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**FAITHFUL LABOR:
THE LIFE WORK OF JULIA ANNE KING, 1838-1919**

By

Laura Docter Thornburg

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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ABSTRACT

FAITHFUL LABOR: THE LIFE WORK OF JULIA ANNE KING, 1838-1919

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This dissertation is the pedagogical and professional biography of Julia Anne King (1838-1919). King graduated from the Michigan State Normal School (now Eastern Michigan University) in 1858. She was a teacher and administrator in Michigan's public schools for twenty three years before she returned to the Normal School to serve as a professor, women's advisor, and head of the history department. Through an investigation of what teaching meant to King, this study reveals that, for her, ideas about gender, pedagogy, and professionalism were intricately connected to Christian faith. King's conceptions of woman's sphere, service, learning, collegiality, social responsibility, and knowledge were all linked to her understanding of Biblical discipleship.

This study stands in the territory where the history of teacher education, United States women's history, and feminist biography intersect. Historians have rarely examined nineteenth century female teachers who attended normal schools. This study reveals that teachers, teaching, and teacher education in mid-nineteenth century Michigan were more complex, and positive, than our current understandings suggest. This research acknowledges the powerful influences of religious faith in the lives of teachers and teacher educators, thereby venturing into territory rarely explored by contemporary education historians or policy makers. The study ends with a history-policy think piece that uses King's rich and rewarding life as a normal school student and faculty member to raise questions about contemporary teacher education.

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**To my husband, Doug Thornburg
and my children, Abigail, Hannah, and Tobias—
may no one ever attempt to fix, beforehand, the scope of their investigation of truth.**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As I read books I am always taken by the acknowledgments; authors rarely say anything about family or how being involved in the project was shaped by, or shaped, their personal lives. Perhaps this is part of being a woman teacher, but I derived a great deal of strength from the many relationships which nurtured me into, through, and beyond this dissertation, and I want to thank those who made it possible.

I was married on September 2, 1990. I started graduate school at Michigan State University the next week. Doug moved with me, from Santa Cruz, California where he had chosen to do graduate work in theatre, to East Lansing, Michigan, where I had chosen to do graduate work in teacher education. Almost three years later, a month after I passed comprehensive examinations, I gave birth to Abigail. While she was an infant I began this project, and she is now eleven years old. I thank my husband, Doug, for believing, through all these years, in the importance of my work. Women who combine marriage and mothering small children with professional endeavors are rare, and the men behind their successes should be honored.

I defended this dissertation almost seven years ago while pregnant with Hannah. Retrospectively, I have realized that the main obstacle to completing this project was my realization that Christian religion was the driving force behind Julia Anne King's whole existence. And, as I learned more about her faith, I had to wrestle with my own. Until I reached a point where I was strong and peaceful enough in my own beliefs, I could not articulate hers. I thank our many friends at Santa Barbara Community Church and Bishop Creek Community Church for their fellowship and guidance.

While Doug, Abigail, Hannah, and Tobias are the reasons I was able to complete this project in the context of a loving family, David Labaree, my advisor and director, is the reason I was able to do this at all. David was assigned to me as my temporary advisor when I was admitted to graduate school and I have never once considered trading him in. David

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1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the asymptotic behavior of the solutions of the system (1) as $\epsilon \rightarrow 0$. It is shown that the solutions of the system (1) converge to the solutions of the system (2) in the sense of the weak convergence in the space $L^2(\Omega; \mathbb{R}^n)$.

artfully combines rigorous standards with gentle support and caring. He always listened generously to me and respected my ideas, never forced his own agenda, but instead worked hard to clarify my own and help it flourish. David has been my teacher, my employer, my discussant, and always my mentor. Academia once seemed very mysterious to me, but with his guidance it has appeared much more friendly and negotiable. I thank him for the long hours and thoughtful responses. He went beyond the call of duty, as he struggled to understand not only my dissertation but my life, and he did so with complete respect for the ways in which the personal, political, and professional interact. I wish all doctoral students could have directors who worked as hard and who made them feel as successful as David has me.

My parents, Stephen and Beverly Docter, have always been my best teachers, and even though I ventured into territory they had not explored, they were always by my side, silently letting me know “you can be anything you want to be.” My mother started teaching forty-two years ago. I was prepared to become an educational researcher at the family’s dining room table, watching mom grade papers and make curricular decisions. I still marvel at the ways she interacts with children and colleagues and the gifts she brings to all who are lucky enough to work with her. My father studied history and practiced law, but for the last forty-two years he has also devoted a great deal of his time to family life. Through his three daughters he became an advocate for women’s education and athletics. I am thankful that I have two wonderful parents who have raised me to have the confidence in myself to try anything and—confident in their continuing love—to fail on occasion.

I think I was drawn to studying women because I have always lived with women whom I admire. I thank my younger sisters, Karen Woo and Catherine Docter, who, through their love, help me understand and take care of myself. They have taught me that the big sister does not always have to be the teacher and that the little sisters’ perspectives sometimes provide insights that are not visible from the big sister’s standpoint.

I also want to thank my grandparents, Nicholas and Gretchen Docter and Laurence and Elizabeth Ward, for their unending love for all of their grandchildren, regardless of the varied paths we have chosen, and for their financial support which helped make all of this possible. My father- and mother-in-law, Bob and Leilani Thornburg, were classroom teachers too. I thank them, and Grandmas Lennie and Marie, for their support as their son and I pioneered new gender roles.

My dissertation committee has been a pleasure to work with, and I thank Jay Featherstone, Lynn Paine, Peter Vinten-Johansen, and Lauren Young for their critique, support and friendship. Committee members who care about the dissertation writer and understand her development as a scholar are invaluable. I am especially grateful to the extensive critique Professor Vinten-Johansen offered. It took me too long to realize the brilliance of his analysis and his suggestions for improvement, but I continue to learn from his comments.

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While writing this dissertation I gave papers at the College and University Faculty Assembly of the National Council for the Social Studies, the History of Education Society, and the American Educational Research Association. I wish to thank my colleagues from those organizations who welcomed me into discourse communities which supported my work: Richard Altenbaugh, Keith Barton, Barbara Beatty, Jane Bernard-Powers, Kathleen Cruikshank, O. L. Davis, Elizabeth Eder, Linda Eisenmann, Terrie Epstein, Jaime Grinberg, Rob Levin, Linda Levstik, Patrick Miller, Joe Newman, Chris Ogren, Harry Smaller, and many others. I am particularly honored by Geraldine Clifford's extensive feedback, advice, and enthusiasm regarding my work.

A special thanks goes out to the many exceptional women who have taught me. I especially honor Peggy McKee, who was my high school history teacher at Castilleja School; Marilyn Mayo, who welcomed me into her United States history classroom when I was a prospective teacher; Lynda Stone, who led the "bluebirds" in the Stanford Teacher Education Program; and Laura Talbot, who is still showing me the way. I thank Teresa Eckland, Susan Szewczak, and Christy Widler, for their friendships have sustained me, and I thank Terry Stewart for her faithful labor in my home.

I wish to thank Maria Davis, the archivist at Eastern Michigan University, for her exceptional help. I acknowledge the staff at the Oberlin College Archives, the Bentley

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Finally, I wish to thank Prudence King and her family, the descendents of Julia Anne King's brother, Ransom, for their support. I could not locate any living descendants of the King family when I started this work, but Prudence King, also a teacher educator, found me. I hope my dissertation does not contain any misrepresentations of her great-great aunt, but any that do exist are, of course, my responsibility.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES.....	xi
PROLOGUE	
Faith of our Mothers.....	1
CHAPTER 1	
The History of Normal Schools and the Voice of the Woman Teacher.....	13
CHAPTER 2	
“The Beginning of Wisdom”: Christianity as Life Work	45
CHAPTER 3	
“Neither Male nor Female”: Rethinking Gender	81
CHAPTER 4	
“Control Over her Own Powers”: History, Pedagogy, and Professional Education.....	134
CHAPTER 5	
Re-Imagining Teacher Education.	229
EPILOGUE	
Teaching Outside the Lines.....	249
APPENDIX.....	254
REFERENCES.....	260

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. King’s Life12

Table 2. Normal School Faculty132

Table 3. Department Breakdown133

Table 4. Professional Choices224

Table 5. Original Courses, 1852 225-6

Table 6. Courses of Study, 1871227-8

PROLOGUE

Faith Of Our Mothers

“Everyone crafts her own life, but the innovative life is harder to live than one that unfolds through preexisting paths worn smooth by generations of use.”¹

And Gladly Teach: Women's Roles and Research Questions

Several years ago, I traveled to a conference to present two papers. Abigail, my then 17 month-old daughter, accompanied me, and my mother met us and served as baby-sitter while I attended conference sessions. On the airplane, I read about nineteenth century teachers.² According to Horace Mann, young women “never look forward, as young men almost invariably do, to a period of legal emancipation from parental control, when they are to break away from the domestic circle and go abroad into the world, to build up a fortune for themselves.”³ In 1972, Keith Melder, quoting Mann, summed it up this way: “women were ripe for exploitation as school m’ams.”⁴ Melder goes on to reason that, “not all women submitted to the bureaucracy, but few true rebels stayed within the system. Few teachers possessed the stamina or forcefulness to lash out against a repressive orthodoxy.”⁵ Jurgen Herbst's 1989 history of teacher education has a similar theme of women teachers as victims. He claims the normal school professionalized every job in education except the classroom teacher and concludes that women did this devalued work “sadly.”⁶

I read this article with Abigail sleeping on my lap in the airplane. I received many adoring remarks about babies and motherhood, and responded in the affirmative when asked if we were going to see her grandmother. Several passengers, who must have

¹ Bateson, 1989.

² Melder, 1972.

³ Mann, 1841.

⁴ Melder, 1972, p. 22.

⁵ Melder, 1972, p. 28.

⁶ Herbst, 1989.

assumed I did not work outside the home, since I was traveling mid-week with a baby, even complimented me for “staying home,” rather than working. Later that day, we ate at the conference hotel, and, as I requested a high chair, I overheard a table of my colleagues saying how wonderful it was that these young feminists were challenging the old order. They applauded the bold woman who would bring her child to a conference, and talked about fighting patriarchy. We had peas and applesauce.

Was I “ripe for exploitation”? Was I “lashing out against a repressive orthodoxy”? Was I sad I had chosen to be a teacher? Certainly I was challenging the status quo, as my family and professional choices were not traditional. However, I did not seek to ruffle feathers or become a thorn in the side of the mostly male leadership of the organization hosting the conference. And, finally, I loved my family and my work; I viewed my teaching, research, and mothering as integrated and hard to separate.

I wondered about the teachers Melder and Herbst described. Would the women teachers have identified with these descriptions of themselves? Or were these representations historical prescriptions and contemporary categories into which women teachers' historical experiences were misplaced? Perhaps the teachers were comfortable with what might seem like contradictions between their public and private lives, had different ideas about what it meant to be a professional, and framed their experiences alternatively.

Even contemporary feminist accounts of nineteenth century teachers left me wondering if, in our desire to expose the oppressive nature of patriarchy, we ignored a subset of women teachers who worked quite effectively within the system, carving out successful careers for themselves and influencing both boys and girls to be thoughtful members of their communities and critical participants in society. Madeline Grumet claims that female teachers complied with the rationalization and bureaucratization that pervaded the common schools. She describes how teachers did not institute pedagogy that extended the mother-child bond, but, instead, they acquiesced to graded schools and large group instruction. Grumet depends on the generalizations that females were “deprived of the

classical education that most of the males that organized the schools enjoyed,” and assumes that women did not serve as principals or on committees of visitors.⁷

But what about the women who did enjoy a classical education and who did become administrators—are we to assume that they “sold out” as women, and that they bought into this system that promoted individualism, conservatism, and presentism? Have the experiences of the mostly white, middle class, Christian women—who attended normal schools as students and taught in them as professors, who served in leadership positions in the early teachers’ associations and woman’s clubs, and who published in educational journals and participated in national academic conferences—been accurately represented?

Autobiography and Constructing the Past

Wondering about these teachers’ lives and exploring the history of teacher education, I was drawn to a woman named Julia Anne King (1838-1919). In histories of the Michigan State Normal School (now Eastern Michigan University) she was featured as an outstanding faculty member.⁸ King was of interest to me personally because she occupied many of the same professional roles I do; she was a teacher, an administrator, a teacher educator, and an historian. King and I both became teacher educators during times of reform in teacher education. I admired her because she was able to successfully combine professional life and personal integrity.

I introduce this historical study of a woman teacher through my biography because I found that while researching and writing about King my own sense of identification with her shaped my work. Straddling the roles of teacher and scholar, and of historian and history teacher, in the context of teacher education is a challenging enterprise, and studying a woman who did it, in the nineteenth century no less, is inspiring and thought-provoking. The first time I presented a paper about King, a friend said, “I couldn’t tell where you stopped and King started. The way you’ve woven quotations by her into your narrative it is

⁷ Grumet, 1981, p. 181.

⁸ Putnam, 1899; Isbell, 1971.

hard to differentiate between her voice and yours.” This was precisely my dilemma.

Studying another woman, who, like me, was a middle-class white woman, a schoolteacher and teacher educator interested in social change, made it both easier and harder to write this history.

I had never felt connected to a historical subject, nor had I ever dreamed that I could be a historian. In their new collection of essays, *U.S. History as Women's History*, Linda Kerber, Alice Kessler-Harris and Kathryn Kish Sklar, tell us that they all grew up in “a world in which history was rigidly limited. It paid little attention to social relationships, to issues of race, to concerns of the poor, and virtually none to women.”⁹ In 1969, when the various contributors to their volume were already well on their way to becoming historians of women, I entered kindergarten. But I too grew up in “a world in which history was rigidly limited.” For example, as a beginning teacher, my conception of history was based on ten disconnected undergraduate courses taught by, and about, white men. I spent more time in college worrying about my social life than about my academic career, perhaps partially because I found no way to integrate the academic into my personal life.¹⁰ I enjoyed the conflicts, the conquering, and the ideas of history, but I never felt as if I was capable of doing history, being a historical subject, or as if history was written to help me understand my life or issues that mattered to me. Not only did I not personally feel a part of history, I was quite certain that my students didn’t either. There were people in our text who looked like my students, but they were shackled in the hull of a ship on the middle passage, on the wrong side at the Alamo, or huddled in stables during the Japanese internment.

Learning this history was not an empowering experience for any of us. I believed they needed to know cultural literacy basics in order to get ahead, so I taught history as someone else’s game that we had to learn in order to beat them at it.¹¹ I developed an

⁹ Kerber, Kessler-Harris, and Sklar, 1995. p. 1.

¹⁰ See for examples of similar stories, Holland and Eisenhart, 1990, and Grumet, 1988.

¹¹ Herbert Kohl takes this stance toward standardized tests in his *36 Children*.

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adversarial stance toward history because with my limited understandings of what history was or what historians do, I believed that teaching which foregrounded disciplinary knowledge was white, exclusive, male, and, therefore, antithetical to teaching for equity and social justice.¹²

I had to wait until graduate school in 1992 to hear about Gerda Lerner. Thereafter I felt a sense of vigor and excitement about learning women's history, but at the same time I also felt a sense of betrayal and anger because I was not introduced to it sooner. Historian Deborah Gray White claims "history is supposed to give people a sense of identity, a feeling for who they were, who they are, and how far they have come. It should act as a springboard for the future."¹³ While majoring in history did not do this for me, learning about King's life did almost immediately. As I sat at my desk, surrounded by papers and books from my own doctoral study of teacher education and from the curriculum and instruction class I was teaching to history majors, I began to think differently about my own circumstances, goals, and decisions in light of the example King's life provided.

Scholars who write about women's lives in hopes of expanding the historical record to include the experiences of more women, altering the historical record to more accurately interpret women's experiences, and improving the position of contemporary women through the stories of those women who preceded them, have been called feminist biographers. Feminist biographers have noted that women, writing about other women, have a heightened consciousness of the role of gender, and subsequently especially close relationship with their subjects.¹⁴

It is partly the absence of recorded history that sends women now to women past for the detailed documentation of their daily lives. It is partly because of the way in which biography, "the writing of a life," can synthesize, blend and

¹² While working on the early stages of this dissertation I worked with Peter Vinten-Johansen and G. Williamson McDiarmid redesigning a secondary social studies methods sequence at Michigan State University and studying our practice as it related to research on undergraduate students' disciplinary knowledge in their majors. This experience, in addition to my study of women's history and doing my own historical research, challenged my previous conceptions of history.

¹³ White, 1985, p. 167.

¹⁴ Alpern, Antler, Perry and Scobie, 1992, p. 10.

the 1990s, the number of people in the United States who are 65 years of age or older is projected to increase from 20 million to 35 million, and the number of people 75 years of age or older is projected to increase from 10 million to 15 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996).

transcend the realms of the public and the private that women are fascinated with what the genre can provide. It is partly because women have a literary culture in the developed world, and partly because women have a vested interest in the nature of power and representation—in the construction of silence, in the dynamic distortion and denial—that women want to concentrate on the methodological questions of biography.¹⁵

These issues are not unique to feminist biography, for most biographers enter into dialogues with their subjects, even when the subjects are long dead. “Any biography uneasily shelters an autobiography within it,”¹⁶ and this autobiographical component inevitably alters the biographer’s material.

Women teachers’ interpretations of the educational past will not distort the discipline; rather, they can add invaluable new perspectives. Women teachers may be freed, to participate in the shaping and valuing of historical knowledge and to envision alternative pedagogical or professional paths. Constructing truths that include multiple standpoints will lead us closer to “that noble dream” (of objectivity) than discounting some approaches as too subjective.¹⁷ Feminist standpoint theory argues that objectivity is maximized not by excluding social factors from the production of knowledge but by starting the process of inquiry from an explicitly social location—the lived experience of those people traditionally excluded from knowledge production.¹⁸

My historical research helped me understand more about who I am and the forces that have shaped my personal, professional, and political perspectives and experiences. Subsequently, this heightened awareness of my own social location contributed to deeper understandings about King. For example, in writing King’s life I draw from my years as a “white teacher.” In the ethnically and linguistically diverse, and predominantly poor, San Francisco Unified School District, I found that in order to teach my students I needed to understand their life stories. I wanted to respect other people’s children enough to hear them in their own value contexts, but sometimes I failed. For example, one day LaShawnda

¹⁵Iles, 1992, p. ix.

¹⁶Murray Kendall, 1965, p. x.

¹⁷Harding, 1991; Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob, 1994; and Novick, 1988.

¹⁸Hirsh and Olson, 1995, p. 193-225.

was so disruptive, inattentive, and loud that I could barely hear the other children. As the bell rang for recess, I requested that she stay in to talk with me. I opted for an empathetic approach. "I know how hard it is to have a lot to say and to be excited to say it," I started. "Think you and I are a lot alike in that respect. I also have a loud voice which projects well and I have to be careful about how and when I use it." She listened more intently than usual, but with a look of growing amusement regarding my claims about our similarities. When I finished, she let me know her perspective: "Teacher, in my neighborhood, you would just be a quiet little white mouse!"

Memories of LaShawnda remind me that as I play upon my similarities with King in trying to understand the nineteenth-century normal school, I must also wrestle with our differences. I am aware that I am, metaphorically, "just a quiet little white mouse" in an unfamiliar historical neighborhood when it comes to really seeing inside King's world. Similarly, Bell Gale Chevigny, biographer of Margaret Fuller, has written astutely about how the main challenge of biography lies in recognizing the necessity for distance between the self and the subject when symbiosis with the subject is a daily goal.¹⁹

While symbiosis with students from backgrounds different than my own was never entirely possible, my stance was to know them well enough to create an environment where I could help them articulate and expand their knowledge. Without doing their thinking for them, or expecting them to think as I did, I tried to support their growth. Mary Belenky and her collaborators call this "midwife-teaching."²⁰ As historian, my role feels familiar. I "play midwife" to the reincarnation of a woman whose times are different than my own. The educational system often over-looked my students, and historians have over-looked the experiences and perspectives of many female teachers like King.²¹

Although at times I strive to distance myself and remain detached in an effort to objectively evaluate the data, at other times, I consciously call upon the empathetic, historical

¹⁹Chevigny, 1984, p. 356-79.

²⁰Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule, 1986, p. 217-219.

²¹Kerber, Kessler-Harris, and Kish Sklar, 1995, p. 13.

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relationship I have established with King in an effort to understand her better.²² J.H. Hexter speaks of the first and second records in historical inquiry. The first is something “out there” that has happened over time in the past. The second record is what each historian brings to the first record—her questions, values, beliefs, and life experiences.²³ I admire King, and as I write about her, I continue to learn, not only about her but also from her.²⁴

Reading about how King’s family moved to the city of Adrian so that she could attend the newly built high school, and how she studied a classical curriculum and developed close relationships with her mentors as a normal school student, prompted me to reflect on my own family and the educational opportunities I was afforded as a female student. When I was fourteen years old, my parents enrolled me in an elite, all-girls day school. My school’s bulletin stated: “We believe that if a girl learns and grows in surroundings where her voice is not only heard and encouraged, but truly respected, she will emerge . . . with a keen sense of who she is.”²⁵ My education was not a departure from family tradition; my mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother attended similar institutions. My great-great-great-grandfather was Richard Edwards (1820-1908), President of Illinois State Normal University (1862-1876), who believed men and women were equally qualified to pursue all knowledge. In an 1868 speech to the Illinois Teachers’ Association, he asked, “Is it not the acme of absurdity for you and me, because we happen to grow beards, to step forward, with our little measuring strings, and attempt to fix, beforehand, the scope of women’s investigation of truth?”²⁶ It is with this personal history that I approached this project.

²²Edel, 1981.

²³Hexter, 1971.

²⁴See Piscitelli, 1994, for a detailed literature review and discussion of striking the balance between engagement and detachment in biographical writing. Also Chevigny, 1983; and Weiler, 1997.

²⁵ Castilleja School Bulletin, 1981.

²⁶Harmon, 1995, p. 94.

Kathryn Kish Sklar explains that her work process for *Florence Kelley & the Nation's Work: The Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830-1900*,²⁷ developed in three layers, the first laid by non-biographical questions, the next following a social science approach to biography, and the final acknowledging a personal relationship between the author and her subject.²⁸ I too began by identifying the history of teacher education as an area of inquiry and asking non-biographical questions about what visions of teacher professionalism were embraced and what types of pedagogy were enacted in the nineteenth century normal school. Then I met Julia Anne King, and I set about constructing a life history of a woman who was both a student and a teacher at the normal. The more I read about King, the more inevitable that final layer, where a personal relationship between the author and her subject develops, became. I think of King as a mentor—a woman who combined history and social education,²⁹ who thought that the whole aim of teacher education was to “put one into possession of his own powers,”³⁰ and who gracefully negotiated her way through public schools, colleges, churches, professional journals and national organizations, inspiring colleagues to say that they had “lived more courageously, more truly, more fully because of having known her.”³¹

Like Sklar, I also did some meaningful non-archival research.³² Trying to get a feel for the places of her life, I have wandered through the towns and the campuses King inhabited over one hundred years ago. I have stood in the garden of her Pearl Street house in Ypsilanti and in room forty-nine, her classroom at the normal school. I have walked along the old plank road that ran from her childhood farm into the small town of Milan, MI, and I have visited her grave in silent reverence. As I encounter interpretive difficulties I often turn to her for advice. I consider “What would Julia tell me to do?” as a way of explaining away the worry that the very act of appropriating her life might infringe on her

²⁷Sklar, 1995.

²⁸Sklar, 1992, p. 32.

²⁹King, (unpublished manuscript, no date).

³⁰King, (unpublished manuscript, no date).

³¹Buell, 1919.

³²Sklar, 1992, p. 28.

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privacy or even violate her identity. King's words speak to my concerns about truth: "Truth clothes herself in such varied forms that to hold to ultimate theories would be an evidence of pedantry, which is worse than ignorance."³³ I certainly didn't want Miss King to think of me as pedantic, so I continued.

My relationship with King has extended well beyond my historical research. I read King's ideas about pedagogy before preparing lessons or discussing teaching choices with my colleagues. Having come to know King, I respect my own mother more. I am more inclined to see her as a source of wisdom, and I am more interested in understanding her life and how it influences me as I compose my own. King, embodied in a box full of her manuscripts, made the trip across the county with us when we moved. When my husband struggled with the social ramifications of following his wife to her new job without one of his own, I thought about why King never married, and when he'd care for our house and hold me after a long day, I wondered who King turned to for support. King moved into my first professorial office with me; a portrait of her and quotations by and about her grace my walls and give me strength as a novice teacher educator. Sklar talks about how actors are the only other people who "submerge their lives into others" as biographers do.³⁴ My husband is an actor. As he performed *Vincent*, Leonard Nimoy's play about Van Gogh's life, I wondered about how King and Van Gogh, contemporaries, would get along and how much we are the same or different from them.

As I made decisions about this dissertation, I tried to keep in mind my original aims in pursuing a doctorate. I decided to leave my seventh grade social studies classroom to get the credentials I thought I needed in order to participate in an educational policy conversation about transforming schools and society. I promised myself that I would not let academia rob me of my identity as a woman teacher. I knew, even then, that the voice of the woman teacher was important but rarely heard outside of her classroom. Now, many

³³King, 1889.

³⁴Sklar, 1992, p. 26.

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years later, I hope to contribute to those educational policy conversations about transforming schools and society by writing educational history.

Date	Julia Anne King's Life
1838	Julia Anne King born to Charlotte J. and Hiram King in Milan, MI, a small farming village south of Detroit.
1844	King begins public school education at a small one-room log school in Milan.
1852	King's father dies and the family moves into the town of Adrian so she may attend the new Union High School.
1855-1858	King enrolls in and graduates from the Classical Course at the Michigan State normal School in Ypsilanti.
1858	King takes her first job in St. Claire, MI. She is responsible for organizing their first graded school.
1860	King returns to the normal school to take a set of courses in modern languages, which had just been added to the curriculum.
1861-2	King serves as principal in Lansing, MI
1863-5	King serves Principal of Ladies and teacher at Kalamazoo College
1866-1875	King is head of the girl's department and teaches history, literature, and modern languages at Flint High School. During this time she is an officer in the State Teacher's Association and writes articles for their journal.
1875-1881	King serves as principal, librarian and then superintendent of schools for five years in Charlotte, MI. She is one of the first women members of the Association of Superintendents of City Schools. She serves on a board of visitor's to the normal school and writes articles for the local newspaper.
1881-1915	King is appointed Preceptress at the Normal School and becomes the advisor to women students until the position is terminated in the 1890s. She is appointed head of the newly formed history department in 1888 and in that capacity is part of the faculty council until her retirement in 1915. She continues to teach a variety of courses—mostly history and civics, and to give speeches, publish articles, and participate in national conversations about history teaching.
1919	King dies in her home in Ypsilanti. Nieces and nephews including Charlotte, who attended and taught at the Normal School, while living with her Aunt Julia, survive her.

Table 1. King's Life

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Chapter 1

The History of Normal Schools and the Voice of the Woman Teacher

“Women's History is a strategy necessary to enable us to see around the cultural blinders which have distorted our vision of the past to the extent of obliterating from view the past of half of humankind.”¹

In this chapter I discuss the traditional view of normal schools as places deserving of scorn. Normal schools were nineteenth century teacher training institutions. They have been characterized by their low status, and their students, teachers, and curricula have historically been portrayed as deficient.² University professors, educational leaders, teachers, and even teacher educators themselves have all heaped scorn on teacher education's shoulders. The titles of a few books capture the general tone of disdain: *Educational Wastelands*, *The Miseducation of America's Teachers*, and *Ed School Follies*.³

I suggest that by examining women's lives and experiences this view could be expanded. For many years, education historians ignored women, in general, and female students and teachers in normal schools, in particular. In the last twenty-five years, historians have begun to address the lives of women in schools and the significance of gender in the history of education. I review this literature. I make a case for a biography of Julia Anne King (1838-1919), student and professor at the Michigan State Normal School, as a viable venue for reexamination of normal school history. The life story of this nineteenth century female teacher calls into question the assumptions on which the traditional historical critique of normal schools is based. Julia Anne King's experience as a student, teacher, and professor provide a window into the past through which female teachers' experiences look much more complex and positive than historians have led us to believe.

¹Lerner, 1979, p. 180.

²Thornburg and Ogren, 1999; Borrowman, 1965; Warren, 1985; Goodlad, et al., 1990.

³Labaree, 1995, p. 1; Bestor, 1953; Koerner, 1963; Kramer, 1991.

Second, I reveal how, in the process of writing King's life, I came to realize that her faith, Protestant Christianity, was the guiding force in her life. I build a case for looking at the history of normal schools in a new light: with an eye on religious belief and the influence of faith.

Finally, I suggest that the majority of historical information regarding normal schools focuses on turn of the century and progressive era institutions, and that King's formative years, in the *mid*-nineteenth century, bring to light a different, *earlier*, normal school history. I close this chapter with a brief discussion of what I attempt to do in each of the following chapters and how my thinking about King has influenced the organization of the dissertation.

Scorning the Normal Schools

Literature on the history of normal schools can be organized around four explanations for why the normal schools have been maligned: a) the normal school gave up on its original noble purpose—to educate teachers for our nation's schools; b) the normal school was a sexist institution which limited women's options; c) at the normal school, pedagogy was weak and curriculum was technical; and d) the normal school provided poorer quality teacher education than did the twentieth century teacher colleges.

One of the reasons why normal schools have been so criticized has to do with the purpose of normal education. Many of the normal schools sold out on their original charge—to educate teachers who were called to teach in our nation's schools. Instead of serving God and country by staffing the common schools, normal schools often became general education mills for farmers and working class students. "There was a persistent tendency to move away from what had been the initial—and never quite fulfilled—demand to prepare teachers for rural classrooms. Instead, students and others sought out normal schools and teachers colleges in search of post-elementary and, later, post-secondary

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the transparency and accountability of the organization. The text outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data, ensuring that the information is reliable and up-to-date.

The second part of the document focuses on the implementation of the proposed changes. It details the steps involved in the process, from the initial planning stage to the final execution. The text highlights the challenges faced during the implementation and the strategies used to overcome them. It also discusses the role of the various departments in the organization and the importance of their cooperation.

The third part of the document provides a summary of the findings and conclusions. It states that the proposed changes are feasible and will lead to significant improvements in the organization's performance. The text also mentions the need for continuous monitoring and evaluation to ensure that the changes are implemented correctly and that the desired results are achieved.

In conclusion, the document emphasizes the importance of the proposed changes and the need for the organization to take immediate action. It encourages the management and staff to work together to implement the changes successfully and to achieve the organization's goals.

The following table provides a detailed breakdown of the data collected during the study. It shows the number of transactions recorded for each category and the corresponding percentage of the total. The data is presented in a clear and concise manner, making it easy to understand and interpret.

Category	Number of Transactions	Percentage of Total
Category A	120	15%
Category B	180	22%
Category C	250	31%
Category D	300	37%
Category E	150	19%

The data presented in the table above clearly shows that Category D has the highest number of transactions, accounting for nearly 40% of the total. This indicates that Category D is the most significant area of the organization's operations. The data also shows that Category C is the second most significant, followed by Category B, Category E, and finally Category A.

The findings of the study suggest that the proposed changes will have a positive impact on the organization's performance. By focusing on the most significant areas of the organization's operations, the changes will help to improve efficiency and reduce costs. The document concludes by stating that the proposed changes are a necessary and feasible step towards achieving the organization's goals.

education.”⁴ Because opportunities for study in recently-settled areas were few, many students saw the emerging normal schools as an inexpensive means for continued education. Midwestern and western normal schools seldom, if ever, assumed a single purpose; they rapidly became “people’s colleges.”⁵

Another explanation for the low status of teaching and teacher education has to do with gender. The argument goes like this: teaching is done primarily by women, women are generally not respected, so teaching is low status and has little hope of being a respected profession until women are viewed as equals. Susan B. Anthony warned those interested in elevating the profession of this possibility over one hundred years ago.⁶ Women teachers have been characterized as the oppressed in a repressive bureaucracy.⁷ And normal schools’ students, we are told, did not view teaching as a desirable lifetime career. Rather they were victimized by a society that limited women’s professional options. Even the normal school was part of this “treason” described by Herbst. Normal schools professionalized every job in education—administrator, curriculum specialist, education professor—except the classroom teacher.⁸ After graduating from normal school, teachers encountered a professional life characterized by sexism and lack of opportunity. Men became administrators who were given more power and money than women who mostly remained simply teachers.

A third, perhaps the most common, and, given their mission to train teachers, most damaging critique of the normal school, has to do with teaching methods (or lack thereof).

The founders of the early schools were weak on pedagogical theory, since most were ministers or politicians rather than educators. They saw the need for morality, literacy, and a modicum of actual knowledge but demonstrated little interest in fostering creativity, imagination, or independent thought in children. They wanted the United States to become a politically stable nation of thrifty, virtuous, hard-working citizens and saw the public schools as instruments for promoting that goal.⁹

⁴ Herbst, 1989b, p. 213-214

⁵ Altenbaugh and Underwood, 1990, p. 143; Wasserman, 1979.

⁶ Tyack, 1987.

⁷ Melder, 1972, p. 28.

⁸ Herbst, 1989a.

⁹ Altenbaugh and Underwood, 1990, p. 140.

the following: \mathcal{H}_1 is the set of all functions $f: \mathbb{R}^d \rightarrow \mathbb{R}$ such that $f(x) = \sum_{i=1}^d w_i x_i$ for some $w_1, \dots, w_d \in \mathbb{R}$. \mathcal{H}_2 is the set of all functions $f: \mathbb{R}^d \rightarrow \mathbb{R}$ such that $f(x) = \sum_{i=1}^d w_i x_i^2$ for some $w_1, \dots, w_d \in \mathbb{R}$. \mathcal{H}_3 is the set of all functions $f: \mathbb{R}^d \rightarrow \mathbb{R}$ such that $f(x) = \sum_{i=1}^d w_i x_i^3$ for some $w_1, \dots, w_d \in \mathbb{R}$. \mathcal{H}_4 is the set of all functions $f: \mathbb{R}^d \rightarrow \mathbb{R}$ such that $f(x) = \sum_{i=1}^d w_i x_i^4$ for some $w_1, \dots, w_d \in \mathbb{R}$. \mathcal{H}_5 is the set of all functions $f: \mathbb{R}^d \rightarrow \mathbb{R}$ such that $f(x) = \sum_{i=1}^d w_i x_i^5$ for some $w_1, \dots, w_d \in \mathbb{R}$.

Let $\mathcal{H} = \mathcal{H}_1 \cup \mathcal{H}_2 \cup \mathcal{H}_3 \cup \mathcal{H}_4 \cup \mathcal{H}_5$. Consider the following hypothesis testing problem: $H_0: f \in \mathcal{H}_1$ vs $H_1: f \in \mathcal{H}_2 \cup \mathcal{H}_3 \cup \mathcal{H}_4 \cup \mathcal{H}_5$. Let X_1, \dots, X_n be independent and identically distributed random variables with density $p(x) = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{-x^2/2}$. Let $T_n = \sum_{i=1}^n X_i^2$. Consider the test $\phi_n = \mathbb{I}_{\{T_n \geq c_n\}}$ where $c_n = \frac{n}{2} \log \frac{n}{2}$. Show that ϕ_n is a consistent test for H_0 vs H_1 .

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In this description, ministers and statesmen are portrayed as ideologues or control mongers with little concern for nurturing children's growth.

Normal schools were often blamed for the poor teaching that took place in schools. Most nineteenth century teachers were young, poorly paid, and rarely educated beyond the elementary subjects. They taught in small rural schools, did not have the benefit of teacher training, and could hardly be considered members of a profession or even bureaucratic employees.¹⁰ Based on two major studies, one on the twentieth century by Larry Cuban and one on the nineteenth century by Barbara Finkelstein,¹¹ it has become common place to assume that "teachers in rural and urban schools alike drilled their students in individual or class recitations with ritualistic precision. Learning was thought to have occurred when the child could reiterate the information or emulate the skill."¹² Finkelstein's book on teacher behavior in popular primary schools in the nineteenth century United States summarizes this depressing picture of instruction:

Teachers consistently behaved as though they believed that the exercise of reason and judgment should be discouraged within the classroom setting. Proceeding it is likely, on the assumption that each student was, in Shakespeare's words, 'a beast that wanted the discourse of reason', they tried to impose intellectual order by compelling students to memorize facts... Teachers proceeded as though they believed that all knowledge, from reading to arithmetic, comprised collections of fact—absolute unchanging, true. They did not seem to regard knowledge as provisionally held or progressively realized, as constantly changing and as subject to creative manipulation.¹³

Traditional, didactic teaching for social control and maintenance of the status quo, as described above is typical of the few secondary sources that exist on the history of teaching.

As teacher preparation became associated with the university, pedagogy remained low in status relative to the arts and sciences departments.¹⁴ Merle Borrowman characterized the normal school curriculum as single-mindedly technical, emphasizing day-to-day classroom instruction rather than the critical thinking or academic pursuits associated

¹⁰ Tyack and Hansot, 1982, p. 17-18.

¹¹ Cuban, 1984; Finkelstein, 1989.

¹² Warren, 1985.

¹³ Finkelstein, 1989, p. 137.

¹⁴ Clifford and Guthrie, 1988.

with liberal education.¹⁵ There was a belief on the part of the academy and college professors that teaching competence is based on, and largely limited to, mastery of one's subject matter.

A fourth and final reason normal schools have been slighted is because the great myth of American progress persists. Contemporary United States historians of all types have debunked the earlier narratives of progress that lined our nation's history textbooks and claimed that we have been moving steadily toward a better tomorrow.¹⁶ However, when it comes to teacher education, myths die hard. The use of the word "evolution" in the titles of two classic studies reveal the idea that normal schools have progressed and gained something: Elsbree's *The American Teacher: Evolution of a Profession in a Democracy* and Harper's *A Century of Public Teacher Education: The Story of the State Teachers Colleges as They Evolved from the Normal Schools*.¹⁷ Even in the 1990s, Altenbaugh and Underwood chose to title their chapter, in *Places Where Teachers Were Taught*, "The Evolution of Normal Schools." David Labaree writes about the "Lowly Status of Teacher Education in the United States" and describes the history of teacher education as "An Unlovely Legacy."¹⁸ In Frederick Rudolph's comprehensive study of higher education he only mentions normal schools twice. When Rudolph discusses how teachers' colleges progressed toward full collegiate status, he claims teachers' colleges were the "outgrowth of onetime normal schools of high-school level."¹⁹ Second, when talking about community colleges, he claims that they "developed out of onetime normal schools." These examples illustrate education historians' understandings that from the nineteenth century to the present there has been "evolution" toward better conditions, higher standards, more academic rigor, and generally improved teacher education.

¹⁵ Borrowman, 1953.

¹⁶ For example, see May, 1988.

¹⁷ Elsbree, 1939. Harper, 1939.

¹⁸ Labaree, 1994 and 1995.

¹⁹ Rudolph, 1962, p. 463.

Pangburn also used the term “evolution” to describe the change from normal school to teachers’ college.²⁰ Her interpretation describes the change as being the logical outcome of increasing enrollment, accreditation, and centralization of administration. Many educators still think of moving away from teacher education as positive institutional growth. For example, when interviewing on college campuses in the 1980s, Goodlad noted, “It was not uncommon for academic administrators to view the decline of teacher education on their campuses virtually as evidence of a rite of passage signifying a coming of age for their institutions.”²¹

Woman-centered Stories

Why is it that historians have painted this disdainful picture? Might different historical subjects, methods, questions, or interpretive lenses yield alternate stories? I propose that historians have not fully explored the potential richness of the history of normal schools because we have not studied the lives of the individual women who attended and taught at them. Without women’s voices or attention to gender, we have an incomplete view.

Even though many of the normal schools that pioneered teacher education eventually became the state universities where the majority of our nation’s teachers are still taught, historians of higher education have rarely studied the diverse experiences of women in normal schools.²² Most of the teachers in this country were, and still are, women of working class origins, but much of educational history has not included the perspectives of female schoolteachers. Even the titles of seminal pieces in the field reveal this omission: for example, Paul H. Mattingly’s *The Classless Profession: American Schoolmen in the Nineteenth Century*.²³

²⁰ Pangburn, 1932.

²¹ Goodlad, 1990, p. 20-21.

²² Geiger, 2000; Lucas, 1996; and Rudolph, 1962, all overlook these topics in their “comprehensive” histories.

²³ Mattingly, 1975.

Even those scholars who hoped to correct the failure of early historians of education to focus on teachers in the development of public education saw teaching more from the top down than from the inside out.²⁴ Early education historians and recent revisionists alike cast education history as the privileged domain of policy-makers and intellectual elites.²⁵ Teachers, teaching, and teacher education are the objects of their investigation, but they base their analyses on the experiences and perspectives of men who held positions of power in the normal schools, the State Boards of Education, or at the universities.²⁶ The lives and ideas of women teachers who attended or taught at the normal schools are generally not included. This omission has been noted and a call put out for more work in this area. For example, Linda Eisenmann suggests that Jurgen Herbst's book, *And Sadly Teach*, provides a framework for studying the normal schools into which a teacher- and woman-centered history can now be fit.²⁷

In the 1990s, as teachers, teaching, and teacher education became the targets for improvement in nation-wide school reform movements, they also became subjects of renewed interest among historians of education. *American Teachers* was the first large-scale project to focus on teachers and teaching since Elsbree.²⁸ Editor Donald Warren claims the various contributors to his volume occupy that band of thought shared by the overlapping spheres of history and public policy, and that they go beyond "giving" teachers' voice. While this huge volume is clearly a success, it is also a measure of how much territory remains to be explored. Relatively little is revealed about the experiences and perspectives of outstanding women teachers—such as the normal school students who excelled, chose to devote some portion of their lives to teaching, and who, through their lives as educators, were personally and professionally rewarded. Without their voices, and those of other people who have been marginalized, we have only a partial history.

²⁴ Tyack, 1989.

²⁵ Finkelstein, 1992.

²⁶ Herbst, 1989a; Zilversmit, 1993.

²⁷ Eisenmann, 1991, p. 221.

²⁸ Warren, 1989.

There are, of course, historians who attempt to see history through women's lives. Women's historians have significantly transformed United States History,²⁹ but few of them have chosen those engaged in woman's "true" profession as their subjects.³⁰ For many years historians of education neglected women, and historians of women neglected teachers and teacher education. Historians uncover the diverse worlds which women created, providing new understandings about gender, professionalism, and women's culture and community; however, few of these analyses concern teachers, their schooling, or their work.

Thomas Woody's two-volume *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, and Mabel Newcomer's *A Century of Higher Education for American Women*, were early exceptions to the male bias in educational history.³¹ Woody was interested in women's struggle to gain access to educational institutions created mainly for men. Newcomer sustained Woody's liberal outlook but focused on women's colleges. In the 1960s, revisionist historians of women's higher education began to question if access and progress should be equated, and argued that coeducational and even women's colleges might reinforce patterns of subordination.³²

Sara Evans explains how nineteenth century college-educated women had to defend their choice of career over marriage by saying they would

unleash maternal skills and capacities on a needy world—schooling the young, tending the poor, and improving the health of women and children... The temporary success of this argument rested largely on the creation of new female-dominated institutions that, alongside women's colleges, provided an autonomous base from which women could support each other in developing new ideas, experimenting with them, and launching political battles in their defenses.³³

Were women forced to limit themselves to these helping professions or did they feel called to pursue these paths? Did they see this work as limiting or liberatory? Could it be that

²⁹ for example, Lerner, 1979; Kerber, Kessler-Harris, and Sklar, 1995.

³⁰ a notable exception is Hoffman, 1971.

³¹ Woody, 1929; Newcomer, 1959.

³² Graham, 1975; Conway, 1974.

³³ Evans, 1989, p. 148

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very important document, as it contains the President's annual message to Congress.

2. The second part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated January 3, 1862. It contains a detailed account of the financial condition of the United States at that time, and of the measures taken to meet the country's financial needs.

3. The third part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Interior, dated January 3, 1862. It contains a detailed account of the land and mineral resources of the United States, and of the measures taken to develop and protect these resources.

4. The fourth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the War, dated January 3, 1862. It contains a detailed account of the military operations of the United States at that time, and of the measures taken to strengthen the country's military forces.

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6. The sixth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the State, dated January 3, 1862. It contains a detailed account of the foreign relations of the United States at that time, and of the measures taken to protect the country's interests abroad.

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while they were still in bonds they were also free? These types of questions have only begun to be explored.

Scholars interested in gender and education focus on girls' experiences in primary and secondary schools³⁴ and on women's experiences as college students.³⁵ Few of these authors concentrate on the supposedly sub-collegiate normal school or the women students who attended the normal schools, where, before the rise of women's colleges and the acceptance of women at state universities, many nineteenth-century women received the highest form of education available to their sex.

In a review of some of these titles, Joyce Antler says "more work on such topics as southern schools, land-grant colleges, religious institutions, and black women's education must be done before a complete history of collegiate women emerges."³⁶ While this is an important call for further research, her category "collegiate women" is somewhat misleading, as in the nineteenth century the education system was not clearly delineated into elementary, secondary, and collegiate. For example, the normal school was, sometimes at once, all of these, thereby blurring the lines. Research on women's experiences in education necessarily includes rethinking what counts as "higher education" and what was available to women.

In the last twenty-five years there have been an increasing number of studies that uncover the forgotten lives of women teachers and thereby add valuable new insights to the history of education.³⁷ These women's experiences, in normal schools and other educational institutions, as students, teachers, administrators, and scholars, suggest that the negative images of the normal schools as precursors to higher forms of university-based teacher education are misplaced. Rather than scorn the normals, women's historians are now pointing out how the normals provided support, opportunity and advancement for

³⁴ Tyack and Hansot, 1990; Bernard-Powers, 1992.

³⁵ Solomon, 1985; Horowitz, 1984; Gordon, 1990.

³⁶ Antler, 1987.

³⁷ For example: Clifford, 1981, 1983, 1986, 1989; Prentice and Theobald, 1991; Beatty, 1995; Bernard-Powers, 1992; Palmieri, 1989, 1995; Weiler, 1988, 1994; Gordon, 1990; Rousmaniere, 1997.

women. At least some female teachers' lives seem to contradict the accepted narratives about the history of teacher education. For example, Holmes and Weiss, in their *Lives of Women Public School Teachers*, provide fascinating stories of women public school teachers, but they do not go much beyond editing diaries.³⁸ If women teachers' lives are told simply as stories, outside of the mainstream of educational thought, then they will remain marginalized.

Marjorie Theobald and Alison Prentice gathered the works of historians of women teachers from Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States. They claim it is essential to consider the history of teaching part of labor history and to place the worker/teacher at the center of the inquiry.³⁹ In order to engender education history, education historians must, like the new labor historians, shift their attention from men who held formal positions of power to ordinary teachers and their everyday lives. Additionally, they must be willing to reconceptualize family life, work life, and their intersections; and to look at women's diverse experiences, as both domestic and paid educators, and their multiple representations of feminism.⁴⁰

Ann F. Scott and Geraldine J. Clifford were some of the first scholars of women teachers to note the possibly liberating effects for some women of nineteenth-century educational and teaching experiences.⁴¹ While the separation and restriction of roles controlled women and narrowed their options, it also allowed them a position of moral superiority from which they could venture outside of the home and into the classroom. These women's historians discuss the camaraderie developed among students and professors at the normals, the enthusiasm the intending teachers had for their chosen work, the confidence felt by young women who could support themselves, and the peace they felt knowing they were following God's will for their lives. Kathleen Weiler's recent work, *Country Schoolwomen: Teaching in Rural California, 1850-1950*, supports the view that

³⁸ Holmes and Weiss, 1995.

³⁹ Theobald and Prentice, 1991.

⁴⁰ Baron, 1988.

⁴¹ Scott, 1979; Clifford, 1981.

teaching has been a source of power for women and puts forth a vision of classroom teaching as valuable and intellectually challenging.⁴²

Many other scholars have written about the potentially liberating nature of teacher education and the teaching profession. For example, Alison Prentice describes the rules and regulations regarding the segregation of the sexes at the Ontario Normal School, in Toronto, Canada, and she points out that “sexual segregation was a two-edged sword. It limited opportunities for women and emphasized their differences from men. But at the same time it gave them a base from which to organize a collective resistance and a weapon in their fight for better treatment as women.”⁴³ Another example is Margaret A. Nash’s research on the Western Female Seminary in Oxford, Ohio. She notes that the women there in the mid-nineteenth century also embraced a form of separate spheres feminism. They did not question the distinction between men’s and women’s roles, but they sought to expand the roles available to women.⁴⁴ Yet another example is Elizabeth Smyth’s study of a Toronto Roman Catholic teaching and nursing order, the sisters of St. Joseph.⁴⁵ They “dedicated their lives to the service of God and neighbour through a life-long career in education,” and, because they did not become wives and mothers nor seek economic independence and social advancement, “teaching was the actualization of their vocation.”⁴⁶

Unfortunately, woman-centered contributions have not successfully infiltrated the general history of education. Talented historians of women have rarely gotten the attention of traditional educational historians. Even when respected scholars, who are tenured faculty members at major research universities, write histories, their findings related to gender are often not incorporated into mainstream accounts of the history of education, especially in the history of higher education.⁴⁷ When scholars who study women teachers, gender, and normal schools give papers at the History of Education Society meetings, primarily women

⁴² Weiler, 1998.

⁴³ Prentice, 1990, p. 311.

⁴⁴ Nash, 1996.

⁴⁵ Smyth, 1994.

⁴⁶ Smyth, 1994, p. 112.

⁴⁷ Horowitz, 1995. see for example Geiger, 2000; Lucas, 1996; Rudolph, 1962

attend the sessions. These women read each other's work when doing research, but many of their ideas have not yet infiltrated the grand narrative of educational history which male scholars still control. Even Geraldine Clifford, Professor Emerita at the University of California, Berkeley, past-President of the History of Education Society, and author of the most extensive research on women teachers and gender in the history of United States education stills feels male historians continue to ignore or downplay the introduction of coeducation in the story of higher education and treat the normal school, women's college, and black college as a sideshow and not part of the main event.⁴⁸

It is as if there is a contemporary form of the separate spheres ideology at work in the history of education, and one group of historians is unable to access the conversation of the other. In one sphere are the historians who have not yet considered what using gender as a category of analysis might add to the field, and in the other sphere are the historians who make that task central to their work. The first sphere is primarily made up of men who have written books that are considered the most influential and summative works on the history of education. The other sphere is made up primarily of women who have written about normal schools, female seminaries, women's colleges, and teachers.

Luckily, some men do study women's lives and the ways gender operates in education, and some women do manage to publish new perspectives that force scholars to revision the field and reflect their contributions. Senior scholars of educational history, Geraldine Clifford, David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, have published multiple books that add considerably to our understandings of gender in educational history. In the spirit of the excellent works by these scholars and their colleagues, and in light of the evidence from women's history that suggests normal schools did not deserve the all scorn they receive, a reexamination of the history of normal schools, and of the women teachers that attended and taught at them, is in order.

⁴⁸ Clifford, 1995.

Biography and Institutional History as Viable Venue for Reexamination

Scholars have acknowledged that there is a gap in scholarship on the history of teacher education and teaching. In the *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education*, in the chapter devoted to “Historical Studies of Teacher Education,” Wayne Urban says that he does not deal “specifically with the relationship of teacher education to teaching and teachers, but that lack simply reflects the omission of the relationship in most of the historical studies of the topic.”⁴⁹ In the introductory chapter to *Places Where Teachers are Taught* (1990), John Goodlad reflects on why there are so few histories of teacher education, especially from teachers’ perspectives, and he calls for both life histories and institutional histories to be written. He says,

the difficulty arises in large part out of the great extent to which historians, in trying to tell coherent stories of the past, must depend on biography and autobiography. Very few teachers or teacher educators ever caught the attention of first-rate biographers... Getting a historical picture on teacher education is even more difficult, because to do so one needs institutional biographies... The audience for the historian’s efforts to place in perspective the course of a university’s development, let alone its attention to teacher education, is modest. Yet the reforms of teacher education—reform necessarily involving colleges and universities—is a recurring topic of debate, debate deserving a much better historical perspective than has been available to date.⁵⁰

I wanted to answer Goodlad’s call—to write a life history of Julia Anne King and an institutional history of the Michigan State Normal School.

However, throughout this project I had trouble figuring out where my research fit. At first I thought I was writing a history of teacher education, but there was so much local variation and so little cross-institutional analysis of nineteenth century normal schools, that fitting my case study in with others was not possible. Next I considered the broader history of higher education, but in the history of higher education the normal school has been virtually ignored. It is not surprising that the Michigan State Normal School, which opened as a coeducational institution well before state universities admitted women or women’s colleges were founded, does not fit into a periodization that has been developed for colleges or research universities.

⁴⁹ Urban, 1990, p. 70.

⁵⁰ Goodlad, et al. 1990, p.4-5.

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author to the editor of the journal.

2. The second part is a letter from the editor to the

author, in which the editor expresses his appreciation

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appreciation for the editor's response and his

confidence in the journal's editorial board.

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editor, in which the author expresses his appreciation

Finally, I looked to institutional histories. The structure of traditional institutional histories, often built around the administrative terms of male presidents, usually did not work for my woman and teacher-centered study. However, some institutional histories were helpful in framing my own. David Labaree's history of Central High School in Philadelphia deals with the same time period as my study, includes a focus on teachers and teaching, and integrates thematic and chronological approaches.⁵¹ John Goodlad's volume presents brief sketches of a variety of institutions that prepared teachers, and it includes a chapter on the state normals.⁵² Geraldine Clifford and James Guthrie's study of elite schools of education focuses on multiple institutions which prepared teachers and deals with issues related to power and opportunity in teacher education, including gender.⁵³ Palmieri's study of Wellesley is perhaps the closest to what I was envisioning writing; she explores the lives of women faculty members, individually and in community, while studying an institution.⁵⁴

Ultimately, I decided that the main story was about King. The history of the normal school would emerge as I wrote about her life. Once I freed myself to think of this as a biography, many wonderful examples were available.⁵⁵ One such is Catharine Beecher (1800-1878) who never taught school, but who was influential in the development of female seminaries. Many normal school teachers taught in or attended female seminaries before coming to the normal. Beecher's advocacy of teaching as an alternative to motherhood, and as an acceptable domestic role for Christian women, probably influenced King as she made personal and professional choices. Another influential biography portrays Lucy Sprague Mitchell (1878-1967) who taught at the Bank Street College of Education. Her methods of teaching children as "little discoverers" and of making teacher education classes active centers of inquiry were similar to King's. M. Carey Thomas (1857-1935) was part of the

⁵¹ Labaree, 1988.

⁵² Goodlad, et.al., 1990.

⁵³ Clifford and Guthrie, 1988.

⁵⁴ Palmieri, 1995.

⁵⁵ Sklar, 1976; Antler, 1987; Horowitz, 1994.

the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are under 15 years of age is expected to increase by 1.5 billion, from 1.2 billion in 1990 to 2.7 billion in 2010. The number of people aged 65 and over is expected to increase by 1 billion, from 350 million in 1990 to 1.4 billion in 2010. The number of people aged 15-64 is expected to increase by 1.5 billion, from 2.5 billion in 1990 to 4.0 billion in 2010. The number of people aged 65 and over is expected to increase by 1 billion, from 350 million in 1990 to 1.4 billion in 2010. The number of people aged 15-64 is expected to increase by 1.5 billion, from 2.5 billion in 1990 to 4.0 billion in 2010.

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first generation of college women. Thomas was president of Bryn Mawr College, and although King did not have the opportunity to study or teach in a single-sex environment like Bryn Mawr, many of the features of the early women's colleges were adapted from women's communities like the one King was a part of at the Michigan State Normal School.

One of the challenges of writing a biography was that I had to read in so many different areas in order to understand the complexities of King's life. "Biographers, in reconstructing an individual's life, face special challenges, not the least of which is the wide preparation they need to understand a person's often multiple realms of activity."⁵⁶ I read the history of teacher education; I read about the historiography of U.S. women's history and about feminist approaches to biography; and I read histories of the common school, woman's, and college movements and theories of pedagogy and professionalism. I studied previously unexamined primary sources, including essays, lesson plans, speeches, newspaper articles, journal publications, and books that King wrote.⁵⁷ I read about the history of the Michigan State Normal School and the men and women who contributed to its growth and prosperity during the nineteenth century.⁵⁸ In the research process, I elicited information about King's life at the Michigan State Normal School, and I examined sources which provided King's point of view. My assumption was that in order to build an understanding of the institution which prepared King for her life-work and provided her with employment at the height of her professional life, the view from the teacher's desk was likely to be the most revealing.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Alpern, et. al., 1992. p.12.

⁵⁷ Collections of King's papers are housed in the Archives at Eastern Michigan University and in the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan.

⁵⁸ Two published histories of the Michigan State Normal School exist. In 1899, Daniel Putnam wrote *History of the Michigan State Normal School*, and in 1971, Egbert Isbell's *A History of Eastern Michigan University: 1849-1965* was published. These books are valuable resources both as primary and secondary sources; both were written by professors in celebration, at least partially, of their institution. Both of these histories mention Preceptress Julia Anne King (1838-1919). I also draw from several short biographical sketches of King from a collection on Michigan educators, the *Michigan History* magazine, the Normal School's yearbook and newspaper, and King's memorial services.

⁵⁹ Warren, 1989.

Julia Anne King

Julia Anne King graduated from the Michigan State Normal School (now Eastern Michigan University) in 1858. King was inspired by her normal school teachers, studied a wide variety of academic subjects, engaged in intellectual debate throughout her life, and encouraged her own students to become socially responsible critical thinkers. King taught in a one-room school, an early graded school, and a city high school; she served as a principal and was one of Michigan's first female superintendents. In 1881, King returned to the Normal School to complete 57 years of professional service as Preceptress⁶⁰ and Head of the History Department. The *Detroit Free Press* called her "the greatest woman educator Michigan has ever had,"⁶¹ but when asked to describe her life King answered with four simple words: "born and taught school."⁶² This whimsical reply was a modest reflection of the truth, for education in her eyes included the whole of living.

King's life is a viable venue for a reexamination of normal school history. After reading the literature which described the nineteenth-century normal school curriculum as single-mindedly technical and the student-teachers as lacking in formal education, intellectual capacity, and commitment to the teaching profession,⁶³ I thought King must have been an exception—a strange woman who was given unusual opportunity, achieved a great deal, enjoyed her work as a teacher and teacher educator, and contributed to the field in both theory and practice. Nothing in this secondary literature explained how such an extraordinary nineteenth century woman teacher was possible. It was as if she had lived outside of educational history and did not belong in America's early public schools. I wondered how this woman teacher could have been the product of a nineteenth century

⁶⁰ The Preceptress was an advisor to the women students. At some schools the position was called "Principal of Ladies." Although the position was in some ways a precursor to the Dean of Women, at the Michigan State Normal School the Preceptress was a counselor and a professor who was second in rank only to the Principal, while the Dean of Women was a policy enforcer who had lower status than professors. This position is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

⁶¹ *Detroit Free Press*, May 13, 1919

⁶² Lord, 1954, p. 309.

⁶³ Borrowman, 1953; Herbst, 1989a; Goodlad, 1990; Warren, 1989.

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normal school and, since she was, how accurate and appropriate our historical maps of teachers, teaching, and teacher education were.

Then I read works in which the researcher made women teachers' lives central and struggled to understand their experiences and perspectives. There were many women in this literature who were similar to King and who were her professional peers.⁶⁴ I realized that what appeared, based on King's life, to be gaps and misunderstandings in the literature could be filled in and explained by the work done by women scholars.⁶⁵ King's accomplished life did not seem possible in the conventional history of teacher education, yet King fit women's historians' descriptions of women and their education in the nineteenth century.

King was an influential woman teacher whose life story has not been widely studied or published in any book-length form. King's students and colleagues wrote about her while she was alive, and a brief biography of King appeared in a 1900 volume on Michigan Educators.⁶⁶ In 1954 Mary Lord wrote a brief biographical article about King in the *Michigan History Magazine*.⁶⁷ Lord may have been one of King's students and seems to have written little else besides this tribute to a teacher she admired. King is known on the Eastern Michigan University campus, as there is a dormitory which still bears her name, and she is featured in both histories of the school.⁶⁸ Even so, King's life has not made its way into the larger history of education; in the last thirty years, when women's history has

⁶⁴ For example, women in these histories: Clifford, 1989; Palmieri, 1995; Smith, 1979; Sklar, 1976 and 1995; Ogren, 1996; Waite, 2002; McGuigan, 1970; Bordin, 1993.

⁶⁵ There are some notable exceptions to this women research women and men research men model. Some examples of men who have done research on women, or with attention to gender, in the history of education include David Tyack, David Labaree, Rob Levin, and Wayne Urban.

⁶⁶ brief biographies of King were published in the *Normal News* (the student newspaper) in 1893 and 1895 and in the *Aurora* (the school yearbook) in 1893 and 1900. Ernest P. Goodrich delivered a memorial address at services held in her honor, June 24, 1919. See also, *Educators of Michigan: Biographical* (Chicago, IL: J.H. Beers & Co., 1900, p 138) MCL.

⁶⁷ Lord, 1954.

⁶⁸ Putnam, 1899; Isbell, 1970.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT
5712 S. DICKINSON DRIVE
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637
TEL: 773-936-5000
FAX: 773-936-5001

flourished, King has been absent from major collections of famous educators and/or women.⁶⁹

My examination of King's life is based primarily on primary source documents by and about her which are located in the Archives at Eastern Michigan University and in a box donated to the Bentley Historical Collection at the University of Michigan by her niece, Charlotte King (18??-1958). These papers include lesson plans, notebooks, letters, newspaper clippings, unpublished manuscripts, and published articles. All of the sources I have consulted are of a professional nature. What existed of King's personal papers were destroyed by her descendants years ago.⁷⁰ In addition to the papers contained in these two archives, I have consulted primary source documents from the organizations to which King belonged, the schools at which she taught, and the communities in which she resided.

King's life is a particularly good one to write in an effort to connect the "separate spheres of research" in the history of education. King was a woman who worked primarily with women and who influenced a great many young women as they became tomorrow's teachers, but she also worked effectively beside men and was respected by them. Although she challenged the educational system, she pursued her lifework within it. Even though she gained a great deal of power and influence, she did not offend her colleagues or cause an uproar. Because she was so gentle and respectful of male authority, it seems that if there is a woman who could make educational historians wake up and take notice of gender, King might be the one who could. Some women in history present such an uncomfortable challenge that male historians can easily write them off as deviant, but King was such an integral part of her institution, so loyal a member of the faculty, and such a respected teacher and colleague, that she is easy to like and to listen to.

Finally, King's life is also a particularly good one for bridging another gap in the study of women teachers and teacher education. There is a chasm that exists between

⁶⁹ Altenbaugh, 1999; Eisenmann, 1998; Adamson, 1999.

⁷⁰ personal correspondence with Prudence King (teacher educator in Boston, Massachusetts and Julia Anne King's great-great grand niece), 1996.

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historical research on teachers and teaching practice in schools. King's life provides alternative visions for teacher educators and policy reformers by exposing the variety of factors that influence a teacher's practice. King's life also invites women teachers to re-imagine their own lives as teachers and learners and, through its example, gives them strength as they serve children and society.

Michigan State Normal School

King's lifework is closely connected to the history of an early and influential normal school. The Michigan State Normal School was the sixth state-sponsored normal school in the country and the first west of the Alleghenies. It was founded in a formative era for public schools, female education, and higher education. For almost fifty years it remained the only normal school in Michigan, a pioneering state with respect to education. There were many varieties of normal schools in nineteenth century America; private, municipal, and county normal schools developed along with mass public schooling, and normal departments were formed in academies, high schools, and colleges. The state-sponsored normal school, like the institution King attended, was the most widespread and enduring model, and the Michigan State Normal School was one of the most influential.

Internal histories of the Michigan State Normal School were published in 1899 and 1971.⁷¹ Recent comprehensive studies of teacher education do not include the Michigan State Normal School or only mention it briefly. Numerous histories of education in Michigan include something about the normal school or discuss related developments.⁷² However, none of these studies examine the institution through the lifework of a woman teacher. Through examination of primary sources by and about King, and reexamination of primary and secondary sources on the history of the normal school at which she was a

⁷¹ Putnam, 1899. Isbell, 1970.

⁷² Bordin, 1993 and 2001; Whitney, 1931; Catton, 1988; Putnam 1877 and 1904; and Council of Teachers College Presidents, 1934.

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student and a professor, I try to see through her eyes in an attempt to widen and make more accurate our perception of the past.⁷³

My understanding of the Michigan State Normal School is based primarily on reexamination of two earlier histories: Daniel Putnam's (1899) *History of the Michigan State Normal School*, and Egbert Isbells' (1971) *A History of Eastern Michigan University, 1849-1965*. In addition, I examined the normal schools' yearbooks, newspapers, course catalogues, and the Annual Reports of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Finally, I depended on general secondary sources on nineteenth century normal schools and on the Michigan public schools.

The Centrality of Faith

It was in the final iterations of this project that I finally came to realize the importance of Christian faith in King's life. Only by listening to her voice and letting it lead my investigation and analysis was I able to fully understand the centrality of religion in her practice. Previously, I had force-fit my chapters into other historians' categories that were closely related to what I had identified were major themes in King's life and the history of the Michigan State Normal School. Unfortunately, by starting with mainstream history of education themes and telescoping in towards King, I missed out on the opportunity to have her life experience and perspectives shape my writing. In *Writing a Woman's Life*, Carolyn Heilbrun asserts that patriarchal culture has not only defined the limits of women's lives, it has determined what stories about women will be told. Those who write about women's lives have suppressed the truth of the female experience, in order to make the written life conform to society's expectations about what life should be.⁷⁴ In writing King's life, I unknowingly did exactly what Heilbrun describes. I found pre-existing historical terms or ideas and tried to fit King into them.

⁷³ Tyack, 1976, pp 355-389.

⁷⁴ Heilbrun, 1988.

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As I revised the dissertation, bringing Julia Anne King to the forefront, and struggling to hear her voice, it became clear I would need to abandon the categories I had co-opted: Protestant Republicanism, Domestic Feminism, and Pestalozzian Pedagogy. As King became central, her values and beliefs dictated that Christianity become central. Christianity was the umbrella under which pedagogical and professional issues emerged and took shape. Because King was deeply committed to her faith, it touched all aspects of her life. Because of my new understanding—that King’s faith shaped her views on gender, pedagogy and professionalism—I moved information on faith, and what it meant to King to be a Christian, to the beginning of my discussion.

By giving voice to an early normal school woman, King, I uncovered an essential, but understudied, aspect of the history of teachers and teacher education—the importance of Protestant religion. In all the published works I had read on the history of education and of women, I had encountered very little on the religious beliefs of teachers or how those beliefs might influence their educations or careers.

I knew from my research on the Michigan State Normal School that it was founded by ministers and statesmen committed to seeking Biblical truths and to spreading God’s word through Michigan via the normal school-educated “ministering angels.”⁷⁵ At the Normal School there was no sectarianism, perhaps because it was not founded by a particular church, but, like the common schools, it was a state-sponsored institution with a commitment from the beginning to a sort of broad-based “pan-Protestantism.”⁷⁶

I began to look purposefully for a contemporary secondary literature on religion in the normal schools. I found that religion—at least in its Protestant forms— was a potent influence in the lives of individual leaders and in the institutional life of higher education.”⁷⁷ Marsden and Reuben agree that the early leaders of the university movement were religious men. For example, Daniel Coit Gilman, William Rainey Harper, Andrew

⁷⁵ Putnam, 1899, p. 17.

⁷⁶ Tyack, 1966.

⁷⁷ Eisenmann, 1999, p. 297; Reuben, 1996; Marsden, 1994; Sloan, 1994.

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Dickson White, and James Burrill Angell, were all men of strong religious convictions who spent considerable energy defining (and seeing no conflict in) a “secular, Protestant university.”⁷⁸ Marsden claims the University of Michigan was the era’s best approximation of a state institution comfortable with religious overtones, partly because of support within the state legislature. It is not surprising that King’s teacher training institution was founded with a similar Christian spirit, because the University of Michigan was set up by the same state legislature as the Michigan State Normal School, and many early schoolmen, ministers, and politicians had roles in the founding of both the University of Michigan and the neighboring Michigan State Normal School.

Unfortunately, these religious perspectives have not successfully infiltrated the general history of teacher education. Perhaps after influential historians proclaimed the anti-intellectual nature of Protestant faith, scholars may have been intimidated to attribute too large a role to religious influences. Veysey “reified our understanding that religion blocked the road to real university development” and Hofstadter “found in narrow-minded, sectarian education the original stumbling block to intellectual expansion.” Hofstadter concluded that increased sectarian control of ante-bellum colleges by market-hungry churches blocked intellectual growth.⁷⁹

Some contemporary women’s historians also seem uncomfortable with the Christian worldview that informed the life work of many mid-nineteenth century educators. For example, Frances E. Monteverde’s analysis of Mary Sheldon Barnes⁸⁰ reveals as much about the politics of contemporary feminist social education as it does about mid-nineteenth century women and their beliefs, authorities, or truths. Monteverde criticizes her subject for choosing primary source materials for her 1885 book, *Studies in General History*, that “limit the range of possible answers” and assume that “modesty, submissiveness,

⁷⁸ Eisenmann, 1999, p. 301.

⁷⁹ Eisenmann, 1999, p. 297; Veysey, 1965; Hofstadter, 1996.

⁸⁰ Barnes (1850-1898), was the daughter of Edward A. Sheldon, founder of the Oswego Normal School; one of the first women to graduate from the University of Michigan; and a professor of history at Wellesley College and Stanford University.

domesticity, obedience, loyalty, and sobriety are virtues.” She also concludes that Barnes’ religious beliefs provided a rationale for women’s low status in society.⁸¹ Alternately, I think King’s religious beliefs, which were similar to Barnes’, provided her with a rationale for gender equity and an active professional life as a woman. I attempt to unravel and understand Kings’ worldview, whereas some non-Christian multi-culturalists would fault the narrow-mindedness of King’s convictions. Rather than subjecting nineteenth century texts to current diversity criteria, I ask what being a Christian meant to King and how her religious beliefs informed her views of gender and teaching. King’s ideas about the philosophy of history and the best methods of history instruction were similar to Barnes’, and King used Miss Sheldon’s (Barnes’) primary source book in her classes.⁸² King’s life makes me wonder if Barnes, and others, searched for truth in order to be good at “participatory citizenship,” or if, like King, they had loftier aims—such as being God’s ambassadors.⁸³

In Marsden’s postscript he concludes that perhaps the “very development he studies—the inexorable rise of value-free science—may have kept scholars from asking significant questions about the historical role of religion in academe.” Rather than distancing personal belief and limiting our approach to questioning and analysis, Marsden asks whether religious perspectives should be included among legitimate scholarly viewpoints.⁸⁴ Eisenmann, like Kathleen Mahoney, calls for a “more receptive approach to religion’s influence on modern academe” and invites comparative examination of various educational settings, including normal schools. She notes that those who study normals schools would not doubt the keen significance of religion in teacher training, but she notes that the role of religion “has often been treated as an early element that college leaders eagerly swept away as they brought their institutions into the orbit of prestigious

⁸¹ Crocco & Davis, (1999), p. 27-33.

⁸² King,

⁸³ Crocco & Davis, (1999), p. 27-33

⁸⁴ Eisenmann, 1999, p. 303.

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trendsetters.”⁸⁵ Eisenmann goes on to site the social history of student and faculty bodies and the lives of individual students and faculty members as sites for new historiographic opportunity. She proposes: “Women’s history applied to an appreciation of religion might suggest a very different explanation for women’s continued belief in God as a vital force that guided their approach to education and career.”⁸⁶ I attempt to answer Eisenmann’s call, as Julia Anne King’s belief in God was clearly a vital force that guided her lifework.

Timing is Everything: Normal School not College

Bringing King’s life to the forefront exposed a third aspect of the history of teacher education that has rarely been explored—that of timing, or, specifically, the early years in which normal schools were established. Historical analysis of normal schools has depended almost exclusively on the first two decades of the twentieth century, the progressive era, when there was a proliferation of normal schools across the nation. However, the first normal schools in the country were founded several generations earlier in the 1840s and 1850s. Historians, concentrating on the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, have studied institutions that resemble the Michigan State Normal *College* (1899-1959) more than the early Michigan State Normal *School* (1852-1899). By looking at the earlier school, I attempt to broaden understandings about the history of normal schools and the students and teachers that inhabited them in the mid-nineteenth century.

King graduated from the Michigan State Normal School two years before the Civil War even started. The years of normal school history which most influenced and reflected her life were those from its founding in 1852 to its official change to a college in 1899. This is not surprising, because King spent the majority of her life (1838-1919) in the nineteenth century, but it is significant because, during the later part of King’s professional life, the institution changed. King was a product of the early normal school, not the more modern Normal College.

⁸⁵ Eisenmann, 1999, p. 304; Mahoney, 1996.

⁸⁶ Eisenmann, 1999, p. 305.

Cremin and Butts state, “by and large, ideals of the common school, the high school, the state university, and the normal school were all products of the period. They provided a distinctive American educational ideal which has endured to the present time.”⁸⁷ But the normal school has *not* endured. Normal schools either closed or became high schools or colleges with normal departments. The original ideals of the normal school evaporated as teacher education became a function of colleges and universities.

By bringing King upfront, the differences between school and college, and the transformation that occurred, were illuminated. The twentieth century Michigan State Normal College fit better into the comprehensive histories that have already been written. What King’s life exposed was a different, earlier, version of the Normal School that has not been studied extensively. The founders and leaders of the early Michigan State Normal School had different goals and objectives than their later counterparts, and they had different ideas about religion, gender, learning theories, and curriculum. All of this influenced the lives of individual students and teachers as well as the institutional history of one of the most respected and influential of the antebellum normal schools.

In the early years, Michigan State Normal School was a much more positive institution, especially for women teachers, than the literature on later normal schools would suggest. King was extremely talented and accomplished, largely because of her normal school education and employment. The normal school provided King with an education and a career that nurtured her values and beliefs, and contributed to her professional success. King’s life reveals that at the mid-nineteenth century normal school pedagogy was on the cutting edge, curriculum was integrated and liberal for professional purposes, women’s culture and professional opportunities were nurtured, and religious beliefs were recognized as shaping images of a better society and teaching practice.

Many of the normal school founders considered their work as public servants an enactment of their faith, and they took great pains to learn as much as they could about

⁸⁷ Cremin and Butts, 1953, p. 190.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation

$$f(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^2} dt, \quad (1)$$

where x is a real number. It is shown that the function $f(x)$ is increasing and concave down on the interval $(-\infty, \infty)$.

2. In the second part, we consider the function $g(x)$ defined by the equation

$$g(x) = \int_0^x \frac{t}{1+t^2} dt, \quad (2)$$

where x is a real number. It is shown that the function $g(x)$ is increasing and concave up on the interval $(-\infty, \infty)$.

3. In the third part, we consider the function $h(x)$ defined by the equation

$$h(x) = \int_0^x \frac{t^2}{1+t^2} dt, \quad (3)$$

where x is a real number. It is shown that the function $h(x)$ is increasing and concave down on the interval $(-\infty, \infty)$.

4. In the fourth part, we consider the function $k(x)$ defined by the equation

$$k(x) = \int_0^x \frac{t^3}{1+t^2} dt, \quad (4)$$

where x is a real number. It is shown that the function $k(x)$ is increasing and concave up on the interval $(-\infty, \infty)$.

5. In the fifth part, we consider the function $l(x)$ defined by the equation

$$l(x) = \int_0^x \frac{t^4}{1+t^2} dt, \quad (5)$$

where x is a real number. It is shown that the function $l(x)$ is increasing and concave down on the interval $(-\infty, \infty)$.

modern pedagogical theory and children's nature. The founders of many normal schools were, as Altenbaugh and Underwood describe, ministers and politicians, but this did not preclude them from being thoughtful educators or dictate that they were "weak on pedagogical theory." On the contrary, principals of early normal schools studied Pestalozzian and other contemporary educational theories and often published books about their new methods of teaching.⁸⁸

King's life also demonstrates that as the Normal School became a college, it did *not* become more effective at educating women teachers or providing them with professional opportunities. Women were, in the later years, held to the standards of the male college but were involved in social activities that made them subordinate to men. Nor did the more modern Normal College become more effective at teaching teachers disciplinary knowledge or the pedagogy of school subjects. Pedagogy was cordoned off from academic subjects as the Normal adopted college majors and electives. Finally, in the quest for truth at the Normal College, religion was replaced with scientific authority.

Scholars have written about a shift, which took place around the turn of the last century, from religion as a guiding force to religion as an object of study.⁸⁹ John P. Burris' new study of religion at international exhibitions during the age of the university, reveals this shift. His cultural study demonstrates how religion became a separate endeavor—simply one concern among many. Through studying exhibitions such as the World's Fairs, Burris traces the emergence and development of religion as a field of intellectual inquiry, rather than life's guiding force.⁹⁰ Marsden notes that by the 1920s "religion lost its primacy in both curriculum and epistemology and was left struggling for a place within the increasingly objective university."⁹¹

Other scholars have noted that the changes that took place around the turn of the century influenced women and the construction of gender. Between the 1890s and 1920s

⁸⁸ Isbell, 1970; Putnam, 1899; Loomis, 1932; Welch, 1862.

⁸⁹ Eisenmann, 1999, p. 303.

⁹⁰ Burris, 2002.

⁹¹ Eisenmann, 1999, p. 301.

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2. The second part of the document is a list of the interview questions, which are organized into three main themes: personal experiences, coping strategies, and social support. The questions are designed to explore the participants' perceptions of their own mental health, the challenges they face, and the resources they use to manage their condition.

3. The third part of the document is a table of the interview transcripts, which provides a summary of the data collected from each participant. The table includes the participant's name, age, gender, and a brief description of their mental health condition. It also lists the key themes identified in each interview, such as "experiences of stigma" or "importance of family support".

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women had appropriated the language of “science” to assert their individual rights, but in the process they unknowingly undermined their own collective power. Modernity brought both gains and losses eroding the female community that had flourished in Victorian America.⁹² Lynn Gordon points out, it was not just the transition from normal school to college that affected teacher education, it was also the social milieu in which graduates found themselves in the twentieth century.⁹³ Her work acknowledges that definitions of masculinity and femininity were changing, but she does not emphasize the importance of these progressive era changes at the normal school.

That changes in teacher education that occurred one hundred years ago had anything to do with changing notions of gender or the ways the new university defined masculinity is a topic which has not been widely explored. Goodlad notes that “the transition from normal school to regional state university and from teaching to research together appear to have contributed significantly to the insecure status of teacher education... Teacher education was not so much pushed aside as it was overshadowed. It became one of several competing functions rather than central.”⁹⁴ Goodlad’s work demonstrates that there was a change in status, but does not link teacher education’s new subordinate position to changing gender roles and expectations or to changing ideas about faith and the role of Christianity in higher education.

Christine Ogren’s pioneering research on gender in normal schools also demonstrates how the changes that took place in normal schools as they became colleges were not all for the best. Her investigation of coeducation at Wisconsin state normal schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries suggests that the normal schools’ distinctive brand of coeducation fostered equity between the sexes that was lost as the normal schools became colleges. Ogren asserts, “It is a fair question to ask whether

⁹² Evans, 1989, p. 173.

⁹³ Gordon, 1990, p. 200.

⁹⁴ Goodlad, 1990, p. 20

• *How do you think the world will change in the next 50 years?*

What do you think?

What do you think?

What do you think?

.....

American education gained or lost when the lowly normal schools advanced to collegiate status."⁹⁵

Ogren's work builds on Geraldine's Clifford's claims about the effects of college attendance on women. Clifford writes:

the weakening of the bonds of womanhood among educated women has been a major consequence of college attendance,...the values of science and professionalism undercut the very culture and political climate that had given women strength to expand their lives and to look critically at conventional assumptions about their basic personalities. Women lost their old feminine supports but had no other supports to replace them.⁹⁶

These scholars contradict generally accepted assumptions about higher education and claim that women's opportunities were limited, rather than expanded, as the nineteenth century single purpose normal schools became multipurpose colleges.⁹⁷ Even though the move towards collegiate and then university status has generally been considered progress, historians who study the experiences of women warn us that the supposed upgrades may have had unintended gender effects.⁹⁸

There appears to be a pervasive scholarly misunderstanding of what constituted the normal school experience in its first half century of existence. The conventional perception of the normal school movement is flawed because: 1) The research community still does not value work about women, teaching, or gender; therefore, historians haven't studied enough female teachers, and, when they have studied men, they haven't asked questions about family, faith, or other feminized subjects. 2) An anti-Christian sentiment pervades contemporary college faculties and research communities.⁹⁹ Scholars who choose to study or advocate for women may be particularly uncomfortable with religious topics, as they may view Christianity as sexist or narrow-minded. 3) Historians have focused on what happened after the transition from school to college was well underway, rather than assess

⁹⁵ Ogren, 1995, p. 4.

⁹⁶ Clifford, 1983, p. 12.

⁹⁷ Ogren, 1995.

⁹⁸ Tyack and Hansot, 1988.

⁹⁹ See for example, Carter, 1994.

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the early normal schools in terms of the original visions and initial examples. The important time and place to study is the pre-college normal school of the 1800s.

Were we to undertake a revisionist interpretation by focusing on one school, the Michigan State Normal School, and particularly one graduate and practitioner of that school, Julia Anne King, we would not only be forced to rethink our generalizations about teacher training in the second half of the nineteenth century, but we would also learn more about Christianity, gender, pedagogy, and teacher professionalism in those times.

Designing King's Lifework

The rhythms of King's life as a female student, teacher, public school administrator, and teacher educator, were not shaped by presidential administrations, nor did her ideas and commitments evolve chronologically, according to patterns of dominant thought or in response to certain developments within the educational system. Instead, her basic ideas about the purposes of schooling, why one teaches and how one thinks about one's work as a teacher, were formed by the time she graduated from the normal school at twenty years old. This is not to say that she did not develop or challenge herself to grow; on the contrary, she understood that "we have a life work to do, and our happiness consists in doing and well doing."¹⁰⁰ She spent the remaining sixty-one years of her life preparing both head and heart and going forth to be a faithful laborer.¹⁰¹ She found for herself "the great social need of the hour"¹⁰² and toiled for good.

I listened to King in an effort to understand the lessons and philosophies she learned as a teacher education student, clung to or developed as a teacher and administrator, and shared with others as a teacher educator. King's beliefs about teaching, learning, and learners; her orientations toward knowledge; her views about the "good" society; and her understanding of gender roles and opportunities for women, were all informed by her faith.

¹⁰⁰ King, 1858.

¹⁰¹ King, 1858.

¹⁰² King, 1915.

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She was not alone in her constant references to the Bible and Jesus' teachings. When she spoke to her students and colleagues she incorporated Biblical passages right into her prose. She never bothered to cite the Biblical verse, chapter, or book she referenced; it was as if she believed everyone would know what or whom she was quoting and how the passage ended.

In chapter two I establish Christianity as the guiding force in King's life and describe how God's Word informed her teaching practice and influenced her conceptualizations of the teaching profession. The next two chapters develop out of the religion chapter. If in chapter two I establish King as a Christian, in chapter three and four I peel away more layers of her identity—in chapter three as a woman, and in chapter four as a teacher and teacher educator. In each chapter I explore not only who King was but also how the institution in which she studied and taught supported her beliefs. The Michigan State Normal School's connections to Christianity are explored in chapter two; the experiences of women at the Michigan State Normal School, and their opportunities as graduates, in chapter three; and the curriculum and instruction of teacher education, as well as the on-going professional lives of early teachers and teacher educators, in chapter four.

Within each of these three thematic chapters I imagine concentric circles with King in the middle—surrounded by the Michigan State Normal School and the larger society. In each I mention the gradual transformation of the Michigan State Normal School to a college. As the normal school became a college, the pursuit of God's glory was abandoned in favor of a new idol: science. Opportunities for women in college-based teacher education declined, and liberal arts courses, which combined pedagogical knowledge with disciplinary knowledge, were discontinued, as teacher education became a separate department. The old Normal School's institutional strength and King's personal strength are demonstrated by her ability to adapt to the new collegiate environment even as the new institution began to regard teachers with her perspectives as obsolete.

In chapter five, I reflect on how King's life and the history of her normal school might contribute to contemporary conversations about teacher professionalism and the professional education of teachers. King was an integral and respected member of the communities to which she belonged, and she was representative of her contemporaries who chose to make teaching their lifework. She achieved a professional position of power not accessible to women who chose to marry and have children, but she was neither unique nor marginal. The combination of 1)"new" pedagogy in an elite educational environment, 2) the relative financial and intellectual independence that teaching offered women, and 3) the opportunity to serve God and His children, made teaching and normal school attractive to liberally-educated Christian women and led to a form of teacher professionalism which embraced these ideals.

It is not appropriate to look at history and say "we should do it like they did one hundred and fifty years ago," but we can learn from educational history by asking questions that stories like King's inspire as we also consider "improving" teacher education and "professionalizing" teaching. For example, what role do faith, pedagogy, the liberal arts, gender, and social action play in our current teacher education programs? What forms of teacher professionalism do our programs promote? Are we still dealing with the aftermath of the reforms in teacher education that took place at the turn of the last millennium? How can we, in the twenty-first century, improve our practice in light of new historical understandings?

The structure of this study is related to both King's life and mine. As I was trying to hear a teacher's voice, I was also trying to write a history that will effectively educate. My experience as a history teacher suggests that education is the most meaningful when students can organize information around themes they recognize in their own lives and build on their own understandings and experiences. Just as I employ culturally relevant pedagogy¹⁰³ because I seek to empower students who have traditionally not been served

¹⁰³ Ladson-Billings, 1994.

well by schools, I write King's biography because I seek to empower historians, who have traditionally not considered female teachers' lives viable venues for scholarly inquiry, and teachers, who have traditionally not looked to educational research for inspiration. The thematic structure should encourage historians and teachers alike to reflect on the ideologies that inform their work and help them envision alternatives. I write for the same reasons I teach: "to make power less mysterious and knowledge more accessible"¹⁰⁴ for my students, colleagues, and myself.

¹⁰⁴ Kerber, Kessler-Harris, and Sklar, 1995, p.14.

Chapter 2

“The Beginning of Wisdom”¹: Christianity as Life Work

**“Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.”
Northwest Ordinance, 1787**

**“Her character has its source in God, and her hopeful,
healthful, benign influence abideth forever.”²**

Julia Anne King’s parents, Hiram (1794-1852) and Charlotte J. King (1806-1898), came to Michigan from Vermont before she was born. They “cleared a place in the forest, built a log house, and engaged in farming.”³ Growing up on the frontier, King endured hardships and accepted responsibility early in her life. King remembered being awakened one night by her mother’s anxious voice. The baby was sick, and since her father had a broken leg, little Julia was the only one able to go down the dark forest road for the doctor.⁴ Reflecting on King’s childhood, her mother claimed that the little girl with twinkling blue eyes and chestnut hair “had enough energy for two.”⁵ It was this twinkle and this energy that pervaded her life work in adulthood.

Julia Anne King was raised in a Christian family. The King family has been described as of Puritan stock.⁶ They attended the London Township Methodist Church located just out of the town of Milan on one of the plank roads that ran across southeastern Michigan. During the 1840s, in one-room schoolhouses on Michigan’s

¹ King, 1858 (quoted from the Bible: Ps 111:10: “The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord.”)

² This quotation was beneath King’s photo in the yearbook. *Aurora*, 1909, p. 30

³ Lord, 1954, p. 306.

⁴ Lord, 1954, p. 306.

⁵ *Aurora*, 1893, p. 37.

⁶ Putnam, 1899, p. 169.

QUESTION

QUESTION: What is the
relationship between the
two variables?

ANSWER: The relationship between the two variables is

positive. As the value of the first variable increases, the value of the second variable also increases.

For example, if the first variable is 10, the second variable is 20. If the first variable is 20, the second variable is 40.

The relationship between the two variables is linear. The data points form a straight line. The slope of the line is 2. This means that for every unit increase in the first variable, the second variable increases by 2 units.

The relationship between the two variables is also proportional. The ratio of the second variable to the first variable is constant. In this case, the ratio is 2. This means that the second variable is always twice the value of the first variable.

For example, if the first variable is 10, the second variable is 20. If the first variable is 20, the second variable is 40.

The relationship between the two variables is also symmetric. The data points form a straight line. The slope of the line is 2. This means that for every unit increase in the first variable, the second variable increases by 2 units.

For example, if the first variable is 10, the second variable is 20. If the first variable is 20, the second variable is 40.

The relationship between the two variables is also transitive. The data points form a straight line. The slope of the line is 2. This means that for every unit increase in the first variable, the second variable increases by 2 units.

For example, if the first variable is 10, the second variable is 20. If the first variable is 20, the second variable is 40.

ANSWER: The relationship between the two variables is

positive. As the value of the first variable increases, the value of the second variable also increases.

frontier, young children like Julia Anne King recited Bible verses and learned a Christian version of morality. As an adult, King worked as a public school teacher and teacher educator, but she also worked at a Baptist College, taught Sunday school in evangelical Protestant churches of various denominations in the towns where she taught school, and attended the Baptist Church in Ypsilanti. She is buried, next to her parents and three siblings who died as young children, in the graveyard adjacent to the small rural church that now stands where her childhood house of worship was located. Julia Anne King was a woman of many talents and titles, but first and foremost, she was a Christian.

In this chapter I establish what that meant to King. First, I analyze King's 1858 essay titled "Life Work" which she wrote in her classmate Hattie A. Farrande's notebook, "Reminiscences of Normal Days and Normal Friends." King had intimate knowledge of, and made constant reference to, the Bible. She had membership in a community of Christians who did not require scriptural references. For example, in her life work essay King never explicitly mentions the Bible or particular verses, yet her prose is laced with allusions and paraphrases of relevant scripture. I use this earliest surviving piece of King's scholarship as the basis for her beliefs when she graduated from the Michigan State Normal School at twenty years of age. This eight page student paper, composed for a girl friend, serves as a window into King's beliefs and commitments.

In the beginning of this chapter, I analyze the content of the "life work" essay and demonstrate its heavy reliance on the Bible as life's instruction manual. Second, I move beyond this essay into King's other writings that concern faith. I discuss what the "body of Christ" meant to her and to her conception of community. Third, I situate King's beliefs as typical of teachers and teacher educators in the mid-nineteenth century by examining the beliefs of men and women who founded and taught at the Michigan State Normal School and at Michigan's other early schools. These "ministering angels" believed God's Word and Christian service were of utmost importance in all aspects of life, including public school teaching and state-sponsored teacher education. Fourth, I

look “beyond Michigan” at the role of faith in teaching and teacher education in other parts of the country and abroad. Finally I discuss the ways religion changed at the Normal School as it became a college. Perhaps it was his Christian worldview that led Professor Sill to label the transition to a college, during which faith lost out to science, “an injurious manifestation of ambitious folly.” ⁷

Julia Anne King’s Life Work

King thought of Jesus as her Lord and Savior; she believed she was on this earth to do God’s work. King taught that people needed to work in the world as part of the expression of their faith, and that teaching was one way to participate in the working out of the kingdom of heaven on earth. She wrote:

We have a life-work to do, and our happiness consists in doing and well doing... Prepare both head and heart and then go forth and be faithful laborers, resting assured that earnest faithful labor brings its reward—that though it comes not now, it is somewhere in the shadowy future...⁸

The term lifework, used in this way, could be any vocation that a Christian feels called by God to do and which can be done to glorify God. King assures her prospective teacher colleagues that their labors will be rewarded, not with big salaries or fame, but in God’s Kingdom to come.

When King graduated from the Michigan State Normal School in 1858 she was clear about why she was going to work as a teacher and for whom she was working. She saw teaching as ministry and encouraged her classmates to do the same. In King’s life work essay, she helps us understand how she viewed her calling and how central the Bible was to her thinking.

⁷ Sill, 1893, p. 273.

⁸ King, 1858.

The world is the field for working out glory, honor, and eternal life. So long as life is the labor goes on—but labor for what? The meat which perishes?... Man is immortal and should not work solely for the things which perish or take to themselves wings and fly away.⁹

In this opening paragraph King paraphrases Jesus who said, “Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of Man shall give unto you: for him hath God the father sealed” (Jn 6:27).¹⁰ The Son of Man was Jesus’ most common title for himself. Christians believe that through his sacrificial death, Jesus gave those who believe in him an infinitely high quality of life in living fellowship with God now and forever.¹¹ Eternal life is not something to be achieved but something to be received by faith in Christ.¹² King wove the teachings from the New Testament together with an image from the Old Testament to demonstrate that it is for God, not personal gain, that we should labor. In Proverbs 23:4-5 it says, “Labor not to be rich... for riches certainly make themselves wings; they fly away as an eagle toward heaven.” Alternately, labor for God’s glory and honor endures forever.

According to Hebrews 13:8, “Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, and to day, and for ever.” In her life work essay King explains: “the mind centers on something that endures—changeless forever—The end of life is not for ourselves but for him who paid for us the ransom.”¹³ This is another Biblical allusion. Through death on the cross, Christ paid the ransom price of his own life to free us from the slavery of sin. “The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many” (Mt 20:28; Mk 10:45), and “For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus; who gave himself a ransom for all,” (1Ti 2:5-6). The

⁹ King, 1858.

¹⁰ *The Holy Bible* (King James Version). For Biblical quotations I have chosen to use the King James Version (KJV), also known as the Authorized Version, because it is what King would have read. For notes and interpretive material I depend on the New International Version Study Bible (NIV).

¹¹ NIV, Jn 3:15

¹² NIV, Jn 6:27

¹³ King, 1858.

the first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same. The second is that the system is not a simple one, and that the results are not always the same.

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Greek word ransom was most commonly used for the price to redeem a slave.¹⁴ King believed Christ was her redeemer or savior, and that her work should reflect this faith.

While King draws wisdom from the Old Testament, she was clearly committed to the new covenant where God's laws become man's inner principles and God and his people have intimate fellowship.¹⁵ Further into her life work essay, King states, "All men can be good and work for good...if it be firmly written on the heart...greatness will follow."¹⁶ This is taken from Hebrews 8:10 and Jer 31:33: "I will...write them [God's laws] in their hearts." In contrast to carrying around laws on tablets of stone, laws written on the heart govern one's life.

King wished that all of her classmates had learned to submit to God and his commandments. "We have been learning lessons that are to aid us in the contest. Some, would that all had, have learned that great lesson which is the 'beginning of wisdom.'" The beginning of wisdom is the classic Old Testament statement concerning the religious basis of what it means to be wise. For example, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: a good understanding have all they that do his commandments; his praise endureth forever" (Psalm 111:10); "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and the knowledge of the holy is understanding" (Proverbs 9:10); and "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge, but fools despise wisdom and instruction" (Proverbs 1:7). "Fear of God" is a convention phrase equivalent to "true religion."¹⁷ The theme of the book of Proverbs is to have loving reverence for the Lord. Christians believe that God is King but that even as we stand in awe of him, we can rejoice.¹⁸

¹⁴ NIV, Mt 20:28

¹⁵ NIV, Heb 8:10

¹⁶ King, 1858.

¹⁷ NIV, Ge 20:11

¹⁸ NIV, Pr 1:7

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2. The second part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Interior, dated January 3, 1862. It contains information about the land and resources of the United States.

3. The third part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated January 3, 1862. It contains information about the financial affairs of the United States.

4. The fourth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the War, dated January 3, 1862. It contains information about the military affairs of the United States.

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Directly after King mentioned “the beginning of wisdom,” she said, “And we go forth to commence the application.”¹⁹ King and her colleagues were leaving the Normal School to begin the applied work of Christians. They would have to think about how their own religious beliefs could be applied to teaching and learning in Michigan’s public schools.

King looked to Mary Lyon, founder of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, for example and inspiration as she thought about her future life as a teacher.

Whose heart has not thrilled at the mention of the deeds which made up the life work of Mary Lyon? She was a noble woman devoting time, talent, and all that she had to the accomplishment of her work. Though she now stands among the redeemed around the great white throne the world will reap the fruits of her labor for many harvests yet. She toiled for good.²⁰

Lyon stands among the redeemed because she was a Christian. The great white throne depicts God ruling Heaven from his throne. For example, “And I saw a “great white throne, and him that sat on it” (Rev 20:11). The fruits of Lyon’s labor include the outstanding women’s college she founded and the many other female seminaries that were fashioned using its example. However, in addition to the educational institutions with which we associate her name, King credits her with “fruitful labor” which means the spread of the gospel and the upbuilding of the church.²¹ For example, in Paul’s letter to the Philippians, he says, “For to me, to live is Christ and to die is gain. If I am to go on living in the body, this will mean fruitful labor for me” (Php 1:21-22). Fruits are also mentioned in the book of Matthew: “Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?” (Mt 7:16). Just as thorn bushes do not produce grapes, bad people do not do good deeds. “By their fruits” was a passage King often

¹⁹ King, 1858.

²⁰ King, 1858.

²¹ NIV, Php 1:22

quoted.²² She believed that when judging one's life, actions are what counts. King, like Lyon, was a doer.

In her life work essay, King mentions only Mary Lyon by name, but she also refers to the work of all different types of scientists: "those who have descended into the earth and counted the strata on which we have builded our temples," those who have "gathered the mottled star-like agate filled with budding flowers and the shell pitted with microscopic carvings," and those who "have entered the chambers of the carboniferous period and translated the wondrous hieroglyphics on their walls," "astronomers," and "chemists." She also mentions the work of poets who "poured out their souls...in the subtle working of passion, the air flight of imagination or the slow steps of reason." She concludes that each of them has a work to do, and while "our life work need not be the same, . . .our progress will be marked with deeds not words."²³ To King it was not important what profession or endeavors one pursued, but rather that all inquiry and effort be labor for God's glory.

King acknowledges that the Michigan State Normal School has been a haven for the graduating students, and that men and women alike must venture out to work in the world. To her classmates she wrote, "We have been at the Normal a band of brothers and sisters. It has been a resting place. We felt secure in the shadow of its walls, but we cannot always lurk among the hiding places while out in the open field are storms to buffet and battles to fight."²⁴ Men and women prepared to teach together, and King saw them as equally well suited to do God's will. "For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and my sister, and mother" (Mk 3:35). Many of King's classmates and normal school professors were in this spiritual family for which membership was evidenced by obedience to God.²⁵

²² Goodrich, 1919.

²³ King, 1858.

²⁴ King, 1858.

²⁵ NIV, Mk 3:35

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There is an urgency in King's prose as she summons the future teachers to battle for God. She quotes John 4:35 when she says, "Already the harvest is white." She doesn't want them to put off choosing God. "Should we gird ourselves for the battle, putting on the whole armour and fighting manfully?"²⁶ King asks. Her imagery is similar to that in Ephesians 6:11: "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil." King continues by urging the new teachers to

Go out prepared to battle for the right, with the will within, the world without, the seed in the hand, the dew and the rain to moisten the field, and God to give the increase.²⁷

God's workers reap rewards but not immediate satisfaction or material wealth. Battling for "the right" is synonymous with working for God. Having the "will within" is delighting to do God's will because his laws are within your heart.²⁸ The "world without" is a reference not to the world of people, or the created world, but to the world, or realm, of sin, which Christians believe is controlled by Satan and organized against God and righteousness.²⁹ The rest of King's entreaty makes reference to 1 Corinthians 3:6-7 which states, "I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. So then neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase." The sower and the waterer do not make things grow; they are merely God's workers. Paul and Apollos shared the word of God, but it is God himself who brings believers to him.³⁰

King's life work essay closes with a metaphorical portrayal of the joy she anticipates they will experience as teachers—on earth and in Heaven.

Scatter the seed in the grey dawn, in the clear noon-day and the still twilight—not ceasing when adversity comes, but remembering that those who sow in tears shall

²⁶ King, 1858.

²⁷ King, 1858.

²⁸ NIV, Ps 40:8

²⁹ NIV, 1Jn 2:15

³⁰ NIV, 1Cor 3:6-7

reap in joy—and when our work is done, grant that it may be well done. Then shall we return to our father's house, and those who went forth weeping, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing their sheaves with them, to remain where there is fullness of joy forever.

The seed King wants them to scatter is the word of God.³¹ She knows there will be hardships, but she also knows there will be a place for earnest workers in her father's house, or Heaven.³² Like much of the life work essay, this last paragraph is imbued with Biblical allusion: "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth bearing precious seed, should doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him" (Psalm 126:5-6). Even when sowing is accompanied by trouble or sorrow, harvest brings joy.³³ Knowing that she was doing God's work provided King with the comfort, encouragement, fellowship, and compassion necessary to embark confidently upon her teaching career.

Forty years later, she held the same principles. In a 1897 speech to the Student Christian Association, she proclaimed:

Christ served his time and left behind the same service for his followers. The Christian work here and now is to serve the time as Christ would were he in your stead... I think Christ's first word to us would be, if the Divine Spirit be in you, the principle of life, then daily work is religious, and in a very true sense a divine service. No need to adjust relations between secular and spiritual matters where all is spiritual, devotion and duty one, religion, goodness. Work, just common every day work, is the nurse of spiritual life.³⁴

King saw her daily work in schools as a religious calling and service to God. There was no separation of church and state in the way she lived; everything was spiritual. King called upon her students to take up this view of teaching. She drew from Galatians 6:7 which instructs, "for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap," when she implored her students:

³¹ KJV, Lk 8:11

³² NIV, Jn 14:2

³³ NIV, Ps 126:5-6

³⁴ King, 1897, p. 33.

Fellow workers, with God there is no higher inspiration, to overcome ignorance, prejudice, doubt, weakness, sin. 'As you save so shall you be saved.' ...To raise, reform, educate, to save men from the suspicions, vanities, enmities, jealousies—all unrighteousness—which set him at variance with himself, his neighbor, and God, to make the kingdom of peace, of joy, of order, of eternal truth real in the world—this is your work.³⁵

King had great expectations as she set out this monumental task for prospective teachers, but, with her belief in God's providence, this sort of labor was possible in classrooms.

The Body of Christ

Not only did King believe in the power of the example set by Jesus and his disciples, but she was also committed to a society in which each individual sees himself as a citizen in vital union with the community. Drawing from her religious beliefs, King shaped her professional goals and scholarly agendas.

Spiritual life is not an isolated and solitary possession, but a citizenship in a spiritual empire. The Christian is born into an immense company, a new race. But look at St. Paul's figure. He sees the Christian not as one of a vast aggregate but as part of an organic whole—the body of Christ and the members in particular. The figure is a very strong one. There is need, never more than today, of a full, strong, masterful organization.³⁶

King's understanding of what it meant to be a Christian included an inclusive view of humanity and a desire to become an organized body—all God's children working together toward His will.

King's view about the body of Christ and what Christian association should look like are further elaborated in her 1897 address that was part of the dedication of Starkweather Hall. After a report of the Building Committee, a response by the President of the Student Christian Association, and a prayer of dedication, Professor Julia A. King spoke on the subject "The Christian Association." In opening she says:

The first Christian Association registered thirteen names—a leader and twelve disciples. Simply organized with perhaps only two officers, no constitution or written

³⁵ King 1897, p. 34-35.

³⁶ Putnam, 1899, p. 247.

creed, few regulations or by-laws, no equipment, the association began the realization of a new idea, a new life. The outward manifestation of this new life was in no way peculiar. The members of the association were inured to daily toil which still went on. The association was bound together, one Lord, one spirit, one body. This association, organized nearly twenty centuries ago, and still holding its place among the evangelized agencies, will furnish us some suggestions helpful for the hour.³⁷

The thirteen names were Jesus and the first group of men who followed him. Through Jesus' teaching they began to realize a new life; he taught them to worship one Lord, one spirit, one body. King suggests that young people preparing to be teachers could benefit from studying this first example of Christian community. In the Bible, the new testament provides readers with stories and examples of how to live in relationship with others in Jesus' name.

King entreated her audience, "Look at St. Paul's figure. He sees the Christian not as one of a vast aggregate but as part of an organic whole— 'the body of Christ and the members in particular.' That is a very strong figure. Read Rom. XII."³⁸ In the Biblical chapter King instructs her audience to consult, it reads, "So we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members of the other."³⁹ This image of Christ's followers being a body is further developed in Paul's letter to the Corinthians:

For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ. For by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit. For the body is not one member but many. If the foot shall say, because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body? ... And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it. Now ye are the body of Christ and members in particular.⁴⁰

³⁷ Putnam, 1899, p. 247.

³⁸ King, 1897, p. 18

³⁹ KJV, Ro 12:5.

⁴⁰ KJV, 1Co 12:12-27

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the author to the reader, explaining the purpose of the study and the methods used.

2. The second part of the document is a review of the literature, discussing the current state of knowledge on the topic.

3. The third part of the document is a description of the study design and the data collection methods.

4. The fourth part of the document is a presentation of the results of the study, including tables and figures.

5. The fifth part of the document is a discussion of the results, comparing them with the findings of other studies.

6. The sixth part of the document is a conclusion, summarizing the main findings of the study.

7. The seventh part of the document is a list of references, citing the sources used in the study.

8. The eighth part of the document is an appendix, containing additional information related to the study.

9. The ninth part of the document is a glossary, defining the key terms used in the study.

10. The tenth part of the document is a bibliography, listing the sources used in the study.

This example illustrates the unity and diversity of the different spiritual gifts exercised by God's people, who are all members of the one body of Christ. As the human body must have diversity to work effectively as a whole, so the members of Christ's body have diverse gifts. Each must effectively use his position for the good of the whole.⁴¹ When the various parts of the body all work together, much can be accomplished. Indeed King claimed, "individual effort is puny against combined effort."⁴²

King believed the world had too much individualism and that "he who serves the public wisely serves himself."⁴³ This demonstrates how her view of what it meant to be a Christian and what it meant to be a citizen in a democracy were inseparable. If you worked for the good of the whole, the body of Christ, you also worked for the good of yourself, not an isolated individual, but a citizen in a spiritual empire. In her Baccalaureate Address to the Normal College class of 1915, King talked about "the individual in vital union with society," and she encouraged the graduates to "find for yourself the great social need of the hour. To meet that need will be your greatest task, its accomplishment your greatest achievement." She also let them know that

Society needs a politics under which institutions and organizations for the well-being of the whole may be safe. It needs a private citizenship that holds an even balance between self and public . . . It needs such a system of corporate wealth as shall not furnish the corporation millions to devote to private charities while the employees suffer for the common necessities of life.⁴⁴

In this 1915 address King was aware of the abuses of big business and of the negative ways in which industrialism impacted families and communities. She advocated a system that would prepare students for active participatory citizenship and for whatever

⁴¹ NIV, 1Co 12:12-14

⁴² King, 1897, p. 17.

⁴³ This is the first of a collection of quotations attributed to Miss King in the program for her Memorial Exercises, at the Alumni Meeting, Tuesday, June 24, 1919.

⁴⁴ King, 1915.

labors they chose. King's goal was to have students develop a sense of themselves as capable intellectuals, able to act independently and collectively as responsible citizens.

In 1900, the yearbook was dedicated to King. Her students wrote about how she touched not only their minds, but also their souls:

Miss King has remembered, as some teachers have not always remembered, that thing which is needed in dealing with students besides mere mental acumen and intellectual vigor. The human soul knows and rejoices to know, but it does more than merely know. The teacher should be able to lead the student beyond knowing alone; there is need of feeling as well as knowing. Of this truth Miss King is fully aware; she leads those whom she instructs in the paths of uprightness and righteousness, and keeps constantly in mind that to lift up the soul above that which is merely temporal, is of more value than to gain an abundance of the things which perish with the using.⁴⁵

The authors who wrote this yearbook dedication to Miss King seem familiar with the Psalms whose language they borrow from as liberally as their beloved teacher did. For example, the dedication above draws from at least the following four Psalms: "He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake" (Psalm 23:3); "Unto thee, O Lord, I do lift up my soul," (Psalm 25:1); "Rejoice the soul of thy servant: for unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul" (Psalm 86:4); "Cause me to hear they loving kindness in the morning; for in thee I do trust: cause me to know the way wherein I should walk; for I lift up my soul unto thee." (Psalm 143:8). The normal school students appreciated King's commitment to building and supporting their faith.

King quoted Florence Nightingale, one of the many women she admired, when she told normal students and faculty colleagues,

To realize the kingdom within furnishes the principles of life. The Christian Association is the organ of the school by which its religious life is realized; it is also the organ of God through divine power and becomes a practical working factor in the community. Among some of the conditions by which the inner life becomes an outer force working among men, is unflinching honesty in dealing with known truth. If every member of this association could at this moment begin to do what he himself knows for truth, the kingdom of God would indeed appear among us and within us. You need moral enthusiasm. Can this day with the beneficent and never to be

⁴⁵ *Aurora*, 1900.

forgotten gift bring it? Can your prayers bring it? God grant that the hours be indeed a Pentecost, and that you go in the strength of it for all days to come. Through you may He see the travail of His soul and be glad; through you may there come a strong, enthusiastic movement towards the Kingdom of Eternal Truth.⁴⁶

This was a powerful call for young teachers to join forces and work towards “moral enthusiasm.” King advocated a sense of self that predisposed one to be capable of Christ’s work. Without this realization of the kingdom within she didn’t think people could work for the community. Nowhere does she advocate being a passive teacher who blindly follows the direction of others; instead, her Christianity requires a willingness to be honest, self-reflective, interested in personal discovery, and willingness to share your views. Joining the Christian Association King described would be a freeing act for many teachers, giving them the personal sense of power to make sense of their lives and to work meaningfully in the world. King reminded students “the lamp of devotion, burning behind shut doors, cannot light the world.”⁴⁷ This is another Biblical reference; Jesus said, “I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life,” and “Let your light shine before men, that they might see your good works, and glorify your father which is in heaven.”⁴⁸ Jesus and King both encouraged their students to let their lights shine.

King found comfort and support as a student at the Normal, and she offered students the same sort of fellowship as a professor later in her career. The class of 1902 presented a portrait of King as their class gift to the College. They thought it appropriate that future students have her likeness hanging in their hall because,

There has never been a time when her duties as teacher have prevented her from filling her place as friend. Her home, full of beauty, is open to those who will come. Her life, rich in sympathy and kindness, goes out to those who know her, and becomes an influence deep and lasting.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Daniel Putnam, 1899, p. 247-8

⁴⁷ King, 1897, p. 17.

⁴⁸ KJV, Jn 8:12 and Mt 5:16.

⁴⁹ *Aurora*, 1902..

King's life work was driven by her belief that "one's life among neighbors shapes the world community."⁵⁰ The Normal School provided the neighbors with whom to begin shaping this community.

As a Normal School professor, King attended the Ypsilanti Baptist church, was an active member of the Sunday schools, and supported the Students' Christian Association. The state-sponsored normal college endorsed no particular religion, but King was comfortable expressing her views about Christianity in intellectual forums. King also preached about the importance of community and the need for fellowship, rather than competition, among men. She was gravely concerned about the policies that could come out of research on eugenics, and she counseled normal college students to consider the ways they could contribute to children's "social heredity," rather than being overly influenced by their biological traits.⁵¹

In remembering King, Ernest Goodrich, her student, friend, and neighbor claimed, "her motto was made the text of her Baccalaureate Address, 'None of us liveth to himself alone.' Her life exemplified it. Her constant endeavor was to get her students to realize this fact in thought and in act."⁵² Paul's letter to the Romans states, "For none of us liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself...we are the Lord's. Let us not therefore judge one another."⁵³ Here the apostle Paul is talking about practicing righteousness among the weak and the strong. The reference "us" is to Christians. We do not live to please ourselves, but the Lord. Even in death, the important thing is one's relationship to

⁵⁰ Buell, 1919.

⁵¹ Goodrich, 1919; King, 1915.

⁵² Goodrich, 1919, p. 10.

⁵³ KJV, Ro 14:7-8,13.

the Lord. The message of the entire letter to the Romans—work out faith in the world—is one that King embraced.⁵⁴

King was remembered for her intense spiritual nature and for being a follower of Jesus whom she called ‘the Greatest Teacher of all times.’⁵⁵ She quoted Christ’s word’s, “I am the Life” with the explanation that his life was one great service.⁵⁶ There were two ways to translate the word life in ancient Greece: 1) bios: biological life, and 2) zoe: the absolute fullness of life, both essential and ethical, which belongs to God, or life real and genuine, a life active and vigorous, devoted to God, blessed,....⁵⁷ This second type, zoe, is what is used in John 14:6, “I am the way, the truth, and the life.” This is also the life King refers to when she says, “My theme then is life, the common life whose purposes, hopes, joys, sorrows, labors and disappointments we are all sharing.”⁵⁸ Christians believe Christ is life of a special sort; Jesus not only *is* life but *conveys* life to the believer. Jesus teaches that he is the bread that is living and life giving.⁵⁹

King’s 1919 memorial service ended with a solo called: “Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace.” The title words to this hymn come directly out of the Bible: “Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee: because he trusteth in thee. Trust ye in the Lord for ever: for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength” (Isaiah 26:3-4). This passage means that God will provide peace and strength to those who trust Him. Through her trust in God, King was both peaceful and strong throughout her long

⁵⁴ NIV, Ro 14:7-13.

⁵⁵ Goodrich, 1919, p. 10.

⁵⁶ Goodrich, 1919, p. 11.

⁵⁷ Bullinger, 1975, p. 453. see also Bauer, Arndt, and Danker, 2000

⁵⁸ King, 1915, p. 289.

⁵⁹ KJV, Jn 6:32-35.

life of service. Rather than feeling shackled or oppressed by school and society, King was, as this memorial hymn teaches, “free indeed” through her faith in Jesus Christ.⁶⁰

“Ministering Angels”: Michigan State Normal School and Christian Faith

As normal school student, and, later, normal school professor, King was both a product and a creator of the Michigan State Normal School’s institutional religious values. Most students at the mid-nineteenth century Normal School had family backgrounds and religious beliefs similar to King’s. While there was never a particular religion established at the Michigan State Normal School, it was taken for granted that teachers would be religious people. A student was quoted as saying: “We have to tell them [the faculty] . . . what church we attend while here for they say that they do not want students who do not attend church.”⁶¹

The Normal School building was completed, and the formal dedication exercises took place on October 5, 1852. John D. Pierce, the first state Superintendent, spoke about “A Perfect School System”:

What we need, and what we must have, is a perfect school system; not perfect in degree, but perfect in kind; a system adapted in all its parts to the wants of a great and flourishing republic,—and it is certainly a matter of just pride, that we have already all the elements of such a system,—a foundation of solid granite, laid in the constitution, the fundamental law of the State....The system is comprehensive and grand, and amply sufficient to reach every child in the State, and furnish him with all the elements of a good education.⁶²

Pierce was an advocate of normal education and mentioned in his remarks that teacher training was, in his judgment, essential to the perfect educational system. His closing

⁶⁰ Words to the memorial hymn are as follows: “Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on Thee. Marvel not that I say unto you, you must be born again. Though your sins as scarlet be, they shall be white as snow. If the Son shall set you free, you shall be free indeed.” See <http://www.breadsites.org/lyrics/622.htm>

⁶¹ Isbell, 1971, p. 320.

⁶² Putnam, 1899, p. 16.

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1990; 263: 1033-1036.

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statements demonstrate the ways non-sectarian Christian faith was woven into the fabric of the original normal school.

To the guardians of this institution I would say, go on, then in the noble work; falter not in the good cause; persevere, that teachers may be qualified to train up the young spirits of our country to high and elevated sentiments, to form noble purposes; to act on fair and honorable ground, leading them onward and upward to virtue and the full enjoyment of the highest good, the *To Kalon* of the ancient Greeks; that ineffable good which Christianity has fully revealed and promised to the pure in heart and in life.⁶³

Pierce prizes nobility, honor, and virtue. *Kalon* is a Greek word that means morally good or contributing to salvation.⁶⁴ Pierce, like his 1852 audience, knew that a morally good life, contributing to salvation has been fully revealed and promised by Christ. His hope was that these newly trained teachers would inspire children to be upright Christians.

After the close of Mr. Pierce's address, others who spoke provided further evidence of the ways in which the early founders believed the normal school would contribute to a Christian nation. Young normal school graduates were to be schooled in, and were then to school others in, democratic and Christian values. Hon. Isaac E. Crary, President of the Board of Education, pronounced the formal dedication, clearly demonstrating that, for the normal school founders, education, government and religion were linked.

Now, therefore, in the presence of that Being who is a God of knowledge, and in behalf of the Board of Education, I do dedicate this Building to the People of the State of Michigan, to promote the great cause of man—the cause of God, and may this dedication be not all in vain. May all those who shall hereafter have charge of this Institution be endowed with the spirit of Wisdom, and may all who come up to this high place of instruction be so imbued with that spirit as to become ministering angels to the wants and necessities of humanity;—and may they thus continue ministering and to minister to each successive generation until there shall not be one solitary individual within our wide-extended borders who has not drank deeply of the healing waters that shall gush forth from this high fountain. May the glory of the Divine Image be ever present within these walls, not standing in a thick cloud as in Judah's temple of old, but gladly tabernacled in the hearts of every one who shall

⁶³ Putnam, 1899, p. 16.

⁶⁴ Bauer, Arndt, and Danker, 2000.

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come up here to teach, or be taught, until that time shall come when the lion and the lamb shall lie down together and a little child shall lead them.⁶⁵

Crary asked that God always be present in the Normal School. A “thick cloud” was the visible symbol of God’s presence among his people.⁶⁶ Rather than the earthly tabernacle of the Old Testament, Crary wished for the students and the teachers of the Normal School to experience the love of God, through Jesus Christ, in their hearts.⁶⁷

The time when the lion and lamb lie down together refers to a future reign of Christ on earth. This is referred to in Isaiah 11:6: “The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them.” Such conditions are a description of the future consummation of the Messianic kingdom. This peaceful image of little children playing with formerly ferocious animals symbolizes the fullness of life enjoyed in complete security with Christ.⁶⁸

D. Bethune Duffield, son of an influential Presbyterian pastor in Detroit and member of the State Board of Education (1856), wrote a hymn for the dedication of the Normal School in 1852.⁶⁹ Its content reveals the pre-eminent position God held in the founding of the Normal School. Duffield’s hymn is a song of praise to God. He composed lyrics about the teachers who will study at the Normal School as worshippers and disciples who will share God’s spirit with the youth, and he asked God’s blessing on the Normal School.⁷⁰

Hon. Chauncey Joslin then delivered his commission of office to the Principal, Mr. A. S. Welch. He spoke about how the Normal School was an experiment and its potential influence on the development of our nation.

⁶⁵ Putnam, 1899, p. 17.

⁶⁶ NIV, Ex 1:9.

⁶⁷ NIV, Heb 9:11-15; 2 Co 5:1-5.

⁶⁸ NIV, Is 11:6; Ez 34:25.

⁶⁹ Putnam, 1899, p. 353, 15.

⁷⁰ Putnam, 1899, p. 15-16.

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It may savor somewhat of enthusiasm, yet in my humble judgment, this day's work will form a prominent item in the history of western progress. This side the Empire State it is the first experiment of a similar character made under the auspices of legislative enactment. Who will venture to predict the influence which its success will exert upon the educational interests of the entire Northwest.⁷¹

Joslin continued his address of Welch by discussing the relationship between education and religion and a good society. He advocated for teachers, like preachers and patriots who are engaged in similarly important work, to be recognized for the importance of their labor.

When a universal conviction that vice and ignorance are inseparable, shall disclose the true position of the teacher, and elevate his profession to its true rank. Is it not precursory of the time when the preacher and the patriot shall regard the teacher as an equal and indispensable auxiliary; when the evidence of such estimation shall be visible everywhere—in the schoolhouse and the church exhibiting equally in their structure the proofs of elegance and taste—both rising in such equal proportion towards heaven that the last rays of the sun as he sets, shall gild alike the cupola of the one and the spire of the other.⁷²

The Normal School was not a partisan or sectarian effort; the institution was “favored by all parties and all sects.”⁷³ “Without giving political bias it shall teach the rights and duties of an American citizen. So long as without the inculcation of doctrine or dogma, it has for its foundation the truths of the Bible.”⁷⁴ The type of politics and religion the Normal School founders wanted were those that embraced thoughtful discourse, tolerance, and inclusion of all Christian denominations.

In Professor J. M. B. Sill's Address to King's graduating class of 1858, he talked about those people who might undervalue the noble work of teachers and how Normal School graduates should rise above their less honorable peers and look to God for their rewards:

⁷¹ Putnam, 1899, p. 18.

⁷² Putnam, 1899, p. 18.

⁷³ Putnam, 1899, p. 18.

⁷⁴ Putnam, 1899, p. 8.

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If there are those who misunderstand our aims and misconstrue our motives, who, judging our success in life by a standard mean, and alike dishonorable to themselves and our common humanity, let us make stronger efforts, labor with more untiring zeal, and see to it that the children of such come up to the estate of manhood with nobler views of the highest good in life than their sordid sires. If we feel that fullness of satisfaction which useful labor well-performed never fails to give; if we know that we are lightening the great load of ignorance under which humanity has always staggered, little care we for the applause of men; our reckoning is with God.⁷⁵

Sill was not just concerned about those who criticize teaching from without, but he also warns against those within the ranks of teachers who might not be suited to the “solemn duties and obligations of our profession.” He talks about teaching as “guidance of the deathless mind,” and he describes the mind as a “God-tuned harp whose harmony or discord will vibrate through eternal years.” He says taking the important work of teaching lightly is a sin, and he recommends that those who are not properly prepared for the great task should seek better preparation or choose a new profession.

An essential part of what Sill considers preparation to teach is what he calls “education of the heart.”⁷⁶ He thinks that it is important for the Christian teacher to train the moral as well as the intellectual nature of the young, and he advises the Normal School graduates of 1858 to love God, take a broad view of Christianity, and stand firm against “the powers of darkness.”⁷⁷

There are, in these fastidious times, parents who, under the flimsy plea of horror for creeds and sectarian bias, deprecate all moral discipline, and exhibit an anxiety lest the ears of their young should be assailed by the sound of God’s Word, or the voice of prayer. Such, it is also to be remarked, generally seem to have a like fear of the influence of purity of life and manners, and entertain a lurking dread of the pernicious effects of a decent example. Yield to no such sophistry. Take away cause of reproach by avoiding in your instruction and conversation all appearance of a narrow and degrading sectarianism. Plant your feet upon a foundation as broad as that every man or woman who loves God may stand upon it, and then be unmoved, though all the powers of darkness should be arrayed against you. This you can easily do if you

⁷⁵ Sill, 1858, p. 375.

⁷⁶ Sill, 1858, p. 376.

⁷⁷ Sill, 1858, p. 377.

are right within, for the trammels of no sect, the limitts of no creed, can restrain the far reaching good will of a heart which the love of Christ constraineth.⁷⁸

This means either that we are compelled because Christ loves us or because we love Christ. It is a quotation from 2 Corinthians 5:14: "For the love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead." For those who by faith become united with Christ, his death was their death to sin and self. They now live in and with the resurrected Christ.⁷⁹

Sill closes by acknowledging that while he has attempted to portray some of the difficulties that will accompany teaching, he also wants to paint "the transcendent glories of your high reward." Sill says he is confident the graduates will "adorn the profession of [their] choice," offers them "the right hand of fellowship," welcomes them "to a band whose members are bound together by the ties of an dissoluble fraternity," and asks that "He who holds all destinies in his hands [God] grant that our common Alma Mater may never have cause to blush for us." Because he believes Christian faith is essential for good teaching, it is not surprising that when he welcomes them into the profession, he also welcomes them into a fellowship of Christian believers.⁸⁰

In the prevailing spirit of the day, religion played an important role in campus life from the beginning. Sarah Allen Patton, an early Preceptress at the Normal School, wrote in her later years:

I went to Ypsilanti in the fall of 1855. . . . I found the Students' Prayer Meeting one of the institutions of the school, and so far as I know, its beginning was contemporaneous with that of the School. It seemed to fit into its place and be so thoroughly alive and efficient to meet as real a want as the recitation hours, the Lyceum, or anything else that was an essential to the life of the school.⁸¹

Ruth Hoppin, Preceptress a few years later, wrote in a similar vein:

⁷⁸ Sill, 1858, p. 377-378.

⁷⁹ NIV, 2Cor 5:14.

⁸⁰ Sill, 1858, p. 381.

⁸¹ Isbell, 1971, p. 324.

It was a joy to see all those noble young people so seriously in earnest in the great work to which they were called, and I was sure that when the schools of the State should go into such hands our educational interests would be safe. Very few of the teachers attended [the prayer meeting] in those days, but no evening passed that did not bring noble President Mayhew [1865-1870] into our midst.⁸²

The Preceptress was an advisor to the women students, a teaching faculty member, and an active participant in campus activities. Although evening prayers were not part of the formal curriculum, Ms. Hoppin's comments expose the potential influence she had on the students as they met each evening for fellowship. Principal Estabrook (1871-1879), at the request of the students, took charge of the weekly religious meeting. A member of the faculty at the time, Mrs. Mary L. Rice Fairbanks, later wrote:

He was a grand leader and had the rare power of securing expression from others. There was a spiritual baptism, decisions were made that have molded lives. That old chapel was a sacred place in which were formed some of memory's best pictures. A crowd of young people in the benches, the leader standing in front of the desk, what expostulations fell from his lips, what songs, what prayers, what confessions, what resolves responded!⁸³

Clearly, Estabrook was a religious man, but he was also a principal who believed it was part of his professional duty to preach and minister to students.

Later in the century, Wednesday evening prayer meetings were held in a room on the second floor of the conservatory building. A student of 1890 made the following appraisal of a prayer meeting:

He feels better for having gone than he would if he had stayed at home. He accomplishes more in the two hours that are left than he would in four if he had not gone. There is something in a prayer meeting composed of students, all of whom are young, energetic, active workers, that inspires one. Whether a person takes part or not, there is something in the genuineness of the enthusiasm that wakes one up. Of all the influences with which I was thrown in contact during the first year of my student life at Normal, none were so potent for the time being, or so lasting in its effects, as that exercised by the Students' Christian Association.⁸⁴

⁸² Isbell, 1971, p. 324.

⁸³ Isbell, 1971, p. 325.

⁸⁴ Isbell, 1971, p. 325.

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This student was more captivated by the prayer meeting than by his classes. He claims he remembers more, and the lessons he remembers were more important, than in any other part of his life at the Normal School. Normal students were familiar with the Bible and held fast to its teachings when thinking about their future work. In an essay included in the yearbook a graduate describes the advantages of being at the normal school and the related responsibility this holds. "The Class of '93 feel the value of the advantages that have been theirs.... We feel that as much as given, so will much be required."⁸⁵ This is a Biblical reference: "For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required."⁸⁶

In 1891, the Students' Christian Association had to relinquish their room and became active in raising money for a building of their own. Mrs. Mary Ann Starkweather, a wealthy and public-spirited citizen of Ypsilanti, generously donated \$10,000; the State Board of Education provided the site; the Association, to enable it to own the property, became incorporated; and on March 26, 1897, Starkweather Hall was dedicated with pomp and ceremony. In his presentation, the building committee chairman, Professor Daniel Putnam, said:

While the State is wisely prohibited from making direct provision for religious education and culture, it can well afford to permit and to encourage private individuals to furnish means and facilities for such education at their own expense. Indeed, by doing so the State is only fulfilling the obligation imposed upon it by the provision of the famous ordinance of 1787 . . . that 'Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged.'⁸⁷

⁸⁵ *Aurora*, 1893, p. 21.

⁸⁶ KJV, Lk 12:48

⁸⁷ Isbell, 1971, p. 325-326.

[illegible]

Faculty members were supportive of students who wanted to continue their religious education and it was expected that one would draw from her religious commitments and understandings when serving the state and her children.

Faculty members made decisions based upon their own religious beliefs and appealed to those of the citizenry as they lobbied for new programs at the Normal School. In 1860, Principal Welch made a case for why physical education should be included in the new curriculum: "We owe it to our children, to the cause of popular education, and the humane spirit of our Christian civilization to remedy this too long neglected defect in our educational institutions."⁸⁸ Welch was convinced that students would be healthier and therefore more capable learners if they were physically fit. He believed that if the hundred or so teachers which were educated at the normal each year "were thoroughly trained in the art of physical education, they in turn would 'diffuse the art' to all of the teachers in the state."⁸⁹ For the good of children, popular education, and Christianity, Normal School graduates would share their ideas and innovative training with their colleagues and the good news would eventually reach all the children of the state.

At this time in history, it was assumed by most of the educational establishment in Michigan that public schools were, in fact, de facto Protestant schools. In an 1854 discussion of religion in the schools at the meeting of the State Teachers' Association, Professor Welch, President of the Normal School, insisted that the moral nature needed development and culture as much as the intellectual. "Never attempt the absurdity of sending the intellect of a child to school and keeping his moral sense at home; and above all, never commit his instruction to a teacher whose prayers you are afraid he will hear... I have yet to learn that there is anything in the constitution of the State which forbids instruction in those religious principles upon which, most assuredly, its government is

⁸⁸ Isbell, 1971, p. 91.

⁸⁹ Isbell, 1971, p. 92.

founded.”⁹⁰ In 1859, another extended discussion of the same topic occurred. Professor Gregory said, “No danger threatens the common school system so much as that of not being able to retain there sufficient moral influence to render them safe resorts for our children.” The Association finally adopted the following resolution:

That we believe the education of the moral faculties to be one of the fundamental principles of instruction—that upon this education rests the happiness and prosperity of the State; and we recommend the daily reading of the Bible in our public schools.⁹¹

Joseph Estabrook, son of a pastor in Concord, Massachusetts, graduated from Oberlin in 1847, taught school for several years, and, from 1853-1866, was principal in Ypsilanti. During his tenure there he was elected President of the State Teachers’ Association in 1855.⁹² In 1869, Estabrook, then of Saginaw, read a paper strongly advocating the use of the Bible in the public schools to the annual meeting of the State Teachers’ Association. This prompted a vigorous and protracted discussion during which the sentiment of the Association, as a whole, was found to be strongly adverse to the exclusion of the Bible from our schools by any legal enactments.”⁹³ This resolution following was passed with almost entire unanimity: “That we believe the Bible should not be excluded from our public schools and that such exclusion would not, in our opinion, render them more acceptable to any class of our citizens.”⁹⁴

Involvement in this association seems to have been a training ground for future educational eminence, and in 1871 Reverend Estabrook assumed the Principalship of the Normal School.⁹⁵ During the Spring term of 1876, members of the Lyceum⁹⁶ and

⁹⁰ Putnam, 1876, p. 61.

⁹¹ Putnam, 1876, p. 62.

⁹² Putnam, 1876, p. 12.

⁹³ Putnam, 1876, p. 26.

⁹⁴ Putnam, 1876, p. 62-63; Putnam, 1899, p. 225.

⁹⁵ Putnam, 1899, p. 145-48.

⁹⁶ The Lyceum was the only student organization for many years. It was an intellectual forum where students shared ideas and debated topics of political and professional concern. More on Lyceum in chapters 3 and 4.

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Journal of Management Education 30(6)p.789-804

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numerous faculty members at the Normal School debated a similar resolution: "That the Bible should be retained in the public schools." This resolution sparked animated and lengthy debate, but was finally adopted by a vote of 110 to 27.⁹⁷ While there was discussion and debate, the majority of Michigan's educational leaders and normal school students and professors supported Bible reading in the state-sponsored public schools well into the late-nineteenth century.

Julia Anne King's beliefs about how Christianity can inform and inspire public school teaching and educational leadership were not out of the ordinary in nineteenth century Michigan. Leadership of the public school system was tightly coupled with Christianity, and those evangelical Christian leaders were also connected with and supporters of the Michigan State Normal School where King studied and taught. For example, several of the most influential of Michigan's early Superintendents of Public Instruction were ordained ministers. John D. Pierce, first Superintendent of Public Instruction (1836-41) was "comissioned by the Home Mission Society to settle as a missionary in Michigan" in 1831. He labored in Marshall as a missionary until 1836 when he was appointed to the Superintendency. In 1842 he "resumed his work of the Christian ministry, and continued it until he was elected to the State Legislature in 1847. From the 1850s to his death in 1882 Pierce lived in Ypsilanti and was "engaged in the ministry."⁹⁸ Oliver Cromwell Comstock, the third Superintendent (1843-45), practiced medicine, was a judge, served in the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, and was an ordained Baptist minister. He came to Michigan as a pastor. "His educational reports are filled with practical and fruitful suggestions, bearing the impress of the statesman and the Christian."⁹⁹ John M. Gregory, sixth Superintendent (1859-65), "relinquished his plan of pursuing a legal profession, and entered upon the Christian

⁹⁷ Putnam, 1899, p. 224.

⁹⁸ Putnam, 1899, p. 330-331.

⁹⁹ Putnam, 1899, p. 332.

ministry, his denominational relations being with the Baptist church....His labors in the school room, in teachers' associations, in the pulpit, and before Sunday schools, soon gave him a conspicuous place among the friends of education in Michigan."¹⁰⁰ Oramel Hosford, seventh Superintendent (1865-72), attended Oberlin's Theological Seminary and was an ordained Congregational minister. A friend said of him, "We thank God for his life and work. His name will abide. It will shine in the galaxy of those who have consecrated their lives to Christian learning."¹⁰¹ Theodore Nelson, thirteenth Superintendent (1885-86), went to Hillsdale and Kalamazoo Colleges and was ordained as a Baptist minister. He helped found Alma College and served as president of Kalamazoo College, "but his love of the pulpit soon led him to accept a call to Saginaw."¹⁰² Horace Tarbell, tenth Superintendent (1877-78), was not a minister himself, but he followed in the missionary footsteps of his father, a Methodist Episcopal minister in Vermont, when he led "the first successful attempt at a regularly organized prison school."¹⁰³ Superintendent Henry Pattengill, (1893-96) was the son of a Baptist pastor.¹⁰⁴

The influence of Christianity in the schools of Michigan was not limited to the common schools or the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The University of Michigan also had a reputation as a Christian university. It was understood that its prevailing sentiment was favorable to revealed religion, possibly because of the Christian piety of James Burrill Angel, President from 1871-1909.¹⁰⁵ At his inauguration Angell interpreted "religion" to mean explicitly Christianity, announcing that "the Christian spirit, which pervades the law, the customs, and the life of the State shall shape and color the life of the University, that a lofty, earnest, but catholic and unsectarian Christian tone

¹⁰⁰ Putnam, 1899, p. 335.

¹⁰¹ Putnam, 1899, p. 337-338.

¹⁰² Putnam, 1899, p. 345.

¹⁰³ Putnam, 1899, p. 339.

¹⁰⁴ Putnam, 1899, p. 347.

¹⁰⁵ Marsden, 1994, p. 167.

shall characterize the culture which is here imparted.”¹⁰⁶ Angell’s outspoken devotion to faith in the academy was questioned and the separation of church and state debated, but during his Presidency, which coincided with King’s tenure at the Normal School, Protestantism prevailed.

Beyond Michigan

The nineteenth-century Michigan State Normal School was a state-sponsored normal school, but it was characterized by the values and mores of its Christian founders and preached a non-sectarian Protestantism. This Christian heritage was an essential part of the early normal school movement in the United States and abroad. The Prussian normal schools that so impressed Victor Cousin,¹⁰⁷ and many American educators, were all religious schools. In the mid 1800s, New England states were disestablishing religion, and Michigan did not have an established religion, but this did not mean her founders were not religious. On the contrary, it meant they tried to include all denominations of Christianity.

Isaac Crary, one of the first members of the Michigan Board of Education, made a study of Cousin’s report on the Prussian system of education, and was influenced by that report when helping form the state’s early educational system.¹⁰⁸ M. Victor Cousin (1792-1867), Director the restored Higher Normal School of France, was sent on a mission to the German states to study and report on the system of elementary education, teacher training, and educational organization and administration.¹⁰⁹ Cousin wrote glowingly of the Prussian school system. Given the European system of established churches, Prussia’s teacher seminaries were under the sponsorship of either the Protestant or Catholic church, or they were jointly administered. Cousin quoted from a director’s

¹⁰⁶ Marsden, 1994, p. 168.

¹⁰⁷ Cubberley, 1934, p. 307-9.

¹⁰⁸ Putnam, 1899, p. 351.

¹⁰⁹ Cubberley, 1920, p. 597.

report "Religious instruction is placed at the head of all other parts of education; its object is to implant in the seminaries such a moral and religious spirit as ought to pervade the popular schools."¹¹⁰ Cousin was highly impressed by the moral and spiritual tone of the rural seminaries. Even when the institution was small and academics substandard, there was an admirable commitment to serving fellow men and toiling as Christians. The regulations for one of the Prussian seminaries read: This school is intended to be a *Christian school* (emphasis in original), founded in the spirit of the Gospel. It aspires only to resemble a village household of the simplest kind, and to unite all its members into one family."¹¹¹ Cousin's *Report on the Condition of Public Instruction in Germany, and Particularly in Prussia*, was published in Paris in 1831, in London in 1834, and in New York City, 1835.¹¹² This, in combination with Calvin Stowe's *Report on Elementary Education in Europe*, in 1837; and Alexander D. Bache's *Report on Education in Europe*, in 1838, with their strong recommendations of the German teacher-training system, awakened interest in the United States in teacher education.¹¹³ A bit later, even Michigan State Normal School Principal Welch had the opportunity to visit normal schools on the European continent.¹¹⁴

In Prussia, Karl von Altenstein was the official responsible for education in the cabinet of Friedrich Wilhelm III. He endorsed the progressivism of Pestalozzian pedagogy as a manifestation of Christian love. Altenstein and his colleagues in the ministry insisted on the teaching of religion and the practice of daily prayer and worship in school. Altenstein notified all provincial school offices to stress "the basis of all true education: piety, fear of God, and Christian humility."¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Herbst, 1989, p. 36.

¹¹¹ Herbst, 1989, p. 38.

¹¹² Cubberley, 1920, p. 597.

¹¹³ Cubberley, 1920, p. 751-752.

¹¹⁴ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan*, 1859, p. 122.

¹¹⁵ Herbst, 1989, p. 40-44.

In Massachusetts, normal schools were also charged with making sure that teachers in the district schools knew what they were going to teach: subjects of study and “the principles of piety and morality common to all sects of Christians.”¹¹⁶ The Massachusetts Board of Education prescribed the Bible as a daily text for all normal school students. The Bible, the board emphasized, gave students “the whole scheme of Christianity—the rule of life and the means of salvation,” not some peculiar tenets of sectarian religion. The board took it for granted that Protestant Christianity was the common creed of Massachusetts’ citizens.¹¹⁷

Just like the Michigan State Normal School’s opening dedication, the opening ceremonies for the Kansas State Normal School in Emporia in 1865 were decidedly Christian. They were presided over by the Reverend Mr. Grosvenor C. Morse, Secretary of the Board of Directors. Like many of the Michigan schoolmen, Morse was a minister educated in New England; he was a graduate of Dartmouth College and the Andover Theological Seminary as well as an agent of the American Home Missionary Society. The parable of the sower¹¹⁸ was read and everyone recited the Lord’s Prayer. Three years later the board affirmed their belief in the importance of Christianity in normal education when it resolved that it was “the duty of the faculty to impress upon the minds of the students the fundamental principals of the Christian religion.”¹¹⁹

The consensus behind the creation of public education in the nineteenth century was based in a large part on a belief system that has been called Protestant republican ideology. The Protestant clergy identified the Kingdom of God with the American Republic; and the Protestant ideology thereupon attached itself to American nationalism. Just as Protestants located potential salvation in the individual’s relationship with God,

¹¹⁶ Herbst, 1989, p. 62.

¹¹⁷ Herbst, 1989, p. 63.

¹¹⁸ KJV, Mt 13:3-23

¹¹⁹ Herbst, 1989, p. 119.

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most school reformers saw good citizenship as an outgrowth of individual righteousness.¹²⁰

A tremendous wave of reform movements swept the nation between 1820 and 1850. The Second Great Awakening was a religious movement that embodied a more personal and evangelical religion than the severe inaccessible God of colonial times. The more popular new denominations, like the Baptists and the Methodists, gained many converts and challenged the entrenched forces of the established orders like the puritanical Anglicans.¹²¹ "While older theological systems had insisted that life in this world was simply a preparation for life in the next, humanitarian optimism saw man fulfilling his destiny in the here and now."¹²² Thus the way was open for social reforms that could be accomplished in a lifetime on earth.

The Second Great Awakening spread west as communities sprung up across the prairies. One of the groups with the clearest mandate to found common schools was the corps of home missionaries sent West to the new territories by groups like the American Home Missionary Society.¹²³ Teaching was often seen as a *calling* similar to the ministry, and in teachers' institutes superintendents were sometimes as interested in the religious conversion of teachers as in evangelizing for schooling.¹²⁴ Biographies of nineteenth century school leaders did not dwell on educational background or professional training; instead, they reflected an aristocracy of character; leaders' worth was certified by church membership and social service.¹²⁵

Public schools of the mid-nineteenth century were the product of an institution-building social movement led by men and women who shared a similar ideology and interests and who helped to build a common school system by persuading and mobilizing their fellow citizens, mostly at the local level. In many respects the

¹²⁰ Tyack and Hansot, 1982, p. 21.

¹²¹ Cremin, 1951, p. 13-15.

¹²² Cremin, 1951, p. 17.

¹²³ Tyack and Hansot, 1982, p. 38-39.

¹²⁴ Tyack and Hansot, 1982, p. 16.

¹²⁵ Tyack and Hansot, 1982, p. 16.

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common school movement resembled the institution-building crusade that dotted the land with Protestant churches. Schools and churches were institutions designed to produce a homogeneous moral and civic order and a providential prosperity.¹²⁶

In the middle of the nineteenth century schools and churches were allies in the quest to create the Kingdom of God in America. "Missionaries attempted to provide a Protestant paideia for settlers on the frontier: a total education through the common school, sectarian academies and colleges, Sunday schools, the pulpit, religious reading, and a number of formal and informal associations."¹²⁷ Julia Anne King's faith was nurtured and developed in the churches and schools Tyack describes, including the Michigan State Normal School.

"An Injurious Manifestation of Ambitious Folly"¹²⁸: The Transformation from Normal School to Normal College

In 1899, at the end of the Michigan State Normal School's first half century, it entered a new era; it became the Normal *College*. With the name change came a transformation—curricular revisions, administrative restructuring, and changes in both the character and size of the faculty and the student body. The move to become a college was generally viewed as an improvement or upgrading of teacher education, but as the Normal moved away from the public elementary and secondary schools and toward the university, some things were lost.

The early Normal School was a Christian institution. But the Normal School, founded by ministers and statesmen who believed that it was their duty to educate all children and to commit public funds for the purpose of training common school teachers, shifted its ideology. Early Normal School-educated teachers were often more missionaries than professionals. Only gradually was this evangelical frame of mind replaced by a contrasting ideology of teaching as a lifelong professional career that drew

¹²⁶ Tyack and Hansot, 1982, p. 19.

¹²⁷ Tyack, 1966, pp. 448 and 453.

¹²⁸ Sill, 1893, p. 273.

upon science and expertise and took place in large bureaucratic institutions.¹²⁹ By the end of the century, the emphasis on evangelical religion and community-building in the new republic had given way to an emphasis on science and management in an emerging industrial power.

Emphasis in the new Normal College, with its gaze toward the university, rather than the common school, was on the scientific, not the theological or metaphysical. University researchers valued secular ways of understanding and organizing society, and, as the Normal School became a college, its purposes became more like those at the university. Education departments at universities were interested in public schools as markets for clients or laboratories for research. The emphasis was not on serving the common schools, as the normal school had, but on molding them according to new theories of scientific management.¹³⁰ Minister principals were replaced with scientists of education, and academic employment was increasingly seen as corresponding to the situation in the larger employment world.¹³¹ Instead of preparation for a religiously inspired vocation, normal education became secular job training.

The move away from explicitly Christian religious values was also seen in the common schools. For example, in 1837 William McGuffey, an ordained Presbyterian college educator, produced the first edition of his now famous Readers. They spoke of God's creation and Providence, the sinfulness of humans, the primacy of salvation through Christ for the next life, and the necessity of righteousness and piety in this life. By 1879, when McGuffey no longer controlled the content of his books, all the earlier emphasis on Christian salvation and piety had disappeared. Stories now emphasized the rugged Victorian virtues of hard work and self-denial as keys to success. Of biblical

¹²⁹ Tyack, 1989, p 417.

¹³⁰ Clifford, 1986.

¹³¹ Clifford, 1983, p. 9.

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selections only the Sermon on the Mount and the Protestant version of the Lord's Prayer remained.¹³²

The shift in focus at the normal school also paralleled developments at the University of Michigan and other up-coming research universities. Julie A. Reuben notes in her book on eight elite universities, that, in the nineteenth century, "intellectuals assumed that truth had spiritual, moral, and cognitive dimensions," but that by the early twentieth century, they abandoned this broad conception and embraced a view of knowledge that drew a sharp distinction between "facts" and "values."¹³³ The old "unity of truth, encompassing both knowledge and morality, included a set curriculum which culminated in a senior year course in moral philosophy. The Michigan State Normal School fit this mold; in King's day, the capstone course, taught by the Principal, was called Intellectual Philosophy and was paired with a set of lectures on the philosophy of education.¹³⁴ These courses embraced a view of knowledge that held Christian religion and scientific inquiry as compatible, but the new curriculum and instruction at the Normal School (which will be discussed in greater detail in chapter four), mirrored the reforms at the universities. Specialization, rather than intellectual synthesis, was encouraged.¹³⁵

King used her old supports to sustain her and help her negotiate the new institutional culture. The ideologies that were no longer valued had prepared her so that, at the height of her career, she could adapt her practice and promote her commitments, even in the new social order that the college had created. Even though the institution changed around her, King still had academic freedom behind her classroom door, and she

¹³² Marsden, 1994, p. 89-90.

¹³³ Reuben, 1996, p. 2. Reuben studied Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, University of Chicago, Stanford, University of Michigan, and University of California, Berkeley.

¹³⁴ Putnam, 1899, p. 49.

¹³⁵ Reuben, 1996, p. 3.

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the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are under 15 years of age is expected to increase from 1.1 billion to 1.5 billion. The number of people aged 65 and over is expected to increase from 200 million to 400 million. The number of people aged 15 and over is expected to increase from 3.5 billion to 4.5 billion. The number of people aged 15 and over is expected to increase from 3.5 billion to 4.5 billion. The number of people aged 15 and over is expected to increase from 3.5 billion to 4.5 billion.

1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* were determined by the method of Arar and Collins (1971).

the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are illiterate has increased from 1.2 billion to 1.5 billion. The number of illiterate people in the world is projected to reach 1.7 billion by the year 2015. The number of illiterate people in the world is projected to reach 1.7 billion by the year 2015.

was relatively free to teach and conduct her professional life as she always had. While King survived the first phase of a transformation, the young female teachers who came to study in Ypsilanti in the twentieth century would have more challenges and less foundation.

In the late 1950s, the Normal College changed its name to Eastern Michigan University, and, at least in name, it was officially the multipurpose university it had been struggling to become for half a century. Eastern Michigan University still educates a huge number of teachers every year, but it is no longer solely devoted to this purpose, nor does it enjoy the position it once held as the crowning glory of Michigan's public schools. There are student organizations organized around particular religious faiths, but a Christian faith system is no longer the authority when it comes to questions about teaching and learning. King's life makes one wonder if the teacher education one receives there, or at other similar institutions, today is better or worse than what King encountered one hundred and forty eight years ago, and on what basis we should judge the quality of teacher education. In the following chapters I explore how—when Christianity slowly slipped from its revered position, and religion lost at the Normal School—women, pedagogy, and powerful teacher education suffered too.

Chapter 3

“Neither Male Nor Female”¹: Rethinking Gender

**“You will never, I trust, be among the number of those who
render themselves ridiculous by clamouring for rights.”²**

Abigail Rogers, 1853

“Give her the fruit of her hands; and let her own works praise her in the gates”³

Proverbs 31:31

King’s conceptions of gender and beliefs about women’s roles were based in her Christian faith. In the previous chapter, I established that King’s faith in Christ permeated her whole life. In this chapter I focus specifically on what King believed about gender and how she viewed her various leadership roles. I introduce this chapter by looking at King’s Biblically based assumptions about gender equality and by exploring the Christian concept of achieving freedom through servanthood. I then look at several of the roles King occupied, and what her position, and how she and others thought about it, can teach us about the social construction of gender in nineteenth century teaching and teacher education. In particular, I draw from her work as Superintendent of the Charlotte Public Schools, Preceptress at the Michigan State Normal School, President of the Ladies Literary Society of Ypsilanti, History Department Chair at the Normal School, and the domestic roles she occupied as daughter, sister, and aunt. King served in ways that demonstrated her belief that women’s intellectual and professional capacities were equal to men’s, and that women, like men, had a responsibility to be a positive influence on the world. While King’s stance often challenged social norms, it was most often rooted in Christian faith rather than an effort to gain political power or personal prestige.

¹ King, 1897, p. 8 (reference to Galatians 3:28)

² Rogers, 1853, p. 146. (Rogers was the first Preceptress at the Michigan State Normal School).

³ Proverbs 31: 31 “Give her the fruit of her hands; and let her own works praise her in the gates.” This scripture regarding women of faith was quoted in a newspaper article about King (*The Charlotte Republican*, 1877).

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 1, 1861.

2. The second part is a report from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated January 1, 1861.

3. The third part is a report from the Secretary of the Interior, dated January 1, 1861.

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5. The fifth part is a report from the Secretary of the War, dated January 1, 1861.

6. The sixth part is a report from the Secretary of the State, dated January 1, 1861.

7. The seventh part is a report from the Secretary of the War, dated January 1, 1861.

8. The eighth part is a report from the Secretary of the Navy, dated January 1, 1861.

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As in the previous chapter, secondly, I move beyond King and look more broadly at how gender was enacted at the Michigan State Normal School during King's lifetime. Specifically, I concentrate on the development of the coeducational Lyceum, the first student organization, and the words of Abigail Rogers, the first Preceptress. Following that, I further expand my field of inquiry and look beyond the Normal School. Understanding that the orientations toward gender that existed, and the issues regarding women that were being debated, at other institutions in the mid-nineteenth century could help us make sense of King and the Michigan State Normal School, I focus on brief gender stories from institutions that were connected, in someway, to King and/or the Normal School. In this context, King's approach and attitudes match many mid-nineteenth century Christian social reformers, leaders of female seminaries, and the first generation of professors at women's colleges. Additionally, King had many like-minded colleagues at Kalamazoo College, and she would have felt at home at Oberlin College, where many of her colleagues studied or taught. Men and women who shared her beliefs and commitments also surrounded King as a member of the mid-nineteenth century Michigan State Teacher's Association. Some of her contemporaries from this organization rallied for the admission of women to the University of Michigan; however, even after women were admitted to the University of Michigan, there was a different, less religious, construction of gender there. As the nineteenth century closed, a university mentality, accompanied by new ideas about masculinity and femininity, also began to emerge at the Michigan State Normal School. I conclude this chapter by looking at the unintentional and negative gender effects of the Michigan State Normal School becoming a college.

We are One in the Spirit

In King's 1897 address to the Student Christian Association, at the dedication of Starkweather Hall, she described Christ's church: "In vision, it was an Empire wherein dwelt righteousness and peace, wherein were neither male nor female, bond nor free, Greek

nor barbarian, but one universal brotherhood.”⁴ King paraphrased from Galatians 3:26-28: “For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.” Unity in Christ transcends ethnic, social, and sexual distinctions.⁵ We are all baptized by one Spirit, into one body of Christian believers, and we are all on the same footing as far as salvation is concerned.⁶ King was empowered to pursue a life of service equivalent to that of any man. She knew no gender boundaries when it came to loving God and doing his will.

In talking about her desires for the growth and potential influence of the Normal School’s Student Christian Association, King says, “Animate this association with such power, let such divine life, as the vital flame in our bodies, become immanent in it, and nothing could stay the mighty moving of men and women, mastered by these invisible influences, towards God.”⁷ Both men *and women* are in on this mighty movement she envisions. God does not have a subordinate or separate sphere to which women must be confined. In fact, if King’s dreams for the Normal School were to come to pass, she believed the whole organization, not just half its members, would need to work as one body.

King thought of Jesus as “the greatest Teacher of all time.”⁸ Like King and her colleagues, Jesus taught both men and women. The rabbis of Jesus’ time would not teach women, but women in the Bible who followed him, such as Martha, also called Jesus “teacher.”⁹ There are many Biblical references to women who were believers or followers of Christ, and men and women are often mentioned together, as equally well suited to do

⁴ King, 1897, p. 8.

⁵ NIV, Gal 3:28

⁶ NIV, Ro 10:12; 1Co 12:13

⁷ King, 1897, p. 24.

⁸ King 1915, p. 289.

⁹ NIV, Jn 11:28

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The physician's duty to the patient is to do the best for the patient, and to do it in the most efficient and economical manner.

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The physician's duty to the community is to do the best for the community, and to do it in the most efficient and economical manner.

God's work. For example, "more and more men and women believed in the Lord," and "they were baptized, both men and women."¹⁰

In Bonds to Christ

The fact that women were equally valued in God's eyes didn't mean they were liberated without cost. In fact, Christians, regardless of sex, are free from sin through their acceptance of Jesus and his sacrificial death, but only because they are also Christ's servants. Even Paul, the author of many books in the New Testament, whom King refers to as "an ancient Roman jurist who lived the truth,"¹¹ is described, in his letters to the Romans and the Corinthians, as "a servant of Jesus Christ," and an "ambassador for Christ."¹² The word for servant in Greek means 1) a slave who completely belongs to his master and has no freedom to leave, and 2) a servant who willingly chose to serve his master. This word, "servant," was also used to describe God's chosen people, Moses, and King David, as it can mean "one who has the status of a high official in the Lord's kingly administration."¹³

There are many references in the Bible to how Christians must be in bonds to Christ in order to enjoy the freedom that Christ gives. To non-Christians this essential teaching seems paradoxical. For example, in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, he says, "For though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself a servant unto all, that I might gain the more." Gain the more means brings more people to Christ.¹⁴ When he addresses the Galatians, Paul instructs: "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and not entangled again in the yoke of bondage." In this case, the word liberty or freedom is emphasized in the Greek and this passage means that believers in Christ gain freedom from the burden of the rigorous demands of the law as the means of gaining

¹⁰ KJV, Acts 5:14 and 8:12

¹¹ King, 1915, p. 289.

¹² KJV, Rn 1:1 and 2Cor 5:20.

¹³ KJV and NIV, Is 41:8 Ex 14:31, and Ps 18.

¹⁴ KJV and NIV, 1Cor 9:19.

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God's favor.¹⁵ Yet another example can be found in his letter to the Ephesians: "I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the gospel, for which I am an ambassador in bonds." An ambassador in bonds is one who shares the gospel with others because he or she is bound and indebted to Christ. It is a service of love and worship, which Christians are called to do boldly.¹⁶

The relationship between freedom and servitude that King understood to be part of life as a Christian informed her views of gender. First, men and women were in this together, equally blessed by Jesus. Second, men and women alike were indentured to Christ but also gained liberation through their relationship with Christ. This is explored throughout the New Testament.¹⁷

King was a Christian, and because she studied the Bible and used it as a lens through which to view and compose her life, there was no contradiction in being both subordinate and empowered. Men were, for example, to lead women, just as God leads the church, but at the same time women were to be respected and loved just as Jesus loves his people. For King and her contemporaries, most of whom were Christians, it was not a question of whether they were feminist activists or victims of a sexist institution. These labels and categories would have been meaningless to them (and in fact are meaningless to many Christian teachers and teacher education students today). King viewed her life as one great service to the Lord. She was His, and she did not revel in her accomplishments, because she believed that any good that she did was Him working through her. She did not complain about her many burdens; she accepted them as part of the struggle, the toil required of humans on earth. She did not feel slighted, or as if she needed to march for

¹⁵ KJV and NIV, Gal 5:1

¹⁶ KJV and NIV, Eph 6:19-20.

¹⁷ KJV, For example, "Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness... for when ye were the servants of sin, you were free from righteousness . . . For the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord." Rom 6:18-23. "There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh but after the spirit. For the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death ... for to be carnally minded is death; but to be spiritually minded is life and peace. And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the Spirit is life because of righteousness." Rom 8:1, 6, 10.

equal rights, when her male counterparts led the school and assumed the more prominent leadership positions; she knew that there was much important work for her and other women to do. King and her contemporaries were not women who shyly moved into the background or men who forcibly kept them out of positions of power. For example, the men and women who pushed for women to be admitted to the University of Michigan were Christians who wanted women to have all the same opportunities as men, so that they might do the Lord's work as competently as possible.¹⁸ Some see the ways the Bible talks about men's and women's roles and the ways they are to relate to each other as sexist, but King and her colleagues accepted this order for living and saw their place in it not as one of oppression but of opportunity.

For King, both the power to teach or administrate, and the limitations on what a woman could do were bound up in her faith. She knew the Bible well enough to quote it in her speeches and correspondence, and she expected her audiences to know it well enough that she need not provide reference to particular chapters. She casually used phrases from scripture as if everyone would know to what she was referring and would accept its authority. Because she believed the Bible was the word of God and fashioned her life around this word, King was not confused or conflicted by what seems to a modern, non-Christian reader as contradictory. She was both saved and a sinner, both unconditionally loved by an awesome God and unworthy of his love, both respected by and subordinate to men. Because of her faith, laboring was both her burden to bear and her most freeing expression of holiness. To teach was not construed as an underpaid job for second-class citizens, nor was it seen as an emancipatory occupation that allowed her to cast off the yoke of patriarchal oppression. It wasn't even a combination of these things. To understand her view one must get inside her world view which was shaped by her Puritan upbringing, her constant involvement in church and community, and her view of teaching as vocation or calling. Neither money and material possessions nor pride and earthly rank were the goal.

¹⁸ see discussion later in this chapter of coeducation at U. of M.

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That "God's will be done, on earth as it is in Heaven,"¹⁹ was her desire. In choosing teaching as her vehicle for serving the Lord, King also did not focus on the emancipatory nature of her profession or the oppression she experienced as a woman professor and administrator. She was already free; Jesus had liberated her. The idea of needing more "rights" was not a concern of hers; she knew she had a place in the Kingdom of Heaven.

King died in 1919 a month before the United States Senate passed the suffrage amendment that eventually gave women the legal right to vote. Her life was not a struggle for equality of rights or privileges, but an opportunity for social service. The work of many women has been considered feminist or reformist because they struggled for rights or privileges their sex was denied. King did not see her lifework this way. Instead, she was thankful to be God's servant, and she was willing to accept the challenges that came her way. She lived according to her belief that "the world has had too much individualism already. The need is men of affairs living in the recognized relation of brotherhood and under the divine law."²⁰ She used men to mean both men and women, and brotherhood to mean sisterhood as well. She thought that under the divine law we were all equal, and that we should figure out how to live as God wants us to.

"Woman's Kingdom" or "School Home"?: King as Superintendent

In 1875 King was called to be principal in Charlotte, Michigan. At the end of King's first year as principal in Charlotte, the community fired the unpopular male superintendent and asked King to take his place. She chose another woman, M. Louise Jones, to be head of the high school, and they led the Charlotte Public Schools from 1876-1881. During King's tenure she also served as librarian and upgraded their collection. Her work in Charlotte also included the grading of the schools and the introduction of a new

¹⁹ from *The Lord's Prayer*

²⁰King, *History as a Unifying element in a course of study*, 1894.

course of study. During her tenure, the Union School was expanded and became Charlotte High School.²¹

King wasted no time as the newly appointed educational leader. Having served as principal under her sometimes unpopular predecessor, she knew that if she were to serve successfully she would need to educate the community about what role she expected them to play in the operation of the schools. She published a column in the local paper titled "The People and the Schools." Not willing to let community leaders dump responsibility for student tardiness, attendance, and discipline into teachers' laps, she made a bold appeal to parents and other community members to take responsibility for the training of the young. "The school belongs to the people...True their work is concurrent but lacking this concurrence, the teacher is in a great measure defeated."²²

When King was appointed Superintendent of the Charlotte Public Schools, her professional colleagues, the Association of City School Administrators, called her district a "Woman's Kingdom."²³ In contrast, a special report of the *Charlotte Republican*, referring to King's superintendency, claimed that, with a woman at the helm, those who answered the morning bell, called it a "school home."²⁴ These two descriptors: "a woman's kingdom" and "a school home" demonstrate the gendered nature of King's work. She chose a profession within the private and emotional feminine sphere but her professional position afforded her a platform from which to share her views and be actively involved in more public and intellectual arenas. Even as she worked her way up the educational hierarchy, King maintained her "proper" sphere. Even as a professor and scholar, jobs that were considered masculine, King maintained a feminine focus by working with teachers and writing about children. There is no evidence in her papers that working in this borderland, in between where women teach and men manage, was intentional or politically motivated. Rather than being a savvy feminist, working the system to her

²¹ Paton, *Aurora*, p. 38

²² *The Charlotte Republican*, 1877, p. 8.

²³ *Charlotte Leader*, 1887, p. 18-20.

²⁴ *Charlotte Leader*, 1887, p. 18-20.

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advantage, King was simply doing her job. She did not see herself as the ruler of a kingdom; instead, she saw her work, whether she was a teacher, librarian, or superintendent, as service in God's Kingdom.

Several years after King left the superintendency of the Charlotte Public Schools there was an article about the history of the schools in a special issue of the *Charlotte Leader*.

Charlotte points with just pride to the fact that she was the first city in Michigan, and one of the very first in the United States, to recognize that the qualities of successful leadership and powers of wise supervision are not the exclusive property of one sex, and in 1877 she honored her recognition by asking Miss Julia A. King, then principal of the high school, to accept the superintendency of all her schools. To Miss M. Louise Jones was intrusted the high school, and the state turned its eyes upon Charlotte to see what sort of a school these women would keep.

The section of the newspaper article concerning King and Jones ended with this quotation, "Give them of the fruit of their hands and let their own works praise them in the gates."²⁵ This is taken from Proverbs 31:30-31: "A woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised. Give her the fruit of her hands; and let her own works praise her in the gates." It seems the reporter understood the important role King's faith played in her leadership of the Charlotte Schools. Perhaps he knew that this woman of faith would be blessed by the fruits of her labors whether she managed an academic kingdom, lead social causes, or simply loved children.

"Ideal and Inspiration": King as Preceptress

The Preceptress, the highest-ranking woman on the normal faculty, was extremely influential in shaping the lives and experiences of the young women at the normal school.

The position of "Preceptress" was included from the very first in the organization of the Normal School. The title "Preceptress" was widely employed in female seminaries and in high schools at the time, carrying with it special responsibility for the deportment and character development of the girls. The need for such a position in a teacher training institution was enhanced by the general assumption that the teacher must be a model of upright Christian character, but the title also had an academic connotation. The history of the term reveals its traditional significance, that of an older or superior practitioner who undertakes the tutoring of the neophyte. In the area of

²⁵ *Charlotte Leader*, 1887, p. 18, 20

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medical training the Preceptor was the practicing physician who accepted the young student as an assistant and gave him personal training. In the area of higher education, he was the faculty member who undertook to direct the reading and study of a small group of students in his field.²⁶

The preceptress position presupposed that the girls had special and distinct needs with respect to deportment and character development. In addition, the Preceptress had an academic role; she was to mentor the neophyte teachers using her wisdom as an older practitioner. The training of the mind and of the spirit were wrapped up in one, as the Preceptress was expected to help the female teachers mature in all aspects of their professional lives. There was no question that the professional was also spiritual.

When King entered the Normal School in 1855, a woman named Sarah A. Allen was her Preceptress. Miss Allen, the second Preceptress of the normal school, graduated from Oberlin College's 'Literary' course, in 1854. Immediately after her graduation she was employed as a high school teacher in Canton, Ohio; but early in the spring of 1855, she went back to Oberlin to take the place of Assistant Principal of the Ladies' Department in the college. Allen remembers that the work of the College year of 1855-6 was only fairly commenced when a very solemn-looking man called at the Lady Principal's office.

This gentleman said he was in search of some one to take the place of Preceptress in the State Normal School at Ypsilanti, Michigan. It seemed to be the opinion of my friends that I could fill that place and as they thought it a very desirable one they urged my acceptance of it. I had taught quite a little in public schools and in private school, having entered the 'profession' at fifteen years of age; but I knew little about normal schools and nothing at all about the Normal School at Ypsilanti. Naturally I felt very great hesitancy about making the venture that my friends so warmly advised. I did however, settle the matter before Mr. Mayhew left, and a week or two later I was in my place in the Normal School.²⁷

Allen was only eight years older than most of her girls at the Normal School. Although she had taught school and gone to college, she still faced her responsibilities with a great deal of trembling. Her reflection on the inadequacy she felt demonstrates the nature of the position, at least as she conceived it.

It was a very responsible position and I never for a moment got out from under the load. I tried to do good work in the class room and in this I was, perhaps, fairly successful,

²⁶ Isbell, 1971, p. 305.

²⁷ Putnam, 1899, p. 162-4.

3. The Role of the Teacher

The teacher is the central figure in the classroom. He or she is responsible for creating a positive learning environment and for facilitating the learning process.

The teacher should be a facilitator, not a lecturer. He or she should encourage students to think critically and to solve problems on their own.

The teacher should be a role model. He or she should demonstrate the skills and attitudes that are expected of the students.

The teacher should be a listener. He or she should listen to the students and respond to their needs.

The teacher should be a collaborator. He or she should work with the students to create a positive learning environment.

The teacher should be a reflector. He or she should reflect on his or her own practice and make changes as needed.

The teacher should be a leader. He or she should lead the students in the learning process.

The teacher should be a supporter. He or she should support the students in their learning.

The teacher should be a motivator. He or she should motivate the students to learn.

The teacher should be a communicator. He or she should communicate effectively with the students.

The teacher should be a manager. He or she should manage the classroom effectively.

The teacher should be a planner. He or she should plan the lessons effectively.

The teacher should be an evaluator. He or she should evaluate the students' learning.

The teacher should be a reflector. He or she should reflect on his or her own practice and make changes as needed.

The teacher should be a leader. He or she should lead the students in the learning process.

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The teacher should be a manager. He or she should manage the classroom effectively.

The teacher should be a planner. He or she should plan the lessons effectively.

The teacher should be an evaluator. He or she should evaluate the students' learning.

but my great anxiety was to do what one in my position ought to do for the young ladies, and be to them what one ought to be; and for all that I sorely felt my inadequacy. My successors have all brought to their work riper experience and maturer judgment, and so I trust their work has been better done and its fruits, in the growth of Christian and womanly character, have been richer. Sure I am that no one has put more heart into her work than did I.²⁸

Miss Allen's heartfelt efforts were rewarded, as forty years later King still spoke fondly of her. Reminiscing on her normal school days, King said, "I cannot forebear confessing my debt to Miss Allen, a debt which every woman owes to that one who is both her ideal and her inspiration. Miss Allen's influence was far-reaching and permanent. She made a difference in my whole life."²⁹ In correspondence with the normal school late in her life Allen also remembered King, "Miss King may still be with you. She was one of 'my girls.'"³⁰ The fact that Allen refers to King as "mine," and that she knew what King was doing forty years later, suggests an almost maternal familiarity.

When King became Preceptress at the normal school she continued in Allen's footsteps. Even as she led, she learned from her students and her colleagues. The student newspaper in 1893 described King, in her role as Preceptress, as "the confidential advisor of five hundred young ladies."³¹ A former student remembered, "any disregard of those regulations which had been instituted for the best protection of the young women students irked her." The seriousness with which King took her job, and the strictness of her discipline, reflected a belief that female students had special needs, but it also demonstrated her respect for the rules and policies of the institution. "In all things she was a firm believer in obedience to vested authority."³² This was not submission based on her sex, but rather Biblical instruction that all people should honor. "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God."³³

²⁸ Putnam, 1899, p. 162-4.

²⁹ Biography. (September, 1895) *Normal News*, vol. 15, no. 4, p. 8.

³⁰ Putnam, 1899, p. 162-4

³¹ Biographical sketches. (1893) *Normal News*, vol. 12, p. 295.

³² Goodrich, 1919.

³³ KJV, Romans 13:1

It was not only King's personal interpretation of her Preceptress job that brought this moral tone. Indeed, her superiors chose her for this work because they wanted a woman of high moral standards who would lead the female students toward more Godly lives, thereby making them more worthy and effective teachers for our nation's children. King's duties as Preceptress were described broadly by President Willis:

The preceptress has the special charge of the ladies, as regards their deportment, etc., which makes it advisable that at least once a day she may see them all at one time alone. Matters which have to be repeated in three or more different rooms lose much of their force, and the effect is to distribute that personality which ought to be a unit.³⁴

The meetings King ran evolved into her famous weekly sessions known as her 'Conversations.' These Friday meetings were attended by female normal students and the women of Ypsilanti. The student newspaper paper claimed that the Conversations were "the means of untold good in the development of the hearts as well as the intellect."³⁵ The yearbook claimed, "Here [in the Friday conversations] the girls are brought into closer touch with her [King's] best and noblest thoughts, and in these informal meetings many an otherwise thoughtless girl has been led to be an earnest seeker after Truth."³⁶ King's colleague Daniel Putnam described them as "a most important feature of her work... In these she has attempted to supply a want which all connected with the institution have felt. She has sought to furnish the girls with an ideal after which they can model their lives and their work."³⁷ King understood life and work to be part of one integrated whole, and she did not consider there to be great distinctions between private and public. In 1900, in the student yearbook, which was dedicated to Miss King, the students wrote about the Conversations:

All who have attended feel...close friendship, and heart to heart talks, as the conversations were, with a strong character having high ideals, is a help and inspiration greater than any book can give.³⁸

³⁴ Isbell, 1971, p. 309.

³⁵ Biographical sketches. (1893) *Normal News*, vol. 12, p. 295.

³⁶ *Aurora*, 1898.

³⁷ Putnam, 1899, p. 171.

³⁸ *Aurora*, 1900 (dedicated to Miss King).

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Clearly, King's professional work involved building relationships and providing moral instruction. Perhaps more important than the disciplinary knowledge she imparted, but definitely intricately connected to it, were the character lessons in Christian womanhood that King led.

King's Friday Conversations inspired "a feeling that one's life among neighbors shapes the world community," and were the precursor to the weekly 'Faculty Chat' that later and for many years brought students and faculty together in weekly discussion of some topic of broad interest.³⁹ These conversations play prominently in King's life, and in the lives of her students, giving us a lens into the normal school of the times. That women met regularly with other women students, women from the community, and a woman professor to discuss issues related to women, seems interesting enough. But that these Conversations were co-opted by the larger faculty and student body and institutionalized for both sexes shows the respect others had for their content and impact.

"Salt and Light": King as President of the Ladies Literary Club

King's early efforts as Preceptress also influenced the women of Ypsilanti, as they organized into one of Michigan's earliest woman's clubs: The Ladies Literary Club.⁴⁰ The Ladies' Literary Club of Ypsilanti, organized in 1878, is among the ten oldest women's clubs in the state of Michigan.⁴¹ In its roots and early years it had close informal ties to the Michigan State Normal School. As early as 1861 a group of women in Ypsilanti got together to read "Hume's History of England" and later studied the plays of Shakespeare. Many of the women members were also active in the Home Association organized in 1875 to help the needy. They established a library in Ypsilanti, and, as they worked in the library's rooms, furnishing them with chairs, rugs, and bookcases, they discussed the possibility of organizing a literary club. Mrs. Daniel Putnam belonged to a literary society

³⁹ Isbell, 1971, p. 309-310.

⁴⁰ King's obituary in Ladies Literary Society news

⁴¹ Martin, 1987.

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in Kalamazoo that was led by Lucinda Hinsdale Stone. When her husband moved from his faculty position at Kalamazoo College to the Michigan State Normal School, Mrs. Putnam led the effort to found the Ypsilanti Ladies' Literary Club. She became the first president or "Club Mother."⁴² Other members affiliated with the Normal School included: Miss Helen Post, a teacher with the Normal School Training School; Mrs. Fannie Cheever Burton, Assistant in Physical Training; Miss Florence Shultes, Assistant in History and Civil Government; Miss Julia Anne King, Preceptress and Professor of History and Civil Government; Mrs. Austin George, whose husband was a Normal School professor and the Superintendent of Ypsilanti Schools; Mrs. Gorton, whose husband was an Assistant in Natural Sciences; and Mrs. Rexford, whose husband was a local doctor instrumental in securing Ypsilanti as the site for the State Normal School, and whose son served on the State Board of Education.⁴³ King served as President of the Ladies' Literary Club from 1903-1905.⁴⁴

In the 1880s and 1890s the ladies studied the French Revolution, Germany, Tudor England, Rome, Spain, Greece, Italy and Egypt. For several years they called their studies "Journeys through Britain," and they learned about the authors, geography, cathedrals, and people of Great Britain. In 1896 the club joined the National Federation of Women's Clubs and the Michigan State Federation. The Club began to broaden its activities to include civic affairs and political issues. There was a change in the programs as members discussed "Equality," "The Kindergarten," "Shall the People Own the Telegraph?," "Sanitation in the home," "Manual Training in the Schools," "University Extension," and "Our City Charter." From this time on the members acting as a group began to try to shape public policies.⁴⁵

⁴² *The Ladies' Literary Club*, 1978.

⁴³ Putnam, 1899, p. 196, 198, 199, 284, 354; *The Ladies' Literary Club*, 1978.

⁴⁴ List of Past Presidents, provided by Mary Claire Anhut, member LLC, August 8, 1997.

⁴⁵ *The Ladies' Literary Club*, 1978.

King encouraged the membership, "Ye are the salt of the earth; you are a city set on a hill because you hold in your hearts the love of humanity."⁴⁶ This is a direct reference to the Bible where Christ says:

Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men. Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle and, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven. (Mt 5:13-16)

This is part of the famous Sermon on the Mount that Christ gave as an ethical admonition and standard for all Christians. King, like Christ, called her associates to responsibility, to influence the world for good. The value of salt was abundantly referred to by classical writers as well as scripture. Salt preserves, adds flavor, creates thirst, prevents infection, and was even used as money. When salt is mixed into a dish, it is hidden, but it can have a powerful effect. King called her sisters to have a savory effect on this earth. If the ladies of the Literary Club were truly a "city on a hill," they were conspicuous and stood out in their community. As lights they had the ability to dispel darkness and reveal truth. King encouraged the women to be a blessed influence on others, not so that they would gain recognition or achieve civic power, but so that God would be glorified. This group, who initially was seeking self-improvement, eventually extended their interests to include national and even worldwide affairs.

Shortly after King's death, Sarah W. George spoke of her at the Ladies Literary Club annual meeting: "She [King] was a woman of culture and broadmindedness, with a rare faculty of drawing out what was best and deepest in her friends, and her rule of life was Service." George continued, describing King as someone who had more power and responsibility than most women, but whose gifts enabled her to handle the load gracefully. "Her work was on a larger scale than usually falls to the lot of women in our time but her wide vision was equal to its rounded completeness."⁴⁷

⁴⁶ *The Ladies' Literary Club*, 1978.

⁴⁷ George, 1919. (obituary of King, read before the LLC)

“Something Besides Mere Mental Acumen”⁴⁸: King as History Department Chair

King worked cleverly within the Michigan State Normal School to promote women. For example, as a teacher and advisor she was able to build relationships that sponsored her ideals with students and colleagues. Those she mentored most often commented on how her life was an example to them or how she was an influence on their whole way of living rather than simply a teacher of subject matter. For example, Bertha Buell, King’s student and then colleague, claimed that King’s life made the lives of hundreds of men and women “truer, saner, more courageous.”⁴⁹ Studying under Miss King did not simply make you a better person, she also provided numerous female students with the skills and dispositions to pursue advanced study. For example, King’s student Bertha Buell became one of her colleagues at the Normal School but not without a year off to study at Radcliffe College.⁵⁰ King helped make possible for her students that to which her generation of women did not have access.

In addition to developing relationships with other women and encouraging them to continue their education, King provided employment to dozens of young women. In her role as head of the history department, she hired numerous professors and assistants—all women (see chart).⁵¹ There was not a male professor of history at the Normal School until shortly before King’s retirement. So when King rallied for history as a crucial part of normal education, she may have been supporting a secondary cause. King never mentioned that she was lobbying for women, and she was not known as a woman’s rights agitator. In her own quiet way, she sponsored many young women, mostly her former students, who needed jobs and a place where they could thrive as intellectuals. As department head, she was able to provide this for them as long as history was valued within the institution. After having apprenticed with King for a few years, many of these women went on to become

⁴⁸ Aurora, 1900, dedicated to King.

⁴⁹ Buell, 1919.

⁵⁰ Aurora, 1909, p. 31.

⁵¹ See Putnam, 1899, list of faculty, and *Aurora* (yearbooks) 1883-1915.

$$D_{\text{eff}} = \frac{\lambda}{2} \left(\frac{f_0}{f} - 1 \right) + \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{f_0}{f} - 1 \right)^2 \quad (7)$$

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Journal of Management Education 30(6)p. 789-804

professors at other normal schools or colleges and influential members of the history teaching community.

King also valued women's roles and contributions when making teaching choices. One hundred years before the field of inquiry called "women's history" became popular across university campuses, King used and recommended texts by and about women in her history classes. For example, in her book-length manuscript, *An Outline Course in History*, King's recommended texts for the section on the "New England Home" include *Margaret Smith's Journal* and the *Diary of Grace Anna Wilson*. In the study of "Neighborhoods" she recommends Addams' *Hull House in Chicago*. Throughout her extensive list of topics and books for elementary social studies, there are selections about girls' and women's lives and experiences.⁵² In King's 1889 series of articles in a journal for Michigan's teachers called "Method Applied to Teaching History," she criticized the quality and quantity of history textbooks available to teachers, but she did mention a few books she liked. One of the good ones focused exclusively on women: Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the American Revolution*.⁵³ King did not raise questions about whose history was being taught or the lack of women's voices in the historical record when she taught, wrote, or spoke about the philosophy of history.⁵⁴ When she asked the question "What is History?" attention to gender was not part of her analysis, but before there was much of a literature to draw from or a trend promoting it, King incorporated works by and about women into the curriculum. King's courses were not explicitly about women's history, but she did think it was necessary to include women in the history curriculum. She thought it was necessary, not just to round out the historical record, but to help young women identify with some of the figures in the past. For this she recommended using Mrs. Ellet's three-volume set titled: *Women in History*. This is a collection of mini-biographies of over 25 heroic women.⁵⁵

⁵² King, *An Outline Course in History*, p. 27.

⁵³ King, *Moderator*, 1889, p. 251

⁵⁴ King's interest in the discipline of history—its nature and its methods—is discussed in chapter four.

⁵⁵ King, 1989.

“Graciously Hospitable”: King as Daughter, Sister, Aunt, and Neighbor

In addition to all of her professional roles, King was also a family member. She combined the roles of daughter to an invalid mother, sister to a widowed brother, and aunt, with her jobs as teacher, principal, and professor; she was at once respected professionally and cherished domestically. In *True Sisterhood: Michigan Women and Their Kin, 1820-1920*, Marilyn Ferris Motz examines the kinship systems to which women belonged and shows how women's duties as sister and daughter continued, after she assumed the roles of wife and mother. Even if a woman remained single, she could remain an integral part of a larger familial network and thereby insure lifetime security.⁵⁶ King did not need the security some families might have offered, as she was the primary breadwinner in her home (her father died when she was thirteen, and she never married), but King was still active in family matters.

Growing up on the frontier, King took on family responsibility at a young age and endured many hardships. Three of King's siblings—Eliza, Sarah, and Ransom—died as young children.⁵⁷ King remembered being awakened one night by her mother's anxious voice. The baby was sick, and since her father had a broken leg, little Julia was the only one able to go down the dark forest road for the doctor.⁵⁸ Reflecting on King's childhood, her mother claimed that the little girl with twinkling blue eyes and chestnut hair “had enough energy for two.”⁵⁹ King lived with her mother, Charlotte, until she died. King depended on her mother for support when she was young and cared for her in old age. A contemporary speculated about the important role King's mother must have played in her life work: “A loved mother who had accompanied her from place to place, who has cheered and comforted her in perplexities and trials and provided the quiet home in which the regular habits must in no small degree have contributed to her success.”⁶⁰ King never had children of her own,

⁵⁶Motz, 1983.

⁵⁷ Like many pioneer families whose children died prematurely, King's family named their first son Ransom, and, after his death, when they had another son, they used the same name.

⁵⁸ Lord, 1954, p. 306.

⁵⁹ *Aurora*, 1893, p. 37.

⁶⁰Paton, p. 40 in *Aurora*

but King's niece, also named Charlotte, lived with her for many years. Charlotte also attended and then taught at the Normal School. Charlotte's father, Ransom, sent her to Aunt Julia, his sister, when his wife died prematurely. Widowed Ransom also lived with King after his retirement.

Colleagues described King's home as "graciously hospitable," and claimed this was proof that "a delightful home is not incompatible with professional work for women."⁶¹ Although the degree to which King was accepted as a proper woman was probably related, in part, to the domestic roles she did play, King was not considered abnormal or inappropriate because she held powerful professional positions.

King was part of a female community, but she did not live with a woman, other than her family members. Whether or not she had an intimate relationship is not something she, her students, or her colleagues discuss in the written record. If she did have a domestic partner, the most interesting thing about the relationship that I can discern was that it was a non-issue. In her professional writing, King never alluded to the fact that she had or did not have a partner or the fact that she chose not to marry and have children. Contrary to what one might expect, given much literature on Victorian America,⁶² her colleagues and students respected King as a single, professional woman.

King's professional papers reveal little about her private life, so we have no way of knowing how she felt about being single. However, she must have been familiar with the Biblical teachings of the Apostle Paul that portray marriage as a distraction from faith. "The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit: but she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband."⁶³ Paul instructs the Corinthians in the virtues of not marrying: troubles will spare you, and you can be devoted to the Lord's affairs in body and spirit.

⁶¹ Goodrich, 1919, p. 12.

⁶² Smith-Rosenberg, 1985.

⁶³ KJV 1 Corinthians 7:34

Through her education, King acquired the knowledge and skills necessary to construct a successful professional life, and, by remaining in education, and never venturing into the world of marriage, King maintained access to the equal opportunity environment of the coeducational public schools. Alexis de Tocqueville portrayed the relative freedom and boldness of American girls who were educated alongside their brothers, but noted that girls' youthful independence was lost in the bonds of matrimony. Although considered the intellectual equals of men by advocates of coeducation, women were considered nonetheless different and destined to exercise their influence in different ways.⁶⁴ Rather than graduate into a home where she might be restricted in her adult life, King entered the schoolhouse where she could continue to develop her capacities. In woman's "true" profession,⁶⁵ King worked at developing the capacities of others in an effort to serve God and society, and, in this sense, her work was not so distinct from that of her sisters who chose motherhood rather than a career.⁶⁶

King's school home was both literally and figuratively close to her real home. When King walked out of her office at the Normal School, across the road, and down Pearl Street to her lovely house and garden, she felt as intellectually vibrant and as passionate about individuals and society as she had minutes earlier when she was called "Preceptress" and "Professor King." But now she was Julia—a neighbor, a daughter, an aunt, or a hostess. King passed back and forth between the professional and the domestic, blending the two in ways with which many women are familiar.⁶⁷

King's neighbor and former student, Ernest Goodrich, claimed that,

As a neighbor she was all that Christ's parable might imply...Her house had a rear extension terminating in a gable end which was a frequent perch for birds. They were thus wonderful targets for testing the Indian skill of green apple throwing. Unfortunately a window existed in the gable end which was broken at least once by some faulty aim. The resulting interview was simply a business transaction, coupled with no recriminations, whereby an understanding was reached that the same small boy was to defray the expenses of the same. This business like and eminently human

⁶⁴ Tyack and Hansot, 1990, p. 30.

⁶⁵ Hoffman, 1971.

⁶⁶ Tyack and Hansot, 1990, p. 34.

⁶⁷ Grumet, 1988.

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quality of his neighbor impressed itself strongly upon the boy who had his regard greatly strengthened by a shortly subsequent event. Miss King in an entirely human and natural course of events one day forgot her latch key and locked herself out. The porch climbing by the small boy from next door, the entry of the quiet house through a second story window, and the opening of the front door to the rightful owner was an adventure sufficiently full of interest to be compensation in itself, but when that episode was also made a matter of business and the recompense offered was more than sufficient to restore the depletion of the boy's bank account by the broken window, then the austere preceptress of the boy's imagination was completely changed to a feeling including admiration and love, which has grown from that day to this.⁶⁸

His story of King illustrates how the skills and dispositions that made King a respected professional were intimately connected to her personal identity and domestic activities.

Like the neighbor boy, King's students did not find it difficult to accept her as both a warm hostess and a challenging teacher. They were able to appreciate how her pedagogy was intimately connected to the way she lived her life. The graduating class of 1902 presented a portrait of King as their class gift to the College. They thought it appropriate that future students have her likeness hanging in their hall because,

There has never been a time when her duties as teacher have prevented her from filling her place as friend. Her home, full of beauty, is open to those who will come. Her life, rich in sympathy and kindness, goes out to those who know her, and becomes an influence deep and lasting.⁶⁹

Gender at the Michigan State Normal School

At the 1848 Woman's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, the delegates listed their grievances in a Declaration of Rights and Sentiments which claimed that man denied woman "the faculties for obtaining a thorough education," and endeavored to destroy woman's "confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willingly to lead a dependent and abject life."⁷⁰ Fifty years later Charlotte Perkins Gilman wrote *Women and Economics*, a feminist assessment of women's position in America. At the heart of Gilman's analysis was her contention that all the roles a woman was permitted to play derived from her sexual functions. "Men worked to live...[but]

⁶⁸ Goodrich, 1919, p. 2-3

⁶⁹ Aurora, 1902.

⁷⁰ Rappaport, 1990, p. 63.

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women mated to live..." For woman there was "only a single channel, a single choice. Wealth, power, social distinction, fame...all, must come to her through a small gold ring."⁷¹

While these important glimpses into the history of women in the United States may have captured the general state of affairs and reflected the experiences of most women, not all women's experiences are represented by the image these documents create. Julia Anne King's case suggests that some women born in the 1830s and 1840s (thereby graduating from high school in the 1850s, before women were admitted to coeducational universities and before women's only colleges opened) could obtain a thorough education, develop confidence and self-respect, and lead an independent and rewarding life. King's experiences also suggest that women could live without marrying, and that a woman could, through professional rather than sexual achievements, gain moderate wealth (King summered in the White Mountains, owned a second home in the Port Huron area, enjoyed a sabbatical trip to Europe, etc.), power, social distinction, and fame through a normal school education.

Rather than limiting her professional aspirations or excluding her from public life, King's normal school education provided her with power and opportunity. Coeducation sponsored her growth as a critical thinker and provided her with experiences that made her feel part of, rather than excluded from, the system. Well-connected and liberally-educated, King continued to benefit from the supposedly feminine aspects of teaching and the ambiguous position school administration and teacher education occupied in a society which was otherwise separated into male and female spheres.⁷² By coming up through the ranks as a schoolteacher she remained in an arena considered proper for women, but she used her education and experience to propel her into management positions where she demanded a competitive salary, had a voice in administrative decision-making, was respected as an authority on history teaching, and made a significant contribution to public education. Instead of operating on the margins, like many reformers who felt excluded from public life,

⁷¹ Chafe, 1991, p. 7.

⁷² Sklar, 1976.

1. The first group of people who are interested in the study of the history of the world are the historians. They are the people who study the past and write about it. They are the people who tell us what happened and why it happened. They are the people who help us to understand the world and ourselves.

King was at the center of a respected social institution.⁷³ King believed that “the individual will learn to meet his part in life by sharing in the interests and cooperating in the effort of the social whole of which he is only a part.”⁷⁴ King valued and respected the will of the whole community; perhaps because, unlike many women, she felt like she was part of public life. King taught social responsibility and, through her own example, challenged the roles mainstream culture had appropriated for nineteenth century women.

In 1849, the Michigan State Normal School was established to instruct “both male and female in the art of teaching, and in all the various branches that pertain to a good common school education.”⁷⁵ “Men and women were admitted together. Each member of the House of Representatives was authorized to appoint two pupils (one of each sex) in his district.”⁷⁶ Like common school boys and girls, these “ministering angels” learned their craft in a coeducational environment of relative gender equity.

Significantly, none of the speakers at the opening ceremonies for the MSNS differentiated a subordinate role for women teachers. The assumption at the Michigan State Normal School was that both men and women could teach; the numbers of students of each sex enrolled in the early classes were almost identical. Several speakers spoke explicitly about the normal students being both men and women, indicating that the founders thought both sexes were equally capable of teaching and that they could prepare for, and eventually carry out, their lifework side by side.⁷⁷

“Breaking Down the Barriers”⁷⁸: Women in the Normal Lyceum

A month after the opening of the first term of the Normal School, the teachers and students of the institution came together to discuss the organization and management of a society to promote the literary improvement of the students. Professor Welch was elected

⁷³Walters, 1978.

⁷⁴ King, History as social education, no date.

⁷⁵Isbell, 1971, p. 8.

⁷⁶Putnam, 1899, p. 42

⁷⁷ Putnam, 1899.

⁷⁸ Putnam, 1899, p. 222.

President, but, in the spirit of faculty-student collaboration with which the society was founded, students, including women, were elected to other offices.⁷⁹ The first and only campus organization was called the Lyceum and devoted itself to the discussion and debate of political, philosophical, and literary topics.⁸⁰

During the years that King was a student at the Normal School (1855-58), the Lyceum, of which she was a member, debated and then adopted the following resolution: "That for ladies to speak in this Lyceum is right, proper, and expedient."⁸¹ Professor Putnam believed that sentiment in the Normal Lyceum regarding the position of women manifested the same stages of growth as sentiment in the community at large. With respect to the Old Lyceum, which was in existence from 1853-1880, he says:

The barriers which had hitherto limited and hedged in the so-called sphere of woman were being gradually broken down. The doors of higher institutions of education and of the "learned professions" were being thrown open to her; in some cases, it must be admitted, grudgingly and with very bad grace, but never the less they were opening wider and wider year by year. A somewhat similar process of enlargement is observable in the exercises and management of the Lyceum. At first, and for several years lady members of the society read essays, served on committees, and held minor offices. But they did not act as presiding officers, nor take part, to any considerable extent, in extemporaneous debates.⁸²

Professor Putnam advocated for women to be admitted to the university of Michigan, so he was familiar with breaking down barriers. He recognized that the Lyceum, while coeducational from the beginning, did limit women's participation to some extent. As he notes, this quieter participation matched social expectations for women at the time.

In 1870 the following resolution was discussed and adopted: "That the ladies ought to be allowed to debate; that the interests of the society and its existence depend on their debating." In the records of the following years ladies are listed as "debaters" and also among the Vice Presidents of the Lyceum.⁸³ Gender at the Normal School reflected the separate spheres ideology of the larger society, but also challenged that ideology, as men

⁷⁹ Putnam, 1899, p. 215-16

⁸⁰ Putnam, 1899, p. 218.

⁸¹ Putnam, 1899, p. 218.

⁸² Putnam, 1899, p. 222.

⁸³ Putnam, 1899, p. 222-223.

1. The first step is to identify the problem. This involves understanding the current situation and what needs to be changed.

and women prepared together to enter their shared profession. Since the only student organization in the early years had an academic and vocational focus, gender equality was fostered and women's voices respected.

"No Noisy Crusades": First Preceptress, Abigail Rogers

The first Preceptress at the Michigan State Normal School, Abigail Rogers, combined

refined womanly tastes and occupations with more active and public pursuits, and found pleasure in a life of study and thought attractive to an earnest mind, irrespective of sex... Of her religious life it would be impossible to speak apart from her regular daily life and work, since it was all permeated with the same deep and abiding principle for love for God the Father, and for men his children.⁸⁴

Rogers, who served as Preceptress while King was still in high school, was typical of the women who taught King and who mentored her as she became part of the teaching profession. Stereotypically womanly tastes and occupations mingle with public pursuits as well as an active life of the mind, and all of this in a deeply religious female teacher. The interconnectedness of Christian faith and teachers' work that Rogers' biographer describes characterized many of the outstanding female teachers of this time.

Rogers addressed her charges regarding the opportunity to teach in winter school and, by so doing, prove woman's competence and thereby be in a position to challenge the low wages women were being paid.

Upon your success in the profession you have chosen depends more than perhaps you at present realize. Although there are many who doubt the success of the experiment, still female teachers are now not unfrequently sought to supply our winter schools, and it is for you to establish your position, and demonstrate by your success in these schools that you are quite capable of teaching them; for, as one has said, "doing a thing well proves your right to do it." Having established this vital point, it will not be difficult for you to change that of which you now with so much reason and justice complain, the low rate of female wages.

Rogers explained to her students that by hard work they would earn the right to demand an increased salary. She continued, "You will thus find that in the quiet, unpretending

⁸⁴ *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, VI (1883) "History of the Michigan Female College and a sketch of the life and work of Miss A.C. Rogers." p. 289

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discharge of your daily duties, you have secured your rights, which is very unlikely you would have ever succeeded in doing by those noisy crusades and course clamourings, which in this age of the world are unfortunately bringing so much discredit upon our sex."⁸⁵

Rogers was an advocate of change and worked tirelessly so that women could have equal educational opportunities, but she did not believe it was appropriate for women to "clamour" for rights.

Rogers recommended a quieter approach to gaining power and influence. She advised:

You will never, I trust, be among the number of those who render themselves ridiculous by clamouring for rights. You will feel that you have already all the rights you desire to exercise. You will be content quietly to enlarge the sphere of your exertions and influence by enlarging the area of your intellectual vision, and increasing your own moral strength.⁸⁶

Increasing one's own moral strength and intellectual vision seems more of a call for service than for rights. It was this self-improving, rather than self-righteous, orientation toward life work that Rogers, King, and many of the early Normal School men and women shared. Perhaps because of her moral strength and lack of clamouring, Rogers' male colleagues supported her ideas and were known to advocate for women. Dr. E. O. Haven of the State University, who collaborated with Welch and Gregory to produce and edit the first *Michigan Journal of Education*, makes special reference to female teachers' salaries in an 1854 article:

The profession of teaching is of especial importance to woman. Well-qualified female teachers are far more numerous than heretofore, and there are many schools and many departments in larger schools, particularly adapted to them. We could never see any good reason why the compensation offered to them should not be precisely the same as that offered to men in the same stations. Nor can we see why they, too, should not qualify themselves for the highest success and the most responsible positions.⁸⁷

Rogers was able to make the strides she did with respect to female education because men such as Haven sponsored quality teacher education, pay equity, and professional advancement for female teachers.

⁸⁵ Rogers, 1853, p. 143-144.

⁸⁶ Rogers, 1853, p. 146.

⁸⁷ Haven, 1854, p. 48 *The Michigan Journal of Education and Teachers' Magazine*, vol I.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation

$$f(x) = \int_0^x f(t) dt + \int_0^x g(t) dt + \int_0^x h(t) dt + \int_0^x k(t) dt + \int_0^x l(t) dt + \int_0^x m(t) dt + \int_0^x n(t) dt + \int_0^x o(t) dt + \int_0^x p(t) dt + \int_0^x q(t) dt + \int_0^x r(t) dt + \int_0^x s(t) dt + \int_0^x t(t) dt + \int_0^x u(t) dt + \int_0^x v(t) dt + \int_0^x w(t) dt + \int_0^x x(t) dt + \int_0^x y(t) dt + \int_0^x z(t) dt + \int_0^x \dots$$

$$f(x) = \int_0^x f(t) dt + \int_0^x g(t) dt + \int_0^x h(t) dt + \int_0^x k(t) dt + \int_0^x l(t) dt + \int_0^x m(t) dt + \int_0^x n(t) dt + \int_0^x o(t) dt + \int_0^x p(t) dt + \int_0^x q(t) dt + \int_0^x r(t) dt + \int_0^x s(t) dt + \int_0^x t(t) dt + \int_0^x u(t) dt + \int_0^x v(t) dt + \int_0^x w(t) dt + \int_0^x x(t) dt + \int_0^x y(t) dt + \int_0^x z(t) dt + \int_0^x \dots$$

where $f(x)$ is a function of x and $g(x), h(x), k(x), l(x), m(x), n(x), o(x), p(x), q(x), r(x), s(x), t(x), u(x), v(x), w(x), x(x), y(x), z(x), \dots$ are functions of x .

In the years after Abigail Rogers and before Julia Anne King (1855-1881), three women served as Preceptress of the Michigan State Normal School. All of them were graduates of, and two had been teachers at, Oberlin College. A vibrant and expansive definition of the female role emerged from institutions like Oberlin and, subsequently, the Michigan State Normal School. The Preceptresses significantly shaped the experiences of young women at the normal school and contributed to the special care they received. The mere existence of her position was based on separate spheres ideology, but in practice the Preceptress' influence was quite liberating for the young female teachers in her charge.

Looking at the life choices and career trajectories of the women who served as Normal School Preceptress allows us to better understand who these women were, what they valued, and how they may have viewed their work at the Normal School. Abigail Rogers, the first, left after two years to be an activist for women's education and to start a female seminary in Lansing. The second and third, Allen Patton and Aldrich-Ripley, left, after three and eight years respectfully, to marry ministers. Ruth Hoppin, fourth Preceptress at the Normal School, left to assume a position as "Teacher of Physiology, Biology, and Botany," at Smith College in North Hampton, Massachusetts. Smith College, founded by Miss Sophia Smith of Hatfield, Massachusetts, had been established as an "institution for the higher education of young women, with the design to furnish them means and facilities for education equal to those ...afforded young men." Nondenominational, the college nevertheless had a strong religious emphasis, as had the Oberlin where Miss Hoppin spent her earlier years. Smith, like most of the early women's colleges, was "not intended to fit woman for a particular sphere or profession, but to perfect her intellect by those methods which philosophy and experience have approved, so that she may be better qualified to enjoy and to do well her work in life, whatever that work may be."⁸⁸ Hoppin's work included social reform; she was, from her early teaching days,

⁸⁸ Alford, 1974, p. 24. Quotations from the Smith College Official Circular, 1881.

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⁸⁸ Alford, 1974, p. 24. Quotations from the Smith College Official Circular, 1881.

identified with the prohibition movement. Many Michigan newspapers published her pleas for prohibition, sometimes in metrical form.⁸⁹

Some of the Normal School Preceptresses chose to marry and continue their life work in ministry as preachers' helpmates. Others devoted themselves to social reform, activism, and all-female education environments. If the job of Preceptress prepared women for the roles they chose, then the job was undoubtedly a mixture of special female-centered education and spiritual guidance or, even, evangelism.

The commonly held assumption that young women were indeed different than young men was not cause for alarm at the normal school, as it was at the University of Michigan,⁹⁰ but rather a factor which contributed to the serious consideration of what it would take to educate young women well. Women at Michigan State Normal School in the early years reaped the benefits of their common school forefathers' attention to educating the masses in the interests of democracy and their female seminary foremothers' attention to educating girls. The separate spheres legacy of single-sex education environments, even in the coeducational normal school, and the belief that women were special, even if it meant restricted opportunities, created an approach towards education much like that at all-girls' academies and seminaries where the female student was the focus of academic purpose.⁹¹ Women's historians have noted that "the very symbolic and social conceptions that appear to set women apart and to circumscribe their activities may be used by women as a basis for female solidarity and worth"⁹² and that some nineteenth century women developed their own ways of challenging the conventions of deference and silence.⁹³ "The notion of female moral superiority received further reinforcement as the ideals of femininity and of Christianity appeared to coalesce."⁹⁴

⁸⁹ Alford, 1974, p. 28.

⁹⁰ Bordin, 2001.

⁹¹ Solomon, 1985.

⁹² Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South*, p. 119, quoted from Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, in *Women, Culture, and Society*, p. 39.

⁹³ Hoffman, 1971. See especially Emma Willard and Catharine Beecher.

⁹⁴ Evans, 1989, p. 73.

Women and Gender Beyond the Normal School

King attended and taught at coeducational schools, but, for a woman born in 1838, hers was a relatively privileged educational past. Even though she was a pioneer farmer's daughter, who started in a one room log school, she did get to attend one of Michigan's earliest coeducational high schools and one of the nation's first normal schools, in an era when many girls had no educational options at all. Few colleges admitted women.

Scattered small Christian colleges and the more rigorous female seminaries—like Mount Holyoke Female Seminary where women students studied the same curriculum as the men at liberal arts colleges—were the only higher education available to women in the United States at the time. Only a small percentage of girls could afford to leave home to attend such schools, and they were the only females who had access to a college curriculum.

Coeducational high schools opened in the large cities in ante-bellum Michigan, but women were not admitted to the University of Michigan until 1870. The general sentiment among teachers and school officers in relation to coeducation may be inferred from replies to a circular of inquiry sent out by the State Superintendent in 1856. The principal of the Ann Arbor schools said:

In the intermediate and high schools the different sexes occupy different study rooms; but they meet at all general exercises, and so constantly for instruction in classes, that there is scarcely an hour when pupils of both sexes are not occupying every room. The advantages of the coeducation of the sexes, which are too great to be sacrificed from regard to mere convenience, are thus secured; while on the other hand, the ladies of the school can receive from a Preceptress many a useful lesson, and consult with her with a freedom which would otherwise be wanting.⁹⁵

Educators believed that at the high school level girls should have access to the same education as boys, and it was more efficient to educate them together, but girls did have special needs that could be attended to by a Preceptress. This was also the rationale at the coeducational Michigan State Normal School.

During the mid-nineteenth century, Protestant reformers made a strong case for the equality of the sexes and the education of girls and women. For example, the political

⁹⁵ Putnam, 1904, p. 191-2.

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philosopher, Edward D. Mansfield, believed men and women were equal before the law of God, and that under a republican government males and females must have the same educational rights. "It is the idea of moral right, founded in the nature of the soul, and derived from the Bible, which is the sole foundation of republican government, and the sole evidence that women have equal rights in the social system, and are equal partners in whatever benefits society might convey."⁹⁶ Female seminary founder and teacher educator Emma Willard wrote that "reason and religion teach that we too are primary existencies...the companions, not the satellites of men."⁹⁷ In 1837, anti-slavery activist and daughter of a preacher, Sarah Grimke wrote:

The Lord Jesus defines the duties of his followers in his Sermon on the Mount. He lays down grand principles by which they should be governed, without any reference to sex or condition. I follow him through all his precepts and find him giving the same directions to women as to men, never even referring to the distinction now so strenuously insisted upon between masculine and feminine virtues: this is one of the anti-Christian "traditions of men" which are taught instead of the "commandments of God." Men and women were CREATED EQUAL; they are both moral and accountable beings, and whatever is *right* for man to do, is *right* for woman.

How monstrous, how anti-Christian is the doctrine that woman is to be dependent on man! Where, in all the sacred Scriptures is this taught? Alas! she has too well learned the lesson which MAN has labored to teach her. She has surrendered her dearest RIGHTS, has been satisfied with the privileges which man has assumed to grant her; she has been amused with the show of power, whilst man has absorbed all the reality into himself...No where does God say that he made any distinction between us, as moral and intelligent beings (*italics and capitals in original*).⁹⁸

Grimke criticizes men, and her contemporary culture at large, for distorting God's word and making a big deal of the differences between men and women when her read of the Bible reveals a God who values all humans equally. She is offended by the idea that women should be dependent on men, and she regrets that women are satisfied serving men instead of God. In 1853, she was more optimistic about women's futures because of the success of the coeducational common school movement led by Horace Mann. She claimed, "He [Horace Mann] will not help the cause of women greatly, but his efforts to educate her will

⁹⁶ Tyack and Hansot, 1990, p. 29.

⁹⁷ Tyack and Hansot, 1990, p. 28.

⁹⁸ Rappaport, 1990, p. 57-58.

do greater work than he anticipates. Prepare woman for duty and usefulness, and she will laugh at any boundaries man may set for her.”⁹⁹

At this time there was little separation between those who advocated “coeducation” and those who advocated “women’s education.” The debate rages today about whether or not it is better to educate girls with boys or separately in all-girls’ classes; contemporary educators assume that girls should be educated and ask where and how. In the mid-nineteenth century there was still not a consensus that girls should be educated beyond the basic subjects, and those who advocated coeducation and those who advocated women’s separate education were often allies against those who worried that educating women, anywhere anyhow, might be injurious to the women and to the larger society.

Female Seminaries

King’s pedagogy, in the classroom, professional association, or woman’s club, was rooted in the ideas and influence of the female seminaries. Preceptress Abigail Rogers and many of King’s classmates and colleagues had attended or taught at female seminaries. It is important to understand the history of the female seminaries in order to have a better sense of the ideas that shaped the early Normal School.

Many advocates of women’s education were activists in the evangelical religious movements that swept the nation in the first half of the nineteenth century. The confidence with which women asserted their moral mission to teach and to engage in social reform outside the home was rooted in their participation in a powerful religious revival known as the second Great Awakening.¹⁰⁰ These religious revivals have been described as:

a response to the increased marginalization of both women and religion in American political and economic life. As the growing commercial economy surged to meet new demands and opportunities, older, artisanal ways of living and working were slowly crushed. The boom and bust of capitalist expansion sidelined both home and religion which had previously been at the center of political and economic life. In alliance with

⁹⁹ Birney, 1885, p. 275.

¹⁰⁰ Evans, 1989, p. 72.

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ministers, middle class women resisted this process and reasserted moral values through the process of conversion.¹⁰¹

The most persuasive and influential justifications for women's education came from those who created female seminaries: Catharine Beecher, Emma Willard, and Mary Lyon.¹⁰² They wanted to train women to exercise their influence over children not only as republican mothers but also as enlightened teachers. Thus, the teaching profession enlarged women's public activities in the name of their domestic and moral responsibilities.¹⁰³

Catharine Beecher believed that it was women's moral mission in a democratic society to extend their sphere beyond the home and into the public arena. Mary Lyon, founder of Mount Holyoke Seminary, now College, drew on women's religious and gender solidarity to fund schools for teachers. She proposed a school for girls, "based entirely on Christian principles" and intended for "those who are in the middle walks of life." She argued: "this work of supplying teachers is a great work, and it must be done, or our country is lost, and the world will remain unconverted."¹⁰⁴ Sanctified by religious and political values, teaching offered a meager but respectable livelihood for single women. Mary Lyon and other founders of female seminaries saw teaching as a sacred cause for the evangelical young women they trained.¹⁰⁵

The women who ran female seminaries sought to extend the scope of women's contributions to society, and to employ their talents wisely, while still preserving Victorian notions of women's sphere.¹⁰⁶ Emma Willard argued not only that women were "naturally" suited to teach, but also that they could be hired at lower salaries in the common schools and that their employment would free more men to increase the wealth of the nation.¹⁰⁷ "The successful rationale for improving women's minds thus was founded

¹⁰¹ Evans, 1989, p. 73.

¹⁰² Tyack and Hansot, 1990, p. 37.

¹⁰³ Evans, 1989, p. 70.

¹⁰⁴ Evans, 1989, p. 72.

¹⁰⁵ Tyack and Hansot, 1990, p. 43.

¹⁰⁶ Tyack and Hansot, 1982, p. 67.

¹⁰⁷ Cott, 1977, p. 121.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation

$$f(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^2} dt, \quad (1)$$

where x is a real number. It is well known that the function $f(x)$ is an odd function and that it is increasing on the whole real line.

2. In the second part of the paper we shall study the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation

$$f(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^2} dt, \quad (2)$$

where x is a real number. It is well known that the function $f(x)$ is an odd function and that it is increasing on the whole real line.

3. In the third part of the paper we shall study the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation

$$f(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^2} dt, \quad (3)$$

where x is a real number. It is well known that the function $f(x)$ is an odd function and that it is increasing on the whole real line.

4. In the fourth part of the paper we shall study the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation

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where x is a real number. It is well known that the function $f(x)$ is an odd function and that it is increasing on the whole real line.

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where x is a real number. It is well known that the function $f(x)$ is an odd function and that it is increasing on the whole real line.

7. In the seventh part of the paper we shall study the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation

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where x is a real number. It is well known that the function $f(x)$ is an odd function and that it is increasing on the whole real line.

8. In the eighth part of the paper we shall study the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation

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where x is a real number. It is well known that the function $f(x)$ is an odd function and that it is increasing on the whole real line.

9. In the ninth part of the paper we shall study the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation

$$f(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^2} dt, \quad (9)$$

where x is a real number. It is well known that the function $f(x)$ is an odd function and that it is increasing on the whole real line.

on, not opposed to, women's domestic occupation and maternal destiny."¹⁰⁸ In 1818 in her bold appeal to the Legislature for public support for a female seminary, Willard claimed that nature had designed women to be teachers of the young: "She has given us, in greater degree than men, the gentle arts of insinuation, to soften their minds, and fit them to receive impressions...a greater quickness of invention...and more patience." Unlike men, women had no "higher pecuniary object" or ambition than to teach and "could afford to do it cheaper."¹⁰⁹

The quality of seminary education varied greatly, but some of the best schools offered a rigorous curriculum, featuring reading, writing, scriptural study, grammar, mathematics, composition, arithmetic, history, geography, French, Latin, and natural history. They gave young women "a strong sense of the strength of their minds, the duties imposed on them by religion, and the empowering ideal of sisterhood."¹¹⁰ The devoutly religious founders of many women's academies and seminaries demanded high standards of conduct and disciplined students sternly. "Antebellum academies trained women to think and reflect, gave them access to books, companionship, and the example of their teachers, while preparing them to earn a living."¹¹¹

Rev. Samuel Fisher of Lyman Beecher's Lane Seminary spoke at the first anniversary of the founding of Western Female Seminary in Oxford, OH. He described the type of woman and education the Female Seminary provided. This sort of education was for the "earnest-minded woman, inspired with lofty aims, conscious of power for good . . . no longer a passive recipient or a partially developed flower, but part of the active forces which work for a grand end."¹¹² Female seminary women were to be active participants in shaping God's kingdom.

¹⁰⁸ Cott, 1977, p. 125.

¹⁰⁹ Tyack and Hansot, 1990, p. 42.

¹¹⁰ Tyack and Hansot, 1982, p. 67.

¹¹¹ Gordon, 1990, p. 15.

¹¹² Nash, 1996, p. 25.

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The alumnae of the most influential female seminaries created and sustained a women's network that stretched across the country. As Anne Firor Scott has shown, Emma Willard

deliberately organized and kept alive a network composed of a 'series of concentric circles,' with herself at the center and formalized in the Willard Association for the Mutual Improvement of Teachers. The hub of the group was the small circle of faithful teachers at Troy Female Seminary; next came the women who had themselves founded or taught in girls' academies; and finally, there were thousands of former students, scattered across the nation and often active in common-school associations in their local communities while raising families or pursuing careers.¹¹³

Female seminaries pioneered training teachers for the public schools well before the first public normal schools were established. Willard opened her Troy Female Seminary, now Emma Willard School, an elite college preparatory boarding school for girls, in 1821.

Through their widespread networks of educated women and their male allies, the women founders and principals placed their graduates in teaching positions and encouraged the creation of secondary schools for women and the spread of coeducational public schools. "These women and their alumnae were pedagogical Jenny Appleseeds, planting schools across the nation."¹¹⁴

Kalamazoo, Oberlin, and the "Dangerous Experiment" at the University of Michigan

In 1863 King left her job as Principal in Lansing because she was not willing to do "a man's work for women's pay."¹¹⁵ King accepted a job at Kalamazoo College.¹¹⁶

James Andrus Stone and Lucinda Hinsdale Stone had been asked to leave Kalamazoo College, and John M. Gregory, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, took over the Principalship and called upon King to become Ladies' Principal. The Stones had been in charge of the Baptist college since the days when the Kalamazoo school was one of the University's branch schools. It is likely King knew the Stones through mutual friends.

King, Gregory, and Daniel Putnam, a professor at Kalamazoo, and later at the normal school

¹¹³ Tyack and Hansot, 1982, p. 66-67.

¹¹⁴ Tyack and Hansot, 1990, p. 43

¹¹⁵ *Normal News*, 1895.

¹¹⁶ Kalamazoo College Catalogue, 1865-6.

in Ypsilanti, were associates of the Stone's through the State Teachers' Association.

Gregory and King were not chosen to make changes at Kalamazoo College but to continue the good work that the Stones had started. King, a single woman teacher, was able to do things that Mrs. Stone, a wife and mother, could not.¹¹⁷

The Stones were advocates of coeducation and strong abolitionists. Lucinda Stone was principal of the Ladies Department until her husband's ouster. Mr. Stone was accused of inappropriate behavior; it seems he was having an affair with, or at least making advances toward, a female student. He and his wife denied that this was true, and she wrote a scathing and extensive letter detailing her analysis of his unfair dismissal. Her thesis was that people who could not abide their feminist beliefs and practices wrongly accused him.¹¹⁸

Whatever the case about Stone's alleged improprieties, he and his wife had many allies in the education community. Even directly after the scandal, Kalamazoo College continued to be well run, and the cause for coeducation at the University of Michigan only grew stronger. The whole scandal with the Baptists seems to pale in comparison to the political fight for coeducation at the University. Dr. Stone became editor of *The Kalamazoo Telegraph* and continued his spirited defense of coeducation, and in 1867, he "roundly criticized the University of Michigan's President Haven's scheme for a segregated women's college."¹¹⁹

The debate about whether women should be admitted to the University of Michigan was a hot one, but it was rarely mentioned that the state was educating men and women together quite nicely fifteen miles down the road in Ypsilanti. "The fact that coeducation existed in the primary and secondary schools of the state was dismissed as a simple matter of economy. For the same reason, the report pointed out, women were admitted to the State Normal School: it was cheaper to hire them as teachers."¹²⁰ Economic efficiency made higher education possible for women who wanted to teach. Because the Normal was

¹¹⁷ Goodsell and Dunbar, 1933.

¹¹⁸ Stone, 1868.

¹¹⁹ McGuigan, 1970, p. 29.

¹²⁰ McGuigan, 1970, p. 19.

considered “sub-collegiate” it was able to serve girls in the fashion of the common schools without calling attention to itself as a place that provided higher education to women. Students who used the Normal as post-high school professional education were able to prepare for public and professional life in a nurturing coeducational environment, reminiscent of the common schools. This situation allowed women teachers to prepare for potentially liberating intellectual life in a seemingly conservative place.

This is not to say that the Normal School was immune from gender-based stereotypes in the larger society. For example, the railroad was easily able to secure funding early on for a line between Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor, because the men at the University of Michigan wanted to travel to the Normal School for dates.¹²¹

In May of 1855 the liberal-minded State Teachers’ Association in Michigan held their annual meeting in Ann Arbor. It was reportedly “the most interesting and important ever held by this body.”¹²² Many female secondary school teachers were among its members. Professor Daniel Putnam of Kalamazoo presented all the arguments against coeducation, which he preceded to refute one by one, concluding with a ringing recommendation that “the system...be allowed to have a fair and impartial trial in the highest institution of the State,” namely at the University.¹²³

Through the next two decades, the regents, legislature, and people of the state debated the issue. The regents appointed a committee to study the advisability of coeducation. They wrote for advice to college administrators across the country. It might not come as a surprise that the administrators at Harvard, Princeton, and Yale did not support the idea. But even Finney, president of Oberlin, and Mann, president of Antioch (both coeducational institutions), issued warnings. They indicated that their efforts to elevate college life through women's superior morality were unsuccessful, and that constant

¹²¹ as per Maria Davis, archivist, EMU

¹²² McGuigan, 1970, p. 16.

¹²³ McGuigan, 1970, p. 16.

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vigilance was needed to supervise the women. Finney doubted the success of coeducation in any atmosphere less evangelical than Oberlin's.¹²⁴

In 1837 Oberlin College in Ohio had enrolled four female freshmen and thus inaugurated coeducational higher education for women.¹²⁵ Many Oberlin graduates taught at the Michigan State Normal School, and in the early years the two institutions shared the same evangelical commitments. For example, Normal School Professor Frederic H. Pease was son of Peter P. Pease and Ruth Crocker Pease who were among the founders of Oberlin College. At the age of eighteen Young Pease left Oberlin and traveled with E. M. Foote, an early Normal School Professor in the department of music, holding musical conventions. In 1859 he settled in Ypsilanti as teacher of the piano, and, in 1863, he was appointed Professor of Music in the Normal School.¹²⁶ His parents, and their colleagues who founded Oberlin, wanted men to live up to women's higher social and moral standards.¹²⁷ The evangelical college, with its philosophical commitment to equality of intellect, while still respecting the doctrine of separate spheres, provided a social and educational atmosphere different from, and perhaps superior to, that in men's colleges or women's seminaries. At coeducational Oberlin they created the intellectualism and scholarly atmosphere of the all-male college, and avoided what they considered the immoral social atmosphere often associated with the all-male fraternity. At Oberlin, "religious commitment and an ethic of simplicity dominated, [and] men and women students enjoyed an informal social life, unencumbered by the college way."¹²⁸

By including women, the college did not lower the academic requirements. Women's admittance simply justified the strict rules and Christian deportment the college required. Women were not completely integrated, and separatism indicated respect for women's special qualities.¹²⁹

¹²⁴ Gordon, 1990, p. 22.

¹²⁵ Rudolph, 1962, p. 311

¹²⁶ Putnam, 1899, p. 173.

¹²⁷ Gordon, 1990, p. 18.

¹²⁸ Horowitz, 1987, p. 123-4.

¹²⁹ Gordon, 1990, p. 18.

To its militant Christian founders, Oberlin College in Ohio was "God's College." Here men and women, white and black, were to be educated together to carry out God's cause on earth. Even though coeducation seemed an aberration to those who believed in maintaining the separate male and female spheres of society, Oberlin's academic community operated as a religious family in which both sexes retained their distinctive roles. Not all classes were joint; a less demanding literary course was usually taken by the women, but it was still superior to that of most academies. Significantly, Oberlin had a Female Department, whose heads had trained in New England academies under Mary Lyon or Zilpah Grant.¹³⁰

Oberlin supported the creation of a woman's culture typical of the all-female seminary that valued women's needs and interests as learners and teachers.

When Oberlin's President Finney responded to the regents at the University of Michigan, he seemed to frown upon coeducation, but he was head of a school that had admitted women decades ago and had a proud coeducational heritage. His support of coeducation at Oberlin but not at the University of Michigan makes me wonder if he was commenting on the nature of the university and the orientations of the faculty and administration more than on the nature of woman or problems inherent in coeducation. Perhaps if he had been asked what it would take to build an institution that took coeducation seriously, rather than what he thought of adding women to the existing institution, he would have answered differently. Was the regents' decision "dangerous" because of what women might do to the university or because of what the university might do to women? When Finney was asked if he thought coeducation would be "successful," what did his definition of successful include? Did he think they were asking him if women could handle the academic rigor? Did he think they were asking him if he thought women should be subjected to the sexist orientations of collegiate men and their professors? Did he think they were asking him if he thought the university could handle what it would need to do in order to do coeducation well? One interpretation is that Oberlin could do what they needed to do in order to do coeducation well, but, given what Finney knew about Ann Arbor, he did not think they could.

¹³⁰ Solomon, 1985, p. 21.



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Even though “the State Superintendent of Public Instruction earnestly advocated the right of women to a university education, on the ground that the founding state statute opened the university “to all persons resident of this state,” and claiming that women were “persons,”¹³¹ at first the University of Michigan decided not to admit women. The regents' report on the Admission of Females in 1858 stated, “It is regarded as a doubtful experiment, by some as a very dangerous experiment ... certain to be ruinous to the young ladies who should avail themselves of it ... and disastrous to the institution which should carry it out.”¹³² The debate revolved around three main questions: 1) whether the intellect of woman was capable of advanced learning, 2) whether women's physical constitution could stand the rigors of higher education, and 3) whether it was both a mistake and a waste to educate women for anything but their proper sphere.¹³³ On October 2, 1858, *The Detroit Free Press* summarized the committee's findings on the probable results of admitting women: “It would tend to unwoman the woman and unman the man—it would tend to produce confusion, and all confusion produces corruption.”¹³⁴

This sort of view was wide spread and supposedly research-based. In 1873, Dr. Edward H. Clarke, a Massachusetts physician, formerly on the medical staff at Harvard College, wrote *Sex in Education or A Fair Chance for Girls*, a book which detailed how women's health suffered from the strain of competitive study with men.¹³⁵ He claimed that a girl could not endure the rigors of coeducation “and retain uninjured health and a future secure from neuralgia, uterine disease, hysteria, and other derangements of the nervous system, if she follows the same method that boys are trained in.”¹³⁶ Scholarship such as this served to reinforce conservative worries that coeducation of the sexes was associated with the woman's movement, unconforming women, the free love movement, and, eventually, women's suffrage.

¹³¹ McGuigan, 1970, p. 19.

¹³² McGuigan, 1970.

¹³³ McGuigan, 1970, p. 3.

¹³⁴ McGuigan, 1970, p. 22

¹³⁵ Clarke, 1875.

¹³⁶ McGuigan, 1970, p. 54 quoted from: Edward H. Clarke, 1875 p. 47.

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1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* were determined by the method of Arar and Collins (1971) using a Shimadzu 1601 UV-Visible Spectrophotometer.

(1)

There was a large informal network of educators and activists working across the country to establish common schools, normal schools, and colleges that served boys and girls together in a way that the reformers understood to be in the best interests of the democratic nation. For example, Richard Edwards, graduate of Bridgewater Normal, Principal of Salem Normal (two of the country's first normal schools, both in Massachusetts), founder of St. Louis (Missouri) High School's Normal Department, and President of Illinois State Normal University, was an outspoken advocate of coeducation.¹³⁷ In Michigan, Abigail Rogers, first Preceptress at the Michigan State Normal School, established the Michigan Female Seminary in Lansing where she prepared girls for advanced study.¹³⁸ Daniel Putnam, professor and principal at the Michigan State Normal School, worked with Rogers and the Stones from Kalamazoo in their campaign for coeducation at the University of Michigan.

By the time women had been admitted to the University of Michigan, King was teaching at the high school in Flint. She served on the State Teacher's Association at the same time as Alice Freeman Palmer, a young teacher who went on to graduate from the University of Michigan and become President of Wellesley College.¹³⁹ One of King's students in Flint, Angie Chapin, was also one of the first women admitted to the University of Michigan. She subsequently taught Greek as one of Wellesley College's many early professors from Michigan.¹⁴⁰

Reformers

Some women were truly the companions, not the satellites, of men. King was directly and indirectly mentored by a generation of highly skilled and confident women who were active in social movements, taught and managed schools, and wrote and spoke publicly. The one monument to ante-bellum Adrian, Michigan, where King spent her

¹³⁷ Loomis, 1932.

¹³⁸ Rogers, *Famous Michigan Women*.

¹³⁹ Bordin, 1993.

¹⁴⁰ Aurora, 1893, p. 38; Palmieri, 1995.

adolescence, which stands in the city today, is a statue of a woman—anti-slavery leader Laura Haviland.¹⁴¹ Haviland's friend and co-worker on the Underground Railroad, poet Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, made it clear that it was appropriate, and maybe even God's design, that women be involved in public debate about slavery:

To plead for the miserable, to endeavor to alleviate the bitterness of their destiny, and to soften the stern bosoms of their oppressors into gentleness and mercy, can never be unfeminine or unbefitting the delicacy of woman! She does not advocate Emancipation because slavery is at variance with the political interests of the state, but because it is an outrage against humanity and morality and religion; because it is criminal, and her own supineness makes her a sharer in crime; and because a great number of her own sex are among its victims...¹⁴²

King's reform-minded foremothers worked for humanity, morality, and religion.

Not only in Adrian, but also across the country, a generation of men and women were agitating for change during King's formative years.¹⁴³ In addition, the work of women like Sarah and Angelina Grimke, Sojourner Truth, Dorothea Dix, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony could exercise a powerful influence, even from afar, on a young woman with access to newspapers and traveling orators.¹⁴⁴

Sometimes directly, through the pursuit of education for socio-economic advancement and personal fulfillment, and sometimes indirectly, through participation in the single-sex activities of the woman's sphere, many young women became educated, taught school, and were active in public life. Lynn Gordon explains how the separate spheres of Victorian culture never fully described the realities of life, even for the white urban middle classes of the northeast, but they represented important cultural norms.

Out of women's domestic work and family concerns grew a women's culture, oppositional to the cult of the self-made, individualistic, aggressive nineteenth century

¹⁴¹Haviland, *YEAR, A Woman's Lifework*, (her autobiography).

¹⁴²Written in 1829, quoted in pamphlet from Hazelbank (reference to Lundy, *The Poetical works of Elizabeth Margaret Chandler*, 1836.) (?)

¹⁴³ For example, all of the following were born within a couple of years of King: Henry Adams (historian), John Muir (naturalist), Liliuokalani (Hawaiian queen), Victoria Woodhull (reformer, suffragette, mystical socialist, first woman to run for US president in 1872), John D. Rockefeller, Frances Willard (WCTU), J.P. Morgan, Grover Cleveland, Rebecca Ann Felton (first woman seated in the U.S. Senate), Andrew Carnegie, Mark Twain, William Torrey Harris (educator/philosopher), Charles Kendall Adams (U of M historian— communicated with King), and Charles Elliot (president of Harvard).

¹⁴⁴Walters, 1978, Rappaport, 1990 and Du Bois, 1978.

male. Victorian women's culture upheld religion, emotion, community, and the ties among generations of female relatives and friends. Eventually, some used the values of women's culture to enter social reform and women's rights movements by arguing that women's values would benefit the larger society as well as the home. Victorian separatism thus provided a power base and rationale for middle-class women's entrance into public life.¹⁴⁵

Many middle class white women entered into public life in the second half of the nineteenth century. Joyce Antler claims Lucy Sprague Mitchell subscribed to “feminism as life process”—a personal, rather than collective, attempt by women to mold their destinies in the world and achieve autonomy.¹⁴⁶ Dorethea Dix, proponent of asylums, who won many of her victories by skillful agitation, trusted politicians and the political system and was very good at working through it. Her respectability and moderate demeanor drew, rather than alienated, influential people.¹⁴⁷ Geraldine Clifford's study of Maria Louise Sanford revealed that she viewed woman's suffrage not in terms of equality of rights or privileges but as another opportunity to be of better service in the cause of social reform.¹⁴⁸ Women's historian, Mary Beard remarked that the notion of “careers” for women trivialized their operations. Instead of choosing a term that connoted “capitalistic entrepreneurs or retainers of the bourgeoisie,” Beard preferred to think of her “life work.”¹⁴⁹

The 1830s, when King was born, is a decade which women's historian Nancy Cott tells us presents a paradox in the “progress” of women's history in the United States. During that time, an argument surfaced between what Cott calls, “two seemingly contradictory visions of women's relation to society: the ideology of domesticity, which gave women a limited and sex-specific role to play, primarily in the home; and feminism, which attempted to remove sex-specific limits on women's opportunities and capacities.”¹⁵⁰ Cott divides feminist historians' work into three successive interpretative camps. The first, primarily derived from published didactic literature about woman's place and the home, saw

¹⁴⁵ Gordon, 1990, p. 4.

¹⁴⁶ Antler, 1992, p.110.

¹⁴⁷ Walters, 1978, p. 201.

¹⁴⁸ Clifford, 1989, p. 62.

¹⁴⁹ Cott, 1991, p. 339.

¹⁵⁰ Cott, 1977.

1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of

the following factors:

1. The first factor is

2. The second factor is

3. The third factor is

4. The fourth factor is

women as victims, or prisoners, of an ideology of domesticity that was imposed on them in order to serve men's view of social utility and order. The second, primarily derived from the published writings of women authors, observed that women made use of the ideology of domesticity for their own purposes—to advance their educational opportunities and gain influence or satisfaction. The third, primarily derived from the private documents of non-famous women, viewed women's sphere as the basis for a subculture among women that formed a source of strength and identity and afforded supportive sisterly relations.¹⁵¹

At first glance, my work on King fits into both the second and third categories, as my research was derived from both the published writings and the private documents of a not-so-famous woman author. And, as Cott predicts, King advanced her educational opportunities, gained influence, was confident, and participated in multiple communities, single-sex and coeducational. However, one essential difference exists. King's strength did not derive from a subculture of women, nor did she make use of the ideology of domesticity for her own satisfaction. Instead, King's strength came from the Lord, and whatever work she did was for His glory. King tells us,

He who habitually turns to the Divine Spirit had laid hold of infinite resources. Judgment, reason, sense, will all have their natural play, but no one can know what quickening and renewing power works through them. The faculties are not dwarfed but enlarged, the personality is not destroyed but intensified and made luminous with the shining out of the truth. ...If everyone could recognize the spirit of God within as the all-formative power of his life...the power of life would appear most gloriously.¹⁵²

King's religion, more than her relationships with other women, fueled her. Being in community with others was an important part of her religion, so the friendships she developed and the mentoring she performed was significant. Indeed, because she believed that the Divine Spirit was in her, King's daily work was religious, and, in a very true sense, a divine service.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Cott, 1977, p. 197.
¹⁵² King, 1897, p. 29-30. UM
¹⁵³ King, 1897, p. 33. UM

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“An Unfortunate Oversight in One Direction”¹⁵⁴: The Transformation from Normal School to Normal College

The way King thought about teaching and life was reflected in the organization and management of the mid-nineteenth century Normal School, but by the turn of the century, as the School became a College, the structure and purpose of the institution had changed. It is worthwhile to look at the changes that occurred at the Michigan State Normal School around the turn of the century and to ask how these changes influenced the educational and professional lives of women teachers and what these changes reveal about changing notions of masculinity and femininity and their effect on teacher education. Professor Isbell wrote about the changes at the Michigan State Normal School:

The spirit of the school was from the first marked by a strong sense of pride of mission. In the earlier years, this was colored by a moral and religious zest. As the curriculum grew and the social climate changed, the emphasis became more secular, the spirit of scientific inquiry more pronounced. ...Though the faculty aspired for years to make the institution a strictly professional school, ...the experiment failed, and the school developed a high grade liberal arts curriculum that lead to its becoming a college.¹⁵⁵

Adaptability and willingness to meet the needs of the state are cited as reasons why the Normal School changed. While these changes have generally been considered positive progress, they might also signal a lack of emphasis on meeting the needs of individuals, especially women, and therefore be, in one sense, actually a step backwards. Tyack and Hansot claim that some reforms that supposedly had little to do with gender actually significantly altered the two sexes' educational opportunities.¹⁵⁶ The decision to move from normal school to college was one of these reforms; it yielded unintended gender effects.

Changing conceptions of gender in the 1890s were concurrent with changing conceptions of teacher education. Joan Scott claims that “attention to gender is often not explicit, but it is nonetheless a crucial part of the organization of equality and inequality.”¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Putnam, 1899, p. 125.

¹⁵⁵ Isbell, E. (1971) *A History of Eastern Michigan University*. p. xiii

¹⁵⁶ David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, “Silence and Policy Talk: Historical Puzzles about gender and education.” *Educational Researcher*, April 1988, p. 33-41.

¹⁵⁷ Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988). 48.

At the turn of the century, the Michigan State Normal School, like many of the old antebellum colleges, declined in some respects, mostly those that came to be associated with femininity. However, in other respects, mostly those that came to be associated with masculinity, the Normal School, like the newly formed research universities, thrived.

In 1928, Robert Cooley Angell, a young sociologist at the University of Michigan, published *The Campus: A Study of Contemporary undergraduate Life in the American University*. He noted "There is also a subtle feeling that a person who is meek, gentle, and unusually religious is in some sense effeminate and unfit to cope with the problems of full-blooded men." He also observed: "service has been felt in our civilization to be a particularly feminine function." In fact, campus women remained more active in their religious practice and slightly more conservative in their religious and social views, but in the emerging hedonistic student culture men's dominance was still widely assumed, so that men were seen as setting the trends.¹⁵⁸

Surveys, like James Leuba's 1916 study, consistently showed substantially higher rates of active church participation among college women than among college men or, for that matter, among American women generally, compared to American men. Leuba's interpretation was simply that, for whatever reasons, "during the years of adolescent self-affirmation the desires for intellectual freedom and for a rational organization of opinions and conduct are in young women more effectively balked than in young men by the tender ties of the home and the authority of the church."¹⁵⁹ Leuba found that the rate of belief was considerably higher in the one teacher's college he studied than at other leading colleges. Rather than pursue this, he was tempted to throw out the data from the normal school.¹⁶⁰ Investigation of the religious persuasions of Normal College students and their professors is beyond the purview of this study, but if, in 1916, at the Michigan State Normal College,

¹⁵⁸ Marsden, 1994, p. 344.

¹⁵⁹ Marsden, 1994, p. 295. James Leuba was a professor of psychology at Bryn Mawr College, had been a student of G. Stanley Hall, and, in 1916, published *The Belief in God and Immortality: A Psychological, Anthropological and Statistical Study*.

¹⁶⁰ Marsden, 1994, p. 295.

there were still many Christian women who viewed their life work through the same religious lens that King did sixty years earlier, then they lost as the Normal School became a college.

The early normal school was a place where women students could receive an education that provided them with a wide range of career opportunities and the possibility for advancement in the field of education. For example, with only a normal education King served as an elementary and secondary teacher, college professor, principal, superintendent, librarian, preceptress and scholar. The institutional changes associated with the move from normal school to college limited, rather than expanded, the educational and career opportunities for women teachers.

At the same time that the nature of normal education was changing, the educational system was changing. Many districts began to require normal education and/or certificates in order to teach. By the turn of the century, there were separate requirements for elementary, rural, secondary, and urban teachers, and even others for administrators. These still varied a great deal throughout the state, but the general movement was toward more credentialism. At the time that this hierarchical categorizing of positions within the schools was taking place, the Normal School was also sorting people by their intended positions. When the sorting was finished, more women ended up on the bottom, in rural elementary schools, and more men on the top, in city high schools and as administrators.¹⁶¹ Additionally, the system became less fluid; it was harder to switch from being a teacher in a one-room school to being a principal and back to a high school classroom and on to superintendent, as King had done. With increased requirements and degrees necessary to take on additional responsibilities, educators' professional options began to be defined by what education they received rather than what experience they had or how successful they were. The changes that took place as the Normal School became a college made it difficult

¹⁶¹ Tyack and Strober, 1980.

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for women to receive an equal teacher education, and, as a result, the changes also limited women's career options.

The early history of schools of education in elite, graduate-oriented universities is closely related to the history of the normal schools, as these research universities are the models toward which the new normal colleges gravitated.¹⁶² The major theme of Clifford and Guthrie's *Ed School* is the lack of fit between schools of education at elite research universities and the teachers and the schools that they supposedly serve. Clifford and Guthrie argue, "Schools of education...have become ensnarled improvidentially in the academic and political cultures of their institutions and have neglected their professional allegiances."¹⁶³ Additionally, becoming more distant from public schools did not ease teacher educators' entry into the scholarly community of the university. Shunned by their colleagues in arts and letters, "schools of education have had to cope as 'feminine' agencies in a masculine dominated world."¹⁶⁴

As normal schools became more multi-purpose, they became more masculine.¹⁶⁵ The Michigan State Normal School was once *not* such a masculine dominated world; in the early days it was a place where men and women together could pursue a profession that was not yet "feminized," in ways that were, at the time, more gender neutral. As masculinity became to be associated with the values and outlooks of the modern university, the older ways of knowing and qualities of normal education became associated with femininity. When the normal college became a masculine dominated world, its feminine aspects were devalued. At the turn of the century Michigan State Normal College students were more likely than their earlier Normal School counterparts to be divided by sex. This was not because a separate spheres ideology that sought to serve the special needs of each group forced their division, but because there were certain majors and extracurricular activities that supposedly appealed more to women than to men and vice versa.

¹⁶² Clifford, 1986, p. 427- 466 and Clifford and Guthrie, 1988.
¹⁶³ Clifford and Guthrie, 1988, p. 3.
¹⁶⁴ Clifford and Guthrie, 1988, p. 325.
¹⁶⁵ Altenbaugh, 1990, p. 179.

where \mathbf{y} is the vector of observed data, \mathbf{X} is the design matrix, and $\boldsymbol{\beta}$ is the vector of parameters to be estimated.

The model is fitted using the following steps:

1. Initialization of parameters.

2. Iterative fitting process.

The model is fitted using the following steps:

New “natural” sex differences are another kind of specialization. All of this was very different than the early Normal School where men and women together studied the exact same course of study. In the 1890s single sex fraternities and sororities replaced the only student organization of the 1850s—the coeducational Lyceum.

With the rapid growth of the College [Normal School] the purpose of these organizations seemed to be more suitably filled by oratorical and debating classes, and socially their place has been taken by the sororities and fraternities.¹⁶⁶

Charlotte, King’s niece, joined Pi Kappa Sigma, an all women’s sorority.¹⁶⁷ On the Zeta Phi page of the 1899 yearbook it states, “Greeks and Barbarians [students who are not in fraternities or sororities] already divide the Normal College world.” The students characterized the changes in their school as “advances in pedagogic and scholastic lines,” but they realized that “new ideals in social college life” came also.¹⁶⁸ Rather than the serious devotion to teaching and learning that pervaded the early Normal School, young people who came to study at the Normal College around the turn of the century experienced dances, football games, and other aspects of what has come to be expected on United States college campuses. A decline in the life of the mind, at least for women, accompanied the social division by sex.

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, as the Michigan State Normal School became a college, it no longer provided special mentoring for women. Instead of pursuing a life of the mind and of service to others in an environment of relative gender equity, women in the twentieth-century college experienced subordinate roles as Greek organizations and collegiate men’s athletics began to define student life.

King’s professional life spanned the decades from the early normal—where women students’ separate sphere made possible not only their entrance into the teaching profession but their special care as normal students—to the coeducation of the normal college—where women’s special supports were abolished and coeducation included sex-equity in rhetoric

¹⁶⁶ Seventy-fifth Anniversary, 1927. p. 20.
¹⁶⁷ *Aurora*, 1899.
¹⁶⁸ *Aurora*, 1899.

but universalized men's experiences in practice. In 1893 King's Friday Conversations, which had come to be a favorite of normal school women and ladies of Ypsilanti, were discontinued. It is not clear in the documentary evidence why King's conversations were abolished, but the students, who dedicated their yearbook to her, made it clear that they were missed. "It is regretted most sincerely by the young ladies of the College that they have been discontinued. They feel they have suffered a great loss."¹⁶⁹

As the school evolved into a college, the vestiges of women's separate spheres were no longer deemed necessary or desirable. The Normal College welcomed women, in fact a vast majority of the students were women, so it wasn't that they didn't want to educate women, it was just that the ways in which they thought it was appropriate to educate women were changing. If this frustrated King, she did not leave any professional records that reveal her dissatisfaction. My sense is that she believed she could serve women in the ways she attempted to through these Conversations whether or not the college sponsored them. She was known for inviting students to her home, and she remained active in the Ladies Literary Society in Ypsilanti until her death.

Several years after the Conversations ceased, as part of the restructuring to become a college, the position of Preceptress was also dropped. King remained an important member of the faculty, but the female students no longer had a woman on the faculty assigned to their special needs, and the principal/president no longer had a woman with whom he shared administrative power and decision-making. Professor Daniel Putnam who was King's colleague and friend in the State Teacher's Association, at Kalamazoo College, and at the Michigan State Normal School, wrote:

The study of the development of the internal administration of the school leaves the impression of an unfortunate oversight in one direction. The first formal code of regulations for the management of the institution provided that "the more immediate charge of the female pupils, in all matters pertaining to their sex, was confided to the preceptress." In subsequent formal revisions and additions little or no direct allusion has been made to the special duties of the preceptress or to the special care and

¹⁶⁹ Aurora, 1893.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
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oversight of female students. At the same time the relative proportion of ladies in the school has greatly increased.¹⁷⁰

It is ironic that the normal college became less interested in women students' needs as they got proportionally more of them.

Preceptress was a title associated with female seminaries and other earlier forms of women's schooling, so it is understandable that as the Normal College grew figuratively closer to the university it would want to drop its association with these supposedly inferior forms of schooling. However, as the Normal College apparently prospered, its young women had to fit in, without the guidance and mentorship they previously enjoyed. In coeducation women were supposedly equal, so it would have been contradictory to talk about their "special care and oversight." However well-intentioned this change in the approach to educating female students, it may have been an oversight which made it harder for women to develop the skills and dispositions necessary to excel as classroom teachers and to advance to positions of power within the public school system.

Twelve years later, the old position of Preceptress was redesigned, a new woman hired, and the title changed to Dean of Women. Professor Isbell explains, "The Preceptress at the Normal School was first a teacher, then a counselor. The emphasis on rules and regulations, discipline, and social counseling was to come much later, and with it a change in title from Preceptress to Dean of Women."¹⁷¹ The women of the Normal College got a Dean to manage them rather than a Preceptress to sponsor their growth as women. Rather than admitting there were some differences between the sexes and letting the Preceptress address the special needs of women, the college took away the only uniquely woman's job, refashioned it into a stereotypically-male management position, and, to remain in the spirit of coeducation, hired a woman to fill it. Tyack and Strober have noted that, "Women Teach and Men Manage," but with regards to the Preceptress in the Normal College, women were no longer allowed to teach, they too had to manage. Without women

¹⁷⁰ Putnam, 1899, p. 125.
¹⁷¹ Isbell, 1971, p. 305.

like King leading conversations or serving as Preceptress, one might think female students would turn to the women on the faculty for support and guidance both in and out of the classroom. However, across the country, the percentage of women faculty positions shrank with the transition to universities.¹⁷²

¹⁷² Altenbaugh, 1990, p. 150-1.

Normal School Faculty, 1852-1899

Rank ¹⁷³	Men	Women	% Women
Professor	37	2	5%
Instructor ¹⁷⁴	15	18	55%
Assistant	20	33	62%
Lecturer	1		
Assistant Teacher	1	4	80%
No Title Listed ¹⁷⁵	2	4	67%
M.D./ Doctor		1	
Reverend	1		
Training School Asst Director		1	
Training School Asst		4	100%
Training School Critic ¹⁷⁶	1	21	95%
Training School		4	100%

Table 2. Normal School Faculty

¹⁷³ Adapted from Putnam, *History of the Michigan State Normal School*, lists pp.197-202.

¹⁷⁴ It is not clear what the distinction was between a lecturer, assistant, and instructor. All of these positions were lower in rank than professor but required similar teaching duties. All of the training school positions involved teaching little children and supervising student teachers.

¹⁷⁵ It is likely that the people whose titles were not listed were parttime teachers or adjunct faculty.

¹⁷⁶ A critic teacher was a combination of a mentor teacher and a field supervisor.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and the role of the accounting department in ensuring the integrity of the financial data. It emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability in all financial reporting.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze financial data, including the use of spreadsheets, databases, and specialized accounting software. It also discusses the importance of regular audits and the role of external auditors in verifying the accuracy of the financial statements.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and the role of the accounting department in ensuring the integrity of the financial data. It emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability in all financial reporting.

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10. The tenth part of the document outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze financial data, including the use of spreadsheets, databases, and specialized accounting software. It also discusses the importance of regular audits and the role of external auditors in verifying the accuracy of the financial statements.

Area/Department¹⁷⁷	Men	Women	% women
Mathematics			48%
Mathematics/arithmetic	11	10	
Science			23%
Botany		3	
Physiology		1	
Natural sciences	8	2	
Physical sciences	10		
Intellectual Philosophy	2		
History/Gov't¹⁷⁸			100%
Civil Government		3	
History		16	
Social Sciences			20%
Psychology	3		
Geography	5	2	
English			42%
English Comp and Literature	3	2	
English Language and Literature	6	6	
Belles Lettres		1	
English Grammar	2		
Rhetoric	1		
Elocution	1		
Penmanship	2	2	
Languages- Ancient			27%
Ancient Languages	4		
Latin	4	3	
Greek	3	1	
Languages - Modern			56%
Modern Languages	4	2	
French		1	
German		2	
Arts			48%
Music	6	4	
Drawing	6	7	
Pedagogy and Training School			85%
Pedagogy	3		
Kindergarten		3	
Model School		3	
Critic in Grammar Grades	1	3	
Training School	4	35	
Physical Training	1	3	75%
TOTAL	90	115	56%

Table 3. Department Breakdown

¹⁷⁷ Adapted from Putnam, pp. 197-202. Some teachers taught in more than one department, thus the total number represented in this chart is larger than the total number of teachers, and the true percentages may vary. Departments were added and department names changed over this period, so I have grouped departments into areas of study for comparison.

¹⁷⁸ All of the women in the Civil Government department were also in the History department, chaired by King. I did not calculate the percent change in women over this time.

1914

1914

1914

Chapter 4

“Control Over Her Own Powers”¹: History, Pedagogy, and Professional Education

**“The human mind is not a room finished and furnished at the outset,
neither a granary to be filled, but it is a power to be developed.”²**

“There is no science which does not contribute its aid to professional skill. ‘Everything throws light upon on everything.’ The great object of a collegiate education, preparatory to the study of a profession, is to give that expansion and balance of the mental powers, those liberal and comprehensive views, and those fine proportions of character, which are not to be found in him whose ideas are always confined to one particular channel.”

The Yale Report of 1828³

King’s thoughts about the purposes and goals of education, for common school children and their teachers; her attention to disciplinary rigor; her desire to make history come alive for her students; and the zeal with which she approached her professional life all stemmed from her belief that she was answering God’s call and working out His will in her life. Her moral commitments did not impede her intellectually. Instead, her religious faith provided a firm foundation from which she was able to pursue historical analysis, interrogate texts, and construct pedagogical theory and practice.

In this chapter I begin by establishing once again the importance of the spiritual, and specifically the Christ-centered, life for King. I then look at her beliefs about teaching and learning. From here I move to her special love and professional focus—the study of history. In particular, I establish that she was part of a diverse intellectual community, both literally, through professional associations and journals, and figuratively, through her extensive reading of history. I investigate how her ideas about the philosophy of history informed her teaching practice and reveal that she was not only

¹ King, 1893a, p. 17.

² King, 1869, p. 61.

³ Goodchild and Wechsler. 1989, p. 174.

London, 1891.

[illegible]

Variable	Mean	Standard deviation	Skewness	Kurtosis
Age	36.21	10.32	0.03	3.06
Gender	0.50	0.50	0.00	3.00
Marital status	0.50	0.50	0.00	3.00
Education	12.50	1.50	0.00	3.00
Income	10.00	5.00	0.00	3.00
Occupation	1.00	1.00	0.00	3.00
Health status	1.00	1.00	0.00	3.00
Stress level	2.00	1.00	0.00	3.00
Life satisfaction	3.00	1.00	0.00	3.00
Resilience	4.00	1.00	0.00	3.00
Optimism	5.00	1.00	0.00	3.00
Self-efficacy	6.00	1.00	0.00	3.00
Emotional stability	7.00	1.00	0.00	3.00
Psychological well-being	8.00	1.00	0.00	3.00
Life satisfaction	9.00	1.00	0.00	3.00
Life satisfaction	10.00	1.00	0.00	3.00

21. 1995. 1996. 1997. 1998. 1999. 2000. 2001. 2002. 2003. 2004. 2005. 2006. 2007. 2008. 2009. 2010. 2011. 2012. 2013. 2014. 2015. 2016. 2017. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2021. 2022. 2023. 2024. 2025. 2026. 2027. 2028. 2029. 2030. 2031. 2032. 2033. 2034. 2035. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2039. 2040. 2041. 2042. 2043. 2044. 2045. 2046. 2047. 2048. 2049. 2050. 2051. 2052. 2053. 2054. 2055. 2056. 2057. 2058. 2059. 2060. 2061. 2062. 2063. 2064. 2065. 2066. 2067. 2068. 2069. 2070. 2071. 2072. 2073. 2074. 2075. 2076. 2077. 2078. 2079. 2080. 2081. 2082. 2083. 2084. 2085. 2086. 2087. 2088. 2089. 2090. 2091. 2092. 2093. 2094. 2095. 2096. 2097. 2098. 2099. 2100. 2101. 2102. 2103. 2104. 2105. 2106. 2107. 2108. 2109. 2110. 2111. 2112. 2113. 2114. 2115. 2116. 2117. 2118. 2119. 2120. 2121. 2122. 2123. 2124. 2125. 2126. 2127. 2128. 2129. 2130. 2131. 2132. 2133. 2134. 2135. 2136. 2137. 2138. 2139. 2140. 2141. 2142. 2143. 2144. 2145. 2146. 2147. 2148. 2149. 2150. 2151. 2152. 2153. 2154. 2155. 2156. 2157. 2158. 2159. 2160. 2161. 2162. 2163. 2164. 2165. 2166. 2167. 2168. 2169. 2170. 2171. 2172. 2173. 2174. 2175. 2176. 2177. 2178. 2179. 2180. 2181. 2182. 2183. 2184. 2185. 2186. 2187. 2188. 2189. 2190. 2191. 2192. 2193. 2194. 2195. 2196. 2197. 2198. 2199. 2200. 2201. 2202. 2203. 2204. 2205. 2206. 2207. 2208. 2209. 2210. 2211. 2212. 2213. 2214. 2215. 2216. 2217. 2218. 2219. 2220. 2221. 2222. 2223. 2224. 2225. 2226. 2227. 2228. 2229. 2230. 2231. 2232. 2233. 2234. 2235. 2236. 2237. 2238. 2239. 2240. 2241. 2242. 2243. 2244. 2245. 2246. 2247. 2248. 2249. 2250. 2251. 2252. 2253. 2254. 2255. 2256. 2257. 2258. 2259. 2260. 2261. 2262. 2263. 2264. 2265. 2266. 2267. 2268. 2269. 2270. 2271. 2272. 2273. 2274. 2275. 2276. 2277. 2278. 2279. 2280. 2281. 2282. 2283. 2284. 2285. 2286. 2287. 2288. 2289. 2290. 2291. 2292. 2293. 2294. 2295. 2296. 2297. 2298. 2299. 2300. 2301. 2302. 2303. 2304. 2305. 2306. 2307. 2308. 2309. 2310. 2311. 2312. 2313. 2314. 2315. 2316. 2317. 2318. 2319. 2320. 2321. 2322. 2323. 2324. 2325. 2326. 2327. 2328. 2329. 2330. 2331. 2332. 2333. 2334. 2335. 2336. 2337. 2338. 2339. 2340. 2341. 2342. 2343. 2344. 2345. 2346. 2347. 2348. 2349. 2350. 2351. 2352. 2353. 2354. 2355. 2356. 2357. 2358. 2359. 2360. 2361. 2362. 2363. 2364. 2365. 2366. 2367. 2368. 2369. 2370. 2371. 2372. 2373. 2374. 2375. 2376. 2377. 2378. 2379. 2380. 2381. 2382. 2383. 2384. 2385. 2386. 2387. 2388. 2389. 2390. 2391. 2392. 2393. 2394. 2395. 2396. 2397. 2398. 2399. 2400. 2401. 2402. 2403. 2404. 2405. 2406. 2407. 2408. 2409. 2410. 2411. 2412. 2413. 2414. 2415. 2416. 2417. 2418. 2419. 2420. 2421. 2422. 2423. 2424. 2425. 2426. 2427. 2428. 2429. 2430. 2431. 2432. 2433. 2434. 2435. 2436. 2437. 2438. 2439. 2440. 2441. 2442. 2443. 2444. 2445. 2446. 2447. 2448. 2449. 2450. 2451. 2452. 2453. 2454. 2455. 2456. 2457. 2458. 2459. 2460. 2461. 2462. 2463. 2464. 2465. 2466. 2467. 2468. 2469. 2470. 2471. 2472. 2473. 2474. 2475. 2476. 2477. 2478. 2479. 2480. 2481. 2482. 2483. 2484. 2485. 2486. 2487. 2488. 2489. 2490. 2491. 2492. 2493. 2494. 2495. 2496. 2497. 2498. 2499. 2500. 2501. 2502. 2503. 2504. 2505. 2506. 2507. 2508. 2509. 2510. 2511. 2512. 2513. 2514. 2515. 2516. 2517. 2518. 2519. 2520. 2521. 2522. 2523. 2524. 2525. 2526. 2527. 2528. 2529. 2530. 2531. 2532. 2533. 2534. 2535. 2536. 2537. 2538. 2539. 2540. 2541. 2542. 2543. 2544. 2545. 2546. 2547. 2548. 2549. 2550. 2551. 2552. 2553. 2554. 2555. 2556. 2557. 2558. 2559. 2560. 2561. 2562. 2563. 2564. 2565. 2566. 2567. 2568. 2569. 2570. 2571. 2572. 2573. 2574. 2575. 2576. 2577. 2578. 2579. 2580. 2581. 2582. 2583. 2584. 2585. 2586. 2587. 2588. 2589. 2590. 2591. 2592. 2593. 2594. 2595. 2596. 2597. 2598. 2599. 2600. 2601. 2602. 2603. 2604. 2605. 2606. 2607. 2608. 2609. 2610. 2611. 2612. 2613. 2614. 2615. 2616. 2617. 2618. 2619. 2620. 2621. 2622. 2623. 2624. 2625. 2626. 2627. 2628. 2629. 2630. 2631. 2632. 2633. 2634. 2635. 2636. 2637. 2638. 2639. 2640. 2641. 2642. 2643. 2644. 2645. 2646. 2647. 2648. 2649. 2650. 2651. 2652. 2653. 2654. 2655. 2656. 2657. 2658. 2659. 2660. 2661. 2662. 2663. 2664. 2665. 2666. 2667. 2668. 2669. 2670. 2671. 2672. 2673. 2674. 2675. 2676

implementing ideas in her classroom well before they were articulated by other scholars, but that she also published writings about her innovative pedagogical approaches.

Next I switch from a focus on King's words to a look at King's classical curriculum and professional connections. What topics or ways of knowing might she have been exposed to, and what people might she have had the occasion to meet, as a Normal School student or public school teacher? In an effort to understand what helped shape her academic and professional orientations, I investigate the ideas of three of the original faculty members at the Michigan State Normal School and one of King's female classmates. Finally, I focus, yet again, on the changes that took place in education at the end of the nineteenth century. I look at the changes in the Michigan State Teachers' Association, the evolving institutional purpose(s) of the Normal School, and the subsequent changes that took place in the history department and in the school as a whole. I conclude this chapter by acknowledging that by the turn of the century Normal School teachers and students would have understood the words "liberal" and "technical," even though their mid-century predecessors would never have carved up preparation for their sacred profession in this way.

Christian Foundations

King was a Christian and she viewed teaching as her calling; therefore, Normal School education was preparation for discipleship. King opens her 1869 article, "Education Outside of Books," in *The Michigan Teacher* with these remarks,

God seldom repeats Himself, yet is always repeating. The variety of His works is equaled only by His power, yet it is a variety controlled by unchanging principles. In the plant world, every flower has its own feature and expression, every tree its characteristics which constitute its *self*. Among the many breathing things, the variety is still more apparent. Every little fly and buzzing creature has its way of expressing its own peculiar *I*. In the realm of the mind, the same truth is no less evident. The thinking, willing, feeling human minds are no less diverse than the bodies which enshrine them. Extravagant diversity! (emphasis in original)

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Christian belief in a divine creator who is both powerful and endlessly creative forms the basis for her investigation into how we can best encourage the development of the mind.⁴

King made it clear that while she believed “all nature was full of God,” that loving nature and seeing God’s majesty in it was not enough.

I would not for a moment intimate that the heart of the child is regenerated when you have awakened his love for or his appreciation of God in nature. “Ye must be born again,” is written too plainly elsewhere.⁵

This quotation is written plainly in the Bible. In John, chapter three, verses five through seven, Jesus explains to a man named Nicodemus that no one can see the kingdom of God unless he is born again. In King’s Bible it read:

Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again.⁶

Jesus teaches Nicodemus that he is not talking about physical life and death, but spiritual life in relationship with the Son of God. When a person is born again, God brings life into the inside of that person where meaninglessness has previously resided. Life, in this sense, is an eternal gift from above to the believer now. When life is born within someone, fear is changed to trust, loneliness to companionship, pretense to openness.⁷ In order to enter the kingdom of heaven you must be baptized and your heart renewed by the Holy Spirit.

King also used the phrase “born again” when delivering her speech regarding Christian Association. “How many Christians in our school-community hold St. Paul’s

⁴ King, 1869, p. 61.

⁵ King, 1869, p. 68.

⁶ KJV, John 3:5-7

⁷ Wilke, R. and J., 1993. p. 162.

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conception? If any do not, they need to be born again out of still deeper depths of their nature.”⁸ She means that if there are people who do not have a right understanding of the gospel, they need to gain spiritual life through a relationship with Christ. The conception of St. Paul’s that she refers to is “citizenship in a spiritual empire.” Paul saw the Christian as “not one of a vast aggregate, but as part of an organic whole.”⁹

She goes to explain that religion, the ultimate goal, can be encouraged through introducing the child to the beauty of the natural world around him. In this case, nature study or scientific inquiry is also religious education.

Religion, pure and vital, is something more than sympathy with nature, or a devoted love for all her forms. But the man’s character is formed by his loves. These loves are awakened mainly by the tendency given to the motion in the heart of a child. Before he can love God he must know him. The Christian teacher who sees God everywhere, loves him in everything, whose life pulses beat in deep sympathy with life in nature, must be able to lead the child to understand the thoughts of God as written in the alphabet of nature.¹⁰

King closes her article by saying that through observation of nature children may acquire the gift from God of eternal life through Jesus Christ.¹¹ “This positive knowledge gained by observation, may prove the basis of that right knowledge which is life eternal; may awaken a love which shall be the constraining power in the heart of the man.”¹² When **King** talks about life eternal she means that when a person has a relationship with Jesus that they will live forever with Him, while they are on earth and when they are in heaven, and they will not ever have to experience spiritual darkness or death. “For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not

⁸ **King**, 1897, p. 18

⁹ **King**, 1897, p. 18. **King** recommended reading Romans 12 to get a better understanding of this.

¹⁰ **King**, 1869, p. 68.

¹¹ **KJV**, Romans 6:23b. “the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.”

¹² **King**, 1869, p. 68

perish, but have everlasting life.”¹³ Clearly, if King believed this gospel message was possible, she would want it for her students.

King taught, “The nature of Christian power is two fold. In the gospels it is figured under the leaven and the mustard seed.”¹⁴ This is a direct reference to two Biblical passages. First, “The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took, and hid in the three measures of metal, till the whole was leavened.”¹⁵ Leaven, or yeast, is a symbol of growth. As it permeates a batch of dough, so the kingdom of heaven spreads through a person’s life.¹⁶ The second follows:

The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took and sewed in his field: which indeed is the least of all seeds: but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.¹⁷

This means that although the kingdom will seem to have an insignificant beginning, it will eventually spread throughout the world. The mustard seed was the smallest seed used by Palestinian farmers, and under favorable conditions the plant could reach ten feet in height. Like the mustard tree, the kingdom of heaven will grow and expand so that it can offer rest to all people.¹⁸ “The law and material of Christian Life is the Spirit of God in the soul. The building up and the perfecting of life is the work of God. The only reasonable attitude of man towards this truth is unconditional acquiescence in the work. While he ‘cannot add one cubit to his stature,’ he can secure the conditions favoring growth and for this he alone is responsible.”¹⁹ King’s quotation is from Luke 12:25:

¹³ KJV, John 3:16.

¹⁴ King, 1897, p. 21.

¹⁵ KJV, Mt 13:33

¹⁶ NIV, Mt 13:33.

¹⁷ KJV, Mt 13:31-32.

¹⁸ NIV, 13:31-32

¹⁹ King, 1897, p. 24-5.

1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* were determined by the method of Lichtenthaler and Whistler (1973).

1

1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* were determined by the method of Lichtenthal and Whistler (1973).

“And which of you with taking thought can add to his stature one cubit?” Jesus tells his disciples to stop worrying and give their lives over to God, as he is the one who must direct them. King notes that although God is in charge, men are responsible for creating the conditions that favor spiritual growth.

Teachers have a professional duty to create these conditions. The first condition necessary for growth in Christian life, she claims, is “unflinching honesty in dealing with the known truth.” It is dishonest to hold a spiritual truth as an intellectual conviction and “not venture upon it as a rule of conduct.” “The lack of correspondence between truth professed and truth lived is a fearful hindrance to growth in Christian life.”²⁰ King implores each student to be a truth-doer. “A second condition of growth in Christian life is sustenance...The source of quickening, the source of renewal is the Divine Spirit in the soul. Once this thought is realized in a man’s consciousness, he no longer finds himself empty but rather ‘filled with the fullness of God.’”²¹

King believed that what the prospective teachers needed was a deeper consciousness of Christ. “It is not belief about Him, but knowing Him that gives the power of life its impulsive force.”²² “It is not studying the word, or observing facts, or bestowing alms, or making prayers that constitute the power of life. All these things—we strangely call them Christian duties—cannot in themselves sustain life. They were at first, as part of the ceremonial religion, only open doors whereat truth might enter. St. Paul calls the law a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ and adds that when we have Christ

²⁰ King, 1897. p. 25.

²¹ King, 1897, p. 26.

²² King 1897, p. 27.

we no longer need a school master.”²³ King alludes to the ceremonial religion of the Old Testament or the time before Christ. She then references Paul’s letter to the Galatians in which he says, “Wherefore the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith. But after that faith has come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster.”²⁴ The expression schoolmaster translates the Greek *paidagogos* from which the word pedagogue is derived. It refers to the personal slave-attendant who accompanied a freeborn boy wherever he went and exercised a certain amount of discipline over him.²⁵ The teacher’s job is to bring the student to Christ, and, thereby, render herself unnecessary, as the student now has his own relationship with Christ. This sounds similar to King’s claim that “the whole aim of the Normal work is to give the pupil control of his own powers.”²⁶ Teacher educators should help future teachers understand how to help themselves and to tap the power within themselves.

Goodrich closed his Memorial Address in honor of Julia Anne King by proclaiming that, “Her life, as I knew it, holds for me, as I believe it does for many others, a burning suggestion and bright inspiration to “Go thou and do likewise.”²⁷ This means that King inspired Goodrich to live according to Christ’s will. In the Parable of the Good Samaritan, Jesus demonstrates what he means by, “love thy neighbor as thyself.”²⁸ In the story, a Jewish man is robbed and badly wounded, and several people pass by and offer no assistance, but, finally, a Samaritan has compassion for him. It is

²³ King, 1897, p. 27.

²⁴ KJV, Gal 3:24-25

²⁵ NIV, Gal 3:24.

²⁶ King, 1893a, p. 17.

²⁷ Goodrich, 1919, p. 13.

²⁸ KJV, Lk 10:27.

significant that Jews and Samaritans were openly hostile toward each other.²⁹

Nonetheless, this Samaritan bandaged the wounded man, put him on his donkey, and took him to an inn where he paid for his lodging. Jesus explains that even though the Samaritan is a hated foreigner, he is the one who is a true neighbor. Then he instructs: “Go thou and do likewise.”³⁰

King was a Christian who considered teaching her ministry. God’s word permeates all of her writings, and in the piece I quote below she specifically calls on all people in the community, not just parents of school children, to care about the schools. She believed it was the responsibility of the entire body, working as an organic whole, to educate children—not just our biological children, but all of God’s children. On August 17, 1877, in *The Charlotte Republican*, Superintendent of Schools, Julia Anne King wrote an article titled, “The People and the Schools.” It posed the question: “What shall a community do for its schools?” She then proceeded to answer the question. She wanted financial support from the community, but that was not her main point. Instead, she wanted positive attitude and commitment.

The lack of adequate means of support to carry on the work is a damaging thing, but it is not the most serious evil with which the schools have to contend. The success of a school depends upon the public sentiment which expresses itself by other means than appropriations. The prevailing sentiment of a community should be one of interest and helpful sympathy.

She made it clear that you could not turn away from the schools once your own children graduated. It was your duty, if not as a Christian, as a grown-up in a democracy, to support the children in your community.

²⁹ NIV, Lk 10:31-33.
³⁰ KJV, Lk 10:37.

the \mathbb{R}^n -valued function \mathbf{f} is a solution of the system of differential equations

$$\mathbf{f}'(t) = \mathbf{A}(t)\mathbf{f}(t) + \mathbf{b}(t), \quad \mathbf{f}(t_0) = \mathbf{f}_0, \quad (1)$$

if and only if \mathbf{f} is a solution of the matrix differential equation

$$(\mathbf{f} \mathbf{f}^T)' = \mathbf{A} \mathbf{f} \mathbf{f}^T + \mathbf{f} \mathbf{A}^T + \mathbf{b} \mathbf{b}^T, \quad \mathbf{f}(t_0) \mathbf{f}(t_0)^T = \mathbf{f}_0 \mathbf{f}_0^T, \quad (2)$$

where \mathbf{A}^T is the transpose of the matrix \mathbf{A} and $\mathbf{b} \mathbf{b}^T$ is the symmetric matrix

$$\mathbf{b} \mathbf{b}^T = \begin{pmatrix} b_1^2 & b_1 b_2 & \cdots & b_1 b_n \\ b_1 b_2 & b_2^2 & \cdots & b_2 b_n \\ \vdots & \vdots & \ddots & \vdots \\ b_1 b_n & b_2 b_n & \cdots & b_n^2 \end{pmatrix}.$$

It is clear that the matrix $\mathbf{b} \mathbf{b}^T$ is positive semidefinite.

Let us assume that the matrix \mathbf{A} is symmetric and the matrix $\mathbf{b} \mathbf{b}^T$ is positive

definite. Then the matrix \mathbf{A} is invertible and

$$\mathbf{f}'(t) = \mathbf{A}(t)\mathbf{f}(t) + \mathbf{b}(t) \iff \mathbf{f}(t) = -\mathbf{A}^{-1}(t)\mathbf{b}(t) + \mathbf{c}(t), \quad (3)$$

where $\mathbf{c}(t)$ is an arbitrary vector function.

Let us assume that the matrix \mathbf{A} is symmetric and the matrix $\mathbf{b} \mathbf{b}^T$ is positive

semidefinite. Then the matrix \mathbf{A} is invertible and

$$\mathbf{f}'(t) = \mathbf{A}(t)\mathbf{f}(t) + \mathbf{b}(t) \iff \mathbf{f}(t) = -\mathbf{A}^{-1}(t)\mathbf{b}(t) + \mathbf{c}(t), \quad (4)$$

where $\mathbf{c}(t)$ is an arbitrary vector function.

Let us assume that the matrix \mathbf{A} is symmetric and the matrix $\mathbf{b} \mathbf{b}^T$ is positive

semidefinite. Then the matrix \mathbf{A} is invertible and

$$\mathbf{f}'(t) = \mathbf{A}(t)\mathbf{f}(t) + \mathbf{b}(t) \iff \mathbf{f}(t) = -\mathbf{A}^{-1}(t)\mathbf{b}(t) + \mathbf{c}(t), \quad (5)$$

where $\mathbf{c}(t)$ is an arbitrary vector function.

Let us assume that the matrix \mathbf{A} is symmetric and the matrix $\mathbf{b} \mathbf{b}^T$ is positive

semidefinite. Then the matrix \mathbf{A} is invertible and

$$\mathbf{f}'(t) = \mathbf{A}(t)\mathbf{f}(t) + \mathbf{b}(t) \iff \mathbf{f}(t) = -\mathbf{A}^{-1}(t)\mathbf{b}(t) + \mathbf{c}(t), \quad (6)$$

where $\mathbf{c}(t)$ is an arbitrary vector function.

Let us assume that the matrix \mathbf{A} is symmetric and the matrix $\mathbf{b} \mathbf{b}^T$ is positive

semidefinite. Then the matrix \mathbf{A} is invertible and

$$\mathbf{f}'(t) = \mathbf{A}(t)\mathbf{f}(t) + \mathbf{b}(t) \iff \mathbf{f}(t) = -\mathbf{A}^{-1}(t)\mathbf{b}(t) + \mathbf{c}(t), \quad (7)$$

where $\mathbf{c}(t)$ is an arbitrary vector function.

Let us assume that the matrix \mathbf{A} is symmetric and the matrix $\mathbf{b} \mathbf{b}^T$ is positive

semidefinite. Then the matrix \mathbf{A} is invertible and

$$\mathbf{f}'(t) = \mathbf{A}(t)\mathbf{f}(t) + \mathbf{b}(t) \iff \mathbf{f}(t) = -\mathbf{A}^{-1}(t)\mathbf{b}(t) + \mathbf{c}(t), \quad (8)$$

where $\mathbf{c}(t)$ is an arbitrary vector function.

Let us assume that the matrix \mathbf{A} is symmetric and the matrix $\mathbf{b} \mathbf{b}^T$ is positive

semidefinite. Then the matrix \mathbf{A} is invertible and

$$\mathbf{f}'(t) = \mathbf{A}(t)\mathbf{f}(t) + \mathbf{b}(t) \iff \mathbf{f}(t) = -\mathbf{A}^{-1}(t)\mathbf{b}(t) + \mathbf{c}(t), \quad (9)$$

where $\mathbf{c}(t)$ is an arbitrary vector function.

Let us assume that the matrix \mathbf{A} is symmetric and the matrix $\mathbf{b} \mathbf{b}^T$ is positive

semidefinite. Then the matrix \mathbf{A} is invertible and

$$\mathbf{f}'(t) = \mathbf{A}(t)\mathbf{f}(t) + \mathbf{b}(t) \iff \mathbf{f}(t) = -\mathbf{A}^{-1}(t)\mathbf{b}(t) + \mathbf{c}(t), \quad (10)$$

where $\mathbf{c}(t)$ is an arbitrary vector function.

No citizen can well afford to say, "I have no interest in school matters because my children are grown up." Were his then the only ones? Has the man no neighbor's children? Can he afford to pay a premium on ignorance and consequent crime? For self and humanity take an interest. The public school has to a certain extent the making of the coming citizen. Support it even more by your hearty interest than by the prompt payment of your school tax. By your involvement help and incite to greater diligence.³¹

King believed we must work out our faith in the world. Citizens, regardless of whether they have children enrolled in school, have a responsibility to be involved in the lives of the children in the community. It is not just a matter of being willing to sacrifice a little property tax; it is a matter of fulfilling the call to be a good neighbor, humbling oneself, and doing whatever one can to raise up children in the best ways possible. Teachers and administrators cannot do the important work they are called to do without the financial support of the entire community. Her motto was made the text of her baccalaureate, "None of us liveth to himself alone." Her life exemplified it. Her constant endeavor was to get her students, and her community, to realize this fact in thought and in act."³²

King's students carried her spirit with them as they went out into the professional world of teaching. Because she cared about who they were as people as much as she did about what scores they earned, she had a lasting influence. Her students described King as "a gifted teacher with a sense of high vocation and a high sense of the vast importance of the educator's work in creating high ideals, and giving form and substance and spirit to the life of the day and the life yet to be."³³ When remembering her life, two of her students and closest friends both commented on how she saw education as a redemptive force. "Miss King constantly insisted on the supreme value of education as a redemptive force in society... She was not wholly unconscious, moreover, that her best work lived in the spirit of her students."³⁴

³¹ *The Charlotte Republican*, 1877, p. 8

³² Goodrich, 1919, p. 10.

³³ *Aurora*, 1910, p. 32.

³⁴ Buell, 1919. In Memoriam.

King on Teaching

In King's classes she taught history and teaching together. She started her courses with a lesson titled "What is History?" and taught students about a variety of historians' answers to this question.³⁵ Having examined philosophy of history, her classes delved into the content that they would have to teach at various grade levels. For example, King believed that elementary students should first study "primitive" societies, then, as the students became more advanced, they would learn about more complex developments. So in her classes they studied early hunter-gatherer groups first, then the rise of agriculture and the beginnings of cities. Later they learned about the nation state, monarchy, etc. While contemporary historians would no longer describe the progress of civilization in these terms, King was applying what she knew about the discipline to her classroom.

In 1878 the attempt was made to confine the work of the Normal School more closely within professional lines. The "School of Observation and Practice" was constituted a graded school, and, in its higher grades, was to do the academic work before done in the Normal. This scheme, however plausible in theory, was found unsatisfactory in practice, and after a trial of two years was abandoned. It was found impractical to divorce the academic from the purely professional studies, as the element of training gained from a model teacher in regular academic classes was lost. Since that time, the academic and professional studies have been pursued side by side in the Normal.³⁶

Clifford found this to be true in her studies as well. "The earliest advocates of the systemic study of education possessed an organic view of the task before them: that the academic pursuit of science and all that it promised was consistent with, and indeed necessary to, strictly professional ends."³⁷ The normal schools' model lessons and practice schools were closely connected to the master-apprentice system and to learning-by-imitation, but this does not mean they emphasized teaching strategies devoid of

³⁵ Corbin, E. BHL

³⁶ Withington, 1893, p. 20.

³⁷ Clifford, 1986, p. 427- 466.

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered.

2. The second step is to gather relevant information and data.

3. The third step is to analyze the information and data to identify patterns and trends.

4. The fourth step is to develop a hypothesis or theory based on the analysis.

5. The fifth step is to test the hypothesis or theory through experiments or observations.

6. The sixth step is to evaluate the results of the tests and draw conclusions.

7. The seventh step is to communicate the findings to others.

8. The eighth step is to reflect on the process and identify areas for improvement.

9. The ninth step is to apply the findings to real-world situations.

10. The tenth step is to continue to learn and grow from the experience.

11. The eleventh step is to share the knowledge with others.

12. The twelfth step is to stay up-to-date on the latest research and developments.

13. The thirteenth step is to collaborate with others in the field.

14. The fourteenth step is to be open to new ideas and perspectives.

15. The fifteenth step is to be persistent and not give up easily.

16. The sixteenth step is to be curious and ask questions.

17. The seventeenth step is to be organized and manage time effectively.

18. The eighteenth step is to be flexible and adapt to changes.

19. The nineteenth step is to be patient and take time to think.

20. The twentieth step is to be grateful for the opportunities and challenges.

21. The twenty-first step is to be humble and acknowledge the help of others.

22. The twenty-second step is to be resilient and bounce back from setbacks.

23. The twenty-third step is to be proactive and take initiative.

24. The twenty-fourth step is to be a team player and work well with others.

25. The twenty-fifth step is to be a lifelong learner and never stop growing.

intellectual content. A good demonstration teacher would, through her example, teach subject matter as well as method.

In 1883, a few years after King returned to the Normal School to teach, there were beginning to be more debates about the proper ways to educate teachers. Universities had new department of education, normal colleges were opening all over the country, and there was tension about what good teacher preparation entailed. A member of the Normal School community in Ypsilanti wrote an article to the school paper clarifying what the issues were and accusing those who were critical of normal education of being ignorant of its goals, purposes, and reality.

The nature and character of work done by Normal Schools seems to be generally misunderstood. This is apparent from the fact that men occupying positions in prominent educational institutions give expression to the idea that in Normal work the empirical or mechanical element is uppermost in thought. Such conceptions of Normal work display great ignorance of the fundamental laws which regulate the training of teachers. The first essential of a good teacher is a thorough knowledge of all subjects which he may be called upon to teach, and such other subjects as will give a broad, deep and comprehensive idea of the nature of a true education. Thorough Academic training then forms the foundation for future instruction.

A firm foundation in academics was valued by the Normal School, but clearly some people had misrepresented this. The article goes on to describe how young teachers should learn about child psychology and then enter the practice school.

What the young teacher needs is to embody in an actual experience, under the guidance and criticism of competent instructors, the knowledge of the principles of teaching and managing acquired. We need in our schools teachers who can *do*, who can bring results to pass, as well as those who know (emphasis in original). This class of teachers is not the product of simple book learning, or of a knowledge of how things should be done, but of well defined knowledge transformed into power by actual practice, resulting in habits of systematic work and tact in making the best use of all appliances within their reach.³⁸

Knowledge transformed into power sounds like contemporary scholar Lee Shulman's "pedagogical content knowledge."³⁹ King's colleagues understood the importance of a

³⁸ *The Normal News*, 1883, p. 9.

³⁹ Wilson, Rickert, and Shulman, 1985.

11. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 277, 1996, 1031-1032.

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

1. *Chlorophyll a* (Chl a) and *Chlorophyll b* (Chl b) are the two main types of chlorophyll found in plants. They are responsible for capturing light energy and converting it into chemical energy through photosynthesis.

teacher developing a set of skills and dispositions that would allow her to blend that special mix of knowing children, knowing methods, and knowing subject matter. Learning the content, or even memorizing “how to” is not enough. The teacher must be steeped in actual practice.

Teaching at the early Normal School, or teaching done as a result of a Normal School experience, was lively and innovative for its time. King acquired her orientations toward teaching at the Michigan State Normal School, and she further developed her ideas about teaching children and teaching teachers as a Normal School professor. She advocated a child-centered, inquiry-oriented, and socially transformative pedagogy for all types of learners. King was respected for her “new methods.”⁴⁰

Common school students memorized *The New England Primer*, an early school book meant to promote morality and indoctrinate children to religious belief and the authority of God, family, and government. King’s students would have recognized these values, but their understanding of them would have been much deeper and their sense of why they were important would have been much more highly developed than the word “indoctrinate” implies. King demanded that her students understand the things they were studying, she attempted to connect subject matter with their interests, and she encouraged them to think for themselves. This is a much different image than the hick’ry sticks and rote lessons that characterize the lore of this era in educational history.⁴¹

King contributed to a discourse that took place in early teacher magazines in Michigan about teaching composition. King believed teachers should build school curriculum and instruction around children’s interests and activities. As an experienced

⁴⁰ Goodrich, 1919.

⁴¹ For example, Barbara Finkelstein, who has written the most extensive examination of nineteenth century pedagogy, claims “only rarely do we find allusions to the writing of compositions, and in no instance could I find a description of a teacher who even hinted to his students that writing was an instrument for conveying thoughts and ideas.” Finkelstein, 1989, p. 67.

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teacher, writing to her colleagues in the State Teacher's Association in an effort to help them understand her position regarding the teaching of writing, King recalled her own high school experience. She was called upon to write a composition on a subject with which she was not conversant, so she boldly copied an extract from Longfellow and handed it to the teacher.⁴² King claims,

If one has an experience of being taught in this way, he will at once agree that the plan is futile...[the student] regards the requirement with perfect disgust, and probably at last, in desperation or total depravity, quotes an extract...It is undeniably difficult to know just what to say, and how just to say it, on a subject in which one has not the slightest interest, and about which one knows next to nothing.⁴³

The child's ideas were of primary importance to King. King often remembered a quotation she attributed to Webster when teaching composition: "All true power is in the idea, not in the style."⁴⁴ Her experiences convinced her that "style is a dead thing to a child, but wake him up with something to tell, and almost instinctively his thought puts on a seemly garb of words."⁴⁵ King believed that children's ability to write well would follow if they were genuinely interested in the subject matter. She advocated for having children write about things they knew and cared about and then teaching them proper usage, grammar, and such.

An example of this type of teaching follows. One fall morning King brought a bunch of oak leaves into her class. On each leaf was a small gallnut. For several days her students observed, compared, and questioned. They found the insect in its three stages of growth, and were, with very little help, able to reach correct conclusions. King chose not to have the students consult encyclopedias or other authoritative sources

⁴² *Aurora*, 1893, p. 37.

⁴³ King, 1875. p. 76.

⁴⁴ King, 1875.

⁴⁵ King, 1875.

[illegible]

because she found that it was difficult for students “to give their own forms to the thought when the expression is once fixed.” But, when she finally asked them to write something, every student was “eager to write all they knew about this queer little fly living in a ball.”⁴⁶

Developing thinking power was King’s primary objective. Her students enjoyed writing because she created an environment that sparked their curiosity, and she allowed them to develop their own ideas and express themselves in their own style. In her composition class children had fun writing about ‘how to do your hair,’ ‘how to make pumpkin pies,’ ‘colds,’ and the like. She demonstrated her respect for young people and her appreciation of the unique qualities children possess when she asked, “Who wants to see boys and girls in dress coats and court trains, aping grown folks?”⁴⁷ King knew the subjects were puerile, but she thought they fit the writers.

In her pedagogy, King drew from her early experiences on the frontier. King’s education began well before her formal schooling as she enthusiastically explored her natural surroundings and learned to read on her father’s knee. Growing up in the wilderness, she became a keen observer of the flora and fauna around her. King believed education and growth were synonymous. She claimed, “The human mind is not a room finished and furnished at the outset, neither a granary to be filled, but it is a power to be developed.”⁴⁸

She drew from her knowledge as a naturalist when thinking about her teaching—not so that she might make students memorize all that she knew about the

⁴⁶ King, 1875.

⁴⁷ King, 1875, p. 78.

⁴⁸ King, 1869, p. 61.

natural world, but so that she might understand their process of understanding and exploration better. “Bury a tiny seed in the ground; let the rains fall upon it and the suns warm it. There in the dark it begins to swell with the expanding life in its heart. A little sprout pushes its way up into the sunlight, and another creeps down deeper into the dark. Care for and shield the tender plant, and very soon it will grow into perfection.”⁴⁹ King looked at the natural world as the revelation of God and viewed the study of nature as the best way to learn more about His world.⁵⁰

Because King cared for it so lovingly, the vacant lot next to King’s home was often mistaken for a public garden.⁵¹ She shared the bounty of her harvests, both fruit from her trees and the wisdom of her years, abundantly. She had no sense that either of these gifts were something one might own and keep to oneself.⁵² She nurtured her students as she did the flowers, seeing the process of their growth as beautiful and natural.

King believed that children’s powers of curiosity and investigation were not taken advantage of in school. She believed education was for citizenship, and, ~~that~~ in order to meet this end, children should “become a little discoverers”⁵³ King drew from her own experiences as a child as she imagined nature beckoning to little ones, “Come and see my birds and their queer little nests, come, and they shall sing for you; my flowers are all in bloom, come and gather them; my insects are all at work, come and watch them; my

⁴⁹ King, 1869, p. 63.

⁵⁰ King, 1869, p. 68.

⁵¹ Goodrich, 1919.

⁵² Goodrich, 1919.

⁵³ King, 1869, p. 65. King published these words in 1869. Lucy Sprague Mitchell, of Bank Street College of Education, who is often credited for coining the term “discovery learning,” wasn’t even born until 1878.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the

properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by

$$f(x) = \sum_{n=0}^{\infty} \frac{a_n}{n!} x^n$$

where a_n are the coefficients of the power series

$$A(x) = \sum_{n=0}^{\infty} a_n x^n$$

and $B(x)$ is the function defined by

$$B(x) = \sum_{n=0}^{\infty} b_n x^n$$

where b_n are the coefficients of the power series

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and d_n are the coefficients of the power series

$$D(x) = \sum_{n=0}^{\infty} d_n x^n$$

and e_n are the coefficients of the power series

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and f_n are the coefficients of the power series

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and g_n are the coefficients of the power series

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and h_n are the coefficients of the power series

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and i_n are the coefficients of the power series

$$I(x) = \sum_{n=0}^{\infty} i_n x^n$$

and j_n are the coefficients of the power series

$$J(x) = \sum_{n=0}^{\infty} j_n x^n$$

and k_n are the coefficients of the power series

$$K(x) = \sum_{n=0}^{\infty} k_n x^n$$

squirrels are playing in the woods, come and play with them.”⁵⁴ King emphasized building curiosity in her learners. Nature also beckoned to King, causing her to reflect on its beauty and abundance.

This evening time there is a gorgeous picture in the West. The clouds like a golden purple veil closed at evening round the sanctuary of rest. The white smoke from burning home fires curled through the still air and the snow lay on all the fields. How beautiful, how calm, how pure. Is there no lesson in it? Nature has her galleries of art, pictures, and statues of the rarest. The door is always open, but how few the ingoing feet.⁵⁵

King believed that if children were allowed to learn about things of interest to them, within the bounds of their experiences, they would cultivate early on “habits of accurate observation and clearness of comprehension, which is the basis of after attainments.”⁵⁶

King believed that important concepts could be presented, in meaningful ways, to even the youngest children. King claimed “in the bended bow on the cloud, nature has her easy lessons in form and color for the child, and graver questions for the philosopher. There is mathematics in the stars for the simple and the sage. The boiling kettle and the floating bubble hold their treasures for each.”⁵⁷ King was a naturalist and a philosopher, and she enjoyed hearing students’ ideas about natural phenomenon. Rather than force a curriculum about clouds or stars on children, she drew out of them what they were curious about and what their hypotheses were, and she taught them to observe carefully.

King did not advocate just letting children alone, but she wanted teachers to consider themselves facilitators rather than fonts of knowledge. “The traveler in a strange land needs a guide; so the child. But it is quite possible to guide without

⁵⁴ King, 1869, p. 64.

⁵⁵ King, 1869, p.67

⁵⁶ King, 1869, p. 65.

⁵⁷King, 1869, p. 63.

carrying, to direct without doing, to pilot without rowing."⁵⁸ King wanted her students to be able to give form to their own thoughts—not just soak up the thoughts of others.

King opposed the then common practice of beginning the study of history by memorizing an outline. "It puts before the pupil a task uninteresting and difficult because it requires at the same time so much and so little; so much of the memory and so little of any other faculty."⁵⁹ She believed that,

memorizing an outline at the outset is like teaching the boy the names of all the tools in a great machine shop before he is put to using any. A practical man would call it all lost time. When the pupil knows the events, the names and dates fall in naturally. He would thus make his own outline, which it would require very little effort to memorize, and thus save time.⁶⁰

King advised teachers to design activities and make available readings that allow pupils to become familiar with events. Following his own investigation, the student "can combine them into natural groups and subdivisions, and so produce an outline which will fairly represent the whole of his knowledge...better that the pupil be led to take the steps rather than be carried over the whole distance."⁶¹ King wanted her students to be powerful knowers, to understand how they got the answers they did, and to be able to explain them to others. Her students claimed, "Miss King taught me how to think."⁶²

Her interest in the centrality of the student did not prevent her from being a much-respected disciplinarian. A young student of the late 1890's, commenting some sixty years later, said of Miss King, "Julia Anne King was a beautiful woman as well as a very strict disciplinarian. She could hold a study hall of one hundred fifty giggly girls in complete silence by one well-aimed remark. She was feared but much respected." An awe-inspired young man just entering the normal school asked,

⁵⁸King, 1869, p. 63.

⁵⁹King, 1889.

⁶⁰King, 1889.

⁶¹King, 1889.

⁶²Lord, M., 1954 p. 308.

Who is that woman with her hair combed straight back and dressed in plain black? Why, was the answer, that is Miss King, teacher of History. They say that she makes her classes work awful hard, and then there are lots of them who don't pass; and I wouldn't wonder if it were so, too, judging by the looks of her.

He later added, "so remarks a student who is not yet acquainted with one of the grandest, noblest hearted women that ever lived."⁶³

King, ever holding the belief that "not failure but low aim, is crime,"⁶⁴ inspired her students to have high aims. She kept in touch with hundreds of them, some of whom became influential leaders. For example, in 1952, New York Senator Royal S. Copeland paid tribute to King. "I am thankful for the privilege of having been in her classes. She was outstanding in her field and in my opinion one of the greatest teachers of history that the world will ever know." Copeland was a student of King's until he left the Normal School in 1887 to study medicine at the University of Michigan.⁶⁵ Perhaps it was King's requirement that he think and make sense of things for himself that provided the Senator with the orientations toward knowledge which he needed to get ahead later in life. When criticizing the common practice of having students memorize outlines in history classes, King suggested that if outlines be used, the students make them themselves, after studying a particular topic, "it certainly would be better that the pupil be led to take the steps rather than be carried over the whole distance."⁶⁶ Guiding rather than carrying students was a trademark of King's pedagogy.

⁶³ Isbell, 1971 p. 309.

⁶⁴ *Normal News*, September 1895.

⁶⁵ Copeland Praises, BHL

⁶⁶ King, 1889, p. 252.

One of the reasons King made such an impression on her students is that she went beyond what was in the book. She tried to figure out what her students were interested in and to make her lessons relevant and interesting to them. King stated,

I think often a mistake is made in that effort is centered upon the mastery of facts rather than upon the needs of the child-mind. The arrangement of the schools is directed to the learning of the book. Reading and numbers, writing and language are the absorbing interest, whereas the truth is they are only means and not end. The book lessons in school are often so far removed from the vital interest outside that their moral teaching is insignificant.⁶⁷

In an effort to offer students significant lessons, King also struggled to understand who her students were and what they could handle emotionally. In her baccalaureate address, King told the graduates teaching stories about children who “acquire feelings of ought in relation to others.” The children King described have conflicts and are

torn by strong desires and emotions pertaining more or less to the self-sentiments; at the same time other desires and emotions, less intense as facts in experience, prompt in final decision the sacrifice of self in favor of others. In the interplay between personalities, self and the other, such a consciousness of self is realized as to insure the highest moral conduct. The idea of self in relation to others is the root of moral action.⁶⁸

King constantly sought to make her classroom a place where students would learn how to live in relationship with others. She taught the pre-service teachers she worked with the same precepts as she did the little children they were going to teach.

Pestalozzi, Diesterweg, and the Object Method

As a teacher, eleven years into her profession and thirty-one years old, King wrote: “The schools, as a rule, trained only the receptive faculties, to the destruction of individuality and self-reliance.” Most students “found the second hand knowledge which

⁶⁷ King, 1915, p. 292.

⁶⁸ King, 1915, p. 294.

1890. 1891. 1892. 1893. 1894. 1895. 1896. 1897. 1898. 1899. 1900.

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they gained at the schools was dead leaves that fell to dust when wanted for use.” She was a bit perplexed by the lack of sound pedagogy, given that Enlightenment thinkers had proposed theories that could inform practice years earlier.

In carefully noticing the steps in the progress of education, it seems a little strange that the practical conclusions should have been so long missed. Nearly one hundred years after BACON demonstrated the principles of induction, JOHN LOCKE first applied these methods of observation and experiment to the obscure workings of the mind. In his remarkable essay he showed with clearness that all ideas are the offspring of perception or conception. His Essay on Education had undoubtedly a practical bearing, and may be said to have largely contributed to bringing about the revolution which has taken place in the training of the young.⁶⁹

She credits Locke with helping bring about changes in practice that show more respect for the pupil. In this essay, which she wrote for her teacher colleagues in *The Michigan Teacher*, King goes on to write,

Two hundred years after that the ideas which he [Locke] only half comprehended were successfully worked out by Pestalozzi. I should have loved to have been among the little company of students which he gathered at Burgdorf. Without books, he took them out into the fields and the forests of the hill-sides. Wonderful lessons, those! full of all the freshness and beauty of nature. His aim was not so much to store their minds with facts—that was the old way—but by the potent spell of the magic word *exercise* he evoked *mental* power.⁷⁰

Johann Pestalozzi (1746-1827) developed an educational philosophy and put it into practice in Switzerland. He viewed education as a gentle, enjoyable process by which the child developed naturally under the influence of a good, sound, and healthy environment. He did not believe in innate ideas, but advocated “sense realism,” which held that the mind is blank at birth and that the individual acquires his ideas through sense experience—through seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, feeling, and doing.⁷¹ King believed Pestalozzi built on Locke’s theories and made them more accessible to teachers. King wishes she could have studied with the influential Swiss teacher and educational

⁶⁹ King, 1869, p. 62.

⁷⁰ King, 1869, p. 62.

⁷¹ Cremin and Butts, 1953, p. 218-219.

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theorist. Inspired by Rousseau's writings, spent the early part of his life serving to the poor and the later part working out a theory and method of instruction based on the natural development of the child. He ran an orphanage on his farm, taught school, wrote influential books about pedagogy (*Leonard and Gertrude*, *How Gertrude teaches her Children*, *Book for Mothers*, *Guide for teaching Spelling and Reading*, etc.), and opened his own school and teachers' training school.⁷²

King was constantly reading, observing, applying theories, and developing new approaches as she endeavored to teach children and teachers in ways that were both effective and affective. Another one of the European educators who influenced King's thinking was Friedrich Adolph Wilhelm Diesterweg (1790-1866). Diesterweg was principal of a Prussian normal school, wrote numerous articles in teachers' journals, founded and supported teacher associations, and as a member of the Prussian Parliament contributed to the improvement of training and working conditions of elementary teachers.⁷³ Diesterweg was Director of Teacher Seminaries at Maurs (1820-33) and Berlin (1833-49), and he has been called the German Pestalozzi.⁷⁴ Like King, he "preferred the Socratic method which he himself experienced in Schleiermacher's lecture at Berlin University. He reproached teaching that goes in a dictating way where knowledge is transmitted and not developing."⁷⁵

In her essay *What Is History? Answered*, King wrote that Diesterweg believed the task of History is "to become the exponent of and bring to our comprehension the development of the human intellect up to the present time in the prosecution of its labors and the realization of its ideas."⁷⁶ This means that history is a record of the development of the human mind, including the work men have done and the ideas they have generated.

⁷² Cubberley, 1920, p. 539-543.

⁷³ Menck, 1997.

⁷⁴ Cubberley, 1920, p. 571.

⁷⁵ Menck, 1997.

⁷⁶ King, 1893b.

King referred to Diesterweg in an effort to support the argument she was building about why history was a science.

A science is a branch of knowledge whose subject matter is either ultimate principles or facts as explained by principles. History, treating of the evolution of humanity according to underlying principles, becomes a science. This being admitted, it follows that history must be taught by the “scientific method.”⁷⁷

King and her colleagues in the History Department, Mary B. Putnam and Florence Shultes, prepared this paper in 1893 for the Pedagogical Society of the State Normal School. It seems that since history was a new department at the Normal School, and a fledging discipline everywhere, they felt compelled to defend it as a legitimate field of inquiry and distinct branch of knowledge.

Right from the beginning normal school men and women advocated approaches to teaching that draw from Pestalozzi’s ideas. The first state-supported normal school was opened in Lexington, Massachusetts, under the leadership of Cyrus Peirce, in 1839. In a letter to Henry Barnard a dozen years later he reflected on his aims, and sounded themes that defined the whole normal school movement:

I answer briefly, that it was my aim, and it would be my aim again, to make better teachers, . . . teachers who would understand, and do their business better; teachers who should know more of the nature of children, of youthful developments, more of the subject to be taught, and more of the true methods of teaching; who would teach more philosophically, more in harmony with the natural development of the young mind, with a truer regard to the order and connection in which the different branches of knowledge should be presented to it, and of course, more successfully.⁷⁸

That teachers were to “understand, and do their business better,” implied that teaching was a business that required special understanding. Peirce assumes that this business requires one to know about “the nature of children” and how they develop, “the subject to be taught” and the “true methods of teaching.” He assumes teaching is a philosophical

⁷⁷ King, 1893b.

⁷⁸ Borrowman, 1965, p.65.

endeavor and that successful teachers consider how the “different branches of knowledge” harmoniously connect to the child’s mind.

These goals are similar to those held by Horace Mann who gave Pestalozzi’s work strong support and wide publicity. Mann’s Seventh Annual Report as the secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, 1843, summarized a visit to and survey of the Prussian School System. He expressed tremendous enthusiasm for the new instructional methods based on sense realism, and thought the European system was far ahead of those in New England because the teacher student relationship seemed founded on love rather than authoritarianism.⁷⁹

Altenbaugh and Underwood claim that, “the school founded at Oswego, New York, in 1866 [sic], with its reliance on Pestalozzi’s ‘object lesson,’ appeared to be the only exception [to the rule that normal schools did not concern themselves with intellectual matters].”⁸⁰ However, Cremin and Butts claim that numerous New England educators took up similar ideas during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and that even though it was largely through the work of Edward A. Sheldon at the Oswego Normal School that the method became popularized, it was enthusiastically taught in other normal schools, such as New Jersey and Michigan.⁸¹

Sheldon was the Superintendent of Schools in Oswego. He visited Toronto and saw a display at a museum regarding Object Teaching. Sheldon was taken by this revolutionary idea which he wanted put into practice in K-12 schools, so he founded a

⁷⁹ Cremin and Butts, 1953, p. 220.

⁸⁰ Altenbaugh and Underwood, 1990, p. 140. Note: The exact date that the Oswego Normal opened is disputed, but based on the reunions they had, the faculty believed their institution opened in 1861. If we use the 1866 date, Oswego is not only not the only place where Pestalozzi’s ideas and “object teaching” were in force, but it is not even the first.

⁸¹ Cremin and Butts, 1953, p. 437.

school for teachers to staff his schools. He imported a teacher named Miss Jones from Canada and set about introducing teachers to these methods.⁸²

Adonijah Welch, the first principal of the Michigan State Normal School, was also impressed with the educational philosophy of Pestalozzi. In 1862, he published a book titled "Object Lessons Prepared for Teachers of the Primary Schools and Primary Classes." In the preface he wrote:

The first instruction to a child in school should be based on the fact that his intellectual activity consists in seeing and hearing rather than in reasoning and reflection . . . equally natural, also, is his aversion to abstract thinking. Any mode of teaching, therefore, which thwarts the former while it seeks to overcome the latter, is false in its philosophy and bad in its results.⁸³

Welch was clearly interested in children's intellectual activity and in preparing teachers to develop children's senses. King was one of the teachers Welch prepared. He was her principal from 1855-1858, and he lectured to his students on the Theory and Practice of Teaching.

Welch was aware of developments elsewhere, and he was in communication with other educators who were rallying for the same cause. In his annual report for 1861, Welch said:

The objective methods of training the senses of the child and the more natural order of studies adopted here and recommended by those high in authority as educators, are gradually finding their way into the primary schools, and we are glad to know that our theories of education, in general, harmonize with those of prominent teachers in other institutions.⁸⁴

In 1863, the course of study at the Michigan State Normal School was reorganized to give all students instruction in the Pestalozzian system. This was reported by the State Board as follows:

⁸² Rogers, D. 1961.

⁸³ Isbell, 1971, p. 21.

⁸⁴ *Superintendent of Public Instruction Report, 1861*, p. 103 "Object lessons and objective training" were part of the professional training at that time.

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The Board of Education are now convinced that the time has come, when the school can render no greater service to the State, than to so modify its course of study that all its pupils may receive thorough instruction and practice in the Pestalozzian system of Primary Training.⁸⁵

Superintendent of Public Instruction John Gregory officially ushered in a new approach to teaching—teachers were to learn about how to teach observation and inquiry, rather than simply the acquisition of knowledge.

Pestalozzi's ideas were considered most appropriate for elementary students, and so the Michigan State Normal School reorganized its curriculum and designated one set of courses for those intending to teach elementary school and another set for those intending to teach high school. The First Course, called the Normal Training Course, prepared teachers for the primary school. The Second Course, called the Higher Normal Course, ran parallel to the first but prepared teachers for the union or graded school. In an official circular the State Board of Education explained the new courses.

Prominent Educators of the West are aware that a radical change is taking place in the methods of Primary Education. In our best schools there is a growing conviction that the old routine of early studies, and old methods of teaching, are out of harmony with the wants and instincts of childhood. Many parents are beginning to inquire, why is it that their little ones, though kept faithfully at school most of the year, make no satisfactory intellectual progress.⁸⁶

As educators learned more about childhood, and began to conceive of the elementary school years as developmentally different than adulthood, teachers were expected to know more about children, their activities, and their thoughts. By 1868, normal students were expected to know a formula called "The Educational Principle":

Thorough knowledge of subject; presentation in logical order; the Pupil's degree of Maturity; the Pupil's self-activity; the Pupil's progress from the Known to the Unknown, from Easy to Difficult, from Simple to Complex, from Single to Combines, from the Concrete to Abstract, from the Empirical to Rational.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ *State Board of Education Report 1863*, pp. 129-130.

⁸⁶ Isbell, 1971, 52-53.

⁸⁷ Isbell, 1971, p. 53.

Journal of Management Education 35(4)

Journal of Management Education 35(4)

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These principles were adopted from Pestalozzi's works and were considered cutting-edge teaching methods at this time.

Leaders in women's education criticized the mechanical method of instruction common in men's academies and colleges. They believed mere memorization and recitation killed interest and failed to develop reasoning and imagination. They questioned the value of competition and rejected corporal punishment. Francis Willard and Catharine Beecher wrote textbooks demonstrating their new methods and described their methods of teaching and discipline in leading educational magazines.⁸⁸ Tyack and Hansot note that the schools of Willard, Lyon, and Beecher were "far more experimental in methods of teaching and discipline than the Latin grammar schools that prepared boys for college and more academically rigorous than many of the colleges that those boys attended,"⁸⁹ but they do not compare the pedagogical styles of the female seminaries to those of the early normal schools.

Jo Anne Preston claims that Horace Mann's concept of a woman teacher's education differed radically from that advanced by Beecher, Lyon, and Willard. She says, Horace Mann "foresaw state-controlled and financed teacher training schools confined to a curriculum on pedagogy, whereas Beecher anticipated women-run, liberal arts institutions on par with those attended by men."⁹⁰ Perhaps Preston is correct about Mann's aims, but the way teacher education first got enacted in Michigan looked much more like Beecher's model. In the 1850s, men and women at Michigan's only state-sponsored normal school could study a rigorous classical course, similar to those at men's liberal arts colleges. Pedagogy was not taught as a separate feminized subject or a narrow set of skills, it was the underlying aim of the entire institution. Women did not run the institution, but a woman, the preceptress, was given authority over all the women

⁸⁸ Tyack and Hansot, 1990, p. 40.

⁸⁹ Tyack and Hansot, 1990, p. 42.

⁹⁰ Preston, 1978.

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in the normal school, and they developed their own version of woman's culture and female professional fellowship. King helped implement a mid-western, coeducational, public institution model which borrowed from both Mann's and Beecher's ideas. It turns out that when men, as well as women, could be concerned with building communities and pursuing religious vocations, women, as well as men, could study academic subject matter as preparation to teach.

Good teachers were constructing their own theories, drawing from other theorists' ideas, and putting theory into practice, long before universities created pedagogy departments. Anna Paton, first King's student and then her colleague, wrote that King "has never ceased to be a hard-working student, and has kept herself in touch with the modern trend of thought."⁹¹ Early education professors, like John Dewey, are given credit for ideas that are strikingly similar to those developed by King and her fellow teachers in Michigan. Progressive theories of education did not become widely known at the university until the early twentieth century, but teachers like King had been designing and implementing lessons driven by similar theories for years. King must have been surprised to learn that professors in the new university departments of pedagogy achieved national acclaim for the innovative ideas that she and other normal school leaders and women teachers implemented in the 1860s and 1870s.

King was a virtuoso teacher, characterized by her modesty. In a thank you note she wrote to her classes after they sent her a note of praise, she wrote, "but for whom did you write it? Not for me in truth...if ever I find the woman of whom it is true I'll whisper to her what you thought of her."⁹² King did not seek acclaim for the pedagogical and historical principles that informed her teaching. Under King's picture in the 1898 yearbook were the apt quotations, "No life can be pure in its purpose and strong in its

⁹¹ Paton, 1893. p. 39.

⁹² Letter to classes, EMU.

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25. The twenty-fifth part is a list of the names of the infinities of the book.

strife, and all life not be purer and stronger thereby,”⁹³ and, in 1906, “One cannot look upon her face with its halo of silver hair, without reading the depth of character so plainly written there.”⁹⁴ King’s students appreciated her efforts and believed that she genuinely improved their lives and the lives of their future students. In their yearbook they wrote:

Miss King has remembered, as some teachers have not always remembered, that something is needed in dealing with students besides mere mental acumen and intellectual vigor. The human soul knows, rejoices to know, but it does more than merely know. The teacher should be able to lead the student beyond knowing alone; there is need of feeling as well as knowing.⁹⁵

The Conversations [which King led as Preceptress] were held in the study hall of Old Main, and dealt with matters of conduct, social forms, and religious ideals. “This social emphasis carried over strongly into Miss King’s teaching, creating a unity in what otherwise might have been two distinct and disparate positions.”⁹⁶ It was not specific teaching techniques or professional accomplishments that King’s colleague in the History Department, Miss Bertha M. Buell, enumerated when remembering King; instead, she simply but powerfully stated that King’s students “live more courageously, more truly, more fully because of having known her.”⁹⁷

History and Its Relation to the Normal School

King believed that “the whole aim of Normal work is to give the pupil control over his own powers.”⁹⁸ This was not for self-serving purposes but to enable future teachers to be able to serve children and communities well. King considered social responsibility and unity with others as paramount, and she believed that the way to develop those sorts of skills and relationships was through an education that challenged

⁹³ *Aurora*, 1898.

⁹⁴ *Aurora*, 1906.

⁹⁵ *Aurora*, 1900.

⁹⁶ Isbell, 1971, p. 309-310.

⁹⁷ Buell, June 11, 1919. BHL

⁹⁸ King, 1893a, p. 17.

students to solve problems, engage in inquiry, and defend their views. It was her belief that “he who serves the public wisely serves himself.”⁹⁹

King sought to liberate the powers of her pupils in a classroom community where social interaction, communication, and cooperation were all part of the curriculum. King’s attention to individual children was tempered by her commitment to the larger community and her desire to “put the individual into possession not only of his individual self but also of his social self.”¹⁰⁰ King believed it was “the business of the schools...to shorten the process by which the individual recognizes the import of society and his place in it.”¹⁰¹ So, while King sought to respect individual children and listen to their ideas, she was constantly, directly and indirectly, teaching them how to live together and be responsible members of our society. “Her aim was to make her department one affording culture rather than fact, an exact scholarship coupled with thorough professional training.”¹⁰²

Usually modest, King occasionally boasted that she had taught everything in the curriculum except Greek and that she never taught a class the same way twice.¹⁰³ King took into consideration who her learners were, not just what her subject matter was. She was conscious of all the different kinds of things one would have to think about when teaching a topic to little children versus teaching the same thing to teachers-to-be.

For example, a course of instruction appropriate for a class in a normal school would not be at all adapted to a class in a grammar school. The normal class is a class of student-teachers. That they may become teachers is one great object of the study. The instruction, then, to meet the demand must be technical, professional. It must deal with method and above all must exemplify a philosophical adaptation of a means to an end. Such a class must be given a broad knowledge so that when they come to teach they may do it with a wide margin. They must understand principles, laws,

⁹⁹ This is the first of a collection of quotations attributed to Miss King in the program for her Memorial Exercises, at the Alumni Meeting, Tuesday, June 24, 1919.

¹⁰⁰ King, *History as a Means of Social Education*

¹⁰¹ King, *History as a means of Social Education*

¹⁰² Goodrich, 1919, p 7.

¹⁰³ *Normal News*, 1895, p. 8.

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causes, as well as fact. They must be taught to read the idea which gave rise to and shaped the fact. They must be trained to look upon the fact as the visible embodiment of an idea. Only so can they be sure of a just appreciation and a right apprehension of that which they will need to teach.¹⁰⁴

King planned her syllabi with attention to the fact that her students would become teachers. When she spoke of method, she didn't mean simple teaching techniques; she referred to the methods and philosophical underpinnings of the discipline. In order to be good teachers of a subject she thought they needed to know about the rules of the discourse community. She also wanted them to know the topics they would be teaching in depth, not because they would share the in-depth study with children, but because she believed that in order to present the content in meaningful ways the teachers needed to understand it inside out.

King spent most her career as a history teacher. She practiced what she preached and learned everything she could about her discipline. She read American historians works but she also read the histories, historiographies, and theories about doing historical work from the European continent. In many of her papers she makes references to the ideas of historians. She had read and quotes the works of classical authors such as Homer Thucydides, Livy and Xenophon. She also referenced the works of Hume, Gibbon, Macaulay, Bancroft, Motley, Conybeare, von Ranke, Hegel, Rein, Kant, von Humbolt, Droysen, Lotze, Harris, Diesterweg, Hall, Freeman, Schlegel, and many others, including her neighbor at University of Michigan, Charles Kendall Adams.¹⁰⁵ King was a woman who knew what was going on in her field of study. She was a participant in a conversation about what shape the discipline of history should take, and she was a

¹⁰⁴ King, 1889, p. 160

¹⁰⁵ King, 1889b; 1893b; 1893c; 1894; and *An outline course in history*.

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2. *Staphylococcus epidermidis*

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member of an intellectual community of scholars. It is beyond the purview of this paper to investigate her views on the philosophy of history or her own theories about the burgeoning discipline in depth, but it is significant to notice that she was incredibly well read, that she often read these works in German, and that she studied the works of these great thinkers because she thought it would improve her teaching. It was her assumption that being a facile thinker and deft intellectual would make her a better teacher. Furthermore, the Normal School trained her up in this sort of approach to teaching and supported her growth as a scholar while she was employed as a teacher educator. Always, “teaching and studying went on together for her.”¹⁰⁶

During her thirty-four years as a Normal School professor, King taught history, civics, political science, and sociology. King was involved in discipline-based professional associations, such as the American Historical Association. “King was a member of the National Historical Association.”¹⁰⁷ She also studied and served as a leader in various local societies and clubs committed to enlarging the life of the mind in an effort to be better professionals. For example, the Normal Educational Society, also called the Pedagogical Club, was composed of members of the faculty. It was organized in 1885 with the purpose of “the investigation and discussion of principles of education and methods of teaching, and the consideration of such other professional subjects as may conduce to the success of our united efforts as teachers.” The society met once a month, and the exercises consisted of essay reading and discussion.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Goodrich, 1919, p. 8.

¹⁰⁷ *Aurora*, 1914, p. 22.

¹⁰⁸ Putnam, 1899, p. 234.

King was often consulted, by her peers and by nationally respected groups, about what history curriculum and instruction in the schools should look like. She advocated a course which, using materials appropriate for the age group, demonstrated how “people working together have found the means through which to realize the greatest national good” and, at the same time, “that the evolution of the state has been the evolution of the individual in society, wherein alone he finds the realization of his fullest self. The state for the individual and the individual for the state.”¹⁰⁹ King was concerned that the United States’ emphasis on individualism would undo our national fabric. She exposed children to examples of people working together and helped them understand the importance and power of the group.

King addressed her normal school faculty colleagues at a meeting of the Pedagogical Society, imploring them to consider ways that the content and methods of history instruction could be improved in the interests of citizen education.

The true equality of human brotherhood between nations, between social classes or between individuals, the food and shelter problem, the labor and profit sharing, common ownership or individual ownership, secular schools or religious schools, political purity and social purity, are all questions vital to our national existence.

They represent the activities among which our boys and girls will find themselves.¹¹⁰

She believed these to be the pressing issues of the day, and reminded her colleagues that these were questions with which future citizens would have to contend. Having had many normal school classmates killed in the Civil War, King was part of a generation which remembered the pain of not being unified, and having studied French and German as well as history, King was part of the intelligentsia which worried about the United States’ place in the new world order of her time.

¹⁰⁹ King, 1899, p. 500. The lead article in this edition of the journal is by Charles Eliot, President of Harvard, and it is edited by Nicholas Butler, Professor of Philosophy and Education at Columbia.

¹¹⁰ King, 1894.

THEORY OF THE EARTH AND ITS HISTORY

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By focusing on enduring dilemmas and current events, King demonstrates that she believes the purpose of education is to help maturing citizens face questions of national importance. She goes on to challenge the normal school professors to consider why schools do not generally consider preparation for citizenship their primary objective.

Why do the schools make absolutely no effort directly to meet the needs of citizens well-informed, citizens capable of thinking these questions to a wise conclusion, citizens with clear and enlightened judgments, citizens with lofty moral characters? These are not glittering generalities which spend themselves in the putting, but they are specific living issues of the time which press with great weight upon every serious teacher. They ought to determine the direction which educative instruction shall take in our schools.¹¹¹

King's speech makes clear that she thinks there is a distinction between instruction and educative instruction. The direction of educative instruction must be determined by serious teachers who are well-informed, wise thinkers with good judgment and character.

King's beliefs about disciplinary inquiry and knowledge acquisition informed her pedagogical choices. She was interested in both the nature of history and the role of history in teacher education. King taught history as a way of developing the habits of mind necessary for good teaching and for active participation in a democratic society. This included having students work with primary source materials and understand methods of historical inquiry. King believed that the study of history was simply learning in a community of inquiry.¹¹²

King was widely known for her rigorous methods and feared by students who were not familiar with her, but students who had the good fortune to encounter "Miss King's Method" became her disciples. In King's history classes, she employed a modified Socratic method where the students were made to do most of the talking.¹¹³ King aimed to draw from the class, question, and suggest, acting as their guide, but

¹¹¹ King, 1894.

¹¹² King, 1893b.

¹¹³ Goodrich, 1919.

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leaving them to discover, compare, and record.¹¹⁴ Her once chestnut-colored silver hair was often knotted neatly in a bun resting on the high collar of an austere black dress, as she painstakingly searched for a few well-directed questions and encouraged her students to use a document as a starting place and to let it lead them out.¹¹⁵ Through rigid and intelligent cross-questioning of primary sources, King helped her students develop inquiry skills and the ability to build and substantiate their own interpretations.¹¹⁶ These methods demonstrate the link between King's own disciplinary knowledge, her understanding of society, and her pedagogical choices.

King's pedagogical goal was to have students develop a sense of themselves as capable intellectuals, able to act independently as responsible citizens. "I do not seek to test and do nothing more," King proclaimed, for she believed that "truth clothes herself in such varied forms that to hold to ultimate theories would be an evidence of pedantry, which is worse than ignorance."¹¹⁷ Instead, King opened her class to free discussion, confident that in investigation truth may be discovered. Far from memorizing facts, King's students dealt with uncertainty and were forced to consider alternative interpretations and viewpoints as they worked together on historical problems.

One of the things that characterize a discipline like history is the exchange of ideas that takes place through professional journals and associations. King was active in a national conversation about history teaching. At the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association's Conference of Teachers of History in Teachers' Colleges and Normal Schools,

Miss Julia Anne King of the Michigan State Normal College, maintained that the one object of the teaching of history was to help the child to understand and participate in

¹¹⁴ King, 1869, p 66.

¹¹⁵ King, 1869, p. 66.

¹¹⁶ King, 1889.

¹¹⁷ King, 1889. p.159.

the life around him, and that since the material selected by the committee of eight for the first four years work did not do this, it was therefore a mistaken choice.¹¹⁸

She used her experience as history teacher and a normal school professor to help historians who were not familiar with children think about how the discipline might be best presented in schools. King was actively involved in discipline-related professional organizations, contributing her views and about pedagogy, and seeking to learn more about the subject she taught. By bringing her pedagogical orientations to the study of history she was able to enrich the discussion about what should be taught to small children and how teachers should be prepared to teach it, but King also expanded her own professional status by becoming part of the disciplinary community.

King also presented her ideas about the centrality of history in a course of study, the relationship between history and social education, and history's place in teacher education to her colleagues at the Normal School.¹¹⁹ King was acquainted with Charles K. Adams, the renowned historian from the University of Michigan. In her third of a series of five articles on "Method Applied to Teaching History," in the *Michigan School Moderator*, King says, "Prof, C. K. Adams once said to me "that it is impossible to teach history without books."¹²⁰ It was these kinds of collegial conversations that enriched King professionally.

King was part of a nineteenth century social movement aimed at improving teaching, learning and teacher education. She joined a teacher-led discourse community early in her career and exchanged ideas about the philosophy of education, purposes of schooling, and appropriate teaching methods with her peers in Michigan's schools. King was an officer in the State Teacher's Association, presented papers to the Normal School faculty, and published articles in *The Michigan Teacher*, *Michigan Moderator*, *Educational Review*, and *American Schoolmaster*. This is a diverse set of educational journals; King wrote for both practicing teachers and university educational researchers.

¹¹⁸ *American Historical Association Report*, 1911. p. 32.

¹¹⁹ King, 1893a; 1894

¹²⁰ King, 1889, p. 251.

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For example, *The Michigan Teacher* and *The Michigan Moderator* were both read by late nineteenth century Michigan teachers. *The American Schoolmaster*, “a magazine devoted to the professional aspects of teaching,” was published by the Michigan State Normal College and was intended primarily for those who prepared teachers. In 1915, the associate editors came from Schools of Education at the Universities of Illinois, North Dakota, Oklahoma and Washington, and at State Normal Schools or Teachers’ Colleges in Oshkosh, Wisconsin; Cedar Falls, Iowa; Marquette, Michigan; Normal, Illinois; Winona, Minnesota; and Ypsilanti, Michigan. *The Educational Review* was even more prestigious. It was edited by Nicholas Murray Butler, Professor of Philosophy and Education at Columbia University. The December 1899 issue, in which King published “History in the elementary school,” also included a piece by Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard University. In all of these publications, King, and the other teachers and scholars involved in printed discussions, were extremely interested in fostering creativity, imagination, and independent thought in children. Most of the topics they wrote and spoke about had to do with innovative ways of getting students to engage with subject matter.

King also tried to foster collegial exchange, both among faculty and between faculty and students, when she was a faculty member. Men and women were both included in the debates. While she was a professor, King participated in the student’s debate society as a faculty mentor and presented papers at the faculty Pedagogic Society. All of these fostered an intellectual atmosphere on campus and also spoke to King’s personal interests and political commitments.

King’s keen intellect and sharp analytical mind stayed active even in retirement. A student who visited her regularly in old age reported: “After her retirement she devoted much thought and discussion to the great war, analyzing contemporary action and its probable result in the light of historic precedent. Her deductions were phenomenally

1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Bank of the City of New York.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Bank of the City of New York.

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4. The fourth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Bank of the City of New York.

prophetic.”¹²¹ In addition to predicting how the First World War would unfold, King spent much time reading German philosophy. “Of late, the German mind, its philosophies of life and its effect on history both distant, and then-present, was always discussed when I called upon her. She accurately gauged the outcome of the forces which produced the past social and political conditions in Germany and foretold the reaction which has lately come.”¹²² In addition to her philosophical readings and political musings, King was “always alert as to the latest ideas in education. Evolution, heredity, eugenics, socialism, industrial unrest were common topics of conversation.”¹²³ Interestingly, King understood these diverse topics were related to education and it seemed obvious to her that her personal, political, and professional lives would be tightly coupled.

It was this sort of thoughtfulness about her own times as well as the past of humankind that prompted Ernest Goodrich to compare King to Henry Adams.

I was repeatedly and strikingly reminded of Miss King’s work as I knew it back in the 90’s when I read last winter the “Education of Henry Adams”. Ten years after Miss King had given me her philosophy, Henry Adams was working out his along identical lines in such words as these: “Susceptibility to the highest forces is the highest genius; selection between them is the highest science; their mass is the highest educator.” “Past history is only a value of relation to the future, and its value is wholly one of convenience which can be tested only by experiment.” Gauging Miss King in light of Adams’ measure of genius shows hers to have been of the highest quality. She was ever susceptible to the highest forces.¹²⁴

Henry Brooks Adams was born in 1838 just a few months before Julia Anne King, and he died in 1918, just a year before King passed away. *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography* is a history book that charts the transformation in nineteenth century American intellectual life. It presents a world poised between the certainties of the past and the uncertain possibilities of the future. The first edition was privately printed in

¹²¹ Goodrich, 1919, p. 7.

¹²² Goodrich, 1919, p. 4. He was referring to World War I.

¹²³ Goodrich, 1919, p. 8.

¹²⁴ Goodrich, 1919, p. 5

1906 to 1907, but Adams directed that it be withheld from general publication until after his death. In the fall of 1918 *the Education* was published to wide acclaim: it became a best seller, won the Pulitzer Prize, and was immediately recognized as one of the world's great autobiographies. Goodrich read it when it first came out, and he saw similarities between Adams, who has been described as one of the most powerful and original minds to confront the American scene from the Civil War to the First World War, and King.

Goodrich also compared King favorably to Herman Schneider, Dean of the College of Engineering at University of Cincinnati. Just as he gave King credit for ideas similar to Adams' before his publication of them, he claims her practice preceded Schneider's interest in the same.

She coupled reason with historical facts and applied the result to everyday life and events. Long before Dean Schneider of the engineering department of the University of Cincinnati undertook to couple reason with industrial instruction and both with commercial practice, explaining present industrial conditions with past historical facts, Miss King was doing it in her history and pedagogy. She made past events speak concerning present conditions. She was the teacher Dean Schneider is now trying to find to evolve a course for his engineering students wherein the present economic and social, industrial and technical conditions are to be analyzed through history and causes traced. Her aim was to make her department one affording culture rather than fact, an exact scholarship coupled with thorough professional training.¹²⁵

Dean Herman Schneider is known as the founder of cooperative education. The University of Cincinnati's College of Engineering made a unique contribution to higher education in 1906 when Dean Herman Schneider inaugurated an original study-experience concept, known nationally as cooperative education.¹²⁶

Teaching History

King taught a course on the philosophy of history. The student who took this course "became much more tolerant, more discerning in the analysis of motives, broader

¹²⁵ Goodrich, 1919, p. 7.

¹²⁶ <http://khangl..che.uc.edu/college.html>

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in his ideas of right and wrong, while at the same time individually stricter in the personal interpretations of these matters.”¹²⁷ King believed that “the time has come to train the teacher in some sort of philosophy of what he is to teach.”¹²⁸ King was interested not only on the state of pedagogy in the field of history but on the state of the discipline itself. She claimed it was difficult to let one’s disciplinary understandings shape one’s teaching when it was not yet agreed upon what constituted the discipline of history. “As yet there is no course in history scientifically determined and generally accepted by the schools. Not only so, but there would seem to be no settled notion of what constitutes real historical knowledge. ...Pedagogy is so much at sea in respect to the fundamental features of a course in history for the primary school.”¹²⁹

King’s “new methods” included using primary sources when teaching history and teaching students to subject the sources to a rigorous cross-examination. “Subject the facts to rigid and intelligent cross-questioning with the class,” she advised the young teachers in her history classes.¹³⁰

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She compared the relative value of the books that simply listed facts to a spelling book as a way to experience literature. “They serve to teach history about as well as Webster’s speller would to teach Literature.” Instead of depending solely on secondary sources,

¹²⁷ Goodrich, 1919, p. 5.

¹²⁸ King, 1889, p. 215.

¹²⁹ King, 1897, p. 66.

¹³⁰ King, 1889, p. 474.

¹³¹ King, 1889, p. 251.

Figure 1. The effect of the concentration of the polymer on the rate of polymerization.

The concentration of the polymer was varied from 0.1 to 0.5 g/l. The rate of polymerization was measured by the change in the viscosity of the solution.

The results of the experiment are shown in Figure 1. The rate of polymerization increases with increasing concentration of the polymer.

The increase in the rate of polymerization is due to the increase in the number of active centers.

At a concentration of 0.1 g/l, the rate of polymerization is very low.

At a concentration of 0.5 g/l, the rate of polymerization is high.

The results of the experiment show that the rate of polymerization is directly proportional to the concentration of the polymer.

The rate of polymerization is also affected by the temperature of the reaction.

The rate of polymerization increases with increasing temperature.

The increase in the rate of polymerization is due to the increase in the number of active centers.

At a temperature of 20°C, the rate of polymerization is low.

At a temperature of 40°C, the rate of polymerization is high.

The results of the experiment show that the rate of polymerization is directly proportional to the temperature.

The rate of polymerization is also affected by the concentration of the initiator.

The rate of polymerization increases with increasing concentration of the initiator.

At a concentration of 0.1 g/l, the rate of polymerization is low.

At a concentration of 0.5 g/l, the rate of polymerization is high.

The results of the experiment show that the rate of polymerization is directly proportional to the concentration of the initiator.

The rate of polymerization is also affected by the concentration of the monomer.

The rate of polymerization increases with increasing concentration of the monomer.

At a concentration of 0.1 g/l, the rate of polymerization is low.

At a concentration of 0.5 g/l, the rate of polymerization is high.

The results of the experiment show that the rate of polymerization is directly proportional to the concentration of the monomer.

The rate of polymerization is also affected by the concentration of the solvent.

The rate of polymerization increases with increasing concentration of the solvent.

At a concentration of 0.1 g/l, the rate of polymerization is low.

At a concentration of 0.5 g/l, the rate of polymerization is high.

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¹²⁷ Goodrich, 1919, p. 5.

¹²⁸ King, 1889, p. 215.

¹²⁹ King, 1897, p. 66.

¹³⁰ King, 1889, p. 474.

¹³¹ King, 1889, p. 251.

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4. The fourth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the city of New York.

King advocated using primary source documents with students. “Excerpts from original documents if judiciously selected might serve a better purpose. The only book of this sort designed for class use, as far as I know, is Miss Sheldon’s General History.”¹³²

The Miss Sheldon whose book King refers to was Edward Sheldon’s daughter. Sheldon was the founder of the Oswego Normal School in New York, and he was known for his Pestalozzian Object Lessons. His daughter, Mary Sheldon attended Oswego Normal and was one of the first women to graduate from the University of Michigan. She became one of the early professors at Wellesley College, along with several of her classmates from University of Michigan, including Angie Chapin (King’s student from Flint and Wellesley Professor of Greek) and Alice Freeman Palmer (President of Wellesley and later Dean of Women at University of Chicago). Mary Sheldon married Earl Barnes and became the first female faculty member at Stanford University. Sheldon Barnes published several history textbooks in addition to the one King recommended. Sheldon’s books appealed to King because they were designed to elicit critical thinking. “Arranged as a series of intellectual puzzles, primary sources balanced equal amounts of explanatory narratives. The texts introduced lists of terms and sources, quotations descriptions—advance organizers for lessons to come.”¹³³

King’s critique of textbooks included an indictment of the study questions in one publication: “They test and do nothing more. To be really effective, questions should build on true knowledge.”¹³⁴ Barnes’ approach to teaching history, which she developed from Oswego all the way to Stanford, was, at root, very similar to King’s. The strong influence of Pestalozzi and the Object Method that both women were steeped in as Normal School students formed the basis for their critical inquiry approach to history teaching. As they became historians and as the history profession took shape, they

¹³² King, 1889, p. 251

¹³³ Monteverde, 1999, p. 17-41.

¹³⁴ King, 1889, p. 251.

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

Journal of Management Education 30(6)

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Journal of Management Education 30(6)

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brought their understandings of pedagogy with them and constructed meaningful, disciplinary lessons. King poses a question about Barnes' work with regards to its applicability for public schools. She says that the material she presents as example is of a much higher level than most high school students could produce. So King was thinking along the same lines as Barnes but striving to serve a different population. Barnes made her Stanford students engage in disciplinary inquiry; King used similar tactics with Normal School students, but she was also ever attentive to the needs of children and the appropriateness of materials for the primary schools.¹³⁵

Barnes earned some acclaim for what was termed her "Source Method." King only names her approach once in the professional writings that survive. She defines "Topical Method" as "the presentation of history through the series of events in which an active historical idea in the various phases of its development expresses itself." For example, King claims that the events of our national history group themselves naturally into seven periods.:

First, the settlements in communities. Second, the establishment and development of their municipal institutions with their free choice of leaders and jury trials. Third, the overthrow of the Puritan Commonwealth. Fourth, the oppression by England but to the Declaration of Independence or national freedom and the attempt to maintain it led to foreign alliances and finally a national union. Fifth, the constitution securing individual rights, jury trial, habeas corpus, religious liberty and free suffrage. Sixth, the enfranchisement of the Negro. Seventh, the social movements of today of whatever sort which look to the realization of the human brotherhood of humanity.¹³⁶

When studying topics such as these, King recommends that, "the development begins naturally at the earliest manifestations of the idea and makes all conditions modifying it matters of investigation." She wants teachers to think about historical events and movements and identify topics of study. Then she advocates thoroughly interrogating those topics or sets of concepts.

¹³⁵ King, 1889, p. 251

¹³⁶ King, 1889b.

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For example, in the subject of slavery it would not be enough to begin at its introduction in 1619. The impulse which led up to that event, all the natural conditions which modified it, the peculiar economic reasons which both fostered and retarded its growth are matters of investigation. In other words, the idea must be kept in the conditions of its life.¹³⁷

King did not want history presented as disconnected "facts." Instead she hoped to show the cause and effect relationships, the reasons behind decisions made, and the inter-relatedness of various events.

In her discussion of the "Topical Method of Teaching History in the Public School," King quotes Wm. Von Humbolt in her discussion of historical ideas, deeds, and topics. William Von Humbolt (1767-1835) was a historian, philologist, and leader in the regeneration of Prussia. This took place in the early part of the nineteenth century and included the formation of a new national system of education. Prussian officials sent teachers to Switzerland to study Pestalozzi's ideas and methods.¹³⁸ In 1809, Von Humbolt was made head of the new Prussian Department of Public Instruction.¹³⁹ Interestingly, Von Humbolt founded the Berlin High School where Froebel came to study.¹⁴⁰

"Miss King taught me how to think," is the expression of many an alumnus who appreciated in later years what that meant. Far different, however, were the expressed feelings of the students in my classes when the announcement was made that Miss King was to take the class. Some were worried, -- those that had come from schools where the old memory method alone prevailed. The others expressed anticipation of interest. Miss King's method was for both teacher and student to work. It was a modified Socratic method with the student made to do most of the talking."¹⁴¹ For example, she apparently asked students questions such as "What made the Greeks artistic?" "What started

¹³⁷ King, 1889b.

¹³⁸ Cubberley, 1920, p. 568-9

¹³⁹ Cubberley, 1920, p. 572.

¹⁴⁰ Rooper, 1893/4, p. 271.

¹⁴¹ Goodrich, 1919, p. 6.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the

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political parties in the United States?"¹⁴² It was these types of higher level thinking skills and broad understandings, rather than drab facts that characterized King's practice of history teaching.

In King's history classes students drew maps and learned where the places they studied were located.¹⁴³ King saw it as only natural that when learning about events, if one was to gain a full understanding he would need to know the location. "Geography, ought never to be separated from history. A historical event without a local habitation is like a man without a country, while a locality without its human interests and associations is of small worth to any pupil."¹⁴⁴

King utilized all the sources she could get her hands on. She especially liked stories and literature as inroads into historical understanding for small children. Even at the normal she recommended students read childhood favorites to get a sense of narrative structure.

I know that after wading through rivers of blood and oceans of horror in Dickens' *Child History of England*, I sought professional advice from my grown up neighbor [King]. She advised *Tanglewood Tales*, which I think exemplifies her class methods also. History to her was not a series of chronological and statistical drab cold facts, but a linking of social and economic causes and political results, a rendering luminous of human action and reaction.¹⁴⁵

Tanglewood Tales is a collection of seven short stories and myths written in 1853 by Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Perhaps greater than King's ability to choose stories or primary sources or objects that would illuminate the past to young children was her ability to build social studies lessons out of everyday human interaction. The field of Social Studies had not yet developed; the National Education Association defined social studies in the schools in

¹⁴² Goodrich, 1919, p. 6

¹⁴³ King, 1886.

¹⁴⁴ King, 1894, p. 8.

¹⁴⁵ Goodrich, 1919, p. 5.

1916, and the national Council for the Social Studies was founded in 1921.¹⁴⁶ However, King saw lessons about sociology, psychology and political science all around her. “The games on the school grounds or the play houses in the fence corners contain the germs of genuine historical institutions only waiting a teacher skillful enough to unfold them.”¹⁴⁷ She did not think early elementary students were developmentally ready to tackle a discipline like history, but she certainly thought they could be nurtured into becoming analytical thinkers and responsible community members.

King's Curriculum

In the 1830s thousands of New Englanders flooded into the Michigan territory via the newly opened Erie Canal. In 1852, King's family moved from their farm and her log school into the village of Adrian. King continued to cultivate her love of books at Adrian's newly opened, coeducational public high school. In 1853, an artistic map of the city of Adrian featured the new Union School as a symbol of prosperity and culture.¹⁴⁸ The school, a 60 X 80 foot, three story, red brick structure, which the town newspaper called “a model temple of instruction,”¹⁴⁹ occupied a central position in the town's self-image. Public schools in Adrian were supported by everyone's property taxes so that resident children could attend free of charge ten years before the state of Michigan mandated free public schooling.¹⁵⁰

The first steam-powered railroad west of the Alleghenies puffed out along the newly completed Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad track between Toledo and Adrian.¹⁵¹ This sort industrial development made Adrian the second-largest and fastest growing city

¹⁴⁶ Crocco and Davis, p. 7.

¹⁴⁷ King, 1894, p. 14.

¹⁴⁸ Map. LCH

¹⁴⁹ Payne, 1876.

¹⁵⁰ Early Adrian. 1964/73

¹⁵¹ Catton, Bruce, 1988.

the following conditions are satisfied:

(i) \mathcal{A} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(ii) \mathcal{B} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(iii) \mathcal{C} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(iv) \mathcal{D} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(v) \mathcal{E} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(vi) \mathcal{F} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(vii) \mathcal{G} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(viii) \mathcal{H} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(ix) \mathcal{I} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(x) \mathcal{J} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xi) \mathcal{K} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xii) \mathcal{L} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xiii) \mathcal{M} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xiv) \mathcal{N} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xv) \mathcal{O} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xvi) \mathcal{P} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xvii) \mathcal{Q} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xviii) \mathcal{R} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xix) \mathcal{S} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xx) \mathcal{T} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xxi) \mathcal{U} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xxii) \mathcal{V} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xxiii) \mathcal{W} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xxiv) \mathcal{X} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xxv) \mathcal{Y} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xxvi) \mathcal{Z} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xxvii) \mathcal{A} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

(xxviii) \mathcal{B} is a \mathcal{C}^* -algebra;

in Michigan. By the time the King family moved there, many of the formerly wooden downtown buildings had been converted to brick. The well-educated and forward-thinking Adrian businessmen convinced The Lakes and Michigan Southern Railroad to connect to the Erie and Kalamazoo line in Adrian and to relocate their headquarters to the blossoming city. Formerly split between the Democrats and Whigs, Adrian citizens began to join the anti-slavery Liberty party, and, in 1848, the Free Soil Party. The Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill split the Whigs, and several Adrian residents traveled to Jackson, Michigan to organize the first meeting of the new Republican Party.¹⁵²

It was in this political climate that King spent her adolescence. It would have been impossible for her not to have noticed that Catholic and Protestant, rich and poor, city residents and farmers children who boarded in town, all attended her school. During the time that King lived in Adrian, the Underground Railroad was active there. There was an African American church built downtown, only a few blocks from her high school, and black and white children attended classes together at the Raisin Academy just outside of Adrian.

King's high school experience was not considered formal teacher education, but since we know that much of what teachers believe about teaching is acquired during their apprenticeship of observation,¹⁵³ I include her high school as part of her teacher preparation. When King was fourteen years old, her family moved from their farm in Milan, Michigan into the fast-growing town of Adrian so she could attend the newly opened Adrian Union School.¹⁵⁴ It was one of only twelve high schools in Michigan at the time.¹⁵⁵ King studied under a variety of teachers, most of whom had attended

¹⁵² Lindquist, 1990.

¹⁵³ Lortie, 1970.

¹⁵⁴ The early high schools in Michigan were called Union Schools and were generally intended for students who had completed grammar school.

¹⁵⁵ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1853.

1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the city of New York.

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institutions that offered classical course work. For example, her high school principal, Franklin Hubbard, attended Amherst.¹⁵⁶ The Adrian High School curriculum resembled those of the college preparatory academies its teachers attended. The Michigan State Normal School, where King also studied a classical curriculum from 1855-1858, was also shaped by its founders' and early leaders' experiences in antebellum colleges and universities. The men and women who founded and taught in the Normal School were graduates of Union College, Brown University, the University of Michigan, Dartmouth, Oberlin, and Genessee. These colleges offered classical studies to their students in the 1840s. The first group of teachers at the Michigan State Normal School, with whom King studied, was born in the 1820s, and they all migrated to Michigan from the East Coast.¹⁵⁷ King's professors' educational experiences, both generation- and institution-based, shaped, at least to some extent, their orientations toward the curriculum and instruction of teacher education and their beliefs about what teachers should know and be able to do. Normal schools were not available to the generation ahead of King, so the people who founded them and taught at them depended on their own experiences in other educational institutions to inform their practice in the early years of teacher education.

The educational pioneers who founded the Michigan State Normal School looked to earlier exemplars of teacher education when forming their program, but they decided to take normal education a step further than their colleagues on the East Coast.

The normal school opened at Albany, N. Y., in December of 1844, of which D. P. Page was the first Principal, began with a course of studies essentially the same as that of the Massachusetts schools. The course in the normal schools for female teachers, opened at Philadelphia, in 1848, was of the same general character, but a little less extensive. With the example of these pioneer institutions before them, it was only natural that the Board of Education and the teachers of the new Michigan normal school should adopt a similar curriculum. They went, however, a little

¹⁵⁶ Catalogue of Adrian Union School. 1854-1855.

¹⁵⁷ Putnam, 1899. See Cubberley, 1934 for examples of U of M curriculum.

1. *Chlorophyll a* (Chl a) and *Chlorophyll b* (Chl b)

2. *Chlorophyll c* (Chl c)

3. *Chlorophyll d* (Chl d)

4. *Chlorophyll e* (Chl e)

5. *Chlorophyll f* (Chl f) and *Chlorophyll g* (Chl g)

beyond the previously established schools, and, prepared a Classical course in addition to the usual English one.¹⁵⁸

Their decision to include the Classical Course reflected a preference for one of two different approaches to normal education that were often debated during this time. There were two dominant varieties of normal school curricula: one emphasized mainly teaching methods, the other academic preparation in the liberal arts.¹⁵⁹

The three-year Classical Course, which King completed, was considered more rigorous than the English Course, which took only two years (see Table . The Classical Course was intended for those people who planned to become high school teachers and/or administrators. It was assumed that the ability to teach well had more to do with being a facile thinker with a flexible mind than with expertise in a particular subject matter. All students studied the same courses. Normal students were only permitted to begin training in the art of teaching after proving their capacity and zeal for learning by passing rigid written examinations in what were then considered the basic branches of learning. Questions about the nature of knowledge and its relation to teacher's work, or how the pursuit of knowledge might inform social and political questions, not specific teaching techniques, are what characterized King's intellectual life and the content of her courses.

During the course of the nineteenth century, the normal school expanded its curricular options and offered more specialized preparation for professional positions through a variety of degrees and certificates. In 1855, when King entered the normal school, there were two courses of study: the two-year English Course and the three-year Classical course. By 1899, there were five different courses of study available at the normal college:

1. The general degree course of two years.
2. The specializing degree course of two years.

¹⁵⁸Putnam, 1899, p. 39. See chart on the requirements for each course.

¹⁵⁹Harper, 1939.

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3. The general diploma course of four years.
4. A four-year specializing course.
5. Course, of one year, for college graduates.¹⁶⁰

Through these courses teachers were prepared for the following named positions:

1. For positions in rural, ungraded and village schools.
2. For public and private Kindergartens.
3. For primary work and the lower grades of the elementary schools.
4. For the upper grades of the graded schools.
5. For general grade work.
6. For special subjects and departments.
7. For supervisors of particular branches, such as music, drawing, etc.
8. For principals, superintendents, directors, etc.

The college was authorized to bestow certificates, diplomas, and degrees as follows:

1. A certificate good for two years.
2. A certificate good for three years.
3. A certificate for five years.
4. A Life certificate.
5. The degree of Bachelor of Pedagogy.
6. The degree of Master of Pedagogy.¹⁶¹

These offerings differed from King's days as a student because in the 1850s there were no certificates or degrees required to be a teacher, administrator, or teacher educator.

King's classmates pursued professional lives that included this type of variety, but usually a single person would occupy many of these jobs during the course of her career.

However, by the turn of the century, rural one-room schoolteachers received a very different education than did superintendents. King, of course, had been both a rural one-room schoolteacher and a superintendent. This expanded fare was touted as meeting the needs of the state for teachers as well as serving the upper echelons of school system by preparing administrators. Michigan State Normal College students were some of the first in the country to be granted Bachelor of Arts degrees,¹⁶² and Ypsilanti boasted one of the first post-baccalaureate teacher education programs for college graduates. Other normal

¹⁶⁰ Putnam, 1899, p. 84-5.

¹⁶¹ Putnam, 1899, p. 84-5.

¹⁶² Some sources credit Ypsilanti as being first, others give credit to Albany as the first Normal School to award Bachelor's degrees.

schools and teachers' colleges generally followed in Ypsilanti's footsteps ten or twenty years later.

In addition to her studies, King was an active participant in the campus community and a member of the Normal School Lyceum.¹⁶³ The Lyceum at the Normal School was organized in the very first term and continued to be the only student organization for nearly twenty years. This was a coeducational group that debated important scholarly and popular issues and brought speakers to campus. The faculty and students organized and managed the Lyceum together. It was the intent of the faculty that the organization be collaborative but also that the informal life of the campus emphasized the intellectual. The literary society, or Lyceum, had long flourished in the East. Its emphasis was on freedom of discussion, the challenging of stereotypes, and the importance of reason.¹⁶⁴

Various members of the faculty attended the weekly meetings, frequently delivered lectures, and participated freely in debates. Principal Welch was the first president of the society and Professor J.M.B. Sill was corresponding secretary. As might be expected of a mixed faculty-student organization, the topics debated remained well within the limits of propriety; however, they did represent serious attention to problems of the day. A few of the propositions were:

"That men engaged in manual labor act a greater part in the formation of the character of a community than men of scientific research;"

"That the aims and tendencies of the so-called 'Know -nothing' party are detrimental to the institutions of our government;"

"That the discovery of the California mines has been detrimental to mankind;"

"That the ladies ought to be allowed to debate; that the interest of the society and its existence depend upon their debating" (1870);

"That the acquisition of Cuba is an object much to be desired by the government of the United States;"

¹⁶³ The Old Normal Lyceum is discussed, with special attention to gender, in Chapter Three.

¹⁶⁴ U.S. Department of the Interior, 1932, *History of the American Lyceum*

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“That the Bible should be retained in the public schools.”¹⁶⁵

This last proposition resulted in a protracted and animated debate, participated in by several members of the faculty, and extending over three evenings. The Lyceum finally adopted a resolution stating “we believe the Bible should not be excluded from our public schools and that such exclusion would not, in our opinion, render them more acceptable to any class of our citizens.”¹⁶⁶

In addition to promoting intellectual life outside of the formal curriculum, the Lyceum served as a center for social life and was active in bringing lecturers to Ypsilanti and the campus. It also developed a sizable library of its own as it pursued debating and literary programs, and, in 1888, the general library absorbed its collection of more than a thousand volumes.¹⁶⁷ As the school grew, the large membership became unwieldy, and eventually several other societies were formed.¹⁶⁸

The Michigan State Normal School was on the cutting edge of educational reforms and often at the center of debates about curriculum in K -12 schools and in teacher education. In the nineteenth century, the Normal School curriculum was changing and vibrant; there were multiple significant changes in the course of study for those who intended to teach school. ¹⁶⁹ As the school matured, the faculty struggled to agree on the purpose of a normal education and a curriculum that would fulfill those purposes. They debated frequently whether the Normal School should indeed teach academic courses, like a college, or whether all normal work, regardless of content, should be, at root, a course in pedagogy.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ Isbell, 1971 p. 332-333.

¹⁶⁶ Isbell, 1971 p. 332-333.

¹⁶⁷ Isbell, 1971 p. 333.

¹⁶⁸ Isbell, 1971, p. 332.

¹⁶⁹ This image is markedly different than the ways historians have portrayed normal education. Jessie Pangburn claimed there was a largely technical approach to the education of teachers, and she also added that there were no real changes in the curriculum between the 1840s and the 1890s. Pangburn, 1932, p. 14.

¹⁷⁰ Putnam, 1899, pp. 48, 52, 56, 64, and 78.

From the beginning the Michigan State Normal School made efforts to secure excellent teachers. Because it was on the cutting edge of educational theory and practice, the Normal was able to attract outstanding teachers.

Instruction in music began in Normal's second year. In the spring of 1854, Albert Miller was secured to fill a position provided for in the original plan of instruction, listed as *Teacher of Vocal Music and Drawing*. The man chosen to fill this position was born in Sonderhausen, in the Principality of Schwartzberg, Germany, and educated at the University of Jena.¹⁷¹

The inclusion of music in the curriculum reveals the alertness of Principal Welch and his associates. For it was only as recently as 1848 that instruction in music in the public school had begun to find favor in some eastern cities.¹⁷²

Principal Welch also advocated the inclusion of physical education in the Normal School curriculum. In his report for 1860 he discussed the matter at some length, and he noted that the subject of physical education was receiving nation-wide attention:

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this movement. Thousands of valuable lives have been sacrificed, and scarcely any one has passed uninjured through the terrible ordeal of close and crowded rooms, long sittings, excessive mental effort and deficient exercise. Most of the graduates of our High Schools and Colleges carry with them as mementos of their School days, disordered stomachs, curved spines, enfeebled bodies or some nervous weakness, to embitter their lives and to rob education itself of much of its value. Nor can study be prosecuted with due success while the health and vigor of the body are so little cared for. Hour after hour is daily wasted in our Schools, in listless and futile efforts at study, when, through mere weariness of the body, the sympathizing mind has lost its power of steady application. A skillful gymnastic drill of a few minutes would awaken the energies, quicken the sluggish circulation, and lend new life and interest to the whole mental action.¹⁷³

The Normal School helped lead the physical education movement, and, as Welch hoped, the graduates took their skills and orientations toward good health out into Michigan's schools, promoting physical education in the lower grades as well.

¹⁷¹ Isbell, 1971, p. 83-84.

¹⁷² Isbell, 1971, p. 84.

¹⁷³ Isbell, 1971, p. 91-92.

While King was a Normal School student she was closely supervised and required to keep a strict study schedule, and expected to follow rules of deportment. For example, in 1860, a Normal School student wrote to his cousin:

I suppose there are nearly three hundred students in the Normal School and over two thirds of these are ladies ... There are many things required of students who attend the Normal School. As the school is pretty much free, being only three dollars a year, they lay down many rules which we have to obey, or we can go home, just as we please ... All recitations are conducted in the forenoon, so we have to go to the building but once in a day; and that is at twenty minutes after eight, and holds four hours. We have to stay in our rooms two hours during the afternoon except Saturdays or Sundays, also after seven o'clock in the evening except the two days above mentioned when we can stay out till ten in the evening. The students room all over town just where they can get rooms and board. If you should go out of your room during study hours, perhaps you would not be seen, but if one of the teachers should happen to see you, he... would probably report you to the Principal; and after you have been reported twice you are expelled from school.¹⁷⁴

This young man doesn't seem to question the fact that if he doesn't like the rules, he should go home. He has respect for what the leaders of the school have decided is necessary and appropriate. This is the type of schedule and regulations that King abided by while she was a Normal School student.

In addition to the formal curriculum of preservice teacher education, King and her contemporaries also participated in on-going professional development. Those teachers who did not have the opportunity to attend normal School could get a taste of the teaching and learning that went on there by taking part in a teacher's institute. A three week long Teachers' Institute, under the direction of the first principal of the Normal School, A. S. Welch, succeeded the dedication exercises in October 1852.¹⁷⁵ The Teachers' Institute, or temporary normal school, was attended by 250 Michigan teachers. The instructors at the institute were Normal School professors as well as local

¹⁷⁴ Isbell, 1971, p. 319-320.

¹⁷⁵ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1853.

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experienced teachers. The Teachers' Institute was a migratory form of normal education. It was expected that professors would periodically teach at one and that normal graduates would attend and lead them in various locales across the state, thereby "carrying throughout the State, and to the doors of the people of each section of the State—blessings and advantages of the permanent Normal School."¹⁷⁶

The Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction in Michigan issued a circular announcing the "Dedication of the State Normal School and Teachers' Institute, at Ypsilanti."

The permanent opening of the Institution for the reception of pupils will be preceded by the holding of a Teacher's Institute, at the Normal School, for four weeks successively after the dedication, and while citizens, parents and friends of Education are invited to attend and participate, the Teachers of the Primary Schools of this State are specially expected to attend. The exercises at the Institute will be free of expense to the Teachers, and it is expected that arrangements will be made with the officers of the Central and Southern Railroads, to extend to them the advantages of reduced rates of fare. Arrangements are expected to be made to accommodate all who attend, with as little expense to them as possible. Francis W. Shearman, *Sup't of Pub. Instruction, and Sec'y of Board of Education, Ex. Officio.*"¹⁷⁷

A Teachers' Institute is a temporary Normal School. Two hundred and fifty teachers participated in this three-week session. The teachers for the Institute were the "most experienced and able men who can be obtained from the ranks of the profession, either at home or from abroad." These experts "conduct its exercises after the most modern and approved methods of teaching." The Teachers' Institute was seen as an ongoing migratory educational project. Theoretically, Normal School graduates would be the instructors of future Institutes around the state. The Institutes were seen as tools for adding to the public's knowledge through lectures and discussion as well as auxiliary teacher training. "The more general object of these organizations is the advancement of

¹⁷⁶ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1853. p. 113

¹⁷⁷ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1853, p. 109-110

knowledge on all subjects connected with the Teacher's vocation."¹⁷⁸ Teachers and other participants listened to familiar lectures and participated in discussions related to the branches of study usually taught in primary schools. They learned about the best methods for imparting knowledge in these subjects through participation as learners. Theories and methods were examined through illustration and practical application.¹⁷⁹

Evening Lectures included the "Rev. H. N. Strong, upon Female Education."¹⁸⁰ At the close of the Institute the two hundred and fifty teachers who had descended upon Ypsilanti wrote a set of resolutions—mostly thanking the various people who made the institute possible. One of the resolutions reads, "Resolved, That the thanks of the Institute are due to the clergy men of Ypsilanti, by whose presence we have been encouraged, and to whom we are indebted for their daily prayers and religious exercises."¹⁸¹

Adonijah Welch

Adonijah S. Welch, Principal of the State Normal School and newly-elected President of the State Teachers' Association, delivered an address before the State Teachers' Institute titled, "What Constitutes the True Teacher?" His ideas and commitments helped shape the curriculum and instruction of the early Normal School and set a professional standard for teachers in mid-nineteenth century Michigan. Welch refers to teaching as a "profession," and he also refers to it as a "calling" when he claims that the establishment of Normal Schools is an indication "highly favorable to the elevation of our calling." Although Julia Anne King was just beginning high school in Adrian when Welch gave this address, he would become her professor and mentor, and the legacy of his ideas about teaching would pervade her early professional life.

¹⁷⁸ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1853, p. 113.

¹⁷⁹ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1853, p. 113.

¹⁸⁰ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1853, p. 115.

¹⁸¹ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1853, p. 119.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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Welch believed teachers needed to know more about what they were going to teach. He refers to ancient Athens when he says that men “dwelt long under the porch, or walked in the groves of the academy, listening to the accents of wisdom from the lips of such teachers as Zeno and Plato. They had a wise notion in those day, that the Teacher, before he instructs his pupils to soar, should be full-fledged himself.”¹⁸² Welch explains how ministry, law, medicine and other professions require the practitioner to be knowledgeable in the field before instructing others, but in teaching there is an anomaly. He believes teaching to be one of the highest and noblest professions but is disturbed by motley assembly of teachers in our nation’s schools.

Welch calls for teachers to value and maintain good health, so that it might spill over and afford them good spirits. “Unvarying cheerfulness, urbanity of manner, and kindness of feeling, are essential elements in the character of the true teacher. Nothing is more attractive to the pupil than the countenance of an instructor animated by good will; and nothing conduces more to this state of mind than uniform good health.” He continues that the true teacher will be “intellectually well educated. He makes clear that he does not mean mere mental furniture, but “that mental strength which is acquired by discipline.”¹⁸³ “To possess a systematic, well directed and mental activity—that habit of attention and reflection which, wherever directed, enables the student to probe the subject—the power of close, accurate, consecutive thought... such a student will show no slavish reliance upon textbooks, no servile deference to the conclusions of another...”¹⁸⁴ Welch wants independent thinkers, teachers with orientations toward knowledge that allow them to see themselves as knowledge creators not consumers.

Welch is disappointed in the common focus on the pecuniary. “How often is a course of training, which tends to produce a mental monstrosity, fixed upon from the

¹⁸² Welch, 1853, p. 122.

¹⁸³ Welch, 1853, p. 126.

¹⁸⁴ Welch, 1853, p. 127.

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mercenary question—‘will it pay?’ Will it pay? not in high aspirations for excellence—not in wide and generous views of life—not in an exquisite perception of the beautiful, the good, and the true—not in the elevated enjoyment found in all these, but in the paltry commodity of dollars and cents.”¹⁸⁵ Of course, professionals should be enumerated, but he sees so much more possibility and excitement in the teachers’ vocation.

Welch asks his audience, “What type of study should the teacher make of the subjects?” Perhaps it was King’s ruminations on queries such as this as a Normal School student under principal Welch, that first got her to think about the role of teacher as life long learner. Welch advised that, “In every branch of learning, he [the teacher] will aim for accuracy, rather than extent of knowledge. In every branch of learning, he will be mindful that it is not the memory of words, and facts and formulas, which gives finish to scholarship, but a thorough investigation of relations and reasons.”¹⁸⁶ These ideas were still considered cutting edge forty years later when King was a Normal School professor and professed these herself.

The teacher should impart instruction in “a manner which shall interest the pupil, guide him in the path to proficiency, and induce him to think for himself.”¹⁸⁷ Nothing is now more trite and widely acknowledged, than the fact that the pupil must be interested before he can make any considerable advancement...The only true motive for application, is the love of it.”¹⁸⁸ Welch knew that if a student is interested in something, he will apply himself to the subject at hand. The best way to motivate a student is to find something he truly cares about. Welch recommends leading the pupil through a step-by-

¹⁸⁵ Welch, 1853, p. 128.

¹⁸⁶ Welch, 1853, p. 129.

¹⁸⁷ Welch, 1853, p. 129.

¹⁸⁸ Welch, 1853, p. 130. It is hard to read Welch’s words from 1852 without thinking of John Dewey’s famous “Interest and Discipline” essay in *Democracy and Education*. The similarity is especially poignant because Dewey’s thoughts were considered revolutionary, and he wasn’t even born when Welch gave this speech.

step system of careful induction from the simple to the more abstract truths of science. Learning becomes a "succession of novelties which stimulate curiosity and rivet his attention, [and] the schoolroom is no longer a prison."¹⁸⁹

Welch didn't want to cater to students' interests and activities at the expense of mental challenge. His ultimate goal was to create original thinkers, so it was logical that he desired his students to reach a place where they could investigate and further their study independently.

As the object of education is to make original thinkers, that method is the best, which while it leaves nothing in the recitation unsifted, elicits the most thought from the pupil and the least explanation from the teacher. That lesson affords the severest mental exercise which is mastered by *unaided* effort (emphasis in original).¹⁹⁰

Welch was worried that some teachers depended too much on textbooks and that they had the impression they had "covered" material when they had assigned all the study questions.

Questions are not arranged on the margin of the text books for the true teacher, but for the drone. The mistaken idea has widely obtained, that when these are answered the subject is exhausted. Urge the pupil instead to an independent exposition of what he has learned. ...impress him with the fact that the greater benefit flows not from the possession of knowledge, but from that mental discipline which arises from his efforts to acquire it.¹⁹¹

Even though Welch demanded intellectually astute teachers, he knew that academic qualifications and didactic skill alone were by no means sufficient. In addition he desired that his teachers possess impressive moral qualities. "What a perfect antidote to the annoyances of the school room can be found in the graces of the Christian."¹⁹² Welch believed that in addition to the brainy requirements he enumerated, teachers should be pious community members with big hearts who could serve as models of virtue.

¹⁸⁹ Welch, 1853, p. 131.

¹⁹⁰ Welch, 1853, p. 131.

¹⁹¹ Welch, 1853, p. 131.

¹⁹² Welch, 1853, p. 132-133.

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Welch concluded his remarks to the teachers by urging them to “obedience of the old precept of the Greek—“Know thyself.” He instructed them to analyze their own characters, divest themselves of all narrow-minded prejudices, and extend constantly their range of thoughts. His closing plea: “never forget the well known maxim “as is the teacher, so is the school,” and let your motto be, *vivam benefacere*.”¹⁹³

Several years after Welch opened the Normal School as the inaugural Principal, he published *Object Lessons: For Teachers in Primary Schools and Primary Classes*¹⁹⁴. The series of Object Lessons contained in this volume was prepared for the experimental department of the Michigan State Normal School.¹⁹⁵ The Model or Experimental School of that time had two primary objectives: to give advanced classes at the Normal School practice teaching experience, and to furnish a preparatory course of study.¹⁹⁶ The book was intended to be used by teachers to supplement their regular curriculum so that they might better meet the “object of all primary instruction, namely, the cultivation of the senses of the pupil.”¹⁹⁷ In the preface it reads:

The first instruction given to the child in school should be based on the fact that his intellectual activity consists in seeing and hearing rather than in reasoning and reflecting. His restless curiosity about material things is natural and proper to childhood, and equally natural, also, is his aversion to abstract thinking. Any mode of teaching, therefore, which thwarts the former while it seeks to overcome the latter, is false in its philosophy and bad in its results.

Welch was committed to a teaching practice grounded in what he knew about child psychology and development. He credited Pestalozzi, an eminent Swiss teacher, with developing the order of instruction to which he subscribes and says that it has prevailed in the schools of Germany and England. He explains that the Object Method has not

¹⁹³ Welch, 1853, p. 135-136.

¹⁹⁴ Welch, 1862.

¹⁹⁵ Welch, 1862, p. iii. -iv.

¹⁹⁶ Putnam, 1899, p. 89.

¹⁹⁷ Welch, 1862, p. iv.

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caught on widely in our country because there is not a book that trains teacher in its methods. "But the want of a suitable book, from which teachers could learn the best methods of training the senses of children by means of their appropriate objects, has proved a serious obstacle to the introduction of the Pestalozzian system into our primary schools."¹⁹⁸ He proposes to fill that void.

In his preface, Welch thanks "friends who have kindly commended the work in advance, especially to Mr. Wells, Superintendent of the Public Schools of Chicago, and to Mr. Gregory, Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Michigan."¹⁹⁹

Welch was a well-connected educational leader. John M. Gregory, formerly head of a flourishing classical school in Detroit, worked with Welch and Haven to establish, under the auspices of the State Teachers' Association of which Welch and Gregory were both Presidents, the *Michigan Journal of Education*. Gregory edited this journal before taking on the Superintendency.²⁰⁰ William H. Wells studied at Samuel Hall's Teacher Seminary in Andover, MA. The Reverend Samuel R. Hall's private school, which he conducted as an adjunct to his work as a minister, was the first teacher-training school in the United States.²⁰¹ Wells then worked as Assistant to Henry Barnard, Secretary of the State Board of Education in Connecticut, and served as Principal of Westfield State Normal School in Massachusetts before answering the call to serve as Superintendent in Chicago. In 1861, Wells addressed the Michigan State Teachers' Association. Wells' experience was in and concern was for teacher education, and he was a respected Pestalozzian.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Welch, 1862, p. iii.

¹⁹⁹ Welch, 1862, p. iv.

²⁰⁰ Putnam, 1899, p. 335-336.

²⁰¹ Cubberley, 1920, p. 751.

²⁰² Herbst, 1989, p. 89.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Welch's Object Lessons were intended to give little children their first introduction to the schoolroom and included topics such as "the Features of the Face" or "the Alphabet in Drawing Lessons."²⁰³ He gave directions to young teachers that included,

3. If the lesson be on a visible object, always have that object at hand, where every child can inspect it.
4. Encourage the pupil to answer every question himself, and try to beget in him the habit of accuracy in expression.
8. Be thoroughly in earnest. Vivacity is diffusive; so is dullness. Indifference on the part of the class, will be due to the teacher.²⁰⁴

His manual had much help to the young teacher who had probably grown up in a less enlightened educational atmosphere.

Abigail Rogers

Abigail Rogers was hired to work with Welch as the first Preceptress at the Michigan State Normal School. Abigail Rogers instructed the Normal School students that they must, "Remember that it should be your object not so much to communicate mere knowledge, as to arouse and strengthen the intellect that it may be able to carry on the work of acquisition independently."²⁰⁵ She, like King and Welch, advocated teaching students how to learn rather than simply accumulating content.

Abigail Rogers, who had been appointed Assistant Principal of the Female Department of the Normal School and elected Vice President of the State Teachers' Association, also spoke at the Teachers' Institute in October 1852. After a lengthy, apologetic, beginning in which she gracefully humbles herself before the assembled

²⁰³ Welch, 1962, p. ix.

²⁰⁴ Welch, 1862, p. ix-x.

²⁰⁵ Rogers, 1853, p. 144.

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teachers, perhaps because it was not customary for women to speak in public, Rogers tells the teachers she hopes they depart from the Institute with “additional power to benefit others.”²⁰⁶ She spoke of sympathy, or putting oneself in the shoes of a child, in order to become his best teacher.

Sympathy with children is, I conceive, the secret of success in teaching them. It is the open sesame to their hearts. There is a depth in the child’s feelings which nothing but sympathy can fathom; and where this is wanting in a teacher, great talent and intense labor may be employed, I will not say absolutely in vain, but with very dubious success and feeble applause... You must throw into your work not your mind only but your heart also. If we would succeed in conveying instruction to the minds of others, we must participate in their pleasures and take pride in their improvements. We must become as a child in our own feelings. We must bring back the gentle remembrances of our youth, the half-forgotten delights of our childhood.”²⁰⁷

Rogers was a devoted Christian who was familiar with Jesus’ teachings. When Jesus’ disciples asked him “Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?” Jesus called a little child unto him, set him in the midst of them, and preached,

Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven. And whoso shall receive one such little child in my name receiveth me.²⁰⁸

Rogers describes what she considers to be a model teacher. He had “a spirit that was earnestly at work in the world, whose work was healthy, sustained and constantly carried forward in the fear of God—a work that was founded on a deep sense of its duty and its value.” The ideal teacher knows his work is important in God’s eyes and that God is his ultimate supervisor. Rogers berates teachers who are too concerned about order and who concentrate on mistakes rather than accomplishments. She compares their narrow management to the washing of the Pharisees, and says their rules are no more necessary to the schoolroom than the Pharisees were to devotion.²⁰⁹ The Pharisees

²⁰⁶ Rogers, 1853, p. 137.

²⁰⁷ Rogers, 1853, p. 138.

²⁰⁸ KJV, Matthew 18:1-5.

²⁰⁹ Rogers, 1853, p. 140.

observed many food laws and other ceremonial customs that Jesus proclaimed unnecessary.²¹⁰

With a good teacher, Rogers claims, "the school room instead of being regarded as an irksome den of imprisonment becomes the very hall of liberty."²¹¹ Rogers offered her beloved sister as a model of the intellectual and moral excellence required for good teaching.

Never was any call upon her intellect or her heart disregarded. It was her highest happiness, and her abundant reward to know that she lived only to serve and benefit others. That her own sex should be educated and elevated was her most anxious wish, and to this end was directed the labors of her life... May you, like her, be ever ready to bear the burdens of others.²¹²

She sees no contradiction in a woman who fights for equal treatment of her sex and who submits to bear the burdens of others. Her theology, and therefore educational philosophy, included a belief, like King's, in the equality of all humankind, regardless of male or female. It also included a desire to humble oneself and serve others as Jesus did. Therefore, the Rogers sisters were not really feminists, in the modern sense of the word, they were simply thoughtful Christians trying to do their best to fulfill God's call in their lives. Rogers even sees the pursuit of knowledge in its highest forms as a religious act.

We cannot wonder at the exquisite construction and wonderful capacity of that intellect with which our Creator has endowed us, in common with the most highly gifted of our race, and an anxiety and ambition to cultivate it to the highest degree, should animate us as it has, in every age, animated the wisest and best of our species.²¹³

Rogers refers to teaching as a career of improvement, and she hopes that the teachers will constitute a band of intellectual laborers. In this case she means both that teachers help others improve and that they should strive to improve themselves. She

²¹⁰ KJV, Mark 7:1-23.

²¹¹ Rogers, 1853, p. 141.

²¹² Rogers, 1853, p. 144.

²¹³ Rogers, 1853, p. 145.

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cautions them not be lulled into thinking they have arrived, but to constantly challenge themselves to greater heights.

Never flatter yourselves into the conceit that your education is accomplished, and that you have reached the point where the labor of mental culture may properly cease. ... Perform your appointed work "with a deep and constantly abiding sense of your responsibility to a higher than any earthly tribunal."²¹⁴

Rogers' tone and message sound very similar to the teaching of the female seminaries.

She was a student in the Female Department at Wesleyan Seminary. Leaders of girls' schools also criticized mechanical methods of instruction and mere memorization.

Teachers like Emma Willard of Troy Female Seminary wrote textbooks describing their new methods that did away with competition and corporal punishment.²¹⁵ The Michigan State Normal School faculty were part of a larger international conversation about teaching, learning, female education, and teacher education. This diverse body of educators was more thoughtful, their theories were more progressive, and their goals were more liberatory than education historians give them credit for.

John M. B. Sill

When Julia Anne King graduated from the Normal School, Professor Sill addressed her class. Sill was a member of the first graduating class and had studied under Welch as a high school student as well. He continued on to serve as Superintendent of the Detroit Public Schools, principal of the Detroit Female Seminary, and Principal of the Normal School [see chart on principals' lives], but in 1858, he was a young Professor of English Literature and Language.

²¹⁴ Rogers, 1853, p. 145.

²¹⁵ Tyack and Hansot, 1990, p. 40.

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Regarding teacher education, Sill claimed, "The art of teaching is a rare endowment, yet there are few who possess the capability of acquiring knowledge, who cannot by diligent effort gain the power to successfully impart it."²¹⁶ He admitted that some truly wonderful teachers are born with their gifts, but that most of us, if we apply ourselves, can learn to teach well.

Sill knew that balancing the duties of the schoolroom world and the world outside was difficult. He encouraged young teachers not to center all their hopes and cares in the world over which they preside and to become ignorant and neglectful of the things that concern every law-abiding citizen. Sill believed teachers should "fearlessly utter our opinions on all suitable occasions, and come squarely up to our duties at the ballot-box and elsewhere." He knew this was debatable ground, but asked,

Will not the most conservative admit it is better and more manful to hold fixed and well considered opinions and to maintain them quietly but unflinchingly, than to be tossed hither and thither by the fickle gale of public sentiment? and who does not know that the bitterest partisan will give us more honor for holding adverse opinions than for holding none at all?²¹⁷

After instructing the teachers about their obligations to participate in the civic arena, Sill turned to other uses of non-teaching time. He recommended having friends and spending time outside of school. He also lectured the graduates on the importance of continued study. He proclaimed, "No mind can bear the tax of continued expenditure unless it receive fresh supplies from living fountains of knowledge. Remember then, that the education which you have here initiated will, if you are true to yourselves, end only when life ends."²¹⁸ Instead of seeing their graduation from professional education as an end, Sill sees it as a beginning, an initiation into a life long quest for understanding.

²¹⁶ Sill, 1858, p. 378-379.

²¹⁷ Sill, 1858, p. 380.

²¹⁸ Sill, 1858, p. 381

First Teachings

In the Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1855-58, there appears the text to "First Teachings" *A Paper read by a Lady of the last Graduating Class of the Normal School, in March, 1858.*²¹⁹ The exact author is unknown, but there were only five women in the graduating class: Julia A. King, Harriet A. Farrand, Louisa Clark, Addie S. Bradner, and Elvira Allen.²²⁰ At the time of their graduation, Julia Anne King wrote, in addition to "Life Work," an essay titled, "Meanwhile," which I could not locate. First Teachings serves as an illustration of what the young graduates had learned and were thinking about teaching.

The first proposition offered in this piece is that the eye and the ear are the principle avenues of approach to the mind, and, as such, should be first cultivated. The young author then compares what she thinks of as best practice with what she has seen to be the case in district schools. Unfortunately, though not surprising, theory and practice are not in line. She suggests that instead of requiring the children to memorize long columns of words, teachers should develop their "perceptive faculties." For example, if children play with reflective surfaces, teach them about light; if they capture bugs, teach them the habits and properties of spiders and flies, etc. When they are outdoors they should be encouraged to observe the natural world in an effort to stimulate their desire for knowledge about it.

She discusses the need to develop the "power of conception." By this she means the ability to conceive of the author's meaning. She explains that if teachers "explained the circumstances in which [the piece] was written, the locality described and the various persons alluded to," the students would have been able to read the piece with better understanding. She offers a second example in drawing, which she claims is "another means of cultivating conception." For example, if students draw picture maps of

²¹⁹ First Teachings, 1858, p. 382.

²²⁰ Putnam, 1899, p. 296.

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landscapes they are familiar with preceding their study of geography, they will more easily form a conception of the earth's surface.²²¹

This young scholar echoed Abigail Rogers' sentiments five years earlier when she claimed "The great fault in our present system of education is its *superficiality* (emphasis in original). Scholars are hurried over too much, thus not only failing to acquire the knowledge they might, but forming habits which will preclude future intellectual culture."²²² She has learned to be self-critical in her practice: "Very much of the child's interest in school depends upon the teacher."²²³ She has learned to look beyond the mental activity of the child and to appreciate "the fact that the child has a physical, a sensitive, and a moral nature." To develop sound bodies she recommends schools be fitted with the means for exercise, to cultivate refined tastes she suggests arranging the school yard to gratify the pupil's love of beauty, and to instill pure moral principles she advocates daily teaching and enforcement of self-denial and attention to any deviation from the path of truthfulness.²²⁴ It seems this young teacher has learned well the lessons that her Professors have taught. She honors her new profession and is anxious to do good in the world.

King and her contemporaries from the Michigan State Normal School of the 1850s all considered themselves professionals and approached their work with the vigor and disposition that would earn them that title today. Even though they tried to focus on the ministry aspects of teaching, they were conscious of teachers' salaries and advocated for their peers to receive more pay. In 1854, an author in the *Michigan Journal of Education and Teachers' Magazine*, listed only as E. O. H. (presumably Dr. E. O. Haven of the State University who collaborated with Welch and Gregory to produce and edit the

²²¹ *First Teachings*, 1858, p. 384.

²²² *First Teachings*, 1858, p. 385.

²²³ *First Teachings*, 1858, p. 385.

²²⁴ *First Teachings*, 1858, p. 385-386.

first *Michigan Journal of Education*),²²⁵ reports that teacher salaries in Michigan have been raised within the last few years, perhaps as much as fifty percent. This is as it should be, because, "No man will do his best as a teacher unless his heart is in it, and that cannot be unless he intends to make it his profession, and depend upon his success in it for his position and support." According to this article, teaching and ministry have a great deal in common.

We [the members of the Michigan State Teachers' Association, who published this magazine] aspire to use what influence we have, not only to elevate them [teachers] in public estimation, but to increase their own respect for their calling. ... The salary should be sufficient to command men of talent and enterprise, and to ensure to the economical an increase in property, and then the man of thought can devote himself with heart to his life work.²²⁶

The author advocates teachers becoming genuine scholars and thereby helping themselves in their calling and also honoring the profession.

A Single Purpose Institution

Even though the Normal School provided an education of collegiate-caliber to King and other graduates who stayed for the full three-year course, the founders also built a curriculum which was flexible enough to meet the needs of students who simply needed to brush up on basic subjects. Being familiar with the basic subjects one was going to teach was considered of primary importance. Even so, the main objective was not to simply present the grammar school curriculum to students; instead, Normal School professors hoped to introduce students to ways of thinking about subject matter teaching that would help them when they were in charge of classrooms. Even in the third year of the Classical Course, students who were studying things that were commonly taught in colleges learned their lessons from a professor whose main job was to prepare them to teach.

²²⁵ Putnam, 186, p. 41-42.

²²⁶ Haven, E. O. 1854. p. 47.

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The early Michigan State Normal School did not want to offer a curriculum equivalent to the university. Rather, the Normal School was a single-purpose institution committed to educating teachers for the state's schools. Richard Edwards, President of the Illinois State Normal University, captured this purpose when he said that, the idea of future teaching "is the Alpha and Omega of schemes of study and modes of thought."²²⁷ This influential normal school president was also a minister, and when talking about the purposes of normal education he makes a scriptural reference. The Revelation of John, the final book in the Bible, reads: "'I am the Alpha and the Omega', says the Lord God, who is and who was and who is to come, the sovereign Lord of all."²²⁸ Just as Edwards saw reverence for God as the goal of a Christian life, he saw attention to the fact that normal students were going to become teachers as the guiding light in normal education.

Adonijah Welch, first principal of the Michigan State Normal School, shared Edward's view. Welch believed

No amount of textbook knowledge as such, no memory of straggling undigested facts or details--no skimming of the area of knowledge of whatever sort, can make the genuine scholar or the independent thinker. It is rather by investigating the relations of *facts* and *things*--by a close scrutiny of the reasons on which opinions are founded . . . that the student, at last, attains to a genuine cultivation of the intellect.²²⁹

He emphasized the importance of a balanced education, insisting that the function of the true teacher is to educate the whole mind. The founders of the Normal School believed that an education that constantly required students to think about the relationships between individuals, subject matter, schools and society was good preparation for teaching. The curricular sequence at the Normal included all of the common subjects taught in schools, and it also had courses similar to those taught in colleges. In the 1850s-1870s, students at the Normal studied philosophy, mathematics, rhetoric, and

²²⁷ Edwards, 1865, quoted in Borrowman, p. 24.

²²⁸ Rev. 1:8

²²⁹ Isbell, 1971, p. 20-21.

literature. Only on Sunday afternoons, when the principal spoke, did they focus exclusively on pedagogy. Even then, the emphasis was on theory and not specific strategies.

Michigan State Normal School was a single-purpose institution during at least the first few decades of its existence. Michigan does not fit into the regional generalizations historians have made about normal schools. In Wisconsin multiple normal schools opened in small rural towns. There were few high schools at the time, and so students who wished to pursue their education, or who could not afford to make the trip to Madison for university studies, enrolled at the normals, whether they wanted to be teachers or not. In Michigan a single Normal School was located in Ypsilanti, a city which already boasted one of the state's early high schools, and which was only fifteen miles from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Evidence from alumni records suggests the vast majority of students did, in fact, teach in the public schools upon graduation [see chart].²³⁰

In obedience to a requirement of the Board of Education, every pupil of the Normal School signed the following declaration as a condition of membership: "We, the subscribers, do hereby declare that it is our intention to devote ourselves to the business of teaching in the schools of this State, and that our object in resorting to this Normal School, is the better to prepare ourselves for the discharge of this important duty."²³¹ Whether or not students dedicated themselves to school teaching upon graduation, this declaration served as an important unifying concept when designing the curriculum.

Generally whatever subject is taught in classes is given with reference to the best methods of teaching it together with the pedagogic axioms applicable to each step, by which to test the correctness of the methods... Differing in this respect from mere Academic Instruction, the chief aim of which is attainment of knowledge concerning the subject of study only with an incidental, often uncertain aim at what is called "Mental discipline." We cannot well dispense with a curriculum having the Form of

²³⁰ See chart of classes of 1857 and 1858.

²³¹ Welch, 1858. p.37 0-71.

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the "Academic." ...Consider the material out of which Teachers are to be developed, and is it not evident to the judicious that each step of progress through any branch of study is an occasion for impressing a method or applying a pedagogic axiom, not so surely within the attainment of the pupil, when the occasion is but memory? Our method enables us to begin this kind of professional training with our earliest classes and continue it through the entire course.²³²

It was clear to the faculty why students were there and what they needed to be able to do.

That normal students only devoted a few years to teaching is not a reflection on the quality of the education they received or their commitment to serving children. Many knew and believed in the original purposes of normal education, but they found the society outside of the normal did not support their aims. Most normal school students were women who chose to marry and raise families. Richard Edwards, President of the Illinois Normal University (1862-1876), noted that it would be inappropriate to fault the institution for having graduates who followed accepted social norms (and sometimes the law). Men who graduated from normal schools also often taught for only a few years. However, they usually left the classroom to enter administration or other professions. Just as women cannot be faulted for choosing marriage and motherhood in a society in which those were considered the most important roles a woman could occupy, men should not be faulted for choosing to become doctors, lawyers or scientists in a society where one cannot earn as much money, or the respect of one's peers, as a teacher.²³³

King's Connections

Later in life Julia Anne King expressed sorrow that teachers were not often enough the social leaders that they were in past times.²³⁴ For example, all of the nineteenth century Principals of the Michigan State Normal School were involved in some sort of social reform work in addition to their work at the Normal School. Some served as senators or ambassadors while others worked rehabilitating criminals or at

²³² Putnam, 1899, p. 56.

²³³ Loomis, 1932.

²³⁴ Goodrich, 1919, p. 9.

insane asylums. My investigation of King and the Normal School reveals a group of influential male leaders who combined political power, religious zeal, and nurturing pedagogy. Schooled before the Industrial Revolution and the rise of the university, these men were ministers, statesmen, teachers, and scholars. They supported advanced study for all God's children and believed men and women could work side by side in Christian communities. These civic-minded servants were strong advocates of women's education and were often the husbands or fathers of women who were active in social movements.

The Normal School gave future teachers an opportunity to be part of a learning community in which students and their professors examined, practiced, and debated a wide range of issues related to pedagogy. Even those teachers who did not enroll at the Normal School were connected to the Normal School and its professors through the State Teacher's Association, various publications in which both teachers and professors published articles, and teacher's institutes. Institutes were extended teacher in-service workshops that Normal School professors led for a few days or a few weeks. These were more accessible to teachers than full-blown normal education, and they served as a bridge between the theories studied at the Normal School and the everyday lives of the state's teachers. Normal school professors concentrated on how to translate theory into practice.

In the early Normal School boundaries between teachers, administrators, scholars and policy-makers were fluid, and there was little differentiation in professional credentials, organizations, and preparation. In teaching, this made it possible for women teachers to have conversations with male leaders. For example, Horace Mann and Henry Barnard were in attendance at the annual meeting of the Michigan State Teachers' Association in 1854. Alongside these "fathers of American education" were women teachers like Mrs. Lucinda Hinsdale Stone and Miss Abigail Rogers who were involved in the State Teachers' Association since its beginning in 1852. At the annual meeting in December of 1865, President Richard Edwards of the Illinois Normal University, two

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professors from Yale College, and Miss Ruth Hoppin, a professor at the Michigan State Normal School, all presented papers.²³⁵

Along this same vein, the highest public office in the field of education in the state of Michigan was the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The men who held this post were intricately and in some cases intimately connected to the Michigan State Normal School where King prepared to teach and later taught. For example, Ira Mayhew, the fourth Superintendent (1845-49, and 1855-58), helped found the Normal School.²³⁶ Theodore Nelson taught English at the Normal School in 1885.²³⁷ Ferris Fitch, State Superintendent in 1891-92, graduated from the Normal School in 1873.²³⁸ Edwin Willits, member of the State Board of Education (1860-1872), became Principal of the Normal School (1883-1885). The following members of the Board of Education were graduates of the Normal School: James Ballou (Board 1884-1890, class of 1862), Samuel Babcock (Board 1886-1892, class of 1865), and David Hammond (Board 1890-96, class of 1878).²³⁹

While the professional community to which King belonged was fostered by the Normal School in an effort to promote excellent practice, it was also a network that could help King get ahead professionally. She was awarded teaching positions and asked to take on professional responsibilities because she knew the people who controlled the educational establishment in Michigan. She earned a reputation for excellence among her Normal School classmates and teachers, and the connections she established at Normal served her well. Her friends became teachers, teachers became principals, principals became professors, professors became state officials (not necessarily in that order), and as one reads through the annual reports of Michigan's schools in the mid-

²³⁵Putnam, 1877.

²³⁶ Putnam, 1899, p. 333.

²³⁷ Putnam, 1899, p. 345.

²³⁸ Putnam, 1899, p. 298, 346.

²³⁹ Putnam, 1899, p. 356-358.

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nineteenth century, it seems that everyone knew everyone else. Many of the men who served as principal of the Normal School also served as the president of the State Teachers' Association or as the Superintendent of Public Instruction [see chart].

For example, in her first job, teaching in St. Clair, King was supervised by J. M. Gregory, Superintendent of Public Instruction. A few years later Gregory left his post as Superintendent to become Principal at Kalamazoo College, and he invited King to become Principal of Ladies there. At the same time, Daniel Putnam was a professor at Kalamazoo College. Fifteen years later, Putnam was a professor and acting principal at the Michigan State Normal School when King was asked to become Preceptress there. Putnam was a friend of Lucinda Hinsdale Stone who King replaced as Principal of Ladies; they worked together with Abigail Rogers, first preceptress at the normal school, in the State Teacher's Association to rally for women's admittance to the University of Michigan. J. M. B. Sill, King's professor of English Language and Literature when she was a student, was her colleague when she became a professor at the Normal. When he became principal, he named her head of the History Department.

Colleagues of King's also had interwoven lives. In 1858, before she came to the Normal School, Ruth Hoppin became preceptress of the Three Rivers [MI] Union Schools of which William H. Payne was principal. "To awaken a local interest in education Mr. Payne invited State Superintendent Gregory to conduct a teacher's institute at Three Rivers. Accompanying Mr. Gregory came Professors Olney of Kalamazoo, and Sill and Welch of Ypsilanti. Taking a prominent part in the institute was the young woman from Oberlin [Hoppin]."²⁴⁰ Professor Payne later organized and filled the chair of "The Science and the Art of Teaching," at the University of Michigan. In a letter Miss Genevieve Walton, librarian of the Michigan State Normal College, wrote, "May I

²⁴⁰ Alford, 1974, p. 18.

suggest that Miss Hoppin's close acquaintance and work with William H. Paine [sic], who was one of our great American educators, must have given her a feeling for our great educational problems which few women of her time—or even later—possessed."²⁴¹

The Michigan State Teachers' Association was, from its inception, an organization that sought to support and elevate teachers and their profession. They were a diverse group of schoolteachers, and normal school, college, and university professors. From the beginnings of the organization in the 1850s, the members considered topics such as "Teaching as a Profession" and the position, rights, and duties of teachers.²⁴² The interest of the body in the State Normal School and in every practical form of professional education for teachers was kept alive and vigorous through all the earlier periods of its existence [up until the 1870s].

The Michigan State Teachers' Association was formed during the first teacher's institute at the founding of the Normal School. They adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, The cause of education in this State demands efficient organization to advance its various interests, and to secure greater harmony and concert of action among its friends; Resolved, That we who subscribe our names to this resolution, hereby form ourselves into a State Teacher's Association, which shall be auxiliary to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and the State Normal School.²⁴³

At this time, educators moved between positions on the State Board of Education, professorships at the Normal, and positions of leadership in the State Teachers' Association. These organizations saw themselves as supporting one another and not in competition with or opposition to each other. Various committees were established. The committees mostly had to do with the "best methods of teaching" the various school

²⁴¹ Alford, 1974, p. 17.

²⁴² Putnam, 1877. p. 10

²⁴³ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1853, p. 120.

subjects, but one committee was devoted to “Wages of Female Teachers.” Misses Farley and Loomis and Mr. J.M.B. Sill, who was a professor at, and would one day be, President of the Normal School, served on that committee.²⁴⁴

At the State Teachers’ Association meeting in Detroit in 1854, a long and carefully drawn report upon the “Professional Spirit among teachers,” was read by Prof. J. F. Cary. In this paper the condition of the teacher’s calling was set forth.²⁴⁵

WHEREAS, The cause of popular education, and the best interests of our schools demand an increase of, and a higher standard of professional teachers;
Resolved, That we earnestly commend the profession to the consideration of young men of talent and learning, as one that is useful and honorable, and one that ought to be considered among the learned professions;
Resolved, That we urge teachers to maintain the dignity of the profession by higher mental cultivation and preparation for the office, and then boldly demand an enumeration for their labors according to their value.

It seems exciting that at such an early date a group of influential educators were rallying for high standards, talented applicants, and fair salary; however, Normal School Principal Welch thought “the efforts to establish teaching a profession by law must be a total failure. He claimed, “No Legislature could elevate a teacher; the teacher must do this for himself.”²⁴⁶

In the mid-1870s something started to change in the State Teachers’ Association. Daniel Putnam, who studied at Dartmouth and Amherst before becoming a Professor at Kalamazoo College and then the Normal School, believed that the changes in the State teachers’ Association were linked to the changes taking place at the University and in its relation to the rest of the public school system.

²⁴⁴ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1853, p. 121.

²⁴⁵ Putnam, 1877, p. 55.

²⁴⁶ Putnam, 1877, p. 56.

The relations of the University to the colleges, as well as to the public schools, have been steadily and rapidly changing. The great development of the University and of the high schools, and the comparably slow advance of the colleges, have rendered this change inevitable. This changed relationship of the institutions has effected, no doubt unconsciously in many cases, but unavoidably, a corresponding change in the relations of their faculties and teachers to a general State Education Society.

Putnam recognized that his former colleagues from the University of Michigan were enjoying a rise in their prestige and were no longer willing or able to mix with mere teachers. In the earlier years of the Association men and women from all levels of education participated in the Association.

For example, Dr. Tappan, then President of the University participated freely in the discussion at the fifth annual meeting of the State Teachers' Association in 1857, and, at the 1861 meeting of the same, he delivered an address.²⁴⁷ Henry Barnard was present at the third annual meeting of the Michigan State Teachers' Association.²⁴⁸ William H. Payne, who eventually became the first Professor of Education at the University of Michigan, was active in the State Teachers' Association while he was serving as principal in Three Rivers, Niles, and Ypsilanti, and superintendent in Adrian.²⁴⁹ In this capacity, he served on the Committee of Visitors to inspect and report on the Normal School in 1876 with Julia Anne King.²⁵⁰ Richard Edwards, President of Illinois Normal University addressed the Association at the annual meeting in 1865 on "Sources of Personal Influence."²⁵¹ Dr. E. O. Haven of the University of Michigan delivered an address in 1859 on "The American System of Education, and again in 1866 on "The School, the

²⁴⁷ Putnam, 1876, p. 14, 17.

²⁴⁸ Putnam, 1876, p.11.

²⁴⁹ Putnam, 1876.

²⁵⁰ *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan, 1877.* p. 130.

²⁵¹ Putnam, 1876, p. 22.

Pulpit, and the Press.”²⁵² At the Annual Meeting in 1858, Mrs. Stone of Kalamazoo read a paper to introduce the discussion on “The Relation of the Sexes in Education.”²⁵³ In 1866, Rev. Geo. B. Jocelyn lectured on “Woman—Her Education” and Prof. J. Bengal read a paper on the “Co-education of the Sexes.”²⁵⁴ In 1875 the Rev, Dr. Jocelyn of Albion spoke upon the question of “The Bible in Schools.”²⁵⁵ In 1868, Prof H. L. Wayland gave a lecture on “Woman and her Destiny,” and a resolution was passed favoring the admission of women to the University. This was the first meeting where Miss Julia King is mentioned in the proceedings—she gave a paper on “Teaching Outside of Textbooks.”²⁵⁶ At the Annual Meeting in 1864, the Hon. J.M. Gregory addressed the Association on the “Relation of Christianity to Education.”²⁵⁷ In 1865 he spoke about “The Life and Character of Dr. Francis Wayland.”²⁵⁸ This was likely a memorial to Wayland (1796-1865) who died that year. Wayland was President of Brown University (1827-55) and the nation’s leading Baptist educator.²⁵⁹ He was well known for his teaching, textbooks, preaching, and reform activities, but one of his greatest contributions was his 1850 proposal for a radical expansion of the Brown curriculum in order to fill the educational needs, as he saw them, of merchants, farmers, and manufacturers.²⁶⁰

The State Teachers’ Association counted among its accomplishments during its first 20 years, the establishment of the County Superintendency of Schools, “the opening

²⁵² Putnam, 1876, p. 15, 22.

²⁵³ Putnam, 1876, p. 14.

²⁵⁴ Putnam, 1876, p. 22-23.

²⁵⁵ Putman, 1876, p. 36.

²⁵⁶ Putnam, 1876, p. 25.

²⁵⁷ Putnam, 1876, p. 20.

²⁵⁸ Putnam, 1876, p. 22.

²⁵⁹ Goodlad, et. al., 1990, p. 118.

²⁶⁰ Hofstadter and Smith, 1961, p. 334.

of all State institutions of learning, from the lowest to the highest, to all the inhabitants of the State without regard to race or sex,” and “the abolition of the ‘rate bill’ and the establishment of a system of common schools absolutely and really ‘free’ to every child in the Commonwealth.”²⁶¹

With this impressive early history, it must have been painful to Daniel Putnam and the other Normal School professors and public school teachers to see their friends and mentors step away from the fold. Putnam explained that,

The change is one to be felt rather than described in words, but none the less real, and none the less sure to produce legitimate results. One of these results has been the gradual withdrawal from the Association of a class of men who had been accustomed to participate freely in its exercises, and to exert a strong influence in its management.²⁶²

He knows the State Teachers’ Association will falter without the leadership of these fine intellectuals. Ironically, he credits the success of the university as one of the downfalls of the Association. During the 1870s there was a growing impression that the Association was not accomplishing all that it ought to accomplish; that it was not exerting that influence which legitimately belonged to it, upon the educational institutions and character of the State. The Association was no longer, as it ought to be, a grand educational force, helping largely to fashion public sentiment, and to direct public action.²⁶³ This is an agenda worthy of a full-fledged profession, but without the brotherhood of their university peers, the teachers of the state were no longer able to attain these goals.

²⁶¹ Putnam, 1876, p. 18.

²⁶² Putnam, 1877, p. 28.

²⁶³ Putnam, 1877, p. 37-38

Other changes in the educational system were also brewing. *The Michigan Teacher* was a journal of the State Teacher's Association. Julia Anne King's paper that she read before the membership was published in this teacher's journal.²⁶⁴ *The Michigan Teacher* was commenced by W. H. Payne and C. L. Whitney at Niles. It moved several times, and experienced a variety of editors. In 1876, it "disappeared by absorption into a new educational paper just commencing its existence in the city of Chicago." The tendency of the times in journalism was to consolidation. An educational monthly, called *The School*, was published from 1872-1876 by the faculty at the Normal School. In the last issue it explained: "*The School* has become one of eight or ten monthlies of the great Northwest which have been consolidated into the *Educational Weekly*, published by Winchell & Klein, Chicago."²⁶⁵ As prominent universities established Schools of Education, and began to sponsor professional educational journals, there were becoming fewer local avenues for common school and Normal School teachers to publish their ideas or read about the work of other teachers' from their local region.²⁶⁶

Transition to Normal College

The place of pedagogy within the Normal School changed around the turn of the century, but King's old-fashioned orientations endured. As the Normal School looked to the university for guidance, it set up its academic departments based on the university's model. It was no longer assumed everyone attending the Normal School intended to become a teacher, and pedagogy was no longer the single-minded aim of the whole institution. Instead, it was separated off into its own department, much like history or

²⁶⁴ King, 1869.

²⁶⁵ Putnam, 1899, p. 208.

²⁶⁶ Putnam, 1877.

biology. During this time King published in nationally distributed journals, spoke at professional organizations, and described her approach to teaching history as similar to the “scientific method.”²⁶⁷ However, she still turned to the Bible when choosing lessons for the graduating class of 1915.²⁶⁸ She spoke on *Living as a Factor in Education* as if all the graduates were Christians, and would be teachers. She encouraged them to have sympathy for the child-mind and avoid requiring the memorization of facts. She challenged them to think about the social heredity of mankind and to consider relations with and service to others more important than themselves. She talked about the necessity for continued intellectual and growth and of the contributions they each could make.

During the later years of her life a striking characteristic of Miss King might be termed her progressive conservatism, or conservative progressiveness. She observed defects or weaknesses in the old order, in pedagogics, historiography, in civics and even morals and religion. She desired and endeavored to remedy these. But she was not a wild iconoclast determined to smash everything that was old and imperfect. Instead she recognized and honored the truth which had been confirmed by the experience of the ages and deliberately and cautiously proceeded to eliminate the errors and correct the mistakes which experience had revealed. In her earlier years perhaps she looked more for faults, but in the later she looked more for the eternally true. The result was that she became a wise and trusted counselor “up to the times” in all things true and good.²⁶⁹

With the birth of the modern university came changes in the ways gender was constructed, and many of those qualities that characterized the early Normal School—such as religious community, child study, integration, and relational ways of knowing—became associated with femininity, and were, therefore, deemed less favorable than those elements deemed “masculine”: science, specialization, individualism and management. The Normal Schools’ previous affiliation with the egalitarian and

²⁶⁷ King, 1893b.

²⁶⁸ King, 1915.

²⁶⁹ Newspaper clippings re: King, 1919. BHL

evangelical common schools provided King with opportunities that young women no longer enjoyed in the new Normal College with its man-centered mentality and its meritocratic rhetoric.²⁷⁰

Religious ways of knowing were no longer valued; science trumped faith in the upwardly mobile college. Rather than principals who were ministers and professors who studied pedagogy and worked for social reform, the Normal College hired administrators with expertise and faculty with Ph.D.s. The once powerful curriculum that integrated academic and professional studies became elective classes in specialized departments and separate professional classes. The original institution with the single-minded aim—to educate teachers—became a multi-purpose college where teachers were still educated, but where very different notions of pedagogy and professionalism shaped their life work.

Much of our contemporary understanding of the history of teacher education is based on a belief in the “technical” character of the normal schools. Merle Borrowman described the technical as “the necessity to train individuals to perform efficiently the technical tasks assigned to them” and the liberal as “the need to make certain that each person systematically considers the far-flung implications of his vocational and avocational decisions.”²⁷¹ In the 1990 *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education*, Wayne Urban suggests that we use Borrowman’s terms as orienting mechanisms and think of the “formal, conscious attempts at teacher education that began in the mid-nineteenth century as composed of varying degrees of ‘liberal’ and ‘technical’ studies.”²⁷² However, there are problems with clinging to this dichotomy.

Julia Anne King’s life demonstrates that the Michigan State Normal School’s curriculum was *not* characterized by a bifurcation of the liberal and the technical. The curriculum reflected a belief that learning to be a teacher was deeply embedded in the

²⁷⁰ Clifford, 1983, p. 5.

²⁷¹ Borrowman, 1953, p. vii.

²⁷² Urban, 1990, p. 59.

content of the liberal arts, not in separate technical skills. Part of learning about the liberal arts in an institution committed to preparing teachers was learning about how to teach them. In the early days, all subjects at the Normal School were taught with the future teacher in mind.

Technical education emphasizes systemic efficiency while liberal education emphasizes individual meaning making. While both are necessary in order for a school to function, too much emphasis on the technical can impede the liberal, hence the criticism of the normal schools. Fortunately, attention to the liberal does not, at least in the case of teaching, limit the technical. Instead, thoughtful emphasis on the liberal should lead to even better technical results. This was the theory on which the Michigan State Normal School curriculum was founded.

In Geraldine Clifford's study of schools of education, she also found that "the earliest advocates of the systemic study of education possessed an organic view of the task before them: that the academic pursuit of science and all that it promised was consistent with, and indeed necessary to, strictly professional ends."²⁷³ This was King's experience and perspective. The classical liberal arts education King received, and in turn provided for the teachers she taught, was based on the understanding that academic (liberal) or subject matter knowledge is embedded in, not opposed to, professional (technical) or pedagogical knowledge. Reading, discussing, writing about, and debating the great issues raised in Homer, Virgil, Cicero, Horace, and Euripides were considered good preparation for a teacher. Normal students observed and helped with lessons at the Demonstration School,²⁷⁴ but it was not until the second term of the third year that one of

²⁷³ Clifford, 1986, p. 427- 466.

²⁷⁴ The Demonstration School was the school where normal students did their observations and practice teaching. It was, at varying times, and reflecting the normal faculty's conception of its purpose, also called the Model School, the Practice School, and the Lab School.

the five required classes in the Classical Course focused explicitly on the “theory and practice of teaching.”²⁷⁵

Cremin and Butts explain how, in the mid-nineteenth century there was conservative reaction to the demand for an expanded, more practical education. Some conservatives saw the time honored classical curriculum as the perfect means for enlarging the mind and training its powers.²⁷⁶ Cremin and Butts group the “conservatives,” who were in favor of a classical curriculum and against the expansion of the secondary curriculum, with the “conservatives” who were in favor of reading, writing and ciphering without attention to students’ interests and activities. However, at the Michigan State Normal School these two categories did not fit together. King studied a classical curriculum and learned about innovative pedagogical approaches. The move towards electives and more practical courses has been considered “liberal,” but studying Ovid and Livy and such in the Normal School promoted skills, dispositions, and orientations toward knowledge that prepared them to think critically about the enduring dilemmas of public life, and, in this sense, it was the means to a liberating end.

In the early 1860s the Normal School faculty debated about what should be offered, and to whom, in the way of foreign languages. As liberal arts colleges instituted modern languages, so did the Normal School. Shortly there after, they questioned their decision. The debates that surrounded the inclusion of modern languages in the curriculum were 1) do the changes at the colleges, from classical to modern, fit with the goals of teacher education? 2) Do people preparing to teach elementary and secondary school need the same courses? 3) Should public schools teach modern languages?²⁷⁷ In 1876, in her capacity as Superintendent of Schools in Charlotte, King served on a Board of Visitors to evaluate the Michigan State Normal School. She and the two other visitors

²⁷⁵ See chart with King’s course of study.

²⁷⁶ Cremin and Butts, 1953, p. 223.

²⁷⁷ Isbell, 1971.

wrote “we regret that our duty requires us to condemn what seems to us an unjustifiable use of this department [modern languages] of the Normal School . . . we earnestly recommend that this institution be held steadily to its proper course—that it devote itself exclusively to the education and training of teachers for the public schools.”²⁷⁸

This is probably an accurate reflection of King’s stance, as the men she served on the Board with were her professional equals and she was known for being willing to argue and of being capable of holding her own in debate. The reason the language department was deemed out of line is not that King and her colleagues were opposed to curriculum that was distinct from pedagogical study. In fact, King herself returned to the Normal School to study modern languages and, subsequently, taught modern languages in the high school. Instead, their condemnation is related to the contest between the classical and the modern, which was especially strong when it came to languages. The fact that Normal students had an option to enroll in modern languages courses was associated with the new elective curriculum that dominated the colleges in the late nineteenth century. The committee’s reprimand was more about the direction they saw the college moving—away from preparing teachers and towards a multi-purpose college. Modern languages, as an option in college study, were associated with the new, “elective” curriculum that dominated the liberal arts colleges in the late nineteenth century, and were considered in opposition to the earlier classical course. At the normal, there was an interesting twist to the debate because the earlier classical course was also associated with the integration of subject matter knowledge and pedagogical knowledge. The move away from the old classical course, toward a more elective curriculum reminiscent of the colleges, may have been viewed as a move not only towards modern languages, but also as a move away from the integration of subject matter and pedagogy in the old classical course.

²⁷⁸ King, J. A., et al. 1877, p. 128.

King became a teacher educator at a time when pedagogical knowledge was just beginning to be separated off from disciplinary knowledge at the Normal School. In the 1880s and 1890s her history courses for teachers integrated disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical knowledge.²⁷⁹ In 1914, the year before she retired, King wrote a brief history of her department for inclusion in the yearbook. Beneath her photograph, a sketch of the Normal School, and a list of her professional accomplishments, it read:

History hardly constituted a department before 1885. At that time it embraced seven subjects, two of which, United States History and Political Science, were required in four of the courses offered, while the Literary course included the entire number: Political Science, United States, American, English, General, Greek and Roman History.²⁸⁰

In the 1880s, the Normal School's history department offered only seven courses. All normal school graduates had to take two history courses, and some had to take all seven as part of their general preparation. By the start of the twentieth century, the history department had expanded its offerings: 19 different courses were available. However, *none* of these courses were required for graduation.

Under the increased demands of the college [to serve non teachers who just wanted history degrees] the department now offers nineteen courses . . . In 1904 the last history subject was dropped from the required list and the entire work became henceforth elective.²⁸¹

Teachers who completed their degrees at the Normal School after 1904 did not have to take any history classes. In the early years, it was assumed that pedagogical issues were integrated into the content of the courses, and that the habits of mind and orientation toward inquiry gained from studying history would make them better teachers, regardless of what subject matter they were going to teach or with what age children they intended to work. By the turn of the century, the rationale had changed: teachers should enroll in

²⁷⁹ Goodrich, 1919.

²⁸⁰ *Aurora*, 1914.

²⁸¹ *Aurora*, 1914.

the pedagogy department and take a variety of general education courses, but only those who were going to major in history really needed to study the content or research methods of the discipline.

By the 1890s the move to separate history from pedagogy had begun, and professors like King, who preferred to teach history while she was teaching how to teach history, had to adapt to the new structure. King wrote:

The ten years following are marked by a struggle toward a more liberal culture...the experiment of teaching method with the academic subjects proved more or less a failure, and distinctly professional courses were offered. These included history, civics, secondary method and primary historical material.²⁸²

As the required curriculum evolved into separate departments, the history department still offered courses that were considered “teachers’ courses.” King offered a general history course, a United States government course and two courses concerning historical method to those students who intended to teach. While the college was moving away from this sort of integration, teachers could still learn teaching and history concurrently from Miss King.

The case of the history department is illustrative of the increasing polarization between academic (or liberal) and professional (or technical) in the maturing Normal School. Like the sponsors of the Yale report (see opening quotation), King and the majority of early Normal School faculty believed a broad-based liberal arts education was the best professional preparation. Their single-minded aim was to prepare teachers, and concern for pedagogy was an essential element of both academic and professional study. Reuben has shown that the reforms that took place in universities around the turn of the century encouraged specialization rather than intellectual synthesis.²⁸³ It was the same at the Normal School, and it was this specialization and categorization of knowledge that

²⁸² *Aurora*, 1914.

²⁸³ Reuben, 1996, p. 3.

1. The first group of authors (see Table 1) has shown that the use of a single, non-validated questionnaire to assess the prevalence of mental health problems in the community is not sufficient to provide a reliable estimate of the prevalence of mental health problems in the community.

was so different than the synthesis and integration that permeated the early Normal School.

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the Normal moved from a curriculum based on the assumption that the academic and the professional are integrated toward a differentiated curriculum—where professional courses dealing with pedagogical issues were separated from academic courses in the disciplinary majors. This bifurcation appeared at the same time that University of Michigan policy established that education should be a separate department. In 1893 the Normal also established a separate Department of Pedagogics.

The curriculum of teacher education at the early Normal School was of a classical nature, but by the time the school became a college, teacher education was reduced to technical education. While there was a wide range of electives offered in the various college departments, the requirements for teachers were separate from and subordinate to the rest of the curriculum. As a student, King studied a classical course, as a classroom teacher she was a generalist, and when she first came to the Normal School she taught history classes as part of teacher preparation for all of the Normal students. King still tried to instill the discipline and flexibility of mind associated with classical study, even though the Normal College no longer had a classical curriculum. By the time she retired, King was teaching history classes to history majors and as electives. Although King still engaged her classes in philosophical questions about the nature of the discipline and how one's understanding of history might influence one's pedagogical decision-making, teaching methods were no longer part of the official curriculum in history classes.

While the department could boast a broader academic fare, the teachers' participation was diminished. The expanded offerings were touted as progress in school publications,²⁸⁴ and the history department may well have improved, if judged by its

²⁸⁴ *The First 100 Years*, 1949.

alignment with the new departments and electives offered at colleges and universities. But the more important question seems to be if the quality of teacher preparation improved. Historical study was originally required to support the main purpose of the institution, pedagogy, but then it became a separate department not connected to pedagogy. The assumptions about what teachers needed to know, and/or how they might best come to know those things, changed. This happened in gradual steps. For a time teachers needed to take some history, civics, and two methodological courses, but eventually academic study as preparation for teaching was abandoned. Academic study was not abandoned completely; it was just separated from pedagogy, rather than connected to it. Previously, excellent pedagogy was the ultimate goal, and the study of history was a means for becoming better at it. Now the end became the means (study pedagogy) and the means (studying history) became another end.

There were two main problems with the new approach to history education. First, many of the students, especially males who wanted to continue on to university after normal study, did not enroll in classes with teachers.²⁸⁵ In the early normal school everyone took the same classes, thereby avoiding the hierarchical categorization of classes that were for teachers and those which were not. With this division, teacher courses risked earning a less rigorous label.

Second, with no set course of study, students without adequate background knowledge could enroll in courses that were previously part of an articulated sequence. King complained that she could not cover the interesting material and challenging questions she hoped to, since students lacked necessary preparation.

I wish to but add a few reasons why the work falls short of the ideal in our school. It can be easily inferred from what has been said that the strictly Normal work can not be successful unless the academic study is well done previously. The second step can not either naturally, arithmetically, or historically, precede the first—though not a few of our students try the experiment. Familiarity with the facts must come before any

²⁸⁵ Goodrich, 1919.

generalizations upon them. In the upper classes the work is built upon a sufferable foundation of previous knowledge and aims to furnish mental training by use of such knowledge. It is not a question of a little more or less knowledge in those classes that effects the results, but a question of mental power. The deficiency in preparation defeats the whole work of those classes.²⁸⁶

King is talking about the students who, in the 1890s, were allowed to complete their academic studies at an approved high school or college and then enter the Normal School for a one or two year pedagogy course. Theoretically, these students covered the same material as the Normal School students did in their first several years of general academic study, but King found them under-prepared and difficult to teach because they lacked information and, more importantly, because they lacked “mental power,” or the ability to think and reason in powerful ways about subject matter. King continued her explanation of the problem:

More than half the class in professional training in the coming term will enter upon the study of method with small experience in any studies which make use of the strictly inductive method. They will have small experience in scientific studies, only primary knowledge of psychology, and almost no skill in use of books. Some profitable suggestions could be made to them did they constitute the whole class, but the other half are ready for real professional training. It can easily be seen that the deficiency in preparation will greatly hinder the work class. A larger teaching force in the department would help matters, but no amount of teaching can make up the deficiency between the one year students and those from our own literary courses.²⁸⁷

While standards for admission to the normal school were supposedly going up, King thought it became more difficult to teach the huge numbers of new students because these one year “academic” students were under-prepared in comparison to those who enrolled in the full literary courses.

The amount of professional work was constantly increased, and purely academic work was more and more relegated to the high school, and other advanced institutions.²⁸⁸ While the normal school curriculum changes were based on the assumption that students entering had more sophisticated understanding of subject matter than their earlier

²⁸⁶ King, 1893a, p. 18.

²⁸⁷ King, 1893, p. 19.

²⁸⁸ Putnam, 1899, p. 84-5.

counterparts, King claims this was not the case. High schools do not emphasize various ways to teach the subject matter that students are learning, nor do the teachers in high schools, or colleges for that matter, necessarily model effective teaching strategies. Therefore, students who are dependent upon their high school experiences for their subject matter knowledge are less likely to be empowered by the experience than normal school students who learn subject matter from excellent teachers who help them see how they might teach as well as learn the content they are studying.

What you teach about history, and how you teach history, if it is a means toward a pedagogical end, is different than how you teach history if you are preparing students to do historical research and writing. In the best case scenario, the Normal School history department became a place that prepared graduates for scholarship better than it did for teaching. Of course, the potential for powerful learning on the part of potential teachers diminished even more if the real focus of students' collegiate experience was on sex-specific roles assigned by Greek organizations and athletic competitions. In this case, a history course that required the student to simply memorize other people's ideas might have caused the least amount of student resistance, and, unfortunately, the least amount of learning in preparation for teaching.

**Professional Choices of the classes of 1857 and 1858
Michigan State Normal School²⁸⁹**

| | men | women | total |
|--|---|---|-------|
| Number of men and women in the classes of 1857 and '58 combined | 13 | 12 | 25 |
| Number who taught school after graduation | 13 | 12 | 25 |
| Number who remained in education | 4 ²⁹⁰ | 5 | 9 |
| Number who eventually left teaching to pursue another profession | 7
3 law
1 medicine
1 artist
1 business
1 farming | 7
1 writer
6 married ²⁹¹ | 14 |

Table 4. Professional Choices

²⁸⁹ Based on information provided in *Aurora*, 1895, p. 159.

²⁹⁰ Two male graduates died in the Civil War.

²⁹¹ At this time most women did not continue to teach after they were married.

the \mathbb{Z}_2 -invariant of the \mathbb{Z}_2 -action on $\mathbb{C}P^1$ is 1. The \mathbb{Z}_2 -invariant of the \mathbb{Z}_2 -action on $\mathbb{C}P^1$ is 1.

11. The \mathbb{Z}_2 -invariant of the \mathbb{Z}_2 -action on $\mathbb{C}P^1$ is 1.

12. The \mathbb{Z}_2 -invariant of the \mathbb{Z}_2 -action on $\mathbb{C}P^1$ is 1.

13. The \mathbb{Z}_2 -invariant of the \mathbb{Z}_2 -action on $\mathbb{C}P^1$ is 1.

14. The \mathbb{Z}_2 -invariant of the \mathbb{Z}_2 -action on $\mathbb{C}P^1$ is 1.

15. The \mathbb{Z}_2 -invariant of the \mathbb{Z}_2 -action on $\mathbb{C}P^1$ is 1.

English Course²⁹²

FIRST YEAR

First Term. Mitchell's Geography, (reviewed).
Clark's Grammar, (reviewed).
Davies' University Arithmetic.
Swan's Elocution.
Parker's Philosophy.

Second Term Davies' Bourdon's Algebra, (begun).
Gray's Chemistry.
Cutter's Anatomy and Physiology.
Analysis of the English Sentence.
Vocal Music and Drawing.
Book-keeping.

SECOND YEAR

First Term. Davies' Bourdon's Algebra, (finished).
Wood's Botany.
Blair's Rhetoric.
St. John's Geology.
Davies' Legendre's Geometry, (begun).

Second Term Davies' Legendre's Geometry, (finished).
Davies' Plane Trigonometry.
Davies' Surveying.
Winslow's Intellectual Philosophy.
Lectures on Theory and Practice of Teaching.
Constitution of United States.
Composition and Declamation throughout the course.

Table 5. Original Courses, 1852.

²⁹²Putnam, 1899, p. 39-40.

Introduction

Background

The purpose of this study was to investigate the effects of a 12-week intervention program on the physical and psychological health of patients with chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD). The intervention program consisted of a combination of physical exercise, breathing exercises, and patient education.

The study was conducted in a tertiary care hospital in a large city. The participants were recruited from the outpatient clinic of the respiratory medicine department. The study was approved by the local research ethics committee.

The primary outcome was the change in the forced expiratory volume in the first second (FEV1) after 12 weeks. Secondary outcomes included the change in the 6-minute walk test (6MWT) distance, the change in the St. George's Respiratory Questionnaire (SGRQ) score, and the change in the patient's health-related quality of life (HRQL).

The study was a randomized controlled trial. The participants were randomly assigned to either the intervention group or the control group. The intervention group received the 12-week intervention program, while the control group received standard care. The study was conducted in a blinded manner.

Methods

Classical Course

FIRST YEAR

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| <i>First Term.</i> | <p>Latin and Greek Grammar. (reviewed).
 Cooper's Virgil's Aeneid.
 Lucian's Dialogues, or French and German.
 Davies' Bourdon's Algebra, (begun).</p> |
| <i>Second Term</i> | <p>Anthon's Cicero's Orations.
 Owen's Xenophon's Anabasis, or French and German.
 Lincoln's Livy (begun).
 Davies' Bourdon's Algebra, (finished).
 Analysis of English Sentence.</p> |

SECOND YEAR

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| <i>First Term.</i> | <p>Lincoln's Livy (finished)
 Owen's Homer's Iliad, or French and German.
 Davies' Legendre's Geometry, (begun).
 Ancient Geography.</p> |
| <i>Second Term</i> | <p>Anthon's Cicero de Senectute or De Officiis.
 Xenophon's Memorabilia or French and German.
 Gray's Chemistry.
 Davies' Legendre's Geometry, (finished).</p> |

THIRD YEAR

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| <i>First Term.</i> | <p>Anthon's Horace's Odes.
 Wood's Botany.
 Blair's Rhetoric.
 Plane and Spherical Trigonometry and Surveying.</p> |
| <i>Second Term</i> | <p>Euripides' Medea, or Spanish.
 Robinson's Mathematical Astronomy.
 Winslow's Intellectual Philosophy.
 St. John's Geology.
 Lectures on Theory and Practice of Teaching.</p> |

Table 5. Original Courses, 1852. (continued)

2019/2020

11/11/2019

12/12/2019

13/13/2019

14/14/2019

15/15/2019

16/16/2019

17/17/2019

18/18/2019

19/19/2019

20/20/2019

21/21/2019

22/22/2019

23/23/2019

24/24/2019

25/25/2019

26/26/2019

27/27/2019

28/28/2019

29/29/2019

30/30/2019

31/31/2019

32/32/2019

33/33/2019

34/34/2019

35/35/2019

36/36/2019

37/37/2019

Synchronistic View of the Normal Courses of Study, 1871

| Course | English Common School Course. | | Full English Course. | |
|-------------|--|---|---|--|
| | Winter Term | Summer Term | Winter Term | Summer Term |
| Preparatory | 1. Arithmetic,
2. Geography,
3. English Grammar.
4. Writing, Drawing and Bookkeeping. | 1. Physiology,
2. U.S. History,
3. English Analysis,
4. Reading and Vocal Music. | Same as the English Common School Course | |
| First Year | 1. El. Algebra,
2. Natural Philosophy,
3. Professional Instruction. | 1. Analysis of Arithmetic,
2. Botany,
3. Professional Instruction. | Same as the English Common School Course | |
| Second Year | | | 1. Geometry,
2. Physical Geog. and Zoology,
3. Chemistry,
4. Rhetoric, (lectures) | 1. Geometry,
2. Zoology and Geology,
3. Science of Gov. (lectures)
4. English Literature. |
| Third Year | | | 1. Higher Algebra,
2. Psychology,
3. Professional Instruction.
4. Rhetoric, (lectures) | 1. Trigonom'y,
2. Psychology,
3. Moral Science and Professional Instruction. |
| Fourth Year | | | | |

Table 6. Courses of Study, 1871

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thirtieth of these is the fact that the

Synchronistic View of the Normal Courses of Study, 1871, continued

| Course | Classical Course. | | Course in Modern Languages | |
|----------------|--|--|---|-------------|
| | Winter Term | Summer Term | Winter Term | Summer Term |
| Preparatory | Same as the English
Common School Course | | Same as the English
Common School Course | |
| First Year | Same as the English
Common School Course,
except that Latin will take the place of
Professional Studies. | | Same as the
Classical Course | |
| Second
Year | Same as the English
Common School Course, except that Latin
will take the place of Chemistry and
Science of Government. | | Same as the Classical Course,
except that German will take the
place of Latin. | |
| Third Year | 1. Higher Algebra,
2. Latin,
3. Greek,
4. Chemistry. | 1. Trigonom'y,
2. Latin,
3. Greek,
4. Science of
Government. | Same as the Classical Course,
except that German and French
will take the place of Latin and Greek. | |
| Fourth
Year | 1. Latin,
2. Greek.

Professional Studies the same as
in the full English Course. | 1. Latin,
2. Greek. | Same as the Classical Course
except that German and French
will take the place of Latin and Greek. | |

Table 6. Courses of Study, 1871 (continued)

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

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1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2000; 284: 1012-1016.

1. *Staphylococcus aureus* (100%)

[illegible]
$$f_{\text{eff}} = \frac{f_{\text{eff}}^{\text{max}}}{1 + \exp\left(\frac{1}{\alpha} \ln\left(\frac{1}{1 - f_{\text{eff}}^{\text{max}}}\right) \ln\left(\frac{1}{1 - f_{\text{eff}}}\right)\right)}$$

Chapter 5

Re-Imagining Teacher Education

“Interpreting the past is not only essential for creating a different future,
but often just as difficult.”¹

In this final chapter I embark upon a thought experiment, or treatment of teacher education policy objectives, rooted in my analysis of King. I explore how King’s life and the history of her Normal School might contribute to contemporary conversations about teacher professionalism and the professional education of teachers. I consider what teacher education might look like today if we embraced the conception of professionalism that the early normal school sponsored and paid attention to what King—a teacher, a woman, and a Christian—believed to be most important in her professional life. I begin by making a case for drawing on historical understandings when making policy decisions. Second, I propose we reconsider the term professionalism, what it entails, and who gets to decide. Third, I recommend a synthesis of the academic, or liberal, and the professional, or technical, aspects of teacher education. Fourth, I make a case for better serving the gender-specific needs of the mostly female students in teacher education. Finally, I close by suggesting that the faithless university get back to its roots and once again value Christian beliefs – both those of historical subjects and those of contemporary students and teachers.

***Tinkering Toward Utopia*²**

In an era when millions of children, and even entire school districts, are considered “at risk,” education is closely scrutinized and reforms abound. Current challenges to improve public schooling in the United States are often answered with calls to improve teacher education and professionalize teaching. The argument is that if we are to have better

¹ Robin Kelley, author of *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class*, a quotation regarding Michael Katz’s *Improving Poor People: The Welfare State, the “Underclass,” and Urban Schools as History*.

² Borrowed from Tyack and Cuban, 1995.

1. *Chrysomelids* (Coleoptera: Chrysomelidae) (100%)

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

teaching and learning, in better schools, with better student outcomes, we need better teachers. The supposedly weak students, professors, and curriculum in the nation's colleges of education have long been the subject of historians' critique and public attack.³

Leaders in the teacher education community are attempting to define what good teaching is and what sort of teacher education one might need in order to meet that ideal.

Teacher education reformers draw upon their interpretations of past events when making choices about the present and the future.⁴ The past that education historians choose to reveal will certainly influence which debates and possibilities reformers consider and how they consider them. As Barbara Finkelstein says, "educational historians can be revealers of an educational past, actors in contemporary debates, and crafters of future possibilities."⁵ Since King's life calls into question our understandings of the history of teacher education, her life should also prompt us to reconsider current approaches to teacher education and conceptions of teacher professionalization that dominate educational policy discussions today.

Alternative routes for preparing teachers, fifth year programs which emphasize subject matter knowledge and/or longer periods of internship/induction, and national reform packages that call for more adventurous teaching and learning and for no child to be left behind have been proposed and instituted.⁶ Teachers and researchers are trying to figure

³Charles A. Harper, *A Century of Public Teacher Education: The Story of the State Teachers Colleges as They Evolved from the Normal Schools*. (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Teachers Colleges, 1939); Merle Borrowman, *Teacher Education: The Liberal and the Technical* (1956); Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University, A History* (1962); Merle L. Borrowman, *Teacher Education in America: A Documentary History*. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1965); Paul H. Mattingly, *The Classless Profession: American Schoolmen in the Nineteenth Century*. (New York: New York University Press, 1975); Jurgen Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*. (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989); Robert A. Levin, *Educating Elementary School Teachers: The Struggle for Coherent Visions, 1909-1978*, (New York: University Press of America, 1994); James Koerner, *The Miseducation of America's Teachers* (1963); Rita Kramer, *Ed School Follies*, (1991); The Holmes Group, *Tomorrow's Schools of Education*, (1995).

⁴ Tyack and Cuban, 1995, p 6.

⁵ Finkelstein, 1992, p. 289.

⁶ for example, Carnegie Task Force on Teaching as a Profession. (1986). *A nation prepared: Teachers for the 21st century*. New York: Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy; and Holmes Group. (1986). *Tomorrow's teachers*. East Lansing, MI:

the same way as the other two.

The first of these is the fact that the

first of these

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out ways to improve teacher education so that preservice teachers will be disposed to care about and equipped to serve the needs of all children, regardless of their race, class, gender, or other differences.⁷ Teacher educators too have realized that understanding preservice teachers' beliefs and perspectives is crucial if one intends to get them to think differently about something like diversity. Personal reflection and autobiographical exposition have become important pieces of some introduction to teaching courses.⁸

In a related movement, policy makers are seeking to improve the quality of classroom instruction by legislating curricular frameworks, benchmarks, standards, and other such inspirational directives for teachers.⁹ A new generation of policy analysts have discovered that they will have little chance of accomplishing their objectives unless they take into consideration the context in which teachers teach and the ways in which teachers interpret and shape policies during implementation.¹⁰ In order to successfully implement policies, researchers are calling for attention to teachers—their perspectives and understandings.

All of this emphasis on teachers and the preparation of teachers makes one wonder about what it takes to be a good teacher, how much and what type of education teachers need, how teacher educators and policy makers can best support teachers as they learn to teach, and what the goals of initial and career long teacher education should be. The current focus of educational reform on restructuring pre-service and in-service teacher education also brings up questions about who is making the policy decisions, on what sorts of evidence they are basing these decisions, and who is benefiting from the decisions which are finally implemented.¹¹

Author. See U.S. Department of Education website devoted to the *No Child Left Behind* act at <http://www.ed.gov/nclb/landing.jhtml?src=pb>.

⁷ Zeichner, K. 1996.

⁸ Feiman-Nemser, S. and H. Featherstone. 1992.

⁹ For example, *History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools*, or *National Council of Teachers of Mathematics Standards*. See California State Board of Education's website devoted to Standards and Frameworks at <http://www.cde.ca.gov/be/st/>

¹⁰ for example, see Cohen & Barnes, 1993.

¹¹ Contemporary efforts to professionalize teaching have been criticized for not attending to the gendered nature of women's education and careers. For example, Laird, S. (1988).

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As we search for new models of teacher education and struggle to define teacher professionalism at the start of this millennium, King's example raises important questions about what the pedagogy and curriculum of teacher education should be, how best to serve the mostly female student body in teacher education programs, and who teacher education's authorities should be. In the twentieth century teacher education has developed in ways that make King's education and life work seem distant, yet her normal school education enabled her to construct a form of teacher professionalism that contemporary practitioners and scholars admire.

If we could step into a time machine, set it back 150 years, and revive the characteristics of the early Normal School in the beginning of the twenty-first century, teacher education would look very different than it does today. Clearly, we could not, and would not want to, create an identical institution. We have progressed in many ways since those times, and it would be unreasonable to call for a return to an era so vastly different than our own. However, for educators in search of alternative visions, who seek to unpack and reconsider their assumptions about what teacher education can and should be, there is merit in considering what King's life work might look like in today's schools of education.

The intertwined histories of Julia Anne King and the Michigan State Normal School present an example of teacher preparation as an effective form of professional education and teaching as an expansive profession. All of this was located in the mid-nineteenth century, which is the last place contemporary reformers would look for examples of professionalism in education. Teacher education at the Michigan State Normal School was characterized by a conception of professionalism that 1) respected teacher's perceptions and experiences, 2) integrated the liberal and technical into an organic whole for

Reforming "women's true profession": A case for "feminist pedagogy" in teacher education? *Harvard Educational Review*, 58, pp. 449-463. In addition, reformers have also been criticized for assuming that there is a scientific knowledge base for teaching, for embracing social efficiency as an educational goal while preaching democratic equality, and for promoting their own self-interests rather than the interests of teachers and children. For example, Labaree, D. F. (1992). Power, knowledge, and the rationalization of teaching: A genealogy of the movement to professionalize teaching. *Harvard Education Review*, 62, 23-154.

the same time, the Government has been very successful in its efforts to reduce the deficit. The deficit has been reduced from \$100 billion in 1980 to \$50 billion in 1981. This is a significant achievement, and it shows that the Government is committed to fiscal responsibility. The Government has also been successful in its efforts to reduce the inflation rate. The inflation rate has been reduced from 10% in 1980 to 5% in 1981. This is also a significant achievement, and it shows that the Government is committed to maintaining price stability. The Government has also been successful in its efforts to reduce the unemployment rate. The unemployment rate has been reduced from 10% in 1980 to 7% in 1981. This is also a significant achievement, and it shows that the Government is committed to creating jobs and promoting economic growth. The Government has also been successful in its efforts to reduce the foreign debt. The foreign debt has been reduced from \$100 billion in 1980 to \$50 billion in 1981. This is also a significant achievement, and it shows that the Government is committed to maintaining a strong and stable economy.

On April 7, 1981, the President announced that he had signed a bill into law that would reduce the deficit by \$10 billion. This bill was part of a larger package of legislation that was designed to reduce the deficit and promote economic growth. The President's announcement was met with widespread approval, and it was seen as a major step towards achieving fiscal responsibility. The bill was signed into law on April 15, 1981, and it is expected to have a significant impact on the economy.

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professional education, 3) empowered women to succeed and lead as educators, and 4) viewed Christian faith as a potentially powerful factor in learning to teach and in contributing to the betterment of individuals and society.

Teacher professionalism

King's life makes me wonder what it should take to be a professional educator and who gets to define what counts as professionalism. King began teaching in 1858, well before what historians and sociologists have referred to as the rise of professionalism, but she certainly was a professional in *some* senses of the word. The Michigan State Normal School was quite effective at providing King with the knowledge, networks, and credentials that propelled her career within education. Far from a limited and limiting form of women's work, teaching provided her fluid possibilities for career advancement and professional growth.

Even before King entered the Normal School there was talk of professionalizing teaching. There was movement nationally to have teachers organize into a strong, self-directing body that would undertake the task of determining fitness and standards. A speaker before the Michigan State Teachers' Association in 1854 sought "the cultivation of a *professional* spirit among the members of the *profession*, and especially among that portion of it that train the minds of the masses in our common schools (italics mine)."¹² The concept of teacher professionalism did not originate in the late nineteenth century; rather, early Normal School men and women thought of themselves and the teachers they educated as professionals even before the Civil War. However, the goals and expectations of the early Normal School men and women were different than those of the later experts who defined professionalism at the end of the century. There was a shift in who was considered a professional and what counted as professionalism. As other fields with more prestige began to define their own forms of professionalism, educationists jumped on board,

¹² Cremin and Butts, 1953, p.229 [The Michigan Journal of Education and Teachers' Magazine, vol 1 (1854), p. 145]

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and transformed the previous definitions of teacher professionalism in ways that left teachers out of the equation.

It is acceptable for teachers to be meagerly educated if all they are to do is dispense information and control children, but if we have loftier goals for them as social transformers and intellectuals then they must not only be exposed to great ideas but they must be helped to develop orientations toward knowledge that allow them to think of themselves as capable members of learning communities. For example, Deborah Meier, award-winning educational reformer and lead teacher at Central Park East Secondary School, claims that when she interviews teachers for her progressive alternative public school the most important quality she looks for is the ability to be reflective about themselves as learners.¹³ She thinks that what we need in school reform today are “leaders who still see themselves first and foremost as teachers, not administrators . . . not as “middle management,” but as catalysts and supporters, dreamers and manipulators of three-ring circuses.”¹⁴ Vito Perrone echoes this theme when he says we need teachers should be “scholars, artists, students of society, and persons with the eye of the naturalist.”¹⁵

The role of pedagogue should be synonymous with, not opposed to, the role of professional educator. For King, being a professional meant being engaged in her calling in a pedagogical way, but not all things that we consider “professional” today are pedagogically sound. Those who use it to exclude and to infer status and hierarchy have appropriated the word professional. Rather than consider what best practice includes and use that as a basis for teacher professionalism, educationists have tried to fit teaching into the models developed in other professions. Male models of professionalization have inappropriately been applied to women teachers.¹⁶ Women teachers’ sense of career does not match a model based on prestigious male occupations, but rationally reflects the set of

¹³ Meier, 1995.

¹⁴ Meier, 1992.

¹⁵ Perrone, 1991.

¹⁶ Acker, S. 1983. p. 124.

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responsibilities women face at home and at work.¹⁷ King's life prompts us to reconsider the responsibilities teachers face at home and at school and ask if these could be considered "professional."

What counts as professional activity must be enlarged so that educational researchers and professors can participate in activities and movements that concern children and their teachers. We must question the values and assumptions embedded in contemporary Colleges of Education about what constitutes professional behavior and what is good use of one's time as a professional. Do you earn respect in the profession by joining the State Teacher's Association, writing articles in magazines read primarily by teachers, participating in political movements, or taking moral stances on educational issues? We will need to transform university tenure and promotion policies and/or rethink the location of teacher education in the university if we truly want to validate the kinds of professional activity that King's colleagues enjoyed.

By examining teaching according to Randall Collins' definition of a profession, it becomes clear why teachers today are not accorded professional status.¹⁸ A profession is a self-regulating community with the power to train new members and admit them to practice. It practices its specialty according to its own standards without outside interference.¹⁹ Teachers do not regulate their own communities. State and district Boards of Education, headed by people who may or may not have teaching credentials or experience, make decisions that impact the teaching profession. University professors, policy-makers, and administrators make decisions about what should be taught and how it should be taught. Francis Keppel, in the forward to *Who Controls Our Schools*, congratulates author Michael Kirst, former president of the California State Board of Education. "As a major state official and as a scholar, Professor Kirst... shows that he can lead the way [toward improving schools]."²⁰ Officials and scholars have become the elite of the teaching

¹⁷ Bilken, S. K. 1987.

¹⁸ Collins, 1979. p. 137.

¹⁹ Collins, 1979. p. 132.

²⁰ Kirst, 1984.

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profession. These people are not practicing teachers, and many of them have not completed teacher-training programs or had experience teaching in the classrooms they attempt to control. Martin Haberman notes that, “only five percent of education faculty have ever worked in urban schools, and only one percent long enough to earn tenure.”²¹

Teachers do not control the training of new teachers or their admission to practice. Teachers are not allowed to participate in setting standards or restructuring their own profession. In order to take on additional responsibilities or become influential in the professional community a teacher must go back to school. She must give up being a classroom teacher, because, based on the way the profession is currently organized, it is virtually impossible to do anything else while teaching full-time. Merely getting a teaching credential and teaching successfully are not enough, or perhaps not even required, to reach positions of prominence in the educational establishment.

A double standard exists between what schooling is required of a teacher and what schooling is required of someone who wants to have power and influence in the world of education. One way to solve this problem would be to allow teachers, without advanced degrees, to teach perspective teachers in universities, serve on state boards of education, and make policy recommendations to the government. At the same time, teacher educators and educational policy makers could be required to teach in classrooms. This “deschooling” of sorts would serve to break down the barriers between practicing, credentialed teachers and other education professionals, exposing the nature of teaching as a profession. Teachers will need to consider what they need to know and be able to do in order to be able to educate future teachers, design professional admissions standards which are relevant to teaching, and set up structures through which they can judge teachers' performance and decide what competence consists of. Only when teachers are actually the leaders of their profession will teaching truly be considered a profession.

²¹ Haberman, 1990. p. 13.

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The Academic is Professional

King advocated a child-centered, personally powerful pedagogy for children and teacher education students alike. In teacher education this included a commitment to teaching pedagogy while teaching subject matter. The assumption that these two types of professional knowledge were integrated and the expectation that teachers needed to be confident critical thinkers capable of helping children become the same made for teacher education that was more liberatory than most contemporary approaches.

Recent reforms in teacher education, which stress the importance of subject matter knowledge, have, at the majority of universities, led to further bifurcation of subject matter knowledge and pedagogical knowledge, rather than their integration as King's life would suggest. For example, today students learn about history in classes offered in the history department taught by professors who know little about pedagogy, and they learn teaching methods in the College of Education from education professors who know little about the discipline of history. The professors in these departments often have no contact with each other. The effort to educate teachers is considered the College of Education's domain, even though most people agree that subject matter knowledge is a crucial piece of teachers' professional knowledge base.

One of the reasons the separation between subject matter knowledge and pedagogical knowledge is so problematic is that students preparing to be teachers are most often young women from working class families. Research on women's ways of knowing has shown that they are likely to feel intimidated by disciplinary discourses and to be controlled by the content of the humanities and science courses they take, rather than to become powerful users or creators of knowledge.²² If this is the case, and students graduate from history departments having clocked in the required number of hours but not learned how to think about historical knowledge or themselves in ways which allow them to

²² Luttrell, 1989; Grumet, 1988; Belenky, et al., 1986.

teach critically, then no matter how innovative the methods they are taught in education classes, when they go to teach subject matter, they will fall back on the kinds of practices with which they are familiar.

If we want to improve teachers and teaching, we need to improve teacher education. However, requiring Bachelor's degrees for admission to fifth year programs that offer graduate level work in education will not address this inadequacy. In fact this was one of the reforms that the Michigan State Normal College implemented one hundred years ago, as it started to slip away from its original purpose and character. In order to overcome the weaknesses in teacher education today, the pedagogy of subject matter classes will need to improve and explicit links will need to be made between the Colleges of Arts and Sciences and the Colleges of Education. ²³ Teacher education programs must consider subject matter classes an essential piece of teacher preparation, and disciplines-based professors must take their work as teacher educators seriously. Disciplinary scholars who are excellent pedagogues interested in helping students think about teaching and learning as well as content should work with education professors in order to construct classes which could truly develop future teachers' pedagogical content knowledge. For example, Peter Vinten-Johansen teaches history courses that model effective teaching techniques, introduce students to the philosophy of the discipline, and give students a taste of the real work of historians.²⁴ Additionally, Vinten-Johansen collaborated with teacher educator, Bill McDiarmid, to pioneer the type of interdepartmental collegiality that will be necessary to improve teacher education. The methods of teacher education are indeed part of the content and should be deliberated and decided as painstakingly as the content of the courses.

In King's time the curriculum of teacher education mimicked the elementary and high school curriculum. Teacher education students all took the same set of classes in an

²³ see, for example, McDiarmid, et al., 1995. *An alternative approach to secondary social studies methods: Integrating pedagogy and subject matter*. Symposium presented at the NCSS Annual Conference, Chicago, Illinois.

²⁴ I was his student. What is most amazing about V-J's methods is that they are so unique. He has very few colleagues at MSU or elsewhere who teach undergraduate history courses with these goals in mind.

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articulated sequence. King's course of study included a review of the common school subjects and then more advanced coursework in the classics. It was assumed that anyone who was preparing to be a high school teacher or administrator needed to read and discuss the classics. This was a standard part of all higher education at the time, and high school teachers would be expected to teach this content to their students. Additionally, in discussions of classical texts, which address enduring dilemmas of the human condition, future teachers could debate what makes a good society, the best methods for teaching, and the role of power in various relationships.

Contemporary teacher education students take a wide variety of classes, mostly with classmates who do not intend to be teachers and about subjects that do not bear on the decisions that teachers have to make. The content of the school subjects that high school teachers have to teach may or may not be part of their disciplinary college majors. For example, it is possible to graduate from many history departments having never taken courses on ancient Greece and Rome, Colonial America, or the history of the state in which one will be teaching, yet all of these are commonly taught not only in high school history departments, but in elementary and middle schools.

If we look to King's example, we must consider making the curriculum of teacher education, including the entire undergraduate experience of those intending to teach, more focused and purposeful. Future teachers would 1) take classes with cohorts of other students intending to become teachers, and 2) pursue a course of disciplinary study which parallels the required curriculum in the K-12 schools. Most importantly, surrounded by their future colleagues, in classes which are relevant to their chosen profession, these preservice teachers would engage in more rigorous reading, writing, and debating about the social issues and philosophical questions which influence teaching and learning.

I advocate having the range of subjects that teachers are required to teach represented in their collegiate/professional education. This seems obvious, but in an effort to make teachers' preparation more challenging, many colleges and universities now require

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elementary teachers to fulfill the requirements for a disciplinary major. While it may be interesting to study the in-depth details of one subject matter, this certainly does not prepare one to teach elementary school, where, in one week you might be required to teach children about fractions, light, the Gold Rush, prepositional phrases, perspective, exponents, rhythm, Haiku, the Civil War, and the digestive system.

I am not advocating a return to dumbed-down introductory courses with names like “physics for teachers.” Instead I envision a broad-based, liberal education with the best foundational classes from the departments that are represented in the K-12 curriculum, taught by excellent teachers who model innovative methods, and pose hard questions about the content and the process of teaching and learning it. Students preparing to be teachers might be grouped into a special section of an American History course. Rather than simply taking this course to learn information, they would be required to think about things like what kinds of questions historians ask, what sorts of methods they use, how the social and political position of the historian—or the history teacher—influences what students understand about history, the range of representations of subject matter a teacher has to choose from, and how might one teach this content in an intellectually honest way to young children. Instead of waiting until upper division courses to introduce epistemological issues about the subject matter, teachers would be exposed to these sorts of questions, and how they might influence pedagogy, in every course they take. In addition to better preparing them academically, this approach could have the welcome side effect of capturing teacher candidates’ interest and imagination as their disciplinary classes would be more relevant to the important work they see themselves doing, rather than simply being obstacles they have to endure in order to be allowed to teach.

Essentially, We are Women

Separate spheres for men and women were taken for granted by the teachers of King’s era. Rather than simply keep women teachers in a subordinate position, this

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ideology also worked to provide avenues for women to develop their own communities and supports that proved to be powerful bases for social action. The normal school allowed women to participate as equals but also provided them with the special care their sex supposedly needed.

Most forms of contemporary feminism scoff at the separation of men and women into public and private spheres, and those who consider women's ways of knowing or other sex-specific characteristics or needs as they attempt to take women students seriously are accused of inappropriately essentializing men's and women's experiences.²⁵ However, if we are to consider King's example, we must ask if there are differences between men's experiences and women's experiences that influence the ways they think about knowledge and power and, subsequently, teaching and learning. Whether these characteristics are naturally or socially acquired is not really important, what matters is that when educating teachers we are most often educating women, and most teacher educators have not seriously considered what it would take to do this well.

Educators who devote their lives to educating girls have long considered the special benefits of single-sex education, but only recently have studies on sexism in schools confirmed that girls get short-changed in classrooms with boys and are often able to succeed at new levels if they are separated out for certain classes or even for several years of schooling. The increasing number of studies concerning adolescent girls' experiences tell us that they are competing for male attention in a society which values women for their beauty and their reproductive capacities, rather than their intellectual abilities.²⁶ In addition studies of sexism in the classroom show how even well-intentioned teachers tend to call on boys more, allow boys to interrupt girls, and generally provide more attention to boys than girls.²⁷ Some scholars recommend a connected pedagogy that recognizes women's ways of

²⁵ Joan Scott, 1988.

²⁶ Holland and Eisenhardt, 1990.

²⁷ Sadker and Sadker, 1994.

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2. The second part is a detailed account of the work done during the year.

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knowing as a way to respect and engage female students who have previously been overlooked or made to feel stupid.²⁸

Some feminist educators advocate voluntary sex-segregation that has liberatory, rather than restrictive, goals similar to the hotly debated African-American Academies which seek to educate black youth about their culture and instill pride and confidence that the desegregated public schools have, in many cases, failed to provide. Just as some advocates for African American children are questioning the value of mixing with white children if the education black children receive is inferior, whether because they are “tracked” into lower classes or because they are marginalized within classrooms where they are not taught the culture of power, some advocates for girls are questioning the value of coeducation.²⁹

In the 1970s liberal feminists argued that a truly identical coeducation of boys and girls would open freedom of choice and equality of opportunity for adult men and women. However, in the last thirty years those agendas have been redefined. Some educators now believe that coeducational schools are basically male in control, values, pedagogy, and the knowledge they teach. Simply assimilating girls more thoroughly into such a system deprives them of their own heritage and perpetuates male domination. Hopefully by illuminating the ways in which coeducation has failed to serve females adequately, and by proposing alternate models of gender-sensitive schooling, the current debate over separate sex schools may prompt a new vision of gender-balanced learning in mixed schools.³⁰

If we look to King’s experience as an example, teacher education programs will need to sponsor some sex-specific activities and opportunities for women to study with women colleagues and mentors, connecting the work of teaching to their work as mothers, daughters, and wives. Professors who teach future teachers will need to familiarize themselves with research on women learners and modify their instruction to better meet the needs of their female students. Program developers will need to listen to the students and

²⁸ Belenky, M. F. et al. 1986.

²⁹ see Oakes, 1985 re: race and tracking; Delpit, 1995 re: the culture of power.

³⁰ Tyack and Hansot, 1990, p. 279-292.

...and the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (JAMA) ...

Figure 1. The effect of the concentration of the H_2O_2 solution on the amount of the released H_2O from the H_2O_2 -loaded hydrogel. The amount of the released H_2O was measured at 37°C for 24 h. The concentration of the H_2O_2 solution was 0.01, 0.05, 0.1, 0.5, and 1.0 wt. %.

[illegible]

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build curriculum around their interests and activities, especially those that are unique to women and shared by most women. In addition, teacher educators will have to create environments that encourage students to be reflective and critical about the ways their own schooling has been gendered. Finally, professors should provide teacher education students with the resources to construct anti-sexist teaching practices of their own. For example, in teacher education programs students should be helped to notice the ways in which their own schooling has been gendered and learn about children's literature with strong female characters or historical biographies of women. If we pay attention to the lessons from the nineteenth century normal school, teacher educators will acknowledge that we are educating bodies, not just minds, and that the way one experiences teacher education has at least a little to do with what sex their body is.

For example, advising, mentoring, or supervision of student teachers could include a sex-specific element. By necessity, my own experience working with pre-service teachers has included conversations about 1) how to dress and behave in ways that set you apart from the sexualized female high school students, 2) how to talk to administrators about maternity leave options; 3) how to balance teaching and mothering; 4) how to honestly present feminist politics to young students and not alienate conservative families; and 5) how to handle sexual advances from colleagues, administrators or students. I have been most rewarded by the relationships I have built with women whom I could look up to and with women who looked up to me. This sort of teaching and learning is not authorized or rewarded. Female faculty members are not compensated for the extra hours they devote to young women, and students earn no credits for these essential life lessons. Perhaps a crew of modern day Preceptresses would be welcomed by the current crop of young women in teacher education programs.

The Foolishness of God

Religious beliefs about serving God and carrying out God's will drove the establishment of the Normal School and fueled young men and women as they chose to devote their lives to teaching. The work of the normal school and its graduates was informed by the single-minded purpose of the founders: "to promote the great cause of man—the cause of God."³¹ Strong in their Christian faith, and informed by the Bible, King and her colleagues taught gladly. While the ministers who lead the early Normal School were all Protestant, they subscribed to a non-sectarian Christianity, and the early Normal School provided many teachers with an environment and values similar to their church and family. Teaching was a redemptive force; they were committed to uplifting the poor and building a more equal society through education.

King was able to integrate her faith, her teacher education, and her work in the public schools in ways that many of my contemporary teacher education students find inspiring. In efforts to secularize teacher education some things were lost. For example, within a teacher education program that valued secular theories, scientific methods *and* Biblical lessons, King may have had a safer place to explore her own beliefs and values than Christian students do today, thereby making it easier for her to develop an effective and socially transformative Christian pedagogy.

Today state-sponsored universities and many foundations that support education have divorced themselves from any ties to religion. Teacher education is most often located within universities where scientific rationalism has taken the place of religious authority. Some professors make teaching for equity and social justice central to the teacher education classes they teach, and some entire programs even adopt this language, but these folks are generally considered alternative rather than mainstream, and they rarely connect their ideas about freedom and anti-bias education to religious faith. Even where there are excellent teacher education programs devoted to equity and social justice, the graduates still have to

³¹ Putnam, 1899, p. 17.

go out and get jobs in the existing public schools, the vast majority of which have curriculum and instruction that suggest social efficiency goals are more valued than moral uplift or even the God-given value of *all* children.³²

Even though there is no formal place for religion in teacher education, a large number of contemporary preservice teachers are Christians.³³ In my own teacher education classes I have become increasingly aware of how many students filter their experiences through a Christian lens, and in conversation with practicing public school teachers, I have learned that many of them also see their work as “God’s work” and their call to teach as “ministry.” *Religion in America 1996*, published by the Gallup organization and based on a national questionnaire distributed by the Higher Education Research Institute at UCLA, found that one-fourth of the freshman of the class of 1999 were born-again Christians. That figure rose to 50 percent at Protestant-affiliated colleges.³⁴ In 1997, the interdisciplinary journal *Lingua Franca* published an article about religion in higher education that began: “Intellectual fashions being what they are, the next major issue facing American higher education may well be the revival of religious faith.”³⁵ In August of 1996 the *New York Times* reported that “in a time of outward tension and inner searching, when many Americans worry about social decay and also show a growing interest in spirituality, teachers and administrators on campuses are asking whether colleges ought to try once again to build moral and spiritual character as well as intellect.”³⁶

Even so, research on teacher education would suggest that teacher educators do not pay attention to students’ religious beliefs or draw upon these religious beliefs when helping

³² Labaree, 1997.

³³ Because King was a Christian, and religious teacher education students are most likely to be Christians, I have chosen to focus my comments on them, but, clearly, it is important for teacher educators to pay attention to the experiences of Jews, Muslims, and other non-Christian students too. Additionally, state-sponsored teacher education must support the freedoms of atheistic or non-religious students as well, but my analysis suggests most current teacher education curriculum and instruction is already designed with these students in mind.

³⁴ Manuel, 1997, p. 29

³⁵ Manuel, 1997, p. 29

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them think about teaching and learning in a diverse society. Neither “religion,” in general, nor “Christianity,” in particular, made their way into the indexes of either volume of the *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education*.³⁷ The 1996 volume includes statistics on “Who Teaches and Why?” Demographic features which Darling-Hammond and Selan consider include: gender, race, ethnicity, family income, marital status, if students are interested in elementary or secondary teaching, and if they are enrolled full-time or part-time in college, but there is no mention of prospective teachers' religious affiliation.³⁸ Cazden and Mehan present a profile of a beginning teacher in the 1990s: “[She will be] female, in the early to mid-twenties, Anglo, and from a lower-middle-income to middle-income family.”³⁹ Again, there is no mention of religious faith. Brookhart and Freeman located 44 studies that focused on the characteristics of teacher candidates for the spring 1992 *Review of Educational Research*, and they never mention religion either.⁴⁰ In their concluding sentences they call for further research to focus on

Identifying which beliefs that are known to be important for effective instruction are teachable and which are not. Teacher education programs could then be explicitly designed to foster appropriate beliefs and to include measures of inappropriate, nonteachable beliefs as part of the data considered for program admissions decisions.⁴¹

I wonder how Christianity would score on the instrument they envision.

Perhaps teacher educators are trying to influence and analyze beliefs that they only partially understand. Maybe underneath their “good student” exteriors, pre-service teachers have adopted a subtler, more white, female and Christian version of what Herb Kohl calls, *I Won't Learn From You*. My guess is this stance extends to “I won't share the Christian part of me with you in a scientific research setting.” Robert Gregg, Dean of Memorial Church at Stanford University, explains “many students don't want to be forced by new intellectual challenges into a kind of student schizophrenia, in which they do what the system requires of them in their school work but have to handle the really important

³⁷ Sikula, 1996; Houston, 1990.

³⁸ Darling-Hammond and Selan, 1996.

³⁹ Cazden and Mehan 1996.

⁴⁰ Brookhart and Freeman, 1992.

⁴¹ Brookhart and Freeman, 1992, p. 56.

questions of meaning privately, in underground Bible Study groups.”⁴² There are some areas of inquiry that are more easily written off as separate from spiritual growth, but discussions of teaching and learning and the social foundations of education in the United States seem well-suited to the type of integration students desire. If teacher educators are among the members of the academy who believe that “intellectual life can only proceed if you junk all religious and spiritual questions and get on with your business,”⁴³ they are missing a great entrée into serious dialogue with their students.

I am not suggesting that religion be taught in teacher education programs, but I am advocating noticing and taking seriously that which our teacher education students bring with them. For example, educators have already recommended teachers practice “culturally relevant pedagogy” which takes students’ ethnic backgrounds into consideration.⁴⁴

McDiarmid claims teachers need to know what kind of knowledge, skills, and commitments are valued in their students’ cultures. Such knowledge is critical to developing representations of teaching that either bridge or confront the knowledge that students bring with them. McDiarmid also recommends that teachers know about their students’ prior knowledge of and experience with the subject matter if they are to represent the subject matter in ways that lead to student understanding. All of these important points suggest that teacher educators need to learn about if their students have religious beliefs and how those shape their understandings of teaching and learning.

Teachers’ orientations toward diversity and their pedagogical choices are often grounded in their religious beliefs. Because this private issue (a teachers’ religious beliefs) has a public consequence (her pedagogy), teachers should understand the implications of their ideas and values for pedagogical decision-making, not go about doing what they think are good things for children and society in an unexamined fashion. It would be unconstitutional to establish religious beliefs in public schools or teacher education

⁴² Manuel, 1997, p. 30.

⁴³ Manuel, 1997, p. 30.

⁴⁴ McDiarmid, et al., 1989.

programs but there is nothing in the Constitution that forbids debate and discourse concerning religion and its role in teaching and learning.

I am interested in helping my Christian teacher education students negotiate between their Christian faith discourse community and their new secular professional educator community. Many teacher education students do not have the skills to discuss their reasons for becoming teachers, what they hope to gain from their vocational choice, and their values and beliefs and about children, society, teaching or learning with a professor or researcher who “doesn’t speak their language.” Some prospective teachers lack the cultural currency of academia—critical text analysis, scientific reasoning, and personal reflection and presentation appropriate to the university-based teacher education community. In order to be able to acquire these skills, students need teacher educators to respect their beliefs and help them learn to present, discuss, and reconsider their religious beliefs in a way that is personally empowering, acceptable at the university, and appropriate for the multicultural public schools. Academic university knowledge is important for teachers, but learning how to integrate professional standards and personal religious beliefs is essential. W.E.B. Du Bois' *The Souls of Black Folk* speaks to this issue: he would advise us to help preservice teachers learn the ways and powers of the wider culture but to keep their souls and know their roots.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Du Bois, W. E. B. 1989/1903.

EPILOGUE

"Teaching Outside the Lines"¹: Julia Anne King and My Own Life Work

**"And you never thought to question, you just went on with your lives,
'Cause all they taught you who to be was mothers, daughters, wives,
And you believed them."²**

History teachers and historians have important roles; we bestow power upon people and contribute to history through our interpretations of the past. We decide who gets included, and who gets left out, who gets marginalized, and who gets center stage, whose perspectives are valued, and whose are silenced. As a Gambian griot proclaims, "we taught men the history of their forefathers, with our oratorical charm we could bring peace or cause war—we were king makers." When I studied history, I did not learn the history of my foremothers, but I want to teach and write history that includes the experiences of women and contributes to social justice by making the dispossessed more powerful.

When we find gaps in the history of education, places where it seems as if no women were present, we should struggle not only to hear them but also to figure out how it is possible to impose and maintain boundaries that keep them out of the historical narrative. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz recently reviewed four new books on the history of higher education, faulting all of them for their inattention to women and gender.³ She asks why these established scholars aren't reading the relevant work on women and why they continue to treat gender, not as a crucial piece of unraveling the past, but as outside the proper realm for historical inquiry. Perhaps some historians' commitment "to make power less

¹ Hunter, Tom. 1990.

² Judy Small, Australian folk singer.

³ Horowitz, 1995. The books she reviewed include *Intellect and Public Life: Essays on the Social History of Academic Intellectuals in the United States*, by Thomas Bender (Johns Hopkins University, 1993); *Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the "Age of the University," 1865-1917*, by W. Bruce Leslie (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992); *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities since World War II* by Roger L. Geiger (Oxford University Press, 1993); and *Academia's Golden Age: Universities in Massachusetts, 1945-1970* by Richard Freeland (Oxford University Press, 1992).

mysterious and knowledge more accessible”⁴ is not shared by education historians when it comes to women teachers. Perhaps teachers are still expected to be mystified by, and denied access to, the power and knowledge of those who regulate and control them.

Only recently did I realize that my orientations toward history and teaching were considered outside of the norm. In the prologue I described flying to a conference with my daughter and eating peas and applesauce. The next day I delivered a paper called “Women's History and Pedagogical Thinking.” It was about how my recent study of United States Women's History had made me think differently about my pedagogy, and I hoped that by sharing my own reflections on the contributions of women's historians I would convince other educators about the importance not only of incorporating women into the curriculum but of re-conceiving our work to include an analysis of gender. I credited the graduate class in women's history that I had just taken with challenging me to consider what feminist pedagogy might look like.

I was honored that a former teacher of mine was in the audience; Lynda Stone, formerly a social studies teacher and presently a professor and philosopher of education, was my mentor when I was in the Stanford Teacher Education Program. She raised her hand after I finished making my remarks and challenged my assertion that women's history had made me think differently about pedagogy. She announced to the audience that she had known me for ten years and that I had “always been a little shit stirrer.” I was a bit taken back, but Lynda meant this as a compliment, and she wanted to push me to reveal what other forces influence a young feminist social studies teacher. I agreed that my pedagogical thinking was informed by more than just women's history, but I was surprised that Lynda viewed me as a troublemaker.

I invited Lynda to have tea with my mother and me before leaving the hotel. During our casual conversation we all talked about our teaching. My mother was active in sit-ins in Baltimore during the Civil Rights Era, heard Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. speak in Louisville,

⁴ Kerber, Kessler-Harris and Kish Sklar, 1995, p.14.

Kentucky, and caused quite a stir at the elite private school where she taught when she told her students what a wonderful experience it was. I had heard all of these stories before, so my mind wandered. I pondered what Lynda had said in my session the day before. As we were leaving, I asked her, "What did you mean when you said I had always been a shit-stirrer?" Lynda smiled and said, "It's in your blood." At first I was confused. My mother, a preppie sixth grade teacher, had played dutiful grandmother all weekend. Could I have possibly learned something from her that earned me a label she wouldn't even allow me to say in her home? I thought about my mother's political involvement before I was born, and I wondered what else my mother could have done when confronted with the situations she was. I admired her, but I didn't view her contributions to civil rights or teaching as especially valiant or extra-equity minded. She had never talked about her life in ways that made me think it was extraordinary; in fact, she usually talked about it in ways that made it clear she loved my dad, my sisters, and me, but which also made it clear that I could have more, do more, and encounter fewer obstacles.

I could not make sense of all this at that conference in Phoenix, but now, years later, having gotten to know Julia Anne King, I think I understand more. I know more about women's history, more about pedagogy, and more about myself. I won't claim that my current life choices are a direct result of my study of King's life, as someone who knew me ten years before I started this project might beg to differ, but I do believe that through my relationship with King I was released from what Natalie Zemon Davis has called "the compulsion to be a good feminist" and freed to define my own brand of feminism.⁵ I credit writing King's life with challenging me to consider what my own life work entails; providing me with images, models, and insights for change; and helping me bridge the scholarly community of writers and my personal development as a writer.

It wasn't until my defense was near, when my friend Heather Bruce defended her dissertation in which she claims that writing can be a feminist tool, that I realized I could

⁵ Davis, 1996.

have been one of her subjects. Like the young women in her study who re-imagined their lives and drew strength from the writing they did in a women's studies class, I have a clearer and more confident sense of myself because of this project. It was not reading about powerful women or even the closeness I felt to King that was most significant, it was the process of writing which propelled my consciousness. As I wrote I identified my commitment to "teach outside of the lines," and I opened myself to revision what my life's "greatest needs, tasks and accomplishments" are.⁶ When I started writing, I put myself in King's shoes and tried to figure out how I could accomplish all that she had. When I finished writing, I felt confident that King would support my decision to redefine my life work. I have decided that for the next several years I will raise children and work part-time in the local schools and community. I am excited to go back into the K-12 classroom and see what its like to teach with the power of King's lifework behind me, and to help other teachers construct a profession of which King would be proud.

Instead of inviting my mother to tea, I wrote her a letter telling her of my decision to resign from my full-time, tenure-track, Assistant Professor position. She replied,

Almost thirty-six years ago I returned from India. I had never seen so much poverty, such incredible humanity, and so many cultures vastly different from my own. I stopped in Geneva and stayed at the Youth Hostel for a number of days. I was there as the German kids leaving their homes gathered as The Wall was being built to create East Germany. So much was happening in the world. I remember coming home and thinking perhaps I should start very small, with creating my own family and do the very best I could there. I felt there was really nothing one person could do to "change the world" and no one wanted me to anyway. I decided perhaps my children, if I could raise fine people, would go on to do a little more to make this world a better place. I feel that you certainly do that every day you interact with people whether it is at the DMV, the University or the YMCA ballet class. Your family must come first in your life to make you happy, and as you care for them you will touch many. Abby will reach out as she grows and through your students and your children you will continue to give. I feel that over these 35 years of marriage, child rearing and teaching I have touched many lives and perhaps made a few students excited about learning more about our world. This makes me feel that I did not turn my back on what I experienced in India, but that I channeled my gifts in a far different manner.⁷

Perhaps Lynda Stone was right; maybe my version of feminism is in my blood. But writing King's life provided the time and space for me to learn in ways my family and traditional

⁶ King, 1915.

⁷ Docter, Beverly Ward, 1997.

history lessons could not teach me. I never knew about this part of my mother's life or how she saw childrearing as an extension of it. There are silences about women's lives that exist even between loving mothers and daughters. The more women's lives we read and write and teach, the freer we are to compose our own.

In *The Creation of the Feminist Consciousness* (1993) Gerda Lerner explored the devastating effects on women of their exclusion from the historical record. She persuasively argued that, "women's struggle to comprehend their own history lies at the heart of their ability to envision a world in which they are full participants."⁸ It is not possible to legislate improved teaching practice if teachers are unable to envision positions and dispositions that allow them to contribute to educational policy conversations as equals. Instead, the chasm that separates the primarily female world of teaching from the primarily male world of policy making will persist. Including the experiences of women teachers in educational history expands our vision of the past and helps us imagine more possibilities for the future. Sharing with teachers the narratives of the women who taught before them expands teachers' horizons and helps them imagine more possibilities for our children.

⁸ Kerber, Kessler-Harris, and Kish Sklar, 1995. p. 4.

APPENDIX

A Brief History of Education in Early Michigan

“Popular education is essential to the preservation and perpetuity of a free state.”¹

By the ordinance of 1787, Congress established a government over the territory lying north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, hereafter to be known as the North-west Territory.² Even before the Michigan and Indiana Territories were delineated in 1805, it had become United States policy to reserve the sixteenth section of every surveyed township in the territories for the support of common schools.³ It was also customary to donate public lands for the endowment of a university. In 1809 the population of the territory was still under five thousand, but an act was adopted which provided for dividing the settled portions of the territory into school districts, counting the numbers of school-aged children, and taxing the parents of those who attended these rough hewn schoolhouses.

In Detroit, Catholic Father Richard and Presbyterian John Montieth shared a common desire to provide education to both Protestant and Catholic children. Governor Lewis Cass heartily supported their vision and in 1817 a plan was established for the Catholepistemiad, or University, of Michigania. The goal was eventually to give the youth of Michigan non-sectarian education of the quality that was commonly given in the colleges on the East Coast from where the settlers came. Common schools that could prepare young scholars for advanced study were the first necessity as the territorial leaders looked forward to founding a university. In the 1830s the regents established branches of the university in various growing towns in the southern section of the territory. The first class at Ann Arbor

¹ King, 1896. This quotation by Lyman Abbot and a photograph of the Michigan State Normal School start Chapter IV. “How the State Educates Her Children”, in one of the books King wrote, *The Government of the People of the State of Michigan*.

² Julia Anne King (1896) *The Government of the People of the State of Michigan*. p. 12

³ A section is a piece of land one square mile in area forming one of the 36 subdivisions of a township.

was not formed until 1841. "Public opinion, to be safe, must be enlightened,"⁴ said Governor Cass in 1830, as he argued for a tax devoted to the education of the poor. At this time, Michigan was just beginning to be rapidly populated by New Englanders via the Erie Canal. Michigan's population climbed from 31,640 in 1830 to 212,671 by 1840, an increase of 571 percent, faster than any state or territory in that decade.⁵ Schools were required to be kept in every district for at least three months a year, and the children of the poor were to be instructed free of charge. Fees were still required of those who were able to pay, but the people united in the expectation expressed by President Montith in his first annual report, "thus the public will be benefited by genius and talent which would otherwise have died in obscurity."⁶

After a heated boundary dispute with Ohio, and the promise of additional territory in the Upper Peninsula, the people of Michigan adopted a constitution, and Michigan was admitted to the Union in 1837. There was no debate concerning the importance of making suitable provision for public instruction. Isaac E. Crary, of Calhoun County, was chairman of a committee appointed to draft an article regarding education. His plan provided for a library in each township and for the establishment of common schools and a university. His committee's report contained a feature not found in any previous state constitution: "The Governor shall nominate, and by and with the consent of the Legislature, in joint vote, shall appoint a Superintendent of Public Instruction, who shall hold office for two years, and whose duties shall be prescribed by law."⁷ Michigan was the first state to adopt the Prussian system of vesting the educational authority in a single individual. The Prussian school system was indirectly a model, as much of what was written about schooling and pedagogy at the time came from Europe. The Michigan system of education that Crary crafted was distinctive because education was to be run by a separate branch of the government, there was a state officer in charge of the whole system, and lands granted by

⁴ Cooley, 1885, p. 315.

⁵ Catton, 1988.

⁶ Cooley, 1885, p. 315.

⁷ Michigan Constitution of 1837, Art. X, Sec I.

the same time, the Government has been very successful in its efforts to reduce the deficit. The deficit has been reduced from \$100 billion in 1980 to \$50 billion in 1981. This is a significant achievement, and it shows that the Government is committed to fiscal responsibility. The Government has also been successful in its efforts to reduce the inflation rate. The inflation rate has been reduced from 10% in 1980 to 5% in 1981. This is also a significant achievement, and it shows that the Government is committed to maintaining price stability. The Government has also been successful in its efforts to reduce the unemployment rate. The unemployment rate has been reduced from 10% in 1980 to 7% in 1981. This is also a significant achievement, and it shows that the Government is committed to creating jobs and promoting economic growth.

The Government has also been successful in its efforts to reduce the national debt. The national debt has been reduced from \$100 billion in 1980 to \$50 billion in 1981. This is a significant achievement, and it shows that the Government is committed to reducing the burden of debt on future generations. The Government has also been successful in its efforts to reduce the trade deficit. The trade deficit has been reduced from \$100 billion in 1980 to \$50 billion in 1981. This is also a significant achievement, and it shows that the Government is committed to promoting a balanced trade relationship with other countries. The Government has also been successful in its efforts to reduce the budget deficit. The budget deficit has been reduced from \$100 billion in 1980 to \$50 billion in 1981. This is also a significant achievement, and it shows that the Government is committed to maintaining a balanced budget. The Government has also been successful in its efforts to reduce the current account deficit. The current account deficit has been reduced from \$100 billion in 1980 to \$50 billion in 1981. This is also a significant achievement, and it shows that the Government is committed to promoting a balanced current account. The Government has also been successful in its efforts to reduce the capital account deficit. The capital account deficit has been reduced from \$100 billion in 1980 to \$50 billion in 1981. This is also a significant achievement, and it shows that the Government is committed to promoting a balanced capital account. The Government has also been successful in its efforts to reduce the trade deficit. The trade deficit has been reduced from \$100 billion in 1980 to \$50 billion in 1981. This is also a significant achievement, and it shows that the Government is committed to promoting a balanced trade relationship with other countries. The Government has also been successful in its efforts to reduce the budget deficit. The budget deficit has been reduced from \$100 billion in 1980 to \$50 billion in 1981. This is also a significant achievement, and it shows that the Government is committed to maintaining a balanced budget. The Government has also been successful in its efforts to reduce the current account deficit. The current account deficit has been reduced from \$100 billion in 1980 to \$50 billion in 1981. This is also a significant achievement, and it shows that the Government is committed to promoting a balanced current account. The Government has also been successful in its efforts to reduce the capital account deficit. The capital account deficit has been reduced from \$100 billion in 1980 to \$50 billion in 1981. This is also a significant achievement, and it shows that the Government is committed to promoting a balanced capital account.

the federal government for school purposes were given to the state as trustee rather than to the townships, as had been the rule.

On Crary's recommendation, John D. Pierce was nominated by the Governor for the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction. Both branches of the Legislature confirmed this choice. In this capacity Pierce was to devise a plan for the organization of the school system of the state. He traveled to New England and consulted with prominent educators and statesmen before submitting a plan which was quickly adopted. Pierce said in 1837, when proposing his plan for education to the Legislature:

The object is universal education—the education of every individual of all classes. . . . Let free schools be established and maintained in perpetuity and there can be no such thing as a permanent aristocracy in our land; for the monopoly of wealth is powerless when mind is allowed freely to come in contact with mind.⁸

Like many early school reformers, Pierce and Crary were inspired to create good citizens through their Protestant upbringing and liberal education. John D. Pierce taught school three months each year to maintain himself before graduating from Brown University in 1822. He spent one year at Princeton Theological Seminary, was licensed by the Congregational Association, and, settled, as a missionary, in Marshall, Michigan. He became friends with Isaac E. Crary, who after graduating with highest honors from Washington (now Trinity) College, in Hartford, practiced law, and assisted G.D. Prentice in editing *The New England Weekly Review*. The young lawyer, also editor of the *Marshall Expounder*, and the young minister became intellectual allies and personal friends as they read Cousin's Report on the Prussian system of education together. Victor Cousin traveled to Europe and reported on the Prussian school system, theories and practices in classroom, and teacher training institutions. This report had considerable influence in shaping their thoughts about education, and subsequently educational policy, when Crary and Pierce became the architects of Michigan's public school system.⁹

⁸ Putnam, 1899, p.16-17.

⁹ Cubberley, 1934, p. 307-309.

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While Superintendent of Public Instruction, Pierce began the publication of the *Journal of Education* (1838-40), the first educational journal in the Great Lakes region. He organized the common school system in Michigan, dividing the state into school districts and providing for a Public Library in each. He arranged for the sale of public lands to support the schools, helped establish early qualifications for teachers, and supported the founding of the first normal school. Crary was a delegate to Congress from the Territory of Michigan and was Michigan's first Congressman. He was a member of the State House of Representatives, Speaker of the House, and one of the founders, and a regent, of the University of Michigan.¹⁰

Reformers saw in education the means of elevating the whole condition of society and thereby bringing about human progress. Lawrence Cremin explains how men like Crary and Pierce employed three general means of enunciating and pressing their demands: 1) They worked through groups and organizations. (for example, The American Lyceum, the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers, and the American Institute of Instruction) 2) They worked through the press. About twenty educational journals were instituted by the year 1840, though few survived more than several issues (for example, Pierce's *Journal of Education* 1838-1840). 3) They held actual positions through which they could exert their influence in state governments or school systems. Many school reformers were also state teachers' organization officers, superintendents of public instruction, K-12 principals, and normal school professors—the same person might occupy all these roles at different times in his life or several of them concurrently [see chart]. In this way they were able to serve a double purpose of helping to crystallize public opinion to the point of action, and then shaping the course of that action by administering it.¹¹

In the history of education, Michigan was a pioneering state. Its early public school system served as a model for other states in the Northwest Territories, Far West, and South. In 1850, when only 15% of the nation's population was in educational facilities, 28% of

¹⁰ Altenbaugh, 1999.

¹¹ Cremin, 1951, p.49-51.

Michigan's population, second only to Maine and Massachusetts, was engaged in some education.¹² This number is even more impressive given that 98% of those were being educated in public facilities, compared to 92% nationwide, and Michigan did not become a state until 1837.¹³ Not only did Michigan's education-minded settlers establish a network of public schools early on, but before the territory even became a state, they had plans for a state-sponsored, world class university.

Michigan's educational system was founded by Christian Missionaries and Jacksonian Democrats who believed in the workingman's credo. The state was home to evangelical Protestants active in reform movements, including abolitionism, temperance, common schools, and, in the 1850s, the founding of the Republican Party. The Normal School movement in the new state was influenced by these political activists. Early normal school professors were educated thinkers, active politicians, and Protestant ministers [see table]. They did not belong to one political party. Most of Michigan's school founders were Democrats, but there were also Whigs, Free Soilers, and eventually, Republicans; the 1850s were a time of changing political parties.

In 1849, the Michigan Legislature passed an act providing for the establishment of a state-sponsored institution for the purpose of preparing teachers. The act that established the Normal School also created the State Board of Education.¹⁴ The Board report to the Legislature in 1850 included propositions from the cities of Gull Prairie, Niles, Marshall, Jackson, and Ypsilanti. The townspeople of each potential site were convinced that theirs was the perfect spot for the state's first Normal School, and they all offered financial incentives to show their enthusiasm. The Board deemed Ypsilanti's proposal the best.

Ypsilanti offered a cash subscription of \$13,500, temporary rooms for the use of the school, and proposed to pay upon specified conditions, for five years, the salary of the principal teacher of the model school, which salary might be \$700 per year.¹⁵

¹² Cremin, 1951, p. 180

¹³ Cremin, 1951, p. 180

¹⁴ Putnam, 1899. p. 13.

¹⁵ Putnam, 1899, p. 14.

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The Normal School, the crowning glory of the young state's common school system, was established.

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| <i>Abbreviations</i> | <i>Archive name and location</i> |
|-----------------------------|--|
| EMU | Eastern Michigan University Archives, Ypsilanti, Michigan |
| BHL | Bentley Historical Collection, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan |
| CPL | Charlotte Public Library, Charlotte, Michigan |
| APL | Adrian Public Library, Adrian Michigan |
| LCH | Lenawee County Historical Museum, Adrian, Michigan |
| LCL | Lenawee County Library |
| LMI | Library of Michigan, Lansing, Michigan |
| LPL | Lansing Public Library, Lansing, Michigan |
| KC | Kalamazoo College Archives, Kalamazoo, Michigan |
| OCA | Oberlin College Archives |

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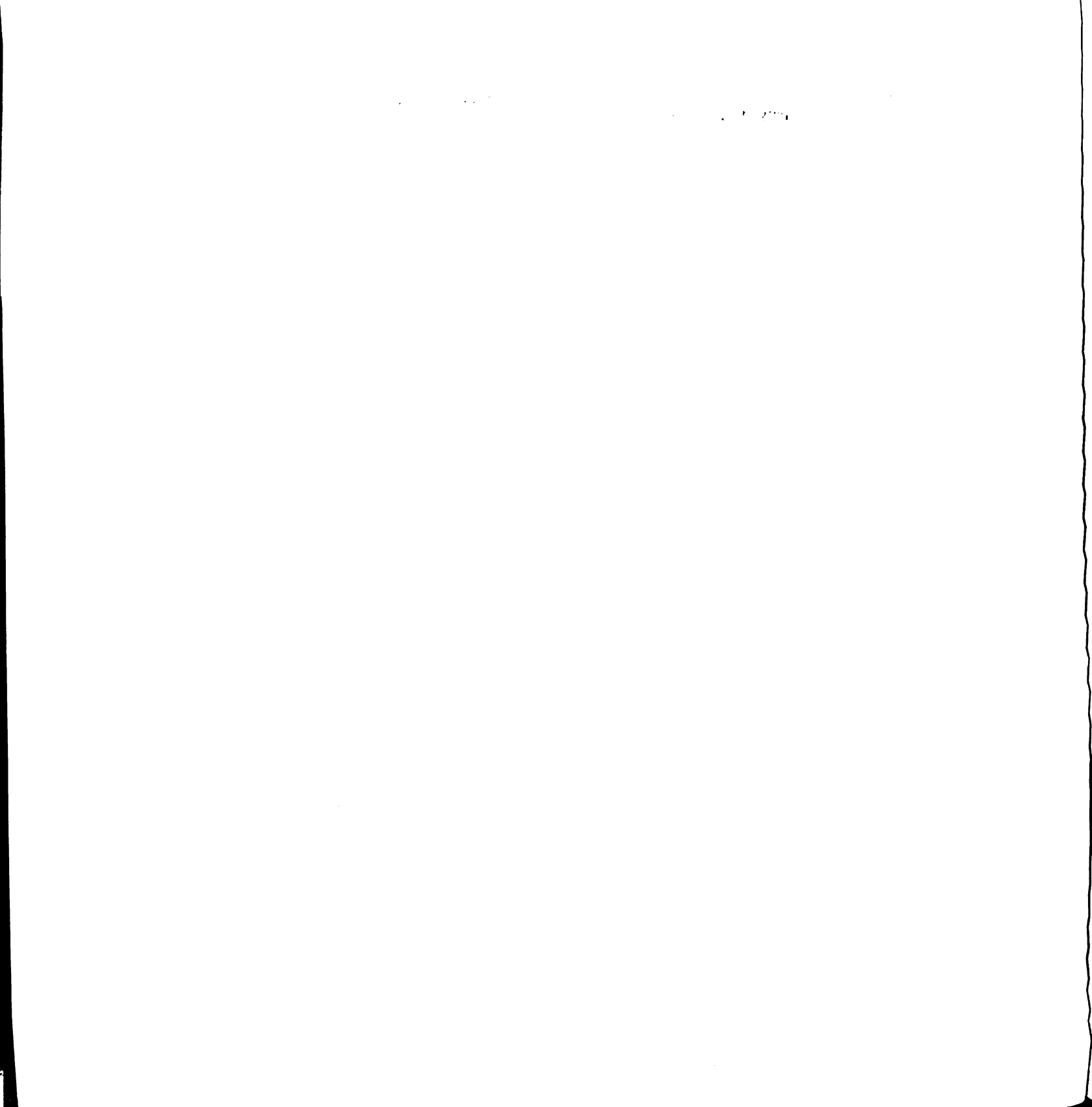
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