁴ James Banner, *Being a Historian, An Introduction to the Professional World of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

In the upper part of New York, there is one of those ideal homes, well-known these many years to those who follow literature and art. Its owner, Miss Mary L. Booth, is a woman in middle life, who, though in independent circumstances, is proud to labor, and believes in so doing like all sensible Americans. Does she remain in her dainty and beautiful parlors through the day, doing fancy-work, or reading the latest novel, or receiving calls, or driving in Central Park? She goes regularly to a down-town office, where from morning till night she superintends every detail of the work on large and popular newspaper—*Harper's Bazar*.¹⁷⁵

Summary

Mary L. Booth, along with the two other women examined in this dissertation are amongst the 1,359 women listed within the three volume biographical series titled *Notable American Women*.¹⁷⁶ This inaugural collection of short biographies published in 1971 represents a narrow accounting of all three women analyzed here. While this large collection of women's lives is significant, the accumulation of women's names and short descriptions cannot be a substitute for the full Life Histories contained in this dissertation. As Historian Anne F. Scott once remarked, while *Notable American Women* "stirred [her] to think about the potential for collective biography," there was still a need to more fully address two interconnected issues in the social history of women: one, "the effect of education on women's lives" and two, "the effect of a growing body of educated women on American society".¹⁷⁷ This dissertation highlights the need to investigate women's educational experiences and their effects in order to answer the main research question that guides this analysis of how women scholars navigated the production, dissemination and teaching of the field of history during the nineteenth century.

¹⁷⁵ Bolton, *Some Successful Women*, 34-35.

¹⁷⁶ James, *Notable American Women*.

¹⁷⁷ Anne F. Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984): xxiv.

While past histories of Mary have captured her main contribution to American society as the first editor of *Harper's Bazar*, the challenge of this chapter was to (re)situate the notable Mary L. Booth into a realm she was not readily known for, as one of the earliest urban historians writing in the US.¹⁷⁸ In order to more fully comprehend how her intellectual productions that have contributed to the practice of social history within the discipline of American History, I analyzed her groundbreaking work on the first urban history of New York City and a sample of her historical translations. Here Mary is presented as representative of nineteenth-century female historians who pioneered disciplinary practices.

The research questions posed in this dissertation invited an enquiry that requires paying attention to the research and writing practices of a historian during an era when university based training in the United States was scant for women and men, and absent for women in the discipline of history in both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. Yet we know that “women constructed forms of history before and after 1850”.¹⁷⁹ We also know that in the American context, disciplinary practices, as applied to published works was new. In fact, the nineteenth century marked the beginning of disciplinary practices for history production in the United States.¹⁸⁰ Thus to address my enquiry into female contributions to American historical production, I implemented an integrated framework of Life History to reconstruct the life of

¹⁷⁸ “Miss Mary L. Booth”, *Harper's Bazar*; Spofford, *Our Famous Women*, 120-121; Stern, “Mary Louise Booth; Zakrzewska, “Mary L. Booth”.

¹⁷⁹ Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise*, 5; Baym, *American Women Writers*.

¹⁸⁰ Gooch, *History and Historians*; Novick, *That Noble Dream*.

Mary L. Booth as a mean of more fully (re)inscribing her contribution in urban history and the influential role of translated history.

This chapter connected Mary's knowledge production to her intellectual development. This was accomplished through a tracing of important body parts of Mary's childhood, educational experiences, public life and intellectual activities, including her historical authorship as a means of evidencing her role as an urban historian and acknowledge her role in developing established historical practices. Mary's Life History reveals a clear connection between the value of educational experiences and her ability to carve out professional roles as a historian, writer and editor.

I began by constructing Mary's childhood and educational experiences, and paid particular attention to her early exposure to challenging scholarship and her parental support, including the opportunity to take advantage of the growing public and private schooling opportunities of the New York City region. Though her education and her father's prominent positions within the public schools of Long Island and Brooklyn presented Mary with opportunities to work as a teacher, she found that vocation unsuitable. Instead she focused on becoming a writer. Her independent spirit, which led her to move to Manhattan at age eighteen, compelled her to find employment using the skills she had as a translator and writer. She seemed to understand that forming and/or participating in intellectual networks would be essential to her goal of living independently and becoming a published writer.

It is probable that Mary herself did not use the term urban history to describe her monograph *History of the City of New York*. The term itself, in the American context is attributed

to Arthur Schlesinger Sr. (1888-1965) and his publication of *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898* in 1933.¹⁸¹ However, as Gooch notes, forms of social history, history that is written as a “survey of civilization instead of a record of events,” dates back to the seventeenth century.¹⁸² Narratives that demonstrated a “social evolution” were considered part of the “second Renaissance” of historical production that defined the discipline in nineteenth-century America.¹⁸³ This approach to social history was meant to be based in archival research with some publications taking on the form of a more narrow analysis by examining local history. Examples include Lee’s *Sketches of a New-England Village* (1838), Parkman’s *The Oregon Trail* (1849) and Caulkins’ *History of Norwich* (1866).¹⁸⁴ In this context, Mary’s monograph on New York City fits in with standardized forms of historical productions of local history in the United States. She also took local history to the next level by conceptualizing the history of *a city* to be a lens for chronicling national change. Thus, Mary’s main contribution lies in how she added to the growing practice of urban history in America, specifically with writing the first history of New York City that “stood alone” for decades, prior to Lamb’s history of New York City and three-quarters of a century before Schlesinger’s publication.

In his book *Rise of the City*, Schlesinger contends that a historical examination of a city illuminates the development of the nation in which it stands. Mary's monograph was written to underscore the importance of New York city in the growth of America, proving that it was not

¹⁸¹ Baym, *American Women Writers*; Novick, *That Noble Dream*.

¹⁸² Gooch, *History and Historians*, 8.

¹⁸³ Gooch, *History and Historians*, 415.

¹⁸⁴ Caulkins, *History of Norwich*; Lee, *Sketches of a New-England Village*; Francis Parkman, *The California and Oregon Trail* (New York: George P. Putnam, 1849).

just the cities of Boston or Philadelphia that could claim such influence in the founding and successful growth of the United States.¹⁸⁵ Consequently, Mary's disciplinary perspective on the significance of the city historiographically displaces Schlesinger's position as the father of urban history, rendering Mary the mother of urban history.¹⁸⁶ Mary's historical perspective on New York City's role in the founding of America remains unchallenged today.

Furthermore, the significant number of historical translations done by Mary during the nineteenth century renders this type of work as a critical component of historical production in America, though it is an area of analysis yet to be examined by scholars. Indeed, the role of historical translations as a significant contribution to the discipline of history, and in particular the construction of historical narratives by those writing in America. As I noted earlier in the chapter, an examination of translations may raise more questions than answers. While it has been documented that American historians used translators for archival research for books eventually published in English, there has yet to be an analysis of the role of translated books and political pamphlets that served to construct a bridge of understanding between international scholars and a wider reading audience.¹⁸⁷ Mary wanted her translations to mold public opinion during the Civil War, particularly on the issues of emancipation and civil liberties during the period of Reconstruction. Though it is difficult to measure the full effect these translations had on shaping public policies initiated by Union leaders, the fact remains that their publications, in such extensive numbers translated by Mary and other authors hired by the Loyal Publication Society

¹⁸⁵ Baym, *American Women Writers*; Booth, *History of the City of New York*.

¹⁸⁶ Novick, *That Noble Dream*.

¹⁸⁷ Gooch, *History and Historians*.

of New York, indicates their wide political interest. This also points to the inclusion of viewpoints about policy from European historians and statesmen on the outcome of the Civil War.

It is perhaps not a coincidence that Mary L. Booth was born at the beginning of the 1830s. It was a time in New York City that she described as the first explosion of journalism and reading, beginning with the establishment of the penny press which allowed for “every citizen” to access daily journals that “disseminated general knowledge” “to make of our people what they are now acknowledge to be—the greatest reading nation of any on the globe.”¹⁸⁸ She herself was an avid reader and writer. She was also a businesswoman and editor who used her position to publicly supported fellow writers. A citizen of “Gotham” through and through, her history of New York City, the first of its kind, published in 1859 introduced to the field of history the disciplinary practice of urban history, as a crucial form of local history, “respectfully submitted” to the public for their verdict.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, 734.

¹⁸⁹ The term Gotham was used by residents during this time, see Antoinette B. Blackwell to Mary Booth 25 August 1871. Alma Lutz Collection, MS A-11, U133 Folders, 1-7, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe; Booth, *History of the City of New York*, xvii.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I have sought to expand our understanding of female intellectual production within the field of history during the nineteenth century. To do this I utilized a combination of Life History methods in order to examine the interrelationship between education (both formal and informal), occupational aspirations, and historical work produced by three antebellum women, with a focus on works published mid-century. In particular, I analyzed published works that were early examples of social history, biography, chronology, and school text books. Additionally, I explored the role of translation of historical works and the writing and use of grand narratives to teach history. I drew primarily from the collections of published history texts to better understand the influence specific women scholars had in the field of history as a scholastic practice. For contextual purposes, I combed the archives for letters and journals and other personal artefacts that described the intellectual processes and commitments these three women negotiated in order to write and publish their history books.

The construction of the narratives presented in this dissertation are guided by research and writing methods that were very recently designated part of a “substantial turn towards

narrative and life history study” for Historical and Social Science research methods.¹ The conceptualization of Life History is not itself new as an approach to biography, dating back to the turn of the twentieth century. However, now more than ever, technological advances in archival and genealogical research have made it possible to locate a significant amount of primary source materials that can be used to narrate the lives of individuals thought to be lost to the past.² Though the archive materials that were used in this dissertation were always in existence, their location was not always obvious, nor was the amount of historical production. As noted in Chapter One, Life History advocates ways of rediscovering, re-presenting, and in these cases, interlinking women as a means of highlighting the complexities surrounding the social-cultural realities of the past (here, mid-nineteenth-century America) and the research process performed in the present.

The women whose Life Histories are set out in the chapters: Elizabeth Peabody (1804-1894), Caroline Dall (1822-1912), and Mary L. Booth (1831-1889) were chosen as case studies in order to answer the research question posed earlier in this dissertation:

How did three female scholars active in the mid-nineteenth century navigate and utilize their formal and informal educational experiences to develop their intellectual and vocational aspirations in the field of history between 1830 and 1870?

¹ Ivor Goodson, ed., *The Routledge International Handbook on Narrative and Life History* (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2017): 1; Donna Haraway, “Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective,” *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (1988): 575-99.

² Goodson, ed., *The Routledge International Handbook on Narrative and Life History*.

As noted in Chapter One all three women in this examination were educated, taught and wrote in spaces and places that, in turn, formed and informed who these women became, their intellectualism, who their contemporaries were, as well as forming the evidence they left about their lives. In order to appropriately narrate the complex interplay of varied sites and networks these women occupied, I implemented a methodical approach, Life History, as a means to “cultivate the details and accidents that accompany every beginning” in order to trace how these three women influenced disciplinary practices for the field history in America during the first half of the nineteenth century.³

Overall these three case studies revealed the active participation of three women in the discipline of history that has not been demonstrated in previous accountings of historical practices in the United States. As a result, my accounting of their intellectual productions has changed some previous held understandings about the discipline of history in America prior to 1870.

In what follows I discuss my findings from the three central Life History chapters as they relate to the research question (above) that have guided this dissertation. This dissertation has paid attention to how a small group of women practiced the craft of history during the mid-nineteenth century. The research focus on their educations revealed important influences and assists in contextualizing their intellectual development. As such the Findings section begins with a discussion on girlhood and education. Next the analysis will detail crucial contributions made by these three women for the discipline of history, all prior to 1870. These contributions to the

³ Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1977): 144.

field of history fall into three categories: textbooks for teaching, women's history and urban history. Both of the analytical sections will demonstrate how these findings answer the research questions. Finally this chapter concludes with a discussion of research limitations of biographically-based analysis as well as introducing a new avenue for further research utilizing the framework, *Statement Archaeology*.⁴ I propose that this framework could be integrated or used as an alternative to further explore and identify significant disciplinary points of origin that could potentially assist in "following the complex course of descent" of ideas and practices for history and place these "passing events in their proper dispersion".⁵

Looking Across Three Life Histories

Education and Girlhood

An essential part of this dissertation was the examination of experiences of individual antebellum girlhoods through the lens of formal and informal educational environments, including schools, home and other public/private spacing of learning such as access to personal (home) or public libraries. Historian Linda Kerber discusses, across several essays in *Towards an Intellectual History of Women*, that for women of the Antebellum era to develop a sense of authentic female individualism and intellect, they would need to link the utilitarian and functional aspects of education to a developed sense of religiosity and domesticity.⁶ Yet Kerber is

⁴ Jonathan Doney, "'That Would be an Ecumenical Matter': Contextualizing the Adoption of World Religions Teaching in English Religious Education Through 'Statement Archaeology,' a Systematic Operationalization of Foucault's Historical Methods" (PhD Thesis, Exeter University, United Kingdom, 2015).

⁵ Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, 146.

⁶ Linda K. Kerber, *Toward an Intellectual History of Women: Essays by Linda K. Kerber* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

careful to point out that women, such as Judith Sargent Murray and Margaret Fuller, had advocated that women's education be understood, by men and women, to be a more "selfish" undertaking whose function and purpose were identical: to cultivate a woman's intellect "simply because they were entitled to it".⁷ Kerber further notes that some women of the mid-nineteenth century carved out public lives based on past actions of intellectual self-fulfillment. That formal and informal educational experiences were a large part of this process of self-fulfillment is something also argued by historian Julia Grant.⁸

Often for women of the nineteenth-century, the validity of their intellectual production was subjected to the sanction of institutional recognition. As Kerber proposes, it means locating women within "communities" of intellectuals, which may include tracing the development of higher education for women.⁹ This can also include other public spaces and networks, like for example Elizabeth P. Peabody's bookstore in Boston during the 1840s.

In this vein, the three case studies put forth here support Kerber and Grant's understanding of how education was experienced: as a process of self-fulfillment by many who had access to educational schemes during childhood. The three cases studies here also demonstrate that within a life cycle, women were active in intellectual productions that were the result of a mixture of institutional, familial and individual negotiation, and that this took place outside of educational institutions of higher education.

⁷ Kerber, *Toward an Intellectual History of Women*, 25.

⁸ Julia Grant, "Parent-Child Relations in Western Europe and North America, 1500-Present," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, ed. Paula Fass (London: Routledge, 2013):103-124.

⁹ Kerber, *Toward an Intellectual History of Women*, 227-228.

Furthermore, these three case studies are in alignment with current research that distinguishes between girlhood and childhood. First, I point out that the term *girlhood* was used during the nineteenth century to describe childhood experiences often in direct relation and/or comparison to other girls, be they sisters, schoolmates or neighbors. Significantly, this term—*girlhood*—was often used in recollection of their childhood later in the century as a juxtaposition to the term *boyhood*, which was used to by men about their childhood. As such, I have used the term *girlhood* throughout this dissertation as a word distinct from *childhood* to separate out particular sets of experiences that reflect changes in social-cultural norms about childhood. In part these reflected the post-Enlightenment ideals that supported increased periods of schooling of children by examining specific positive effects formal and informal education had on some girls.¹⁰ In particular, the notions of developing a respect for individuality during childhood and the concept that girls, like boys, should partake in educational schemes that included science, history and philosophy.¹¹ These views about individuality and education would change how young girls would be socialized and correspondingly change the level of educational investment given to girls. We can observe the effect of this change for white females most readily through

¹⁰ Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500* (London: Routledge, 2014); Jane Martin & Joyce Goodman, *Women and Education, 1800-1980* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Lucia McMahon, *Mere Equals: The Paradox of Educated Women in the Early American Republic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); Margaret Nash, *Women's Education in the United States, 1780-1840* (New York City: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

¹¹ Julia Grant, "Parent-Child Relations in Western Europe and North America, 1500-Present," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, ed. Paula Fass (London: Routledge, 2013):103-124; McMahon, *Mere Equals: The Paradox of Educated Women*; Nash, *Women's Education in the United States*; Kim Tolley, *The Science Education of American Girls: A Historical Perspective* (New York City: Routledge/Falmer, 2003).

the increase of literacy among mothers and daughters and the growth of seminaries and academies and their academic based curriculum offerings prior to 1860.¹²

Overall, the three girlhoods examined here through the lens of educational experiences, revealed that their academic based educational opportunities had a direct effect on their adult lives and occupational opportunities. In addition, my investigation into the familial records of these young women demonstrated that they used specific vocabulary to articulate how they understood their educational experiences, and in particular their access to books. These were related to their own intellectual development which they paid attention to with great self-interest. They loved to read history books. They wanted to be known for their intellectual capabilities. They wanted to live independent lives. Furthermore, these three young girls viewed their girlhoods as a time of independence and learning, and did not necessarily want to relinquish this type of freedom later in life.

Below I discuss examples of the effect of these educational opportunities, showing how—for each of the women—they opened up paths that provided them with intellectual and vocational opportunities that affected the wider public spaces they inhabited. This discussion is based on three important, related findings about these three girlhoods: familial support, intellectual pursuits and early vocational activities, all of which are discussed in parallel.

¹² Nancy Beadie and Kim Tolley, eds., *Chartered Schools: Two Hundred Years of Independent Academies in the United States, 1727-1925* (New York City: Routledge/Falmer, 2002); Grant, “Parent-Child Relations In Western Europe and North America”; Nash, *Women’s Education in the United States*; Tolley, *The Science Education of American Girls*.

Educated Girlhoods

All three women in this dissertation were first-born daughters and this had a direct impact in receiving parental support for an academic-based education. While the gender of these three individuals is significant for the analysis as it pertains to negotiating an independent lifestyle, the connection between birth order and familial support of their educations while they were still quite young was demonstrated by all three sets of parents. Although the familial support given to these three women was not always impartial within the families themselves, the educational support was comparably indispensable for each of these women. For example, for Caroline and Mary, their father played a more significant role in supporting the acquisition of an academic-based education. In the case of Elizabeth, it was her mother who took on the primary responsibility to manage her education. In addition, all three women had a father that supported the teaching of languages. From an early age they all received direct instruction in the home, often starting with Latin. Moreover, they all had access to their family's library. As a result, all three girls became multilingual before adulthood. Having access to family libraries, within their home and communities also instilled the importance of self-curated, autodidactic learning throughout their lives.

Elizabeth noted specifically that her pursuits in history and teaching were the result of a pre-natal inculcation by her mother, who was teaching whilst pregnant with Elizabeth. In fact, Eliza Peabody was also her primary teacher, and for both financial and social reasons, Elizabeth attended school in her own house alongside her mother's pupils. Eliza Peabody was a tough teacher who made sure Elizabeth was given a challenging education. Eliza had developed a

curriculum centered on history, literature, languages and philosophy, and her students were made to hone their writing skills; Eliza requiring them to write histories in the form of biography.¹³ Being educated in this manner, alongside her father's instruction in languages and being encouraged into the habit of reading had a lasting impact on Elizabeth's intellectual development, life as a teacher, and her future writing projects.

Furthermore, Elizabeth was raised by her mother to view academic learning to be more important than domestic or laboring duties. Eliza also supported Elizabeth's entry into teaching, helping her open her first school when Elizabeth had just turned seventeen. Although Elizabeth taught arithmetic, rhetoric and literature, the subject of history was her primary focus, and her early teaching experiences were spent developing a pedagogy for teaching history, her favorite subject as a child. The effect of this kind of familial community support was manifold. Elizabeth developed a love for learning and became a prodigious autodidact, including establishing herself as a leader of the Transcendental movement. Second, Elizabeth's bookstore and private library that she ran during the 1840s also served as the Peabody family home underscoring the ever-present connectedness of the Palmer-Peabody family to intellectual activities. Finally, when Elizabeth wrote her history books and books and articles about pedagogy, her advocacy of formal and informal education as an elemental aspect of childhood, that included imbuing a love for learning, emanated throughout her writings.

¹³ Megan Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters, Three Women Who Ignited American Romanticism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005); Bruce A. Ronda. *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody: A Reformer on Her Own Terms*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

Caroline too had a passion to learn and a lifelong desire to be thought of as a genius (as she wrote in her diary, see Chapter 3).¹⁴ There is clear evidence that her father supported her comprehensive and academic based education, including a mix of private education by governesses and tutors, followed by private schooling. However, her formal education came to an abrupt end at age 15, when her father, Mark Healey went bankrupt. Her mother's support for education and a vocation in teaching is less evident, in part due to several bouts of illness and depression that Caroline Foster Healey had experienced all throughout her life. This put Caroline in the position of governing the education of her siblings, including making financial contributions from her earnings as a teacher before her marriage to Charles Dall.

A lifetime of access to libraries both private and public had a lasting effect on Caroline's intellectual development and public activities. One of her earliest memories was that at age seven her chamber (bedroom) was also the family library. During her youth, she also had access a family friend's private library, that of Daniel P. Parker, who was a trustee for the Boston Athenaeum, founded in 1807, and one of the oldest, membership-based libraries in the United States. She also frequented Elizabeth's P. Peabody's private library, beginning age eighteen. This familial and community based access to books and research materials was significant. Caroline would go on to lead a public campaign for the expansion of social science books and journals for the Boston Public Library (1852). And during the late 1850s she became a founding member of the American Social Science Association in 1865.

¹⁴ Dall, 15 November 1838, in Dall, *Selected Journals* vol. 1, 16.

Moreover, during her adolescence Caroline had begun to practice a form of autodidacticism in the areas of law and economic history through a mixture of individual reading and attendance at public lectures given by Harvard University. These two academic subjects formed the foundation to much of her authorship and public speaking. Her experiences as a young teacher positioned Caroline within local communities where she came face to face with issues of poverty and slavery, as well as issues of access and denial of education for girls, all of which tested young Caroline's views on equality and justice and served to influence her scholarly pursuits later in life. These influences manifested themselves in Caroline's public speeches and published works. This is demonstrated through her work on historical reconstruction of female subjects (during the 1850s) that included an economic and political analysis of legal equality and fair wages (past and present) to support her advocacy for female education.

Mary was believed to be an intelligent child by her parents, William and Nancy Booth, and from the start she was encouraged to read challenging texts including, by age seven, Plutarch. She also began her lessons in Latin at age seven, with her father taking on the role of language tutor. Her access to family libraries and her father being the local school master contributed to her early intellectual development. After mastering Latin, Mary took lessons in German and French.

The economic viability of the town she grew up in led to early initiatives to fund public schooling that did not include gender restrictions. This made it possible for Mary to attend several schools on Long Island, in her home town of Millville and nearby in Greenport. Mary did well in math and the natural sciences, which alongside her prodigious skill in French, led to her intelligence becoming widely acknowledged beyond her own village. So much so that her

childhood and educational background became the subject of an enquiry published by the *American Phrenological Journal* in 1860.

Mary demonstrated an early linguistic ability and by age ten she had read works by David Hume, Edward Gibbon and Archibald Alison on philosophy and history.¹⁵ These books served as foundational texts of study about the practice of history. This points to an educational decision that was more likely to have been initiated by her father (and his library) than her teachers. In her late adolescence, Mary taught for about two years at the school her father ran, yet she did not follow in his footsteps to become a teacher. This meant giving up a position teaching at one of the earliest public schools in Brooklyn, New York, Public School No. 1 of Williamsburg. Instead it was her intent to become a writer and live independently. And she did just that.

Soon after, Mary procured a job at the *New York Times*, worked as a translator and by 1859 published the first monograph of urban history on New York City. Her translation work became heavily political during the Civil War and after the war she returned to translating standard historical monographs from French to English, by which she introduced French styles of writing history to the American public. Mary was also heavily involved in the literary networks of New York City and it seemed to surprise none in her intellectual circles that she became the inaugural editor of *Harper's Bazar* in 1867, a role she became famous for during her lifetime.

¹⁵ Sarah K. Bolton, *Some Successful Women* (Boston: D. Lothrop Company, 1888): 36; Harriet P. Spofford, *Our Famous Women. An Authorized Record of the Lives and Deeds of Distinguished American Women of Our Times* (Hartford, Conn: A.D. Worthington & Co, 1884): 188.

Girlhood and Education

Overall these findings about the connection between education and intellectual pursuits during adulthood raises new questions about the extent of educational access, intellectual productivity, and public influence of educated women during the Antebellum era. As this dissertation has critiqued, a linking of gendered adult social expectations and barriers with childhood experiences may lead to the assumption that girls (primarily from the middle classes) spent their early years primarily preparing for, and accepting, limiting social roles and vocational opportunities due to expectations governed by the domestic sphere. By using the lens of education (both formal and informal) during girlhood, a different picture emerges. This portrayal shows how familial support of non-domestic pursuits and intentional exposure to challenging learning environments instilled a sense of self-reliance by early adulthood (18years old). While it cannot be disputed that antebellum women's lives were controlled by legal and economic regulations that "constructed dependence," (primarily socio-political), many white, middle class (by adulthood) women, experienced a sense of *constructed independence* during their childhood, primarily derived, as this dissertation argues, from educational opportunities.¹⁶

I argue that aspects of a person's childhood, beyond being a developmental aspect of biography, contribute to larger historical understandings of how an individual developed and achieved their goals within the discursive realms of class, gender and institutions such as schooling. Here I examine a particular set of experiences: educated childhoods during the early nineteenth century. The history of childhood, at least in the western context, is often predicated

¹⁶ Carol Lasser and Stacey Robertson, *Antebellum Women Private, Public, Partisan* (Langham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2010): 2.

on the assumption that histories of childhood serve as a prism for understanding larger social-political and economic realities of a given community or person.¹⁷ Arguably, childhood is worth examining by the historian because it can reveal the changes in society such as cultural practices, privilege and progress (or lack thereof) because children are often the direct (but powerless) recipients of negative and positive circumstances of a particular community.¹⁸ Furthermore, a historical examination of an individual's childhood can serve to contest historicized universalism or particular social paradigms contained in existing chronicles (i.e. challenge the validity) of traditional social and political designations that produced historical confinement of groups usually based on age, gender, race and class.

Additionally, historical narratives of education often do not trace a connection between particular educational attainment levels and vocational acquisition for young women. Moreover, the history regarding the relationship between adolescents and work during this period often examines the connection between the apprenticeship, the gaining of labor skills by youth (particularly poor and/or parentless), and their economic contributions to the household or guardian.¹⁹ But young teachers and authors are not considered in these contexts, nor is teaching historicized as an apprenticeship of paid labor during the Antebellum period, despite the role of

¹⁷ Paula Fass, ed., *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* (London: Routledge, 2013); James Marten, ed., *Children and Youth in a New Nation* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

¹⁸ Fass, *The Routledge History of Childhood*; David F. Lancy, *The Anthropology of Childhood: Cherubs, Chattel, Changelings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹⁹ Colin Heywood, "Children's Work in Countryside and City," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, ed., Paula Fass (London: Routledge, 2013): 125-141; Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004); Nancy Zey, "Children of the Public, Poor and Orphaned Minors in the Southwest Borderlands," in *Children and Youth in a New Nation*, ed., James Marten (New York: New York University Press, 2009): 173-189.

mentorship and networks that were used to access positions. What is curious about teaching **prior** to the Civil War is that it is historicized as a vocation, that in most cases, was the *natural* outcome of educational attainment, and for men, a stepping stone towards other professional work.²⁰ Did educated women use teaching to prepare for “more prestigious and lucrative professions”?²¹ And did antebellum women view prestigious and lucrative professions differently—i.e. were these positions self-made? While educational histories have evidenced that a growing number of schools trained young women to become teachers prior to the Civil War, narratives about the female adolescent teacher in the early decades of American schooling are insufficient. Equally scant are the narratives of vocations that women participated in outside teaching, particularly alternate vocations that were carved out that utilized experience and knowledge gained from teaching.

The Life Histories set out here demonstrate that antebellum girlhoods were not necessarily spent learning to accept bounded notions of what their adulthood would be like. Nor did they experience a childhood that was intentionally limiting. Instead this dissertation examines antebellum girlhoods where education and intellectual development were prized over domestic training. Here the parents did not inscribe limited expectations upon their daughters. Altogether these chapters represent new evidence that young girls were taught to negotiate the social-cultural limits of the larger society already in place.

²⁰ Nina Baym, *American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790-1860* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995); William J. Reese, *Testing Wars in the Public Schools* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

²¹ Reese, *Testing Wars*, 8.

Indeed, Mary L. Booth's formal learning experiences, like those of Elizabeth P. Peabody and Caroline H. Dall, were not straightforward. There were few straightforward educational paths for young girls before the Civil War, despite the growth of seminaries and academies that expanded educational options for young girls. Yet these new schools often required school fees, may not have been geographically convenient, and some offered irregular curricula.²² However, unlike Elizabeth and Caroline, Mary's first formal school was the result of early local government initiatives to build publicly funded schools on Long Island. Yet despite diverse educational opportunities Mary, like the two other female historians examined in this dissertation, was educated to become a teacher but then migrated towards additional professional opportunities as a result of her education and intellectual networks. Though unlike Elizabeth and Caroline, her teaching experiences were brief and once she left teaching she never returned. Further, Mary's publications, unlike the two other women examined in this dissertation, did not, after her first monograph, take an expected/anticipated path—i.e producing additional histories for public and/or school use. Instead Mary chose to be a part of the literary scene of New York City, but kept her interest in history alive through her translation work. Elizabeth, on the other hand, returned her focus to educational pedagogy and the Kindergarten movement that was growing during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Caroline continued to write lectures about women's history, and later in life (1905) published an important history of transcendentalism in New England.

²² Beadie and Tolley, *Chartered Schools*; Nash, *Women's Education in the United States*; Tolley, *The Science Education of American Girls*.

All three women would also become part of a larger group historicized as pioneers in education, not as pedagogues, but as girls who lived educated lives. Margaret Sangster (contemporary of Mary L. Booth) observed in her book *Fairest Girlhood*, published at the turn of the twentieth century, that “a modern girl” should know that her ability to access a “Liberal education” comes from “her grandmother and her great-aunt,” who were pioneers during the early nineteenth century.²³ They were women who through their own pursuit of knowledge during their girlhoods embedded into the society liberal ideals about the rearing and education of girls.

Women and the Practice of History during the Nineteenth Century

As noted in the Framework and Methods sections of Chapter One a critical reason for constructing the Life Histories of Elizabeth P. Peabody (1804-1894), Caroline H. Dall (1822-1912), and Mary L. Booth (1831-1889) was to demonstrate their contributions to the field of history during the middle decades of the nineteenth century in America. This dissertation has uncovered their intellectual productions which are contextualized here as early examples of professional practices that sought to construct historical knowledge, expand and deepen the general understanding of the discipline of history, and promote its public usefulness. The historical works produced by these three women stand as crucial case studies that contribute to an expanded understanding of how female scholars navigated the production, dissemination, and teaching of the field of history. This includes the production of history texts, work as teachers and their authorship, between the years 1820 and 1870 in the United States. As George Gooch

²³ Margaret E. Sangster, *Fairest Girlhood* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1906): 21.

reminds us, the early part of the nineteenth century (as influenced by the eighteenth century) is the period the field of history emerged in America, thus the work produced prior and during the Civil War represents inaugural phases of disciplinary practices.²⁴

Below I discuss in detail the contributions each woman played a role in in regards to approaches for researching and writing history. Though each of the Life History chapters provided a detailed accounting of their numerous historical contributions, this section underscores their contributions for history textbooks, women's history and urban history. I end this section by connecting my findings to a larger ongoing conversation, begun by Michel Foucault but also addressed more recently by Bonnie Smith, Julie Des Jardins and James Banner on the issue of what defines a history author during the nineteenth century.

Elizabeth P. Peabody: History Textbooks

The teaching and learning of history through the use of textbooks as a primary educational tool in classrooms throughout the United States today seems common-place. Indeed “the textbook has universally been accepted in the United States as an essential teaching and learning aid”.²⁵ Further the growth of classroom use of textbooks during the nineteenth century is historicized as mirroring the growth of the American educational system itself.²⁶ Moreover, it has been documented that the authorship of history textbooks published before the Civil War was often the result of personal initiatives for regional use, and not necessarily a reflection of

²⁴ George P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1913).

²⁵ William E. Marsden, *The School Textbook: Geography, History and Social Studies* (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2001): 13.

²⁶ Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley, eds., *A History of the Book in America*. v. 2. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Marsden, *The School Textbook*.

nationalist ideologies that sought to promote a uniform identity construction.²⁷ For example, Margaret Nash has noted that many textbooks written for school children during the Early Republic were in fact “bottom up” productions.²⁸ These publications were regionally generated, represented diverse articulations of nationhood and citizenship and did not reflect a national agenda to inculcate patriotism.²⁹ Thus not all historical lessons in textbooks for school use during the early nineteenth century were about promoting national ideals through a narrative of national history. Many textbooks were regionally produced, with some authors choosing to write about histories apart from the United States.

Additionally as Nina Baym has found, guidelines for historical instruction were found within textbooks written by women who also had experience as classroom teachers.³⁰ Some textbooks published before the Civil War included ideas about methods for teaching history. This was not necessarily to imbue patriotism, but rather as part of a growing consciousness about how to better impart historical lessons during learning and reading exercises.

In Chapter Two I constructed a Life History of Elizabeth P. Peabody that evidenced how the simultaneity of her intellectual work—the production of history textbooks during the 1830s and 1850s—and her work in educational pedagogy during the Antebellum era. Her pedagogical work on the teaching and learning of history, and other subjects, establishes Elizabeth as one of

²⁷ Baym, *American Women Writers*; Marsden, *The School Textbook*; Margaret A. Nash, "Contested Identities: Nationalism, Regionalism, and Patriotism in Early American Textbooks." *History of Education Quarterly* 49, no. 4 (2009): 417-41.

²⁸ Nash, "Contested Identities," 422.

²⁹ Nash, "Contested Identities".

³⁰ Baym, *American Women Writers*.

the foremothers of progressive educational practices for American education. Her extensive publications, including seven history books and writings about educational philosophy and practice together evidence a scholar who had dynamic ideas about how teachers could best to teach children history.

Elizabeth's initial foray into producing history text books began during the 1830s. She published three books tied together with the same subtitle *Key to History*, all of which demonstrates her belief that history should be taught in schools so that children would come to understand and respect different societies. This connection between learning history and developing virtuous character traits for citizenship was not a new concept in educational practice prior to the Civil War.³¹ However the idea that children could become good citizens through understanding societies and cultures other than the US was a different perspective taken by Elizabeth and represents an updated understanding of the role of history textbooks and how citizenship was understood to develop from history lessons. Furthermore, some antebellum historians in the US did see the value of authoring textbooks for schools that taught Ancient History, religious history and women's history (as the next section covers).³² Thus, Elizabeth's first set of textbooks on The History of Discovery, Greek and Roman history, and The Hebrews all demonstrate a progressive response to the role of history instruction for classrooms.

³¹ Marsden, *The School Textbook*; Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Teresa Anne Murphy, *Citizenship and the Origins of Women's History in the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Nash, "Contested Identities".

³² Baym, *American Women Writers*; Murphy, *Citizenship*.

Together the three volumes on the *Key to History*, published between 1832-1833, provide evidence about the practice of history in regards to the development of a theoretical perspective for guiding narratives. Elizabeth conceptualized an idealized framework of *Progress* that guided her historical writing. She employed a pattern of examples of political, economic and/or social-cultural success by particular groups over older, indigenous and less sophisticated groups. These books are also objects that illustrate early practices for teaching history in American schools. This includes her development of content questions for particular sets of readings. These questions were meant to guide the student toward pre-determined historical knowledge. Elizabeth set the narratives of these three books to demonstrate how mankind progressed during peak periods: cultural evolution of Ancient Greece, a religious evolution of that traced the historical origins of Christianity, and the technological and economic evolution of the Age of Discovery. Her narratives of *Progress* were reinforced by guided questions where invariably the ‘answer’ was found through the identification of triumphant individuals and events. By 1890 this framework of *Progress* for historical productions would also include Darwinian ideas about social evolution and was eventually codified as Jackson Turner’s “frontier thesis”.³³ Additionally, the placement of key questions at the end of book chapters would become, by the end of the nineteenth century, standardized practice in the subset of historical curricula in primary and secondary schools known as Social Studies.³⁴

³³ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream, The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 88.

³⁴ Anne-Lise Halvorsen, *A History of Elementary Social Studies: Romance and Reality* (New York City: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2013); Novick, *That Noble Dream*; Christine Woynshner and Chara Haeussler Bohan, eds., *Histories of Social Studies and Race: 1865-2000* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

As I detailed in Chapter Two, by the 1850s Elizabeth returned to authoring history texts that included an extensive and never before seen integration of chronology that was derived from European historical practices during the 1840s. Her three books, *Polish-American System of Chronology* (1850), *Chronological History of the United States* (1856) and *Universal History* (1859) all combined historical narratives with chronological charts, together representing a new way to teach about the time and place of historical events. This method brought into practice the idea that history could be organized scientifically. This method, known then as Bem's Chronology was a highly systemized format that tracked and illustrated the simultaneity of events in different parts of the world. History needed to be placed in order throughout the narrative—not for interpretation—but to demonstrate an orderly tracking of history through epochs of time in a universal fashion. This objective format for historical studies in school was designed to teach students that events happened parallel in time in different nations and societies.

Elizabeth P. Peabody's contribution to practices for the field of history in America is located in her authorships, her style of narration, her emphasis and acknowledgment that historians who write history need to develop a particular "plan" for the text so that it is teachable. Elizabeth understood that both the history author and history teacher participates in the selection of events, additional authors and lessons (to impart and/or teach). The history author and teacher both participate in series of crucial choices in order to determine which *key* facts, readings, and understandings should be imparted to the students during history instruction.³⁵ Additionally, the

³⁵ Elizabeth P. Peabody, *First Steps to the Study of History; Being Part First of a Key to History. Questions Adapted to Irving's Life and Voyages of Columbus; and Robertson's History of America*. vol. 1. (Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co., 1832): 10.

author of history textbooks should write questions that assist the student in decoding the text. By addressing how to use history books for “learning and why it matters,” Elizabeth P. Peabody was one of the first historians to underscore the critical nature of teaching and learning history in schools.³⁶ Understanding the early contributions by Elizabeth to teaching history also serves as important historical context for the construction and the pedagogical mindset of social studies courses that began during the early twentieth century.³⁷

Caroline H. Dall: Women’s History

Nina Baym and Mary Kelley have both catalogued and analyzed a significant amount of women’s publications for the disciplines of history and literature during the Early Republic and Antebellum era. Their combined examinations demonstrate the serious nature and influential input female authors had in contributing, producing and building a structure of scholarship upon which academic knowledge was disseminated for school-aged and adult readers alike.³⁸ One key example of a woman who published both literary and historical works that assisted in setting practice standards for research and writing history was Mercy Otis Warren (1728-1814). Lester Cohen observed in his editorial for a later edition of Mercy’s book *History and the Rise of*

³⁶ Here the point would be to highlight that Elizabeth thought history was one of the most important subjects to teach children. For example, though other women who were her contemporaries, like Emma Willard and Sarah Pierce wrote and taught history as a school subject, they did not leave evidence of discussions about the importance of history as a school subject, see Baym, *American Women Writers*.

³⁷ Baym, *American Women Writers*, 27.

³⁸ Baym, *American Women Writers*; Baym, *Women Writers of the American West, 1833-1927* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011); Mary Kelley, “Designing a Past for the Present: Women Writing Women’s History in Nineteenth-Century America”. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*. January 1, 1995: 315-346; Mary Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America’s Republic* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006). See also, Heidi Brayman Hackel and Catherine E. Kelly, eds., *Reading Women: Literacy, Authorship, and Culture in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

Progress and Termination of the American Revolution (1805), that her book was “a history [that] provided an opportunity to define terms—literally the vocabulary—with which people could properly discuss politics and history”.³⁹

Yet, an understanding of female scholars who were at the forefront of constructing foundational narratives and practices in the discipline of history in America has been neglected in the historiography of the discipline. Somewhere around the 1870s, female historians writing in the US were ignored as contributors despite the fact that the field of history itself was still developing (and continues to) as a discipline in America.⁴⁰

Equally absent is our understanding of where to conceptualize a starting point for female participation in the production of women’s history in the United States. Currently, the field of historical studies about women is considered a sub-field of the discipline of history, and often placed under the umbrella of social history.⁴¹ The American university and college system serves as the primary site where women’s history is studied and taught, usually within its own academic department. Yet the subject remains, as of this examination, a specialty within the field of history, with its own academic departments, journals and organizations as the primary regulatory spaces

³⁹ Mercy Otis Warren, *History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution Interspersed with Biographical, Political and Moral Observations*, ed. and annotated, Lester H. Cohen. (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1994): xxi. Originally published in Boston by Maning and Loring for E. Larkin in 1805.

⁴⁰ Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*; Novick, *That Noble Dream*; Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History, Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2000).

⁴¹ Gerder Lerner, *The Majority Finds its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

where this discipline of women history is practiced.⁴² We know little about the practice of women's history before it was regulated discipline by the university system.

Gerder Lerner's book *The Majority Finds Its Past* (1979) is considered a beacon of feminist critique about the patriarchal hierarchies within intellectual networks and university, that have led to her advocacy of women's history as essential. Her chronology of historical studies about women as an institutional, university-based practice that arose five decades ago (late 1960s) blurs an understanding of when and why history books, whose primary focus were about the lives of women, were first written and published in America.⁴³ Specifically, Lerner's timeline obscures when female historians first began publishing books about women's history.

New research by Teresa Murphy has uncovered that the 1780s was a critical beginning point in America for books about women's history being written and published as a reflection of intellectual interest.⁴⁴ One of these books, William Alexander's *The History of Women* (1779) was deemed to be a "new product" that would sell well in bookstores, cuing a public interest in the subject matter amongst male and female historians.⁴⁵ As Murphy points out, many Early Republic and Antebellum era writers became interested in women's history. In this context, Murphy analyzes some of Caroline H. Dall's historical contributions, particularly in terms of how Caroline connected women's history with the (then) present conditions women faced. Murphy points out that her historical writings were similar to her contemporaries (such as Elizabeth Ellet

⁴² Jonathan Wiener, Gerder Lerner, John D'Emilio, and Herbert Aptheker, "A Round Table: What Has Changed and Not Changed in American Historical Practice?" *Journal of American History* 76, no. 2 (1989): 393–98.

⁴³ Lerner, *The Majority Finds its Past*; Wiener et al., "A Round Table".

⁴⁴ Murphy, *Citizenship and the Origins of Women's History*.

⁴⁵ Murphy, *Citizenship and the Origins of Women's History*, 14.

and Lydia Child) who wrote about women's history. Caroline's work was arguably more "tied overtly to her commitment to reform and woman's rights".⁴⁶ For Murphy, Caroline's historical authorships are "usable" because they were published, contextual justifications for the causes of full citizenship and economic equality.⁴⁷

In Chapter Three I constructed a Life History of Caroline Healey Dall that narrated how her interest in issues of social and economic equality began during her childhood, continuing to grow stronger from her work as a young teacher. Eventually her vocation as public lecturer and historian gave her a public platform to express—through writing and speaking—her ideas about equality. In this dissertation, I build on Murphy's analysis of Caroline's historical work by examining her publications that illustrate her foundational contributions to the practice of women's history. Here Caroline's historical contributions are not tied to their "use" for nineteenth-century societal change (though I do not dispute their function then and now). Rather, the purpose of analyzing her historical writings is to identify specific practices she initiated for the discipline of history that have been adopted and become standard practices for researching and writing history.

Caroline's contributions to the field of history during the mid-nineteenth century are twofold: her methods for historical research and her authorship of women's histories. By 1865 Caroline authored several histories about women, some of them from a positional stance of what she called social science, some biographical, including serving as editor of an autobiography of

⁴⁶ Murphy, *Citizenship and the Origins of Women's History*, 165.

⁴⁷ Murphy, *Citizenship and the Origins of Women's History*, 164. Here "usable" drawn from Murphy's Chapter 6 title; Caroline Dall's *Usable Past: Women and Equal Citizenship*.

Dr. Zakrzewska. The intention of all her publications was to both correct the historical record, as well as create a chronology and historical context for social, cultural economic and political world she occupied.⁴⁸ The economic and socio-political issues highlighted in all her books included, where she thought appropriate because of past exclusion, the assigning of fair credit to individual women for past technological or intellectual headway they made, particularly in the field of science.

As I chronicled in Chapter Three, Caroline described her approach to history research and writing using two important terms created by her: “seeker” and “observer”.⁴⁹ According to Caroline, the seeker’s role is to collect, organize, test the validity of, and simplify material about people and events. The seeker also decides what is worth saving and what should be excluded about the past. The observer narrates the story of people and events with the intent to use knowledge of the past to explain the present. Here we observe Caroline carefully explaining the work of the historian through two critical roles, that of researcher, then author. Performing these roles are the foundation tasks of the work of history. Her perspective on how to perform research was connected to views on access to knowledge, which led to her campaign for an “Institute of Social Science” within Boston’s first public library. A campaign to increase access for people to locate information for their educational development. Though the Boston Public Library did not create a space in the building for such an institute, she remained unfettered and continued to advocate for public access to research materials. Evidence of an early application of her social science approach can be read in *Women’s Right to Labor* (1859). This book bridged history with

⁴⁸ Caroline H. Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched* (Boston: Walker, Wise and Company, 1860).

⁴⁹ Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*, vi.

social science to construct her socio-political position that women should have open access to educational development and should be paid fair wages, which would open avenues to varied vocational opportunities and economic stability.⁵⁰

In 1860 Caroline published two history books on women's history. The first was a substantial monograph titled *Historical Pictures Retouched* (1860). The second was an autobiography she edited about the life of Dr. Marie E. Zakrzewska that bore a similar title of a previous social science work published the previous year: *A Practical Illustration of Woman's Right to Labor* (1860). Both were examples of Caroline's philosophy which promoted historical reconstructions to correct the record of the past. Through examples from the past, she could influence the present. Caroline was also interested in correcting the record of the past, particularly accounts that may have caused a prejudicial framing of a particular group or individual within the historical record.

Essentially *Historical Pictures Retouched* is a social history of women, told through biographical accounts (a few pages each) but with enough content for each woman so that together these mini-narratives comprise a historical reframing of women for the present and the future. Her focus on female contributions in science and intellectual thought is perhaps her most extensive. Caroline's intent was to create an inventory of intellectual contributions that demonstrated the complexity of these women's lives. She chose to chronicle the lives of teachers, authors and inventors who, together throughout time, moved knowledge production forward. Her ancillary purpose was to reconstruct a history of female contributions to the medical

⁵⁰ Caroline Healey Dall, "*Women's Right of Labor; or Low Wages and Hard Work: In Three Lectures*" *Delivered in Boston, November, 1859* (Boston: Walker, Wise, and Company, 1860).

profession and advocate for the acknowledgment of female contributions in the sciences. Further, the examples she used show how men and women have worked together (successful and unsuccessfully, but nevertheless, together) within intellectual spaces throughout time.

The ultimate example of a woman in the present who benefitted from the vocational paths carved in the past was Dr. Marie E. Zakrzewska, a famous doctor in her own time and well admired by Caroline. This opportunity for Caroline to step into the role of biographer of a living person contributed to underscoring her perspective on the purpose of the history narrative. It was her chance to produce and edit a historical work that combined the social, economic and political present and past. Likewise, this edited biography of Dr. Zakrzewska demonstrated a connection between education and economic and vocational opportunities for women and the wider societies an educated woman would eventually reside.

Caroline had an in-depth understanding of how embedded prejudices that existed in past narratives, to some extent, guided and influenced social inequality. She recognized that historical lessons of inequity are passed down through the chronicles of history into the minds of readers, and in particular young students. Her understanding of the socio-political relationship between history narratives and social conditions fueled her work on reconstructing past narratives of women as well her work on the social and economic conditions women lived under in cities in the United States and Europe. Her work to rectify past historical accounts in order to reconstruct the status of women in the present, as well as influence future historical analysis places Caroline H. Dall at the forefront of the disciplinary practice of social history by 1865, a date that coincided with her role as a founding member of the American Social Science Association.

Mary L. Booth: Urban Historian and Translator

In the American context, the writing of local, rural histories can be traced to beginning of the nineteenth century. Nina Baym contextualizes local histories written by women as the product of access to local archives as well as the impact of support from local audiences, even whilst still in manuscript form.⁵¹ Some women even included vignettes about local histories within national and/or universal histories.⁵² These “eyewitness” histories were usually written by local people who were embedded in the place during or soon after local events took place. Their decision to chronicle these events, and furthermore demonstrate how local events impacted both local and national development and change, represents the beginning of what is known today as local history.⁵³ Some local histories were quite specific, whilst others were more akin to family histories, nevertheless, all evidence the fact that women were drawn to practice of history in all its forms.⁵⁴ In fact by the end of the nineteenth century, six female historians had authored histories of New York City alone, with Mary L. Booth leading the pack with the earliest in 1859.⁵⁵ Therefore, although the writing of local, “eyewitness” style histories was not unusual for

⁵¹ Baym, *American Women Writers*.

⁵² Baym, *American Women Writers*.

⁵³ Baym, *American Women Writers*, 94. See Chapter Six of this volume for entire discussion about the authoring of local historical accounts by women.

⁵⁴ Baym, *American Women Writers*; Julie Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Kelley, “Designing a Past for the Present”.

⁵⁵ For a complete list see Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America*, 13.

female historians, Mary was one of the first historians writing in America—for an American public—to author a history solely focused on the development of the metropolis.

In Chapter Four I constructed a Life History of Mary L. Booth in order to demonstrate how she inaugurated the practice of urban history. I also analyzed the influence of her work on historical translation, which is an unrecognized aspect of historical practice despite its essential role in bridging historical knowledge between languages. As I carefully outlined in Chapter Four, Mary's monograph *History of the City of New York* was the first of its kind, a model from which all other history books produced later in the nineteenth century about New York City would emulate. The publication date and forthrightness of her purpose are core aspects in making Mary's *History of the City of New York* unique, representing a new type of local history that recognized the significance of urban history. Specifically, its commercial, technological, political, cultural and social development as a lens significant to itself and for comprehending local and national progress.

Further, Mary was recognized by her contemporaries as a model for writing urban history and was encouraged to write more urban histories about European cities.⁵⁶ For example historians Harriet P. Spofford, author of *Our Famous Women* (1884) and Benson L. Lossing author of *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution* (1852) both praised *History of the City of New York* with Spofford stating that it “became the basis of a more important work upon the same

⁵⁶ As I noted in Chapter Four, this writing was interrupted by the Civil War. See Spofford, *Our Famous Women*.

subject” and Lossing praising her thorough accounting of events.⁵⁷ Mary herself defined her intent thus:

It has been the aim of the writer in the present work to remedy this deficiency [“not a single history of the city”] in part, by collecting those important local facts most likely to interest the general reader, and embodying them in a continuous history of the foundation and growth of the city.⁵⁸

In total, the *History of the City of New York* is a thorough account of the metropolis itself and surrounding regions, with a chronology spanning approximately two hundred and fifty years over twenty-three chapters. The periods covered, be it Colonial Dutch rule/English rule, American Revolution or the construction of Central Park were woven together to underscore New York City’s strategic location and influence in the manifestation of the United States. By focusing on New York City as the main location of development and change, Mary introduced a new way of understanding colonial and United States history—from the lens of the city—in this case New York City. As such, her book serves as an early example of how to chronicle a city’s history with the immediate effect being a blueprint for future histories of New York City that were written immediately after hers as well as Mary being integral in the evolution of urban history as part of disciplinary practice for history.

As I outlined in Chapter Four, Mary translated 46 books from French to English, of which more than half were historical, and several of which were intentionally translated as political

⁵⁷ Spofford, *Our Famous Women*, 120-121; Madeleine B. Stern, “Mary Louise Booth,” in *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Edward T. James (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971): 207.

⁵⁸ Mary L. Booth, *History of the City of New York*. 2 vols. (New York: W.R.C. Clark, 1867): xv.

tracts that molded support for the Union during the Civil War.⁵⁹ In fact, by the outbreak of the US Civil War, Mary had built up substantial relationships with significant French historians. My analysis focused on her work with historians Augustin Cochin (1823-1872) and Count Agénor de Gasparin (1810-1871), and included how her intellectual networks in France and New York City led Mary to become the primary translator of French works for the Loyal Publication Society of New York (LPS), a pro-Union agency created during the Civil War, in 1863.⁶⁰ The historians in this network were interested in integrating the antislavery sentiment of many European intellectuals into their publications that were regularly disseminated during the war.⁶¹ Of particular influence was her work translating *Uprising of a Great People* (1861) by Gasparin and *Results of Slavery* (1861) by Cochin. Together these books stood as representatives of the French perspective that was being advocated by Northerners who were leading the charge to publish tracts that emphasized the political ideal of “emancipation” and “liberty” instead of reemphasizing past public campaigns that focused on “abolition” and “anti-slavery” discourses.

⁵⁹ Mary Louise Booth to Misters Duyckinck 2 June 1865. New York Public Library Archives, Duyckinck Family Papers, 1793-1889, Mss Col 873, b. 2 f 26; Tricia Foley and Karen Mouzakes, *Yaphank* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2012).

⁶⁰ Frank Freidel, "The Loyal Publication Society: A Pro-Union Propaganda Agency," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 26, no. 3 (December 1939): 359-376. Mary's assistance in translations also include: Agénor Gasparin and Mary L. Booth. *The Uprising of a Great People the United States in 1861* (New York: C. Scribner, 1861) Agénor E. Gasparin, *Letter from MM. de Gasparin, Martin, Cochin, and Laboulaye, to the Loyal publication society of New York*, trans. Mary L. Booth (New York: C.S. Westcott & Co., Union printing house, 1866).

⁶¹ Freidel, "The Loyal Publication Society"; Annmarie Valdes, "For you seem principally to indulge in brain work pure and simple": Utilising Life History Methods to Connect Women's Education and Agency in Nineteenth-Century America', *History of Education Researcher* 97 (May 2016):14-30.

This was significant in shaping public perception of what the country was fighting with itself over.⁶²

As all three Life Histories have revealed, the women in this dissertation were educated to be multilingual and this ability created opportunities for them to both read and translate historical manuscripts and publications written in other languages. For Mary specifically, her widely recognized linguistic skills in French provided the opportunity for her to be at the forefront of translating French historical works for an American audience during a critical period in the United States, the Civil War. I demonstrated how Mary's translation work serves as model for examining a specific type of political participation as well as an unrecognized, yet essential, contribution to the discipline of historical practice in America. Historians do not work in isolation from each other. From the beginning, the practice of history in America was dependent on foreign texts and practices and translators served as the key to unlocking their views and ideas, that in turn shaped views and ideas of historians publishing in the United States.

Translation has served a noble purpose for the discipline of history in America. Teresa Murphy has acknowledged that some of the earliest books read in America about women's history and European history were translated.⁶³ Translation has allowed for an unprecedented level of access to publications from around the world and has served to support the work of the historian in terms of access to research, historical context from fellow authors and a voice by which important views are communicated. Like with Novick's use of Sartre discussed above, often the work of the translator is made invisible and thus marginalized, yet it is so essential to

⁶² James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

⁶³ Murphy, *Citizenship and the Origins of Women's History*.

the practice of history. In this dissertation the work of the translator is de-marginalized and shown to be an essential part of history production in America.

Who or what is a historian?

Bonnie Smith, Julie Des Jardins and James Banner have tasked us to re-conceptualize the historiography of historical practice to include previously unrecognized individuals who influenced the growth of the discipline. Smith outlined the issue of gender barriers during the nineteenth century in an effort to comprehend “how we have come to exalt the male historian and devalue or even worse erase women’s work historical work”.⁶⁴ Des Jardins has taken on the task of widening our understanding of female contributions by narrating the work of their historical productions between 1880-1945, including foundational contributions to African-American American history.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, James Banner reminds us that this work is incomplete, particularly during the Antebellum era. This dissertation contributes to a continuation of work about the historiography of the field of history in America.⁶⁶ This was done by analyzing historical productions by women during the mid-nineteenth century, a time period that has been given little attention. Still, the answering of my research question may raise new ones. Of particular importance here is that which Michel Foucault and Bonnie Smith have asked about the socio-political construction of ‘author’.

⁶⁴ Smith, *The Gender of History*, 71.

⁶⁵ Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America*.

⁶⁶ James A. Banner, *Being a Historian, An Introduction to the Professional World of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Bonnie Smith authored *The Gender of History* to make known the work of female historians practicing in the nineteenth century, although most of her pre-1860 examples are drawn from northern Europe. In *The Gender of History* Smith gives women who authored history books (In Europe and North America) the status of *amateur historian* (even if they held a university degree), a label that has been used—in part—to settle the issue as to where women belong within the American historiography of historical practice.⁶⁷ Overall, Smith's contribution constructs a contested space within the discipline for the professional female historian, post 1865, utilizing the slow admittance of women into university-level history programs as a marker of professionalism.

Arguably, the issue of amateur status remained unsettled, at least until the late 1960s, when the birth of Women's Studies as a discipline within History began to grow in America. For those women who chose to become a historian of women's history, a sanctioned space was carved out to utilize their professional training within the discipline.⁶⁸ Yet, as Julie Des Jardins points out in *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America*, a history author is temporally located, and female historians have been involved in the act of "preserving the past for varied and complex purposes—*despite* and *because* of the marginalized position in the historical profession".⁶⁹ While Des Jardins implements Novick's dating system and begins her analysis of female historians in 1880, she concludes the categories of gender and race to be reductive in

⁶⁷ Smith, *The Gender of History*.

⁶⁸ Lerner, *The Majority Finds its Past*; David Thelen, "A Round Table: What Has Changed and Not Changed in American Historical Practice?." *The Journal of American History* 76, no. 2 (September 1989): 393-398.

⁶⁹ Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America*, 7.

shedding light about the diverse layers of historical production by those not given “official” permission to be historians. As she adroitly observes, women (including some African-American female historians) “like their historical subjects, often understood the complexity of power because they themselves never enjoyed the luxury of taking it for granted”.⁷⁰

By constructing a definition of authorship that is not constrained by gender for historical productions, our understanding of historical practices of the past is widened to include published works by intellectuals that were excluded by an older definition of authorship that interchanged the words ‘amateur’ and ‘female’ for exclusionary reasons.⁷¹ History is a discipline that relies on a body of knowledge that stems from authorship, a production that is considered one of its main channels for exerting intellectual authority and claiming the status of historian.⁷² By re-evaluating the definitional qualities of the term history author—one based on the production of intellectual work—female authority over the shaping of the disciplinary practices becomes visible and thus expands the timeline for foundational influences by women within the field of history as it was practiced in America.

Limitations of Biography

As I outlined in Chapter One, historical narratives have embedded limitations and bias. As I stated there, despite training and research experience in the discipline of history, a historian practicing their craft cannot claim to rest on an objective platform because the very act of writing history is an act based on the construction of ideas, perspectives, and interpretation that are

⁷⁰ Des Jardins, *Women and the Historical Enterprise in America*, 8.

⁷¹ Smith, *The Gender of History*.

⁷² Banner, *Being a Historian*.

informed by a context of one's own accumulated knowledge.⁷³ Thus my expertise and current ideas about history are all informed by contexts that are themselves still under construction by other historians and cultural interpretations.⁷⁴ As a historian, I am a subject constructing from objects of the past. This process is infinitely unstable, yet it is a process that produces a valid historical representation as long as I remain aware that my historical construction of these events is not objective, rather they are informative narratives of the past. Though absolute, objective truth about the past is difficult to obtain, in constructing my Life Histories I remained faithful to the disciplinary practices I have been trained in for collecting, analyzing and integrating the published voices of the women examined in this dissertation. Though I write from a particular position that is influenced by my race, gender, class and educational background, my experience as a trained historian in social and cultural history remains an important qualification for the process of historical construction.⁷⁵

Undoubtedly the use of biography will raise both general and specific questions about methodological and ethical concerns regarding the implementation of this format. I integrated frameworks from history and social science perspectives into an approach for narration I call *situated Life Histories*. Often a biographical format is criticized because it of “its novelizing effects” and/or for “romanticizing” the past.⁷⁶ Though the genre of narrative was used as the

⁷³ Peter Seixas, “Progress, Presence and Historical Consciousness: Confronting Past, Present and Future in Postmodern Time,” *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education*, 48, no. 6 (2012): 859–72.

⁷⁴ Seixas, “Progress, Presence and Historical Consciousness”.

⁷⁵ Hermione Lee. *Biography A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁷⁶ Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987): 33; Lee, *Biography*, 13.

primary approach of telling these stories, the integrated framework of *situated Life History* that guided my constructions. My inquiry produced stories that, as Hayden White writes, “narrativize without dramatizing” in ways that “humanizes” their subjects by demonstrating how these women were “human agents” who “controlled their own destinies”.⁷⁷ The communicative function that is produced by a historical narrative remains essential to producing meaning and comprehension about the past.⁷⁸

Bias of archives

Thomas Popkewitz has recently commented that historians often romanticize the archive as a space that catalogues “the truth” and calls for the historian to recognize the complexity of what are deemed archival materials.⁷⁹ Popkewitz reminds the historian to be aware that the materials in the archive are for historical reconstruction and should not be fetishized as the origin of past events. The archive itself is a physical space that governs knowledge. I agree that how materials are donated and organized in the archive has a history of its own. It is something a researcher should be aware of and ask questions about. I am not all together sure historians view the archive as a space that catalogues ‘the truth’. In this dissertation, the archives were considered important spaces, even in their subjectiveness, that own and catalogue (thus regulate) crucial evidence produced in the past. This evidence is in many forms. For historians who are interested in reconstructing the lives of people purposely excluded from larger narratives,

⁷⁷ White, *The Content of the Form*, 33.

⁷⁸ White, *The Content of the Form*, 41-43.

⁷⁹ Thomas S. Popkewitz, (ed). *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 12.

archives serve as an important starting point. What I learned from researching the women in this dissertation was that archives hold so much about women's lives that has yet to be revealed and the materials and technology in these spaces are invaluable to the process of history construction, despite the imperfection of the acquisition and cataloging of objects saved from the past. For example, the inclusion of the three women in this dissertation was based on specific criteria (see Chapter One) there was no exclusion based on a presumed belief that there would not be enough evidence in the archives or because they are women, they warrant an exclusion. As Popkewitz acknowledges, "[t]he repository of documents housed in the archive becomes the positive data, the events from which time, change, and contexts are charted and made visible".⁸⁰ Here the task was also to make visible the contributory work of three female historians from the significant amount of data found, but largely ignored by historians chronicling the discipline of history in America.

Furthermore, if historical narratives, both general (like national histories) and subject-specific (like labor history) of the past were written in a more representatively equitable manner when considering gender contributions, then perhaps historians who write about women's history would not focus too much on imagining the archive as an essential space that contains the unwritten past so intensely. As long as there are individuals who have been "passed over in silence, discarded, or simple ignored," the archives will be utilized as a critical space to uncover evidenced that has been saved, no matter how fragmented.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Popkewitz, *Rethinking the History of Education*, 11.

⁸¹ Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980): xxi.

Suggestions for New Research

Ultimately what I have contested in this dissertation is how the development of the discipline of history has been historicized. I implemented a biographical approach as a means to trace documents left by three historians in order to discover when certain practices were performed, and their corresponding categories were identified. Their authorships as objects of historical practice, textbooks, woman's history, urban history and translated texts were completed in service of the discipline. I utilized the publications of these three to test and disrupt a more generalized history of disciplinary practice that constructed and employed categories of gender and professionalization as a means of standardization.⁸² These three women underscore how the narrow limits of gender and the invented status of professionalization (beginning around 1880) created a false sense of who and what could be considered a contribution for the practice of History. Particularly because History, and its thematic categories and methods, as practiced in the United States, has a fuller chronology of development which can be traced back into the late eighteenth-century.⁸³

The method I used in this dissertation uncovers relative beginnings of disciplinary practices which have previously been excluded from established historiographies (as discussed above), including the designing of history textbooks, women's history and the discipline of urban history as a separate and distinct activity. Only because of the new understandings I put forth in

⁸² Smith, *The Gender of History*.

⁸³ Banner, *Being a Historian*; Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*.

this dissertation do these new questions about the contested relative beginnings of certain disciplinary practices come into focus.

To move this type of work forward the use and integration of an approach such as *Statement Archaeology*, has the potential to illuminate and more specifically trace the phraseologies used that point to the emergence of disciplinary practices in the field of history. *Statement Archaeology* is a framework recently conceived by Jonathan Doney, which is predicated on post-structuralist, methodological analysis of Foucault's historical works (including *Archaeology of Knowledge* and *The Order of Things*) in which the focus of a historical investigation is to determine "relative beginnings of particular practices" discovered through a forensic, detailed, analysis of "unutilized sources".⁸⁴ The focus of the approach is on "repeated statements," the circumstances of their production and the rules under which they are repeated;⁸⁵ the tracing of such statements back to their origins allows the 'relative beginnings' of disciplinary practices to be uncovered through the exposing of the points at which new practices become "differentiated" from existing practices.

Conclusion

Through a combination of archival documents, both public and private and secondary sources from the nineteenth century, this dissertation has put forth three case studies that demonstrate how women practiced and published history during the earlier decades of the

⁸⁴ Jonathan Doney, "How Did It Become Possible? Supranational Ecumenical Developments and Changes in Religious Education during the 1960s and 1970s" *Nordidactica-Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education* 2 2015: 24-46; 28.

⁸⁵ Doney, "That Would be an Ecumenical Matter", 144 ff.

century. Their histories all stemmed from their unwavering sense that their work was important to read and their conclusions were significant for the society, particularly for the student in schools and for public consumption.

The three Life Histories put forth have uncovered findings that have altered existing understandings of how the discipline of history was practiced in the United States prior to 1870. I connected personal intellectual journeys of three women to their influence within their networks and the wider publics they occupied. This dissertation itself stands as an example that critique and dialogue about disciplinary methods, perspectives and the spaces utilized to perform historical construction are essential for the field of history.⁸⁶ This discipline could not survive if the historian turns a blind eye to the complexities that inform the inner and outer workings of research, the verification of facts and how the writing and publication of the past occurs. No history is produced free of bias. And yet knowledge of the past—knowledge of one's descendants—forms and informs one's understanding of their own place, their own sense of connectedness.

⁸⁶ Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn, eds., *Reconstructing History: The Emergence of a New Historical Society* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

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