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## Women In Utah History

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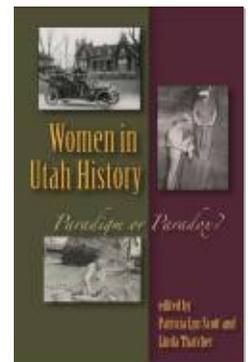
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## From Schoolmarm to State Superintendent

### The Changing Role of Women in Education, 1847–2004

Mary R. Clark and Patricia Lyn Scott

“Come children, come. We will begin now.” With these words, tradition holds, sixteen-year-old Mary Jane Dilworth opened Utah’s first school with nine pupils on October 24, 1847, three months to the day after the first Mormon pioneers entered the valley of the Great Salt Lake. This event and the public exhortations of church leaders have been used to illustrate Mormon commitment to education. While Mormons valued education, territorial schools were not necessarily the “firm foundation upon which is built the present day system of education” in Utah.<sup>1</sup> Educational historian Frederick Buchanan found that Utah’s present public school system “cannot be explained by simply claiming it developed out of Utah’s inspired, prophetic pioneer heritage.”<sup>2</sup> Ideology was less important than practical considerations as political leaders shaped the Mormon educational perspective.<sup>3</sup> Like other western territories, education was spurred and retarded sporadically by the political, economic, and social realities of frontier life. In Utah, Mormon ideology simply became a fourth element.

Three distinct kinds of schools developed in early Utah. First were the ward schools, infrequently supported by taxes and most commonly funded through tuition. Second were the private or “select” schools operated and funded privately. Third were non-Mormon schools operated and funded by missionary boards from Protestant denominations in the East. All three types of schools played a role in the development of public education in Utah and women participated significantly in each.<sup>4</sup>

Mormon desecularization became a major element in the prolonged struggle for Utah statehood, not achieved until 1896.<sup>5</sup> The schools were an early battleground to end Mormon control of daily life in Utah. During the twentieth century, educational practices and policies, while still strongly reflecting Mormon values, were primarily influenced by national trends and standards. What has been the role of women, individually and collectively,

in the development of education from 1847 to the end of the twentieth century?

### BACKGROUND

Historical accounts, personal documents, and public records reveal patterns of employment and compensation, occupational status, academic preparation, and standards of professionalism in Utah schools since the days of early settlement, especially in the broader context of other Western states and the nation as a whole. As late as 1966, a report on women in Utah found: "The social transition resulting in part from the influences outside the religious subculture today presents many Utah men, women, employers, educators, and families with conflicts in values and attitudes about the appropriate role of women in relationship to their families; women have been affected to a greater extent than almost any other segment of the population."<sup>6</sup>

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, teaching was considered an acceptable extension of the female domestic sphere, an occupation suited to women because of their "natural" ability to nurture and train children.<sup>7</sup> In 1822, Catherine Beecher noted that "generally speaking there seems to be no very extensive sphere of usefulness for a single woman but that which can be found in the limits of the school-room."<sup>8</sup> She and Horace Mann, among others, campaigned for women as elementary school teachers, especially in the West, Beecher estimated that 90,000 were needed and argued: "It is chimerical to hope that men would become teachers when there are multitudes of other employment that will . . . lead to wealth." Thus, "it is woman who is fitted by disposition and habits and circumstances, for such duties, who to a very wide extent must aid in educating the children and youth of the nation." Further, "moral and religious education must be the foundation of national instruction," and energetic and benevolent women" must be its mainstay.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the stereotype of the young schoolmarm bringing civilization and culture to rough frontier towns is actually how many school teachers saw themselves.<sup>10</sup>

### PIONEER SCHOOLS

Utah's territorial schools paralleled those in other western territories with some notable exceptions. Public meetinghouses were often the first buildings erected—places in which to worship and, as the need was felt, to hold school on weekdays. Local ward bishops collected school taxes and hired teachers until a local board of school trustees took over the responsibility. In addition, the first legislative assembly in 1851 established a legal framework for schools based on the system used for the university at Nauvoo, Illinois, with schools in each ward, supervised by three wardens. In 1851, the office of territorial school superintendent was also created. The Regents of the University of Deseret (renamed the University of Utah in 1894) appointed the superintendent, who made annual reports to them. Between 1865 and 1896, the superintendent's

appointment varied according to political control of the territorial government. The territorial legislature mandated the creation of local school districts in 1852. The lack of territorial funds left the burden of school support on the districts themselves, which, in those days were usually comprised of only one school.<sup>11</sup> By 1854, about 13,000 students were enrolled in 226 schools in the Utah Territory.

In the 1860s the office of county superintendent of schools was created, promoting centralized school policy and curriculum, at least in theory. Early school laws were generally ineffective or unenforced at the local level. By 1864, there were 144 school districts and only 120 schools. Two years later, the trend shifted so that there were more schools than districts, but even then these districts averaged fewer than seventy students apiece.<sup>12</sup>

Utah, like other western territories, had no true public school system until the last decade of its territorial period. Whether organized by local LDS wards or by private individuals, most early school were open only to children whose parents could afford to pay the required tuition.

In early Utah, men and women entrepreneurial teachers opened private schools to fill the gap in public education by offering schooling for tuition ranging from 50 cents to \$4 per pupil for a ten-week term. The *Deseret News* records the opening of many such schools. For example, Lydia Knight arrived in Salt Lake City in 1850, noted the shortage of schools, and opened a school in her home. In October 1858, newly widowed Sarah Ann Cooke began advertising a “select” school for girls at her home in Salt Lake’s Fourteenth Ward. She offered instruction in primary and advanced English and lessons on the melodeon for \$12 a quarter, plus a \$3 fee for use of books and instruments.<sup>13</sup> By 1855, 125 students were enrolled in four private schools in Utah County.<sup>14</sup>

While school trustees had the “power to assess and collect a tax upon all taxable property” in the district and the “power to dispose of personal property and real estate,” many communities supported their schools through tuition and not taxes.<sup>15</sup> When taxes were collected, they often went for construction and maintenance of school buildings. Teacher salaries and textbooks had to be financed through tuition. Since cash was in short supply, families often paid tuition with crops and/or labor. From 1860 to the 1880s, LDS leaders spoke often against public education. Brigham Young did not support free schools and publicly declared his opposition “to taking from one man and giving it to another.”<sup>16</sup> He believed that every child ought to have the opportunity of receiving an education but not as financed by taxation: “I do not believe in allowing my charities to go through the hands of a set of robbers who pockets nine-tenths themselves, and give one-tenth to the poor.”<sup>17</sup> Free public schools did not become a part of Utah’s history until the Free Public School Act of 1890.<sup>18</sup>

School was conducted for a few months during the winter and then for only a few hours a day. Most schools in the first decades were taught by



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Fourteenth District School First Reader class, taken on the front steps of the old Fourteenth Ward Assembly Hall, Salt Lake City, September 1890.

“interested or needy persons simply volunteering to teach as much as they knew.”<sup>19</sup> Courses of study were elementary, and textbooks rare. There were no compulsory education attendance laws, no standards for teacher certification, and no legally defined length for a school year. The superintendent of territorial schools had no supervisory authority, but only power to recommend and report.<sup>20</sup>

Mormon ward bishops who “generally supplied both the civic and religious leadership in the local districts” were responsible for establishing and maintaining local schools.<sup>21</sup> Hence, standards for the quality and effectiveness of the schools varied with the tenure of the ward authorities and also varied from ward to ward. Although schooling was in the temporal control of male school church leaders, few wards could find qualified men who had either the time or the inclination to teach school. For most, “education was not the most important thing in the lives of early settlers. Making a living for one’s family came first,” as one historian put it.<sup>22</sup> Thus Brigham Young encouraged women in July 1869 to “develop the powers [with] which they are endowed . . . [and] to enlarge their sphere of usefulness for the benefit of society at large.”<sup>23</sup> His reference to women’s sphere echoed nineteenth-century America’s doctrine of domesticity which kept a distinct boundary around the home sphere and limited women’s participation in work and public life. This separate-spheres concept “help explain[s] . . . the configurations of opportunity and exclusion in employment of women.”<sup>24</sup>

Mormon women often had greater responsibilities than other pioneer women. Their husbands were often away from home on missions or dividing

their time with other plural families. Mormon women felt economic pressures to become self-sufficient by bartering goods and services, or finding employment. Many plural wives set up home schools to teach basic skills to the family's children, for Brigham Young had preached in 1852: "The duty of the mother is to watch over children, and give them their early education. . . . Let education commence at this point, you mothers! and then with brother [Orson] Spencer and the [B]oard of Regents" of the University of Deseret.<sup>25</sup>

For example, Lucy Meserve Smith, a plural wife of Apostle George A. Smith, taught school in Provo, accepting food as tuition. During the early 1850s, she "would come home at noon and go back to my school without a bit of dinner til[l] some one threshed, then I would get wheat on schoolbill."<sup>26</sup>

In St. George, Martha Cragun Cox's pay was twenty dollars worth of produce a month, which she had to collect herself, going from house to house. Josephine Miles, another St. George teacher, wrote, "Many couldn't pay anything. Those who could, paid the teacher in produce which they could spare; whether or not it was useful for the teacher mattered little."<sup>27</sup>

One unidentified resourceful teacher in St. George, collected a quart of milk from each student every week for tuition. From the milk she made cheese. At the end of the twelve-week term, she loaded her carefully wrapped cheeses into a wagon and drove to Salt Lake City to sell them.<sup>28</sup> Less fortunate was another unnamed teacher who, after teaching for three months, received three red ruffled petticoats for her salary. She wasn't able to sell them or to trade them for either produce or tithing scrip.<sup>29</sup>

While some teachers lived at home, out-of-towners boarded with their students. Eighteen-year-old Lena Mortensen in Elsinore lived and taught in the house of the family of one of her ten students for about a week, then moved on to the next.<sup>30</sup>

A romantic aura surrounds the accounts of early women teachers in Utah. No doubt they accomplished much good, but they cannot be said to have shaped Utah's educational policies. Teaching was often a temporary task undertaken to supplement family income or to meet a community need for young children. Like sixteen-year-old Mary Jane Dilworth, they were often very young and had no professional training beyond elementary school. Their schools usually dissolved when they married, moved away, or were replaced with male teachers.<sup>31</sup> While these women provided an important service, they were not professional teachers. As Frederick Buchanan notes: "The romantic portrait of dedicated individuals committing themselves to the children of the pioneers has sometimes obscured the fact that the achievement of a teaching profession in Utah was not a result of spontaneous growth and 'natural' development, but came only after years of struggle against lack of resources . . . parochial self interests, community apathy and lack of adequate facilities for teacher preparation."<sup>32</sup>

In 1862, forty-three men and fifty-nine women were teaching in the territory. Two years later, only four more women were teaching while the

number of male teachers had increased to eighty-eight. As more teachers were needed, more women were hired, although men continued to hold the majority of teaching positions. In 1868, 55 percent of all teachers were men. By 1871, the total teaching force had increased to 358, but the gender ratio remained the same.<sup>33</sup>

In 1870, when national statistics became available for the first time, about 60 percent of the teachers nationwide were female.<sup>34</sup> The percentage of woman teachers in Utah slowly increased to almost 64 percent at the turn of the century, but the state still had a significantly higher proportion of men teachers compared to the nation. Numbers, however, do not tell the whole story. Far outnumbering women employed as teachers in any given year were those who had been teachers at some time in their lives. They saw teaching as an acceptable, though temporary, occupation for their daughters. In addition, women teachers served as role models for young girls, giving them the desire to continue their education and perhaps to become teachers themselves.<sup>35</sup>

Nor does this ratio reflect an official church policy. In 1869, Brigham Young suggested: "We have sisters here, who, if they had the privilege of studying, would make just as good mathematicians or accountants, as any man; and we think they ought to have the privilege to study. . . . We have as good teachers as can be found on the face of the earth, if our bishops would only employ and pay them, but they will not."<sup>36</sup> In 1873, he berated ward bishops "who can not have anybody but a stranger for a school teacher."<sup>37</sup> In fact, Utah Territory needed trained women who would teach for low wages. In Utah, as in eastern states thirty years earlier, "teaching became the legitimation for women's entry into higher education."<sup>38</sup>

### TRAINING TEACHERS

A significant number of the first women students enrolled at the University of Deseret were daughters of territorial officials.<sup>39</sup> Territorial Superintendent Robert L. Campbell, in his 1870 report, congratulated the territorial assembly on the "establishment of the University" and expressed his hope that the new "normal department" would soon provide the territory with a supply of competent schoolteachers. He recommended legislation to provide full scholarships for a limited number of students from each county. That he expected many to be women is evident in his recommendation that school trustees should choose the most talented women for teachers. Where no women were sufficiently qualified, each district should send eligible women to the normal department.<sup>40</sup> He also deplored the sex discrimination of local districts:

In the minds of some Trustees there is a prejudice against female teachers, but the experience of the Superintendent proves to him that the female teacher, if she be as intelligent and educated, is equal in capacity and ability to instruct and govern youth, and so far as regards the primary scholars, the female

teacher will sometimes excel in patience and forbearance; and wherever there is a healthy influence exerted by Trustees and parents, the government in a school taught by a dignified female, will not be lacking. The presence of a lady imparts an inspiration of respect, awe and reverence even to the rude of the other sex, which none but the vicious and barbarous can ignore.<sup>41</sup>

The 1876 legislature appropriated five thousand dollars for “normal training” at the University of Deseret “on condition that forty pupils annually be instructed free of charge, for tuition, books or apparatus, for one year in the normal department of said university.”<sup>42</sup> Scholarship students were obliged to teach one year in their districts for each year of aid received. An early recipient was seventeen-year-old Ellen Langton from Smithfield who had taught eighty children in all grades the previous year. Ellen described her year at the university as “wonderful” and felt that, “after that year . . . she could really teach.”<sup>43</sup>

Shauna Adix, who studied the differential treatment of men and women educators in Utah, found that “the early inclusion of women in the student body of the University of Deseret was generally ahead of such developments for women in other parts of the country, . . . [but] this inclusion had a pragmatic base, did not give women equal access to university resources, and was not rooted in basic commitment to . . . equal education for both men and women.” Furthermore, educational patterns and goals for each sex differed: Men were encouraged to enter all professions; women were to be educated for their roles as wives, mothers, and teachers.<sup>44</sup> About the same period, liberal Mormon women advocated the cause of higher education for women in the pages of the *Woman's Exponent*. Yet, with few exceptions, women were limited to teacher training or domestic science programs.

In 1878, the faculty of Brigham Young Academy consisted of Karl Maeser, principal, Milton Hardy, head of the Intermediate Department, and Zina Presendia Young Williams, head of the Primary Department and Ladies Work Department. Hardy was paid \$800, Williams \$240.<sup>45</sup> Through the 1890s women comprised one-fourth to one-third of the University of Utah and Brigham Young Academy faculties. At the turn of the century, the few women faculty members were primarily found in domestic science and teacher training, where women students were concentrated. Not until 1904 was Maud May Babcock promoted to professor of elocution at the University of Utah, making her the first woman in the state to achieve the rank of full professor.<sup>46</sup>

As university teaching became more professional, it began to require an education beyond that considered “proper” for women. Normal schools provided an acceptable entry point. Alice Louise Reynolds graduated from Brigham Young’s normal school in 1890. She was teaching at the Juab Stake Academy in Nephi when Benjamin Cluff, Brigham Young Academy’s new president, proposed that she enroll at the University of Michigan for an advanced degree in literature. She completed her class work in Ann Arbor and, at age



*Special Collections, Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University.*

First graduating class at the Branch Normal School (Southern Utah University) located in Cedar City, 1900. Pictured are: Emma Gardner, Alice Redd, Amelia Dalley, Ella Berry, Joseph T. Wilkinson, Jr., and J. S. Dalley.

twenty-one, began her forty-four year career in Brigham Young Academy's English Department. During that time, she did further work at seven other universities including Chicago, Cornell, and Berkeley and became the second woman in Utah to achieve the rank of full professor.<sup>47</sup>

More typical of how women faculty fared in rank and teaching was Emma Kees, a graduate of the Pennsylvania State Normal School and Cook County Training School in Illinois. The University of Utah's Normal School hired her in 1891 as supervisor of primary work (elementary school) teacher training and as the first principal of its "model school," where student teaching was done.<sup>48</sup> She was not invited to attend a faculty meeting until April 1896, when she was given the rank of "instructor in the Theory of Teaching."<sup>49</sup>

The number of students in the Normal School grew steadily. During 1874–75, the average enrollment of men at the University of Deseret was sixty-five while that of women was thirty-nine. A decade later the average enrollment of men had doubled, but they outnumbered women only by 18 percent. Prior to the 1882–83 school year, total enrollment in the Normal Department was consistently below or equal to the forty scholarships provided annually by the state. In that year, however, enrollment doubled, partly because of an increasing demand for better teachers but mainly because the university gave tuition scholarships to forty normal students in addition to the legislature's forty and

extended the course to two years.<sup>50</sup> Despite this encouragement of trained teachers, however, between 1882 and 1890 the legislative assembly consistently opposed efforts to make school attendance mandatory or to provide free, tax-supported schools.

### DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS

An important development in Utah's education was high-quality schools operated by missionaries from other religious denominations. In 1915, Utah's Superintendent D. H. Christensen noted the high standards established by denominational schools: "With this [mission] school . . . music and art soon became daily exercises, nature study was introduced into the primary grades, and the study of Latin, of algebra and geometry pupils in seventh and eighth grades under trained teachers was not uncommon."<sup>51</sup> By 1875, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Baptists had established denominational schools in Utah Territory. For the next twenty years, these mission schools received consistent support from their various denominations and showed healthy enrollments of Utah students. They had two main goals: to educate and to convert.

In 1866, Congregationalist and Presbyterian minister Rev. Norman McLeod had become the first to propose that the best way to Christianize the Mormons "would be through the operation of free schools conducted by the mission board of the churches, in which to educate the young people of the LDS faith."<sup>52</sup> With the exception of the University of Deseret's preparatory division, there were no public high schools in the territory. The various Protestant missionary churches thus met a genuine need in establishing denominational academies (high schools).<sup>53</sup>

The mission schools, with their eastern funding, offered better and well equipped school buildings, a nine-month school year, and certified teachers who had college degrees. In most cases, the schools were tuition free, particularly to Mormon children. Unquestionably, the education received in these schools was almost always superior to that in Mormon ward schools.

The New West Education Commission, an independent arm of the Congregational Church headquartered in Chicago, drew many of its early teachers from the exemplary Cook County Normal School. One of the first to accept an appointment to Utah was Lydia Tichener, a teacher with several years of public school experience. She opened a school in Hooper in 1880 with seventeen pupils ranging in age from six to eighteen. By the end of the year, enrollment had quintupled and "even the Mormon bishop acknowledged . . . that the influence of her school was good."<sup>54</sup>

Members of the New West Commission traveled throughout the East fund raising and recruiting. Having broken her engagement to be married, twenty-one-year-old Gertrude Samson of West Medford, Massachusetts, ignored her family's opposition and came to Utah in 1883 to teach first in Sandy in Salt Lake County and then in Trenton, in Cache County. Her students recall her as

“about 5’ 6” tall with sparkling brown eyes and rosey [sic] complexion. She was very pretty, slim and the athletic type. She could play baseball with her students or put on a bathing suit and dive off an eight foot bank into the river . . . That made the boys envious as they didn’t dare dive that far.”<sup>55</sup>

While “most of the young single women stayed in Utah for only a few years and then returned East, . . . [some] remained in small Utah communities and made teaching a life-long career.”<sup>56</sup> For example, Presbyterian missionary Frances R. Burke arrived in Toquerville in September 1881 and remained there until her death in 1927. She taught in the mission school until it was closed in the 1890s, then continued her missionary efforts until her health failed.<sup>57</sup>

Laura McCurdy Clark, went to a Presbyterian school in Gunnison. The teachers, Martha M. Green and her daughter Alice, believed that “the life of a child ought to be a process of adventure, experience, and practice of fine thinking and living.”<sup>58</sup> Clark also recalled:

We were taught etiquette, politeness, cleanliness of body and soul along with literature, music history, and mathematics. At the age of ten I was doing cube roots, algebra, and rhetoric. I had finished Reed and Kellogg’s Grammar (usually the course of the eighth grade). I could diagram a sentence from Browning or Carlyle . . . and we gathered flowers, plants and bugs—to sketch and classify, “mount” and “cure” for specimen study.

We were told to go afield and do things or find something of interest, and we did it.<sup>59</sup>

For the last two decades of the nineteenth century, denominational schools set new standards for Utah education for both boys and girls. Since Protestant mission schools provided better educational opportunities than the Mormon-controlled, poorly financed district schools, many Mormon parents put concern for their children above denominational loyalty. By 1885, more than 1,900 students, about two-thirds from Mormon backgrounds, were enrolled in twenty-eight New West Schools; and about nine hundred, “75 percent of them [with] Mormon parentage,” attended thirty-one Presbyterian day schools with fifty-three teachers. The territory also had thirteen Methodist schools with 865 enrolled, five Episcopal schools with 795 students, four Catholic schools with 610 students, and two Baptist schools with 205 scholars.<sup>60</sup>

In 1890, over 67 percent of high-school students attended non-Mormon schools.<sup>61</sup> About 28 percent attended the preparatory school at the University of Utah or the new public Salt Lake High School. From the beginning, college preparatory schools like St. Mark’s in Salt Lake City were staffed by experienced non-Utah teachers teaching Latin, Greek, higher mathematics, composition, and rhetoric. While some St. Mark’s girls went on to college, many trained to be teachers and held positions in both public and denominational schools. In 1888, the headmaster of St. Mark’s reported that thirty-nine of its graduates

were teachers.<sup>62</sup> One, Anna Youngberg taught in the Fourteenth Ward school, was active in teacher organizations and institutes, and studied under Colonel Francis Parker of the Cook County, Illinois Normal School. In 1895, she became a highly regarded critic teacher at William M. Stewart's "model school" at the University of Utah, supervised all instruction in history and geography, and wrote several pamphlets for teachers of those subjects.<sup>63</sup>

Boarding and day schools like St. Mary's Academy and Rowland Hall, both in Salt Lake City, established a reputation for excellence in educating women and produced many of the state's early schoolteachers. Also notable was the instruction provided for young women by the Salt Lake Collegiate Institute supported by the Presbyterian Woman's Board of Home Missions. Jeannette Ferry, wife of a wealthy miner, helped fund the institution that became Westminster College in Salt Lake City. In 1902, she and her husband donated the land for the college under several conditions, one of which stipulated: "A portion of campus not exceeding five acres was to be set apart as a site for a woman's college building, to be erected by women . . . [with] a board of five women managers named by [Ferry] and approved by the [B]oard of Trustees." All classes were to be opened to female students and they were to enjoy all the advantages afforded to their male counterparts.<sup>64</sup> The women's building was completed in 1911 and was named Ferry Hall.

While the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1887 ended the Mormon Church's control of Utah public schools, it also crippled church-sponsored schools. The territorial government assumed responsibility for public education and supervising all mission schools.<sup>65</sup>

### MORMON CONVERTS AS TEACHERS

Reinforcing the denominational contribution were the activities of a group of professional educators who came to Utah after joining the Mormon Church in other states and Europe. According to Utah historian Charles S. Peterson, these teachers and administrators "emerged as a distinct and specialized community within Mormon society in the decades preceding the 1890s. Actively sponsored by Mormon leaders, . . . [they] adapted national and educational trends and principles to the Utah situation."<sup>66</sup>

Notable among them were Mary and Ida Cook, educated in Eastern normal schools. In about 1870, they came to Utah where they became Mormons the next year. They established grade schools, trained teachers, and upgraded the professional skills of in-service teachers through summer normal institutes and early teacher associations. Mary became principal of a model school for the University of Deseret's Normal Department in 1871. She also presided over the fledgling university during 1872 in the absence of President John R. Park. Ida was also employed for a time at the university, but established a high school in Logan, then was appointed principal of Brigham Young College where she also taught educational methods classes.



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Maypole Dance at Rowland Hall, Salt Lake City, ca. 1920.

Ida Cook's students remember her as a hard task-mistress. One student, initially scared, came to "adore" Miss Cook.<sup>67</sup> Another student, Margaret Winifred Thomson Merrill, was reduced to tears when Miss Cook, trying to teach her to speak louder, made her read a passage over five times, then continued the lesson after school, "until both were worn out." Nevertheless, "Margaret learned to love her as the best teacher she ever had."<sup>68</sup>

Each of the Cook sisters was nominated as superintendent of schools in different counties; but by law, women could not hold that office. In Salt Lake County, Mary's name was removed from the 1874 ballot.<sup>69</sup> Peterson summarizes "They were extraordinary women, but they were women, and therein lay limitations."<sup>70</sup>

Camilla Cobb had a similar career pattern. Born in Saxony, Germany, the youngest daughter of the principal of a "progressive" school for young children, she came to Utah with her more famous brother-in-law, Karl G. Maeser in 1860. In New Jersey, she studied the child-centered methods of Friedrich Wilhelm Froebel (1782–1852), a German educator and founder of the kindergarten system. Although she was the mother of seven, she devoted much of her life to educational activities, opened Utah's first kindergarten in 1875, and was instrumental in introducing progressive methods to Utah teachers.<sup>71</sup>

## SALARY AND STATUS EQUALITY

An important break-through came when the first legislature after statehood in 1896 required that women public school teachers “shall in all cases receive the same compensation as is allowed to male teachers, for like services, when holding the same grade of certificate.”<sup>72</sup> Still most local school boards did not comply with the law, and subsequent state school reports neither condemn this noncompliance nor cite the legislation. In 1906, for example, the average monthly salary of male teachers was \$86.40, while that of female teachers was \$55.41. In 1907, men teachers in Millard County made 85 percent more than women. In 1919, compulsory attendance laws required most students to stay in school through high school. To cover the increased cost of additional teachers, local school boards tried to economize by hiring teachers at lower salaries, bargaining with teachers individually.<sup>73</sup> They also hired teachers who did not hold state certificates. Despite an 1897 law requiring specifying certification, a minimum age of twenty years, and “requisite scholarship and culture,”<sup>74</sup> women under twenty still taught in the primary grades of county schools by passing an examination, often oral, conducted by the county board of examiners. Nineteen-year-old Dora Snow, for example, began teaching at an Ogden grade school in 1899, receiving a state grammar grade certificate five years later.<sup>75</sup>

In 1906, a law providing for uniform examinations under the State Board of Education eliminated so many teachers that the state board “found it necessary to issue a considerable number of permits or temporary certificates in order that the schools in several districts might not be forced to discontinue work.”<sup>76</sup> Evidently many of the teachers retained in this manner were men.

State Superintendent A. C. Nelson was especially concerned about retaining male teachers: “There is a formative period in a child’s life when he should not fail to come in touch with the strong and sturdy influence and personality of the progressive male teacher. Keep the salaries too low to admit our strong men remaining in the teaching corps, and you will cripple the system which every thoughtful citizen is so eager to raise to the highest possible standards.”<sup>77</sup>

Still, the percentage of women teachers continued to increase as men moved into higher paying supervisory positions or sought better-paying jobs outside the classroom. While the number of teachers during 1905–06 had increased by 174, only 14 were male. Salt Lake City had 297 elementary teachers in 1906, eight men. Male teachers constituted only a third of the high school teachers, though both high school principals were men, as were 73 percent of the elementary school principals.

Men vastly outnumbered women as county school superintendents. Although women held these positions in Garfield, Piute, San Juan, and Wayne school districts, some for two or more years, they probably served because no



*Courtesy of the Giovale Library, Westminster College.*

Emma J. McVicker (1849–1916) was the only woman to serve as Utah's State Superintendent until 2004. After her predecessor's death, she was appointed in 1900, to fill the remaining three months of his unexpired term. This photograph appeared in the *Church Review*, December 29, 1895, while she was an instructor at the Salt Lake Collegiate Institute.

men were willing to work for the low salaries. In 1904, Garfield paid \$250, Piute and Wayne paid \$150, and San Juan paid \$100 to their chief school officers. Marinda Halliday, superintendent of Kane County, received only \$75! In addition to her supervisory duties, she probably taught, a common practice where salaries were so low.<sup>78</sup> Helen M. Knight was Grand County superintendent of schools from World War II until 1961. From 1952 to 1961, she was the only woman listed in the roster of district and city superintendents, and was replaced by a man in 1961.<sup>79</sup>

By 1922, women were serving as state superintendents in nine western states.<sup>80</sup> In 1900, Utah's governor had appointed Emma J. McVicker to fill the unexpired term of her male predecessor. An instructor at the Presbyterian Salt Lake Collegiate Institute and first president of the Children's Service Society of Utah in Salt Lake City, she was the first woman appointed as a University of Utah regent (1896) and the first woman to be elected president of the Utah Teachers' Association (1901), almost a decade before a woman was chosen to lead the national organization. In 1895, the Republican Party nominated Mrs. McVicker as state school superintendent, but the courts ruled that, since women could not vote, they were ineligible to run for office. John R. Park's name replaced hers on the ballot. When he died in 1900, she was appointed to fill the remaining three months of his unexpired term.<sup>81</sup> No woman held that position in Utah until June 2004 when the Utah Board of Education unanimously chose Patti Harrington. (See below).

In her 1900 report to the state legislature Mrs. McVicker observed: "As a whole the teachers were found to be faithful and to some degree

efficient although there were marked exceptions, principally among the men teachers.”<sup>82</sup>

As late as 1925, the Utah Education Association asserted that, in several districts, salaries were “not based on training, experience and merit.”<sup>83</sup> Women educators moved to “professionalize” teaching by playing an active role in teachers’ associations, first organized during the 1860s and 1870s.<sup>84</sup> They pressed for changes in policy, sometimes by legislation, that would require districts to hire, promote, and pay teachers by uniform standards. But Utah’s economy was severely depressed until World War II brought federal defense contracts to the state.

Furthermore, until World War II, the average female teacher in America saw her job as temporary. If she married, she usually retired, either voluntarily or because the local school board would not rehire her. A pregnant teacher in the classroom was considered particularly unseemly. This policy was simply “understood” between the teacher and local school trustees, but about 1928 it became part of district contracts.<sup>85</sup> Historian Miriam B. Murphy reported: “Some women deeply resented this [practice], and some women kept their marriage a secret as long as they could in order to continue working.”<sup>86</sup> As late as 1925, only 18 percent of women school teachers nationally were married.<sup>87</sup>

During the thirties and the Great Depression, married men were given preference over equally qualified single women throughout the nation, and Utah was not an exception. Men who taught older children were paid more than women who taught younger children, a policy which had been in force much earlier and which lasted into the 1950s. Men were paid for extra work during the summer as well as during the school year and were given preference for “merit” raises and promotions into higher paying supervisory positions. They were also eligible to receive additional compensation based on the number of dependents they could claim.<sup>88</sup> In 1932, Utah had 1,656 teachers; 1,023 of them were women (62 percent), but only 11.5 percent were married, while 85 percent of male teachers were married. Many of the married women were allowed to teach only because their husbands were physically unable to work.<sup>89</sup>

The depressed economy also reduced the number of teachers at a time when the school population continued to increase. The Utah Education Association (UEA) made repeated efforts to have all school boards adopt salary schedules; and the Utah chapter of Delta Kappa Gamma, in one of its few instances of overt political action, presented a documented study of preferential salaries to the Salt Lake City Board of Education in 1940, successfully forestalling a “differential wage scale for men educators in Salt Lake City Schools . . . which prevented the inauguration of disastrous discriminating measures against Salt Lake City women teachers.”<sup>90</sup>

World War II created a need for more teachers as men were called into the armed services or took better-paying jobs that opened up in other

occupations. New defense projects also created a higher-paying market for the women's employment. Between September 1941 and June 1942, "972 Utah teachers left the profession" and others did not sign contracts in the fall. As a result, "175 permits [were] issued . . . to teachers who could not meet certification requirements . . . despite the fact that there are approximately 6,500 qualified and certified persons . . . who cannot be induced to return to the school room because Utah school districts cannot pay salaries comparable to those paid in other fields."<sup>91</sup>

Eventually, the districts were forced to pay higher wages and recruit married women, some of whom quit again after the war but some of whom decided to continue teaching.<sup>92</sup> In 1949, 1,194 of Utah's 4,037 professional employees (teachers and administrators) (29.6 percent) were women: 47 percent married, 39 percent single, and 14 percent widowed or divorced. Of the male majority, 95 percent were married, 4 percent single, and 1 percent widowed or divorced.<sup>93</sup>

Although the number of male teachers increased markedly in Utah's elementary and secondary schools, as it did nationally, the overall ratio of men to women was higher in Utah than nationally. The percentage of men remained at 43 percent in 1952 and 1965, increased slightly to 45 percent in 1972, and then steadily decreased—to 35 percent in 1987 and to 33 percent in 1993. This figure remained slightly higher than the comparable national averages: 31 percent in 1961, 33 percent in 1976, 31 percent in 1986, and 28 percent in 1991.<sup>94</sup>

Furthermore, while the proportion of men in rural schools decreased nationally, the number of men in Utah's school districts increased steadily after 1930 and more than doubled between 1945 and 1952. Men outnumbered women teachers in twenty-four of the thirty-two school districts outside the Wasatch Front as late as 1978.<sup>95</sup>

The national increase in men teachers can be attributed partially to the G.I. Bill's educational benefits, but some Utah school district also paid returning veterans a "bonus" over base salaries, counted years of military service as years of teaching experience, and had dependency clauses. At least two districts in 1952 still made "special allowances for teachers having dependents," while the Utah Foundation, a conservative nonprofit research organization, argued for pay discrimination because "many occupations are competing with the teaching field for college-trained men, while relatively few occupations are competing with teaching for college-trained women."<sup>96</sup> Discriminatory pay was finally discontinued in 1973 as a result of legal action taken against the Davis County School District.

The tale of Lucile Roper reflects the lives of many women teachers during the mid-twentieth century. She graduated from Snow College in 1931 with a two-year certificate, taught school in Oak City and Deseret for a few years, attended summer school at Brigham Young University, and then taught for two years in Carbon County. She was forced to resign after she married

Patti Harrington, Utah State  
Superintendent of Public  
Instruction, ca. 2004.



*Courtesy of Patti Harrington and Russ Robinson Photography, Salt Lake City (Utah).*

Albert Hales in 1940. In 1947, she was asked to return to teaching and taught for a year. After raising her children, Mrs. Hales returned to teaching in 1960, responding to an acute teacher shortage. She updated her credentials through attending summer school and correspondence schools, but was forced to retire in 1974 after reaching the mandatory retirement age of sixty-five.<sup>97</sup>

As part of the same trend, the percentage of women principals dropped from 24 percent in 1945 to 13 percent in 1952. In 1966, the Governor's Committee on the Status of Women reported: "There is only one woman high school principal, . . . no junior high principal, and only 50 out 393 elementary principals are women."<sup>98</sup> By 1980, "Utah had the fewest women principals of any state in the country, a scant one percent compared to a 17 percent nationally."<sup>99</sup> By the 1990s, however, this percentage in Utah had increased dramatically to 26 percent, compared to 30 percent nationally. By 2001, 36 percent of Utah principals were women, compared to 44 percent nationally.<sup>100</sup>

For more than twenty-five years in Utah, the position of school district superintendent was filled by men in all forty school districts. Change began slowly with the Park City School District's appointment in July 1989 of Nancy M. Moore, a principal of Altara Elementary School in the Jordan School District as its first women superintendent.<sup>101</sup> By 2001, six women were serving as district superintendents: Nancy Deford (Park City), Patti Harrington (Provo), Christine Kearl (Rich County), Darline Robles (Salt Lake City), Patricia Rowse

(Tintic), and Kolene Granger (Washington County). As of this writing (spring 2005), only two districts have women superintendents: Catherine Ortega in Ogden and Jessie Pace in Wayne County.<sup>102</sup>

During the fifteen years between 1989 and 2004, eight districts (20 percent) of Utah's forty school districts had a woman superintendent. They represented four of Utah's seven urban school districts (Ogden, Park City, Provo, and Salt Lake City), two fast-growing districts with large populations from outside of Utah (Park City and Washington County), and three small rural districts (Rich County, Tintic, and Wayne County). Park City had two women superintendents during this period.<sup>103</sup>

For more than a century, no woman served as state school superintendent. Then in June 2004 the Utah Board of Education unanimously chose Patti Harrington over three male finalists. Her twenty-six years of educational experience ranged from acting as a substitute teacher and working as a school bus driver to serving as the Provo School District superintendent and finally to her position as associate state superintendent for student achievement and school success. In 1997, she was named Utah's Secondary School Principal of the Year for her work at Provo High School.<sup>104</sup> She greeted her new appointment as an opportunity "to represent education" and "looked forward to bridge building with the community and to working toward innovative solutions to perplexing issues in Utah's education."<sup>105</sup>

Women's status in higher education was also improving. In 1930, women faculty held 30 percent of faculty positions in Utah public universities; in 1960, that figure had fallen to 22 percent.<sup>106</sup> A 1969 study of eighteen leading universities nationally found that women constituted 10 percent of the faculties and less than 4 percent of the full professors. Women at the University of Utah constituted 15 percent of the faculty but only 8.6 percent of the associate professors and 2.7 percent of the full professors.<sup>107</sup> Since 1984, this trend has continued to improve. Women faculty increased from 20.4 to 27.1 percent in 1991, to 31.3 in 1998, and to 31.5 percent in 2000.<sup>108</sup> Despite these consistent gradual increases in the percentage of faculty women in public universities, it still lags slightly behind the national percentages in most ranks.

Utah was the only state where no woman had served as a college president when, in 1995, Westminster College appointed Dr. Peggy Stock as its fifteenth president. She had previously served for nine years as the first woman president of Colby-Sawyer College in New Hampshire. She described herself as having "been born under a blessed star because she served as the first woman president at two highly respected colleges."<sup>109</sup> Just a year later, the Utah State Board of Regents named Dr. Grace Sawyer Jones as president of the College of Eastern Utah. She was the school's first woman president, the first woman president of a public college, and the state's the first black president in the nine-campus Utah System of Higher education. Both women served longer than the average three year tenure of college presidents.<sup>110</sup> President Jones left in 2001 while President Stock resigned in 2002. Within months Utah's

third woman president was named. On August 23, 2002, F. Ann Millner was named president of Weber State University, the first woman to be promoted from within Utah's System of Higher Education to a presidential post. She had served as an educator and administrator at the university since 1982, and as vice-president of university relations from 1993.<sup>111</sup>

Despite the feminist movement and national concerns for equal employment opportunities for women, men have continued to dominate Utah's most prestigious educational positions as they do in the nation. Many Utah women give priority to their families, especially to caring for young children. Furthermore, many women apparently prefer classroom teaching, do not want supervisory or administrative jobs, and assume other leadership roles in their schools or in professional organizations. In 1942, Hazel Bowen became the second woman to serve as UEA president. Fourteen women have held the position since: Maude Hardman, 1947; Afton Forsgren, 1952; Dorothy Zimmerman, 1956; Louise Bennett, 1963; Irene Hoyt, 1966; Marjean Ballard, 1973; Lucille Taylor, 1976; Kay Chatterton, 1977; Donna Peterson, 1980; Bettie Condie, 1981 and 1984; Beth Q. Beck, 1990; Lilia Eskelsen, 1990 and 1993, Phyllis Sorensen, 1996 and 2000, and Patricia Rusk, 2002.<sup>112</sup>

Women have contributed enormously to the development of education in Utah since the turn of the century by serving as trustees of private schools and colleges, as members of the Board of Regents, on the State Textbook Commission, on the State Course of Study Committee, and on the State Board of Education. They have provided untold numbers of hours of service in other uncompensated positions at district and local levels. Women gave notable service as members of the State Board of Education during the last forty years.

## CONCLUSION

In summary, women have been represented at all levels of the educational system in Utah's history but have only recently been accorded the dignity, distinction, and compensation given to men. Women teachers were, in many ways, victims of accepted sex-role differentiation that adversely affected their employment, compensation, and professional advancement. Their collective activities created bonds of sisterhood and professional interests but did little to raise their status. Although few have achieved national distinction or enjoyed a status comparable to that of male educators in the state, some have been genuine leaders in the profession. Unfortunately, they stand out because they have been rarities.

## NOTES

1. Henry A. Smith, "The Church and Education," *Improvement Era* 38 (April 1935): 222; see also Joyce Kinkead, ed., *A Schoolmarm All My Life: Personal Narratives from Frontier Utah* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), xxiii.
2. Frederick S. Buchanan, *Education Among the Mormons: Brigham Young and the Schools of Utah*. University of Utah Graduate School of Education Report Series, No. 1,

- 1984 (Salt Lake City: Graduate School of Education, 1984): 14; see also Frederick S. Buchanan, "Education in Utah," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), 153–55.
3. Charles S. Peterson, "The Limits of Learning in Pioneer Utah," *Journal of Mormon History* 10 (1983): 65–78; Charles S. Peterson, "A New Community: Mormon Teachers and the Separation of Church and State in Utah's Territorial Schools," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Summer 1980): 293–312.
  4. Kinkead, *A Schoolmarm All My Life*, xxi.
  5. Gustive O. Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1971); Stanley S. Ivins, "Free Schools Come to Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (October 1954); James R. Clark, "Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah" (Ed.D. diss., Utah State University, 1958); T. Edgar Lyon, "Evangelical Protestant Missionary Activities in Mormon Dominated Areas, 1865–1900" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1962); C. Merrill Hough, "Two School Systems in Conflict, 1867–1890," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 28 (April 1960), 113–28.
  6. Governor's Committee on the Status of Women in Utah, *Utah Women: Opportunities, Responsibilities: A Report of the Governor's Committee on the Status of Women in Utah, June 15, 1966* (Salt Lake City: Committee, 1966).
  7. Nancy Hoffman, *Women's "True" Profession: Voices from the History of Teaching*, 2d ed. (Westbury, N.Y.: Harvard Education Books, 2003).
  8. Quoted in Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catherine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973), 52.
  9. *Ibid.*, 114; Glenda Riley, *A Place to Grow: Women in the American West* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1992), 170; Courtney Ann Vaughn-Robertson, "Having a Purpose in Life: Western Women Teachers in the Twentieth Century," *Great Plains Quarterly* 5 (Spring 1985): 109.
  10. Elliott West, *Growing Up with the Country: Childhood on the Far Western Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 198.
  11. Buchanan, "Education in Utah," 154.
  12. *Ibid.*; Utah State Board of Education, *Historical Perspective on Major Educational Changes in Utah, 1847–1966* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Board of Education, 1966), 2.
  13. Kinkead, *A Schoolmarm All My Life*, xxiii; Patricia Lyn Scott, "Sarah Ann Cooke: "The Respected Mrs. Cooke," in *Worth Their Salt, Too: More Notable but Often Unnoted Women of Utah*, edited by Colleen Whitley (Logan: Utah State University, 2000), 12.
  14. Kinkead, *A Schoolmarm All My Life*, xxiv.
  15. "An Act in Relation to Common Schools," *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials Passed by the First Annual and Special Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Brigham Young Printer, 1852), 98.
  16. Quoted in Kinkead, *A Schoolmarm All My Life*, xxii.
  17. Quoted in John D. Monnett, "The Mormon Church and Its Private School System in Utah: The Emergence of the Academies, 1880–1892" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1984), 22.
  18. *Ibid.*, 20.

19. Ann West Lobb and Jill Mulvay Derr, "Women in Early Utah," in *Utah's History*, edited by Richard D. Poll, Thomas G. Alexander, Eugene E. Campbell, and David E. Miller (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 346.
20. T. Edgar Lyon, "Religious Activities and Development in Utah, 1947–1910," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (Fall 1967): 295.
21. John Clifton Moffitt, *The History of Public Education in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1946): 32.
22. Raymond Wiscombe, "One Hundred Years of Education in the Morgan County School District" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1966), 48.
23. Brigham Young, July 18, 1869, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855–86), 13:61.
24. David B. Tyack and Myra H. Strober, "Jobs and Gender: A History of the Structuring of Educational Employment by Sex," in *Educational Policy and Management: Sex Differentials*, edited by Patricia A. Schmuck et al. (New York: Academic Press, 1981), 132; see also Sklar, *Catherine Beecher*; Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Women's Sphere in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1969); B. J. Harris, *Beyond Her Sphere: Women and the Professions in American History* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978).
25. Brigham Young, April 8, 1852, *Journal of Discourses*, 1:66, 68.
26. Quoted in Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvay Derr, eds., *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-day Saints 1830–1900* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982), 266.
27. Quoted in Lorraine T. Washburn, "Culture in Dixie," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (July 1961): 256.
28. Ibid.
29. Faye Jensen Buttle, *Utah Grows: Past and Present* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1971), 201–2.
30. James B. Allen, "Everyday Life in Utah's Elementary Schools, 1847–1870," in *Nearly Everything Imaginable: The Everyday Life of Utah's Mormon Pioneers*, edited by Ronald W. Walker and Doris R. Dant (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1999), 374.
31. Ogden's first school teacher, Charilla Abbott, taught a few years, then married David Browning in 1853. Mae Browning Williams, "Charilla Abbott Browning: Ogden's First School Teacher," n.d., Delta Kappa Gamma Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah Library, Salt Lake City. In the 1850s, when Sarah Kimball was replaced by a male teacher in Salt Lake City's Fourteenth Ward school, she opened a private school "convinced of the need of changed conditions for women engaged in work that came in competition with men." Jill Mulvay Derr, "Sarah Melissa Granger Kimball: The Liberal Shall Be Blessed," in *Sister Saints*, edited by Vicky Burgess-Olson (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 29.
32. Frederick Buchanan, "Gender in Utah Education," n.d., photocopy of typescript in our possession.

33. Unless otherwise noted, we have extrapolated all Utah statistics from tables published in *Reports of the Territorial Superintendent/Commissioner of Common Schools* and *Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Utah* for the biennial period cited in the text.
34. Tyack and Strober, "Jobs and Gender," 133.
35. Utah chapters of Delta Kappa Gamma, an international society of outstanding women educators, collected biographical material on some of early Utah's notable women teachers. Many incidents support these findings. Several of the subjects recalled "playing teacher" as children, while others remember being impressed by their teachers and encouraged by their mothers. Most took every opportunity to further their own education, even after they were employed in schools. Delta Kappa Gamma Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library.
36. Brigham Young, July 18, 1869, *Journal of Discourses*, 13:60–61.
37. Young, April 7, 1873, *Journal of Discourses*, 16:17–18.
38. Patricia Sexton, *Women in Education* (Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa Education Foundation, 1976), 46.
39. Shauna McLatchy Adix, "Differential Treatment of Women at the University of Utah from 1850" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1977), 46.
40. Robert L. Campbell, "Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools," *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, Nineteenth Annual Session for the Year 1870* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Book, 1870), 191–93.
41. *Ibid.*, 193.
42. Moffitt, *The History of Public Education in Utah*, 286.
43. Elaine Norr, "A Pioneer in Education," n.d., typescript, not paginated, Delta Kappa Gamma Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library.
44. Adix, "Differential Treatment of Women," 175–76; see also Kathleen Underwood, "The Pace of Their Own Lives: Teacher Training and the Life Course of Western Women," *Pacific Historical Review* 55 (November 1986): 513–30.
45. *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of District Schools for the Territory of Utah for the School Years 1878 and 1879* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Steam Printing, 1880), 24; hereafter cited as *Territorial Report* by year.
46. David G. Pace, "Maud May Babcock: Speak Clearly and Carry a Big Umbrella," in *Worth Their Salt: Notable But Often Unnoted Women in Utah*, edited by Colleen Whitley (Logan: Utah State University, 1996), 151.
47. Ann Clark Bergendorff, "Life of Alice Louise Reynolds," n.d., typescript, not paginated, Delta Kappa Gamma Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library; see also Amy Brown Lyman, *A Lighter of Lamps: The Life of Alice Louise Reynolds* (Provo, Utah: Alice Louise Reynolds Club, 1947).
48. Frances Gilroy Davis, "A History of the William M. Stewart School, 1891–1940" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1940), 13.
49. Adix, "Differential Treatment of Women," 53.
50. *Territorial Report 1882–83*, 10.
51. D. H. Christensen, "Mission Schools in Utah," *Utah Educational Review*, January 1915, 13.

52. Quoted in David L. Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom: The Mormon Theocracy in the American West, 1847–1896* (Logan: Utah State University, 1998). 272.
53. Monnett, “The Mormon Church and Its Private School System,” 20.
54. Jennie Anderson Froiseth, *The Women of Mormonism* (Detroit, Mich.: C. G. G. Paine, 1882), 375–76.
55. “New West Schools,” n.d., unsigned typescript, not paginated, Delta Kappa Gamma Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library.
56. Jessie L. Embry, “Separate and Unequal: Schoolmarms of Utah 1900–1950,” in *From Cottage to Market: The Professionalism of Women’s Sphere*, edited by John R. Sillito (Salt Lake City: Utah Women’s History Association, 1983), 63.
57. Sandra Dawn Brimhall and David A. Hales, “Frances R. Burke: Toquerville Presbyterian Missionary,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 72 (Spring 2004): 158.
58. Laura McCurdy Clark, *Others: An Enduring Symbol of Pioneer Vision* (N.p.: privately published, 1950), 24–25.
59. Ibid.
60. Bigler, *Forgotten Kingdom*, 275.
61. Clyde Wayne Hansen, “A History of the Development of Non-Mormon Denominational Schools in Utah” (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1953), 3.
62. G.D.D. Miller, “To the Friends of St. Mark’s School,” September 1886, St. Mark’s School Manuscript Collection, Utah State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City.
63. “Anna Youngberg,” n.d., unsigned typescript, Delta Kappa Gamma Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library.
64. Carl Wankier, “History of Presbyterian Schools in Utah” (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1968), 62–63. Named as managers in addition to Mrs. Ferry and her two daughters (Mary M. F. Allen and Kate Hancock) were Carrie (Mrs. Hal) Brown, Eunice (Mrs. F. S.) Gordon, Emma (Mrs. H. G.) McMillan, Sara (Mrs. Robert G.) McNiece, and Elizabeth (Mrs. Sam) Williamson, all from Utah, and Lillian E. (Mrs. John) Emerson from Pennsylvania, Frances B. (Mrs. T. S.) Hamline from Washington, D.C., Mary E. James (Mrs. Darwin R.) from Brooklyn, and Miss S. F. Lincoln from New York City. Women’s Board of Westminster College, Minutes, Book 1, 6–7, Westminster College Archives, Giovale Library, Salt Lake City. The women’s building was designed to provide housing for forty students and six teachers as well as to provide classrooms for female art and music students. R. Douglas Brackenridge, *Westminster College of Salt Lake City: From Presbyterian Mission School to Independent College* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1998), 111–13. Ferry Hall was condemned and razed in 1987.
65. Jana Kathryn Reiss, “‘Heathen in Our Fair Land:’ Presbyterian Women Missionaries in Utah, 1870–1890,” *Journal of Mormon History* 26 (Spring 2000): 193.
66. Peterson, “A New Community,” 298. Occupying a narrow niche between Mormonism and denominations in direct competition were a few non-Mormon women teachers who had nonreligious reasons for coming to Utah. Josephine Hirst, for example, had been a pioneer teacher in the Midwest before she married a Union Pacific Railroad agent who was transferred to Utah. After his death, she taught for many years in Ogden’s public schools. Florence Hirst Newcomb, “A Tribute to a Pioneer Teacher,”

- n.d., unsigned typescript, Delta Kappa Gamma Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library.
67. Jill Mulvay, "The Two Miss Cooks: Pioneer Professionals for Utah Schools," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (Fall 1975): 405.
  68. Ibid.
  69. "Mrs. Margaret Winifred Thomson Merrill," ca. 1966, typescript, Delta Kappa Gamma Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library.
  70. Ida Ione Cook is listed as superintendent of Cache County in the Biennial Report, 1876–77, 19; see also Mulvay, "The Two Miss Cooks," 406.
  71. Peterson, "A New Community," 305.
  72. Catherine Britsch Frantz, "Camilla Clara Meith Cobb: Founders of the Utah Kindergarten," in *Worth Their Salt, Too*, 41–60.
  73. Quoted in Moffitt, *History of Public Education*, 322.
  74. John Clifton Moffitt, *A Century of Service, 1860–1960: A History of the Utah Education Association* (Salt Lake City: Utah Education Association, 1960), 464–72.
  75. *Third Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Arrow Press, 1901), 103; hereafter cited as *Utah School Report*.
  76. "Dora Snow," n.d., unsigned typescript, Delta Kappa Gamma Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library.
  77. *Utah School Report, 1906*, 18.
  78. Ibid., 19.
  79. *Utah School Report, 1904*, 39–40.
  80. David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820–1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1986), 187. The nine states were probably Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Nevada, and Arizona.
  81. Carol Ann Lubomudrov, "A Woman State School Superintendent: Whatever Happened to Mrs. McVicker?" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (Summer 1981): 254–61.
  82. *Utah School Report, 1900*, 20.
  83. "Notes from the House of Delegates," *Utah Educational Review* 19 (November 1925): 92–93.
  84. In October 1870, sixteen educators (nine were women) met and organized the Salt Lake Teachers Association for the "improvement in the science of teaching, the diffusing of information upon the system of common school education among the people and to promote harmony of feeling and action and the greatest possible advancement in literary, scientific and general information." The nine women were Eleanor J. Pratt, Hannah King, Mary Morgan, Mildred C. Randall, Seraph C. Young, Josephine Taylor, Libbie Pratt, Mary E. Cook, and Ida Jane Cook. "Salt Lake Teachers Association Minutes, 1871–1873," Utah State Archives, series 1852, Salt Lake City.
  85. Patricia A. Carter, *Everybody's Paid But the Teacher: The Teaching Profession and the Women's Movement* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 2002), 98, 111. By 1931, 77 percent of all U.S. school districts had instituted bans on married women teachers.

86. Miriam B. Murphy, "Women in the Work Force from Statehood to World War II," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (Spring 1982): 146.
87. Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 412.
88. An examination of the Utah School Reports from 1930 to 1940 clearly shows the salary differences. See specifically *Utah School Reports, 1936*, 170–72.
89. Embry, "Separate and Unequal," 101.
90. Delta Kappa Gamma Society International, *Utah Heritage: Alpha Theta State* (N.p.: Alpha Theta State, 1980), 41; Irvin S. Noall, "Personal Factors Affecting Teachers' Salaries in Utah," *Utah Educational Review* 35 (May 1932): 439.
91. Alan M. West. "Can We Keep Teachers in Our Schools?" *Utah Educational Review* 35 (November 1942): 76, 80; Utah State Board of Education, *Report of 1941–42 Salary Equalization* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Department of Public Instruction, 1942), 8–9, 60.
92. Embry, "Separate and Unequal," 72–73.
93. Utah Foundation, "Salaries and Qualifications of Professional Public School Employees in Utah," *Report, No. 52* (Salt Lake City: 1949), Tables 3, 4.
94. Tyack and Strober, "Jobs and Gender," 147; Office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Status of Teacher Personnel in Utah, 1965–66, 1972–73, 1987–88, 1993–94* (Salt Lake City: Office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1979), Table 26, p. 31; National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics, 1994* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, 1994), 79.
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108. The Salt Lake Community College has the largest percentage of women faculty: 46.4 percent in 1999–2000, increased from 41 percent in 1999. Snow College has the smallest: 24 percent in 1999–2000, decreased from 24.7 percent in 1991. Utah Board of Regents, "1999–2000 Annual Report on Women and Minorities in Faculty and Administrative Positions in the Utah System of Higher Education," retrieved on February 4, 2005, from <http://www.utahbr.edu/reports.html>.
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111. Maria Titze, "CEU President Set to Leave Her Trailblazing Post," *Deseret News*, August 15, 2000, B-5; Kristen Stewart, "Surprise Choice for WSU," *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 29, 2002, C-1. On May 23, 2005, Dr. Cynthia A. Bioteau of North Carolina was named the seventh president of Salt Lake Community College, the largest Utah campus to be headed by a woman. See, "Search Finally Up, SLCC Picks Chief," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 24, 2005, A-1.
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