The Japanese Journal of American Studies, No. 17 (2006)

Between Factory and School: Women School Teachers in Early Nineteenth-Century New England

*Yukako HISADA**

INTRODUCTION

In the 1881 issue of *the Atlantic Monthly*, Lucy Larcom, a poet, recalled her experience as a cotton factory worker in Lowell, Massachusetts in the 1830s:

> Many [of the girls] taught in their native districts during the summer months, and came to the mills to work only in the winter. The ranks of the primary and grammar school teachers in Lowell were frequently replenished from among the mill-girls. A leading clergyman of the place, one not giving to jesting or exaggeration, was at one time asked, by a person interested in the establishment of good common schools in the Western States, how many competent teachers he thought could be furnished from the young women employed in the mills. He replied without hesitation, "Probably about five hundred."[1]

Although her recollection as a factory worker seems to have been idealized, one estimate for antebellum Massachusetts shows that one out of four American-born white women had taught school at some time in their lives.[2] In this regard, it could be said that Lowell factory workers were

*Associate Professor, Nagano Prefectural College

not exceptions. In fact, the Superintendent of Merrimack Mills in Lowell, John Clark, wrote in answer to the Circular Letter of Horace Mann, the Secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts since 1837, that about 150 women workers at the mills had been engaged in teaching schools at some time.[3]

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the New England states experienced an overall increase in the number of female primary school teachers. In Massachusetts, while women comprised 56.3% of the teaching force in 1834, their percentage increased to 77.8% by 1860, and other New England states followed Massachusetts. As Jo Anne Preston indicates, measured according to a feminization index of 80%, the feminization of teaching occurred in Massachusetts in 1861, in 1864 in New Hampshire, 1865 in Connecticut, and 1866 in Rhode Island.[4]

While school teaching became respectable women's work, factory working became less respectable in nineteenth-century New England. In this article I shall deal with school teaching as women's work and focus on rural women teachers who left behind diaries and letters.

DAME SCHOOLS AND THE EARLY EDUCATION OF GIRLS

Where and how were rural women educated in the early republic? Walter H. Small, Superintendent of Public Schools in Providence, Rhode Island, noted in his book, which was published after his death in 1914, that to what extent girls had been admitted to the early schools in New England was a debatable issue, because there were insufficient records and the available documents were contradictory. The conditions of the education of girls varied from town to town, but girls were likely to be admitted to schools after the late eighteenth century.[5]

Although the extent of literacy varies from the basic ability to write one's name and read simple sentences to the ability to read sophisticated prose, it has been used as an index of the popularization of education. Several studies of the literacy of New England women show that their literacy rate rose after the mid-eighteenth century. Kenneth Lockridge, for example, indicates in his pioneering work that the literacy rate among New England women was 48% between 1787 and 1795 while it was 31% between 1650 and 1670. These figures were rather moderate compared to succeeding statistical research.[6]

Linda Kerber assumed that major improvements in women's education occurred between 1790 and 1830, and that the trend was related both to the political revolution and to the industrial revolution. With recent scholarship we might add to these the consumer revolution and the market revolution. As for the political revolution, the ideology of Republican Motherhood supported this trend. Both Kerber and Mary Beth Norton suggest that the importance of female education came to be emphasized in the early republic in spite of the traditional notion that excessive learning would "unsex" women. They argue that the education of girls had become a duty both for their parents and for themselves. A woman had to be a learned and virtuous citizen to become a mother to instruct her children as well as a responsible keeper of the household economy.[7]

Prior to the American Revolution, girls were actually though not legally excluded from public education, and they were likely to be instructed at home or went to "dame schools." Originally the word "dame school" referred to a private school where a mother taught her children as well as her neighbors' children, or a widow taught her neighbors' children to support herself, as in late seventeenth and eighteenth-century England. Later this word meant a semi-public school mainly dependent on the tuition of the pupils but with a small budget from the town treasury, and further came to refer to a real public school with a woman teacher.[8]

The change in the meaning of this word was noted in the history of Danvers, Massachusetts. Danvers was formerly known as Salem Village, where the witch-hunting incident occurred in 1692, and the township was established in 1752 when it became independent from Salem town. Although the residents of Salem Village had petitioned Salem town to establish their own public school in the village, it was not until 1712 that the public school was established, so their children had to go to the schools in Salem town for many years. Rev. Joseph Green, the pastor of the village, determined to have a teacher who was to instruct children in the three R's, and with support from the residents—one of them donated his land for the school—Green paid for the expenses of a school building from his own salary. Then he employed Widow Katherine Daland (or Deland) as the teacher, paying all the expenses by himself. The school was supported privately until 1713 when Salem town began to pay her wages, five pounds a year.[9]

DISTRICT SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS

In the nineteenth century the most widespread method of organizing state systems of education was the school district system. It evolved in the late eighteenth century when people started living far from the centers of the towns because of the increasing population. Even in the seventeenth century, when some towns voted to establish a school in the center of the town, people living in the outer parts dissented because their children could not attend the school conveniently. People living far from the schools started requesting the establishment of schools in their neighborhood, so many towns voted to divide the town into several districts and to provide schools for each district. The Massachusetts Law of 1789 legally authorized towns to establish boundaries for school support and attendance.[10]

These early schools opened not all year round but often only in summer and winter, and the duration of each session varied from six weeks to six months. While the attendance of boys eight or nine years old or older was high in winter, girls and younger boys tended to go to school in summer. It is often said that this tendency was related to the farmers' busy and leisure seasons. In summer, older boys were expected to work on the farms while younger children needed somebody's care because their family members were busy. This also reflected the character of teachers. Male teachers were needed more in winter sessions when older boys attended schools because they were expected to keep order in the classroom. Female teachers, on the other hand, were expected to act as mothers who took care of the younger children. Women teachers, however, came to be employed in winter, too, when the officials of the Massachusetts Board of Education realized their lower wages would allow for a budget cut.[11]

Teaching was a temporary job for most men and women, and in general teachers were young—between the late teens and early 30s—and unmarried. It was a "stepping stone" for men to start a new job and "a limbo between their parents' home and marriage" for women. The teachers' living conditions almost required them to be single, because of the custom of "boarding around" in their pupils' homes that supplemented their wages.[12]

A diary of a Vermont schoolteacher, Pamela Brown, born in 1816, indicates this custom. She taught school between 1836 and 1838, and in 1836 she taught three terms: from January 18th to March 12th, from June

4th to August 20th, and from December 5th to February 25th, 1837. During these terms she boarded in pupils' houses on weekdays. She moved from one to another every two weeks, and went back to her own home every weekend.[13]

Moving from one pupil's home to another was very stressful for teachers. Another Vermont teacher wrote in her diary as late as 1865: "Tonight I am at Mr. Allen's. Am to board here two weeks. Well it will be hard for me, but I can still endure it."[14]

Not many teachers wrote in their diaries about how hard boarding around was, but Preston pointed out that many aggressively negotiated for more suitable living quarters.[15]

DISTRICT SCHOOLS IN DANVERS, MASSACHUSETTS

Teachers, however, did not always board around in their pupils' houses. As early as the 1830s, the districts of Danvers, Massachusetts tended to pay for teachers' board in addition to their wages, although female teachers generally received less than male teachers, and many female teachers seemed to commute from their homes to schools.[16] The Danvers school records and teachers' diaries are well preserved, so they shed light on the teachers in this town.

In Danvers the district system was introduced in 1793. It was in 1809 that the town was divided into nine districts. It was in 1846 that they decided to establish the fourteenth district.[17] Although some of the school district records from 1821 and 1825 have survived, they list only pupils' names and ages—both boys and girls from 5 to 17 years old. One of the limited number of teachers' documents from the 1820s was a school record book kept by a teacher named Rebecca Preston, who taught in District No.10 in 1824 and 1825, in No.5 in 1827, and in a neighboring town, Lynnfield, in 1830. She started "keeping school" in District No.10 on May 3rd, 1824 at $1.25 per week for 6 weeks, and on the day after she closed the "free" (district) school on June 16th, she commenced teaching at a "private school." In the next year she started teaching at the district school of No.10 again on May 7th at $1.00 per week, closed it on August 12th, and started teaching at a private school for 8 cents per scholar per week. In 1827 she mentioned her board for the first time, writing "continue boarding . . . at Mrs[.] Cs 75 cts[cents] per week."[18]

There is no data from the 1820s to compare the wages of female and male teachers, but women might have been paid less than men,

considering later figures. For example, the District No.2 school record of 1835 shows that women were paid only one-third of men's compensation. The difference between men's and women's wages also reflected differences between the schools and subjects that men and women taught. Men were likely to teach at grammar schools while women tended to teach at primary schools.[19]

According to the *Report of the School Committee of the Town of Danvers, 1848–9*, while Orthography and Reading were taught at all district schools in Danvers, most schools also taught Writing, Geography, English Grammar, and Arithmetic. At the principal schools, or the schools for pupils over ten years old, some combination of History, Bookkeeping, Astronomy, Algebra, Latin, Philosophy, Composition, Geometry, Physiology, Surveying, and Botany were taught in addition to the above-mentioned subjects. While almost all the students at any school attended classes in Orthography and Reading, some classes like Writing, Geography, and Arithmetic were less well-attended. At some schools less than half of the students attended these classes.[20]

When the *Report of the School Committee* was published in 1849, there were 35 schoolteachers in total, 13 men and 22 women, and here we can see the feminization of teaching in progress in Danvers. Although some women teachers taught rather difficult subjects to older children, like Mary P. Preston in District No.13, who taught Writing, Geography, English Grammar, Arithmetic, and History as well as Orthography and Reading, some women teachers were regarded as unqualified to teach older children, and so were replaced by male teachers.[21]

"*The Head School* [sic]" in District No.1, where the pupils' average age was 11 and the average attendance was 70, was "peculiarly situated," and three teachers were replaced within the year 1848. The first teacher, H. P. Andrews, was an accomplished teacher, but he had to leave school for some reason and was succeeded by Amelia Upton. She also was to be replaced by a male teacher with only some two weeks left in the term. The report explained the reason why she had to be replaced: "[T]he advanced age of many of the boys, and the size of the school, as might have been expected, prevented the possibility of a female hand maintaining the necessary discipline. . . ."[22]

Both schoolteachers and school reformers faced the question of the preservation of order, and the question often appeared in the reports of the school committee of Danvers. A teacher there mentioned it in her diary in 1848. Louisa Ann Chapman started "keeping" the primary school

in District No. 14 with about 30 small children on December 4th, 1848, and wrote on the next day, "in school. very noisy[.] punished numbers."[23]

Sarah J. Putnam, who succeeded Chapman in 1849, also appeared in the report of the school committee in this matter:

> At first we expected this would be a failure, the order was so poor. But there must have been gradual improvement in this matter; for at its close there was very good order indeed. And the scholars had made all the progress that could be expected. We think the school did very well, and we think the teacher must have done well, or her school would not have appeared as it did.[24]

As Edward P. Thompson, Herbert Gutman and other labor historians have pointed out, people who first experienced industrialization felt some conflict between their familiar rural work rhythms and industrial time discipline.[25] Therefore, to preserve work discipline was one of the important questions in school education. As early as 1840 Horace Mann referred to this question several times: "The preservation of order . . . required a mean between the too much and the too little, in all the evolutions of the school, which it is difficult to hit."[26] He also argued that a school "should be governed by a steady hand, not only during the same season, but from year to year" because "the same extent of indulgence" should be allowed and "the same restriction imposed."[27]

People believed that a woman schoolteacher was suitable to instruct children because she was destined to be a mother and that she could love them as their mother did. Many women schoolteachers, however, tended to punish children rather than show their affection toward them. To maintain the discipline of the schools, many women teachers resorted to punishing their pupils.[28]

For school reformers, one of the solutions to this issue was the establishment of Union Schools. Although Horace Mann did not refer to the definition of the schools in his fourth report for 1840, the idea seems to have been to put a number of school districts together into one larger district, where "scholars" in one class would all be similar ages, so that they could sustain schools a few months longer and could pay more to teachers.[29] He also wrote, "If it were possible to measure or gauge the quantity and quality of instruction of which the teacher could give under the union system, compared with that which he can give in a school composed of scholars of all ages, and in all stages of advancement, no further proof in favor of a classification of the children into divisions of older and younger would be needed."[30]

GENDER AND SCHOOLTEACHERS

In District No. 14 of Danvers, three teachers were employed between 1848 and 1849—Mary Adeline Nevins, Louisa Chapman, and Roswell Foster. According to the records of the district, Nevins was paid $98.00 for 28 weeks teaching in the summer term of the principal school (29 weeks in the report of the school committee), Foster received $122.50 for 14 weeks in the winter term of the school, and Chapman earned $26.00 for 13 weeks (15 weeks in the report of the school committee) teaching at the primary school. On a weekly basis, this amounted to $3.50 for Navins, $8.75 for Foster, and $2.00 for Chapman.[31]

As a male teacher, Foster enjoyed the highest wages among the three, and the wage difference between Nevins and Chapman seemed to reflect the difference of their experience as teachers and/or the subjects they taught. Chapman was a dressmaker in Lawrence, Massachusetts before she started teaching, and moved into her mother's house in Danvers in December of 1848. As were many of the residents in the town, her two younger brothers were "shoe manufacturers," and she and her younger sister often helped in their brothers' business—shoe-binding.[32]

Nevins and Foster both taught Orthography, Reading, Geography, Arithmetic, Writing, and English Grammar, and in both their classes the average age of their pupils was seven. For both schools, the largest class was Orthography, and Nevins had 86 pupils while Foster had 74. Although Nevins's school was a little larger than Foster's, there seemed no significant difference between the two schools. Unlike the other two teachers, Chapman did not teach Writing and English Grammar. The total number of her pupils was 39 though the average attendance was 24, and the average age of her pupils was five.[33]

From the description of the school records, it appears that their schools had been divided into "primary" and "principal" from the beginning, but according to Chapman's diary, this started only in the middle of the year. On December 27th, 1848, she wrote, "Mr[.] Foster took 14 scholars from my school" and on January 3d, 1849, she noted, "School Meeting[.] District voted [to] divide children by age. I shall have then those under."[34] The district records and the reports of the school committee do not refer to this change, but back in 1840, the Secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts had suggested the establishment of Union Schools, and the town of Danvers seemed to follow this suggestion. In 1856, District No. 14 was finally abolished and consolidated into District No.6. This

consolidation was not welcomed by the residents of the district. The residents of both the northern and southern sections of the district petitioned to preserve this district.[35]

In the eyes of school reformers, the establishment of Union Schools also meant a budget cut, especially because they employed women teachers. When Horace Mann mentioned the establishment of Union Schools, he also suggested employing women as teachers for their low wages:

> [I]s it not an unpardonable waste of means, where it can possibly be avoided, to employ a man, at $25 or $30 a month, to teach the alphabet, where it can be done much better, at half-price, by a female teacher?[36]

Whether it was a reality or not, a woman was regarded as superior in moral power at this time, and in this respect a woman was expected to become an ideal teacher.[37] In 1844 Mann noted the increase of women teachers between 1837 and 1844, and encouraged employing more female teachers: "The more extensive employment of female teachers for educating the young, will be the addition of a new and mighty power to the forces of civilization."[38]

In the first half of the nineteenth century, however, the turnover of teachers continued to be very high. In District No.14 of Danvers, for example, teachers who taught between 1848 and 1849, including Chapman, seemed to leave school and probably did not come back, for their names did not appear in the reports of the School Committee after that. As for Chapman, 15 days after she closed her school, her sick mother, whom she had nursed while teaching, passed away. Although she and her siblings seemed to continue to live in Danvers after their mother's death, they sold their house. We cannot trace Chapman's footsteps after she stopped keeping her diary until her marriage, although she appeared in the US Census Schedule of Danvers of 1850. Otherwise, no records of her are left except the record of her marriage to an innkeeper in Lynn, Massachusetts in 1853. Still, we could guess that she might not have gone back to teaching, considering teachers' high turnover rates.[39]

SCHOOL TEACHING AS WOMEN'S WORK

When the district schools were not open all year round, once schools were closed, schoolteachers were likely to find other jobs either at private schools or in some kind of manufacturing. Rebecca Preston and Louisa Ann Chapman were among them. In her school record book,

Preston noted that she taught at a private school after the district school was closed, and Chapman worked either at making her neighbors' dresses or binding shoes to help her brothers' business.[40]

As industrialization progressed in early nineteenth-century New England, textile household production declined, and more households came to purchase textile products. People came to depend more on a market economy than the traditional local barter economy. Many farmers' and artisans' households needed cash to purchase goods from distant markets, and wives and daughters, liberated from household production, were likely to work for wages.[41]

Whether a family could get a cash income or not seemed to affect the relationships among the family members. In 1839 Sally Rice, an 18 year-old domestic servant in upstate New York, wrote a letter to her parents in Vermont, saying that she would not be happy if she lived with her parents at their self-sufficient farm and that she needed to earn money for her future. She was the fourth child of five, and could not expect her parents to provide her with a marriage portion because they had no means to get cash. Later she started working at a textile mill in Connecticut against her father's will, because she could earn more there.[42]

Rural young women who had to seek jobs, as Sally Rice did, had limited options: teaching schools, factory work, domestic service, or outwork such as shoe-binding and palm-leaf hat making.[43] Although factory workers in Lowell struck against a wage cut in the 1830s, they enjoyed relatively high wages compared to schoolteachers. In 1836, average women factory workers' wages per day were 60 cents while a woman schoolteacher in Rochester, New Hampshire earned 10 1/2 shillings or about $1.75 per week.[44]

In the 1840s and later, however, schoolteachers' wages became higher than those of factory workers. Moreover, the working conditions in Lowell factories worsened as time passed. The more intensive the labor became, the less rural young women were drawn to Lowell, and instead the numbers of immigrant workers increased. At Hamilton Company in Lowell, for example, foreign-born workers were 3.7% of the total in 1830, 38.6% in 1850, and 61.8% in 1860.[45]

The transformation of factory work changed the views of Americans toward such labor, and it became less respectable. In 1845, for example, sisters in New Hampshire wrote the following letter to Harriet Hanson Robinson, factory worker in Lowell and later suffragist:

> . . . I *do* want to go to Lowell this winter, but I do not expect to, for father and mother are not willing that we shall go to the factory to work, and when I go to make a visit, I had rather go when it is warmer. . . .[46]

Their parents opposed their working in Lowell in 1845. One of the sisters started to teach at a private school in 1846, however, so their parents might not have been so opposed to their becoming schoolteachers.[47]

The nature of domestic service was also transformed in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries "hired help," as a domestic servant was called, was a "reciprocal" or traditional communal workforce in New England local communities. It had a character similar to the traditional custom of "life-cycle servants" in Northern and Western Europe. Later, however, especially after the l840s, domestic servants were increasingly hired on a labor market, and service became a low-paid painful job.[48]

Unlike Louisa Chapman, more and more women suffered from "the bastardization of craft" in the first half of the nineteenth century. Chapman's diary started in Lawrence, Massachusetts, where she worked as a dressmaker, and even after she started teaching, she often "cut dress" for her neighbors.[49] Cutting was a skilled trade, and many women could not learn the whole trade of dressmaking in the era of industrialization. As we see from a letter written by a New Hampshire woman of almost the same generation as Chapman, often a woman apprentice could not "learn the whole of the trade." A merchant tailor employed her as an unskilled worker as early as the 1830s.[50]

Sean Wilentz has explained this trend as "the bastardization of craft." In the traditional world of male craft workers, an apprentice could have expected to become a master craftsman someday after completing his training as journeyman. This artisan system, however, started to decline in the late eighteenth century in the New England countryside and the established northern coastal cities, and especially in finished consumer crafts for national markets, such as clothing, shoes and so on. Master craftsmen and merchants relied on an intensified division of labor to reduce their costs and increase output, and the combination of central-shop and outwork systems was established.[51]

Many rural New England women, both married and unmarried, entered into the outwork system, and did piecework like binding shoes, palm-leaf hat making, button making and so on. These outworkers, however, were unskilled and often paid in goods like coffee, spice or textile

products, which were not available in local markets. This work was seasonal, and they could contribute only a small portion to the household economy.[52]

CONCLUSION

As we saw before, among the options for rural young women seeking a means to earn money, only school teaching remained a respectable job through the nineteenth century, while other occupations became degraded. Although female schoolteachers were lower-paid than male counterparts, many young women became teachers. As Thomas Dublin noted, school teaching remained "the leading professional occupation for women in 1900."[53]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, with the growth of public normal schools, private academies and so on, women teachers became better trained than before, but it was still not a life-long occupation for them. According to Dublin's research on New Hampshire schoolteachers, they came from relatively propertied families.[54] This aspect reminds us of the earlier Lowell mill workers.

As the century progressed, an increasing feminization of school teaching was in progress in the New England states. "Yankee schoolmarms" eventually found their way into the West and the South during Reconstruction. They have left other stories to be explored.

NOTES

[1] Lucy Larcom, "Among Lowell Mill-Girls," *Atlantic Monthly* Vol. 48, No. 289 (1881), 603.

[2] Richard M. Bernard, and Maris A. Vinovskis, "The Female School Teacher in Ante-Bellum Massachusetts," *Journal of Social History* 10(1977), 333.

[3] Horace Mann, "Report for 1841," *Annual Reports of the Secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts for the Years 1839–1844* (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1891), 107.

[4] Ibid., 332; Jo Anne Preston, "Domestic Ideology, School Reformers, and Female Teachers: School Teaching Becomes Women's Work in Nineteenth-Century New England," *New England Quarterly* 66(1993), 531; Nancy Hoffman, *Woman's "True" Profession: Voices from the History of Teaching* (Cambridge: Harvard Education Press, 2003), 24–25.

[5] Walter Herbert Small, *Early New England Schools* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1914; repr. New York: Arno Press, 1969), 275–89.

[6] Kenneth Lockridge, *Literacy in Colonial New England: An Inquiry into the Social Context of Literacy in the Early Modern West* (New York: Norton, 1974), 38–39; Joel

Perlmann, and Dennis Shirley, "When Did New England Women Acquire Literacy?" *William and Mary Quarterly* 48 (1991); Gloria L. Main, "An Inquiry into When and Why Women Learned to Write in Colonial New England," *Journal of Social History* 24(1991), 579–89; Joel Perlmann, Silvana R. Siddali, and Keith Whitescarver, "Literacy, Schooling, and Teaching among New England Women, 1730–1820," *History of Education Quarterly* 37(1997); Kathryn Kish Sklar, "The Schooling of Girls and Changing Community Values in Massachusetts Towns, 1750–1820," *History of Education Quarterly* 33 (1993), 511–14.

[7] Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1980; repr. New York: Norton, 1986), 189–288; Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1800* (New York: HarperCollins, 1980), 256–94. Gloria L. Main suggested that the rise of the literacy rate was related to the consumer revolution and the market revolution. Main, "An Inquiry into When and Why Women Learned to Write in Colonial New England," 583–84.

[8] Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, 140–41, 259; Small, 162–86; Perlmann, et. al, "Literacy, Schooling, and Teaching among New England Women, 1730–1820," 117–39; Shunzo Matsuzuka, *Rekishi no naka no kyoushi: Kindai Igirisu kokka to minshu-bunka* [Dame Schools, Popular Culture and Liberal State in Modern Britain] (Tokyo: Yamakawa-shuppan-sha, 2001), 28.

[9] Harriet S. Tapley, *Chronicles of Danvers (Old Salem Village), Massachusetts, 1632–1923* (Danvers: Danvers Historical Society, 1923), 33–35; J.W. Hanson, *History of the Town of Danvers, from Its Early Settlement to the Year 1848* (Danvers: The Courier Office, 1848), 144–45.

[10] Small, *The Early New England Schools*, 58–86; Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 13–29; Joel Spring, *The American Schools, 1642–1990: Varieties of Historical Interpretation of the Foundations and Development of American Education* (New York: Longman, 1990), 141; Shigeo Fujimoto, *Amerika-shi no nakano kodomo* [Children in American History](Tokyo: Sairyu-sha, 2002), 123–48.

[11] Joseph F. Kett, "Growing Up in Rural New England, 1800–1840," *Growing Up in America: Historical Experiences*, ed. Harvey J.Graff (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 176–77; Bernard, and Vinovskis, "The Female School Teacher in Ante-Bellum Massachusetts," 336; Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835* (1977; 2d ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 30–31.

[12] Bernard and Vinovskis, "The Female School Teacher in Ante-Bellum Massachusetts," 336–38; Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 20; Spring, *The American Schools, 1642–1990*, 125; William A. Mowry, *Recollections of a New England Educator* (New York: Sliver, Burdett and Co., 1908; repr. New York: Arno Press, 1969), 38; David Jaffee, "The Village Enlightenment in New England, 1760–1820," *William and Mary Quarterly* 47(1990), 340–44.

[13] *The Diaries of Sally and Pamela Brown, 1832–1838, [and] Hyde Leslie, 1887*, eds. Branche Brown Bryant, and Gertrude Elaine Baker (Springfield, Vt.: William L. Bryant Foundation, 1970), 28–93.

[14] Margaret Tait, Diary, 9 January 1865, Vermont Historical Society, quoted in Preston, "Domestic Ideology, School Reformers, and Female Teachers," 546–47.

[15] Preston, "Domestic Ideology, School Reformers, and Female Teachers," 547.

[16] Danvers School Department, Return of Scholars, 1821, 1825, 1834–1856 (Manuscript), Danvers Archival Center (DAC), Danvers, Mass.

[17] Hanson, *History of the Town of Danvers*, 146–47; *Report of the School Committee of the Town of Danvers, 1839* (Salem: William Ives & Co., 1839); Danvers School District 14 Records, 1848–1852 (Manuscript), DAC.

[18] Rebecca Preston, School Record Book (Manuscript), 3 May 1824, 2 May 1825, 7 May 1827, DAC.

[19] Return of School District No.2 for the Year 1835(Manuscript), DAC.

[20] "Statistical Table from April 1, 1848, to April 1, 1849," *Report of the School Committee of the Town of Danvers, 1848–9* (Danvers: G. R.Carlton-Courier Press, 1849), 24. Although school reformers like Horace Mann cautioned of irregularity in the attendance of the pupils as early as 1840, the differences in irregularity among the classes seems to show what subjects common people regarded as important, and that they utilized schools positively according to their own theory. Horace Mann, "Report for 1840," *Annual Reports of the Secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts for the Years 1839–1844* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1891), 71–83.

[21] *Report of the School Committee of the Town of Danvers, 1848–9*, 24.

[22] Ibid., 9

[23] Louisa Ann Chapman, Diary (Manuscript), 5 December 1849, Phillips Library, Peobody Essex Museum (PEM), Salem, Mass.

[24] *Report of the School Committee of the Town of Danvers, 1849–1850* (Boston: Press of George R. Carlton, 1850), 33.

[25] Edward P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present* 38(1967); Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815–1919," *American Historical Review* 78 (1973).

[26] Mann, "Report for 1840," 64.

[27] Ibid., 67

[28] Preston, "Domestic Ideology, School Reformers, and Female Teachers," 549–50.

[29] Mann, "Report for 1840," 53–57.

[30] Ibid., 57.

[31] "Report of Prudential Committee Commencing March 6, 1848 and Ending March 12, 1849," Danvers School District 14 Records, 1848–1852 (Manuscript), DAC; *Report of the School Committee of the Town of Danvers, 1848–9*, 23–24.

[32] According to the vital record of Boxford, Massachusetts, she was born on January 7th, 1814, but the card catalog of the diary at Philips Library of Peobody Essex Museum indicates that she was born in 1815. The vital record of Danvers recorded her and her younger sister's baptism at the First Congregational Church of Danvers in December 4th, 1831. According to the United States Census Schedule of 1850, Louisa Chapman was 32 years old, and lived with her brothers, who were shoe manufacturers with property amounting to $600, 28 and 25 years old respectively, and her sister who was 30 years old. All these Chapmans were 4 years younger than those found in the Boxford records, but I concluded they were the same people. Chapman, Diary, 4 December, 1848; United States Census Schedule, Danvers, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1850; *Vital Records of Boxford, Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849* (Topsfield, Mass.: Topsfield Historical Society, 1905), 22; *Vital Records of Danvers, Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849*, vol.1: Births (Salem: The Essex Institute, 1909), 68; Jeremiah Chapman, Account Book, 1839–1849 (Manuscript), PEM.

[33] *Report of the School Committee of the Town of Danvers, 1848–9*, 24.

[34] Chapman, Diary, 27 December 1848, 3 January 1849.

[35] Danvers School District No.14 Records, 1846–1856, DAC.

[36] Mann, "Report for 1840," 57.

[37] Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," *American Quarterly* 18(1966); Spring, *The American Schools, 1642–1990*, 121.

[38] Mann, "Report for 1844," *Annual Reports of the Secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts for the Years 1839–1844*, 426–28.

[39] Chapman, Diary, 20 March 1849, 18 October, 1849; Marriage Records, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1853, Vol.69, p.180, Massachusetts Archives.

[40] Preston, School Record Book; Chapman, Diary,

[41] Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780–1860* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 129–55; *The Diaries of Sally and Pamela Brown, 1832–1838*; Pearl Family, Account Books,1792–1845 (Manuscript), Massachusetts Historical Society(MHS), Boston.

[42] "Sally Rice Letters," *The New England Mill Village, 1790–1860*, eds. Gary Kulik, et al. (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1982), 387–90; Nell W. Kull, " 'I Can Never Be Happy There in Among So Many Mountains': The Letters of Sally Rice," *Vermont History* 38(1970), 50.

[43] Thomas Dublin, *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826–1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 34–35; idem., "Rural Putting-Out Work in Early Nineteenth-Century New England: Women and the Transition to Capitalism in the Countryside," *New England Quarterly* 64(1991); idem., *Transforming Women's Work: New England Lives in the Industrial Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

[44] Dublin, *Women at Work*, 62–69; Sanborn Family Papers (Manuscript), Folder 1840, MHS.

[45] Vinovskis, and Bernard, "The Female School Teacher in Ante-Bellum Massachusetts," 338; Dublin, *Women at Work*, 138–39; Brian C. Mitchell, *The Paddy Camp: The Irish of Lowell, 1821–1861* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 20–32, 89–90.

[46] Lura Currier to Harriet Hanson, 14 December 1845, Harriet Hanson Robinson Papers, Schlesinger Library(SL), Radcriffe College, Cambridge, Mass., quoted in Allis Rosenberg Wolfe, ed., "Letters of a Lowell Mill Girl and Friends: 1845–1846," *Labor History* 17(1976), 100.

[47] Marie Currier to Harriet Hanson, 4 April 1846, Robinson Papers, SL, quoted in Wolfe, ed., "Letters of a Lowell Mill Girl and Friends," 100–01.

[48] Carol S. Lasser, "Mistress, Maid, and Market: The Transformation of Domestic Service in New England, 1790–1870," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1982), 1–122; Faye E. Dudden, *Serving Women: Household Service in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middleton, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1983), 12–71. As for "lifecycle servants" in Europe, see Yuji Wakao, *Doitsu houkou-nin no shakai-shi* [Social History of Servants in Germany] (Kyoto: Minerva-shobou, 1986) and Minoru Kawakita, *Minshu no Daieiteikoku: Kinsei-Igirisu shakai to Amerika-imin* [People's British Empire: Early Modern British Society and Migration to America] (Tokyo: Iwanami-shoten, 1990).

[49] Chapman, Diary, 1 June 1848, 9 December 1848, 6 January 1849, 17–19, 27 January 1849, 3 February 1849.

[50] Jo Anne Preston, " 'To Learn Me the Whole of the Trade': Conflict between a Female Apprentice and a Merchant Tailor in Ante-bellum New England," *Labor History* 24(1983), 259–73; idem, "Learning a Trade in Industrializing New England: The Expedition of Hannah and Mary Adams to Nashua, New Hampshire, 1833–1834," *Historical New Hampshire* 39(1984), 24–44.

[51] Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 4–142.

[52] Samuel Bacheller, Account Book, 1795–1845 (Manuscript), Old Sturbridge Village Research Library, Sturbridge, Mass.; Pearl Family, Account Books, MHS; Dublin, *Transforming Women's Work*, 29–75, 117–51; Mary H. Blewett, *Men, Women, and Work: Class, Gender, and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1780–1910* (1988; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 3–96; Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism*, 160–91.

[53] Dublin, *Transforming Women's Work*, 208.

[54] Ibid., 215–227.