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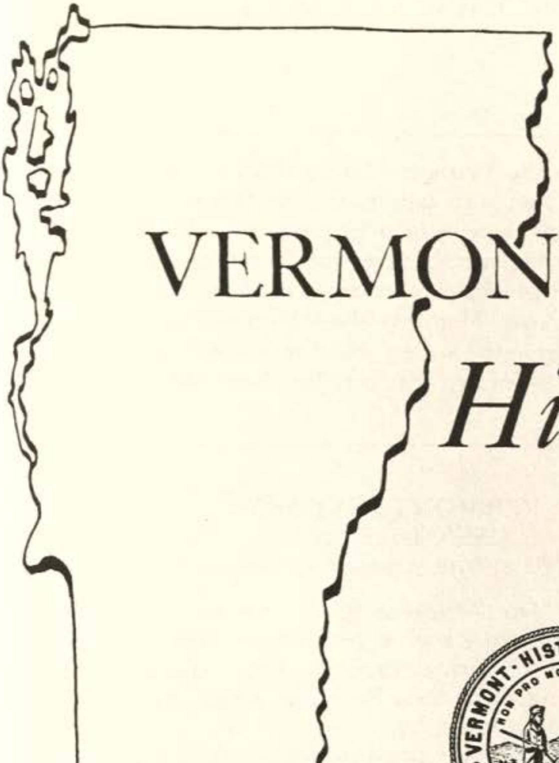

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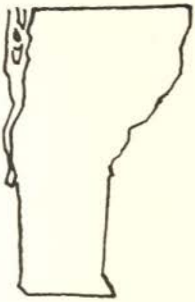


"... common schoolteaching assumes the quality of a rite of passage, whereby eligible women were shown off to the local community."

Vermont Female Schoolteachers in the Nineteenth Century

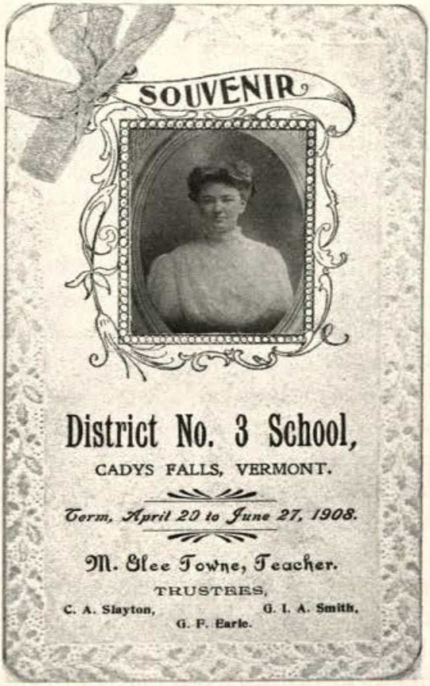
By Margaret K. Nelson

Scholars and others in recent years have regarded the paid employment of women outside the home as something of a panacea for the problems of women's low social status and lack of autonomy. Several assumptions underly this attitude. First, they argue that when women have the ability to make an independent financial contribution to the household, they gain the ability to wield more power there or to exercise an option of setting up a separate home. Second, they note that work outside means exemption - geographical and temporal - from the authority of a husband or parents and a resulting increase in freedom of action during working hours and often the exposure to different ideas and values. Third, women who work outside the home reinforce a trend towards increased participation in the labor force by women, and finally, women working in the public realm may have the opportunity to initiate policies directed at improving women's status.[1]

Anthropological, sociological and historical studies have investigated these assumptions and attempted to establish the preconditions for the emancipation of women by exploring the determinants of women's social "status" and "autonomy." Many of these studies fail to provide adequate definitions for these elusive concepts. They have also failed to present a careful analysis of the conditions under which women work outside the home and the uses of their resulting wages.[2] The study of the objective conditions surrounding Vermont schoolteachers in the nineteenth century helps to test the assumptions about the effects of women working outside the home and helps provide a close view of the conditions of that work.

During the early part of the nineteenth century common school teaching opportunities opened for large numbers of women in Vermont. Simultaneously, the "cult of true womanhood" with its emphasis on piety, purity, domesticity and submissiveness became the accepted ideal of femininity toward which women should strive.[3] If the new employment of "respectable" women had the liberating results postulated by scholars, it would have conflicted directly with the emerging ethos. The "cult of true womanhood" defined women's roles during the transition from a commercial era to industrial capitalism (ca. 1820-1860). By glorifying the growing idleness of women of wealthy circumstances, the definitions served to preserve class distinctions; the line between women who did and did not work sharpened. "The attributes of true womanhood, by which a woman judged herself and was judged by her husband, her neighbors and society could be divided into four cardinal virtues - piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity. Put them all together and they spelled mother, daughter, sister, wife - woman."[4]

In fact employment as schoolteachers not only failed to challenge the emerging definition of womanhood, but it even enabled women to work while preparing themselves for their prescribed roles. Nineteenth century conceptions of women's roles reinforced, and, in turn, were reinforced by the emerging occupation of common schoolteaching. The "cult of true womanhood" actually provided a direct rationale for hiring women as teachers and perhaps an indirect rationale for hiring them cheaply. Those women who worked as schoolteachers were the women at whom the cult was aimed. Rather than diverting them, their occupational involvement supported the cult and allowed them to meet its demands. Because women teachers in Vermont were invariably single, they could not fulfill all the requirements prescribed for womanhood. The socialization to the role began early, and a young girl could jeopardize her future conformity if she did not embrace its strictures.[5] Schoolteaching proved no barrier to marriage and the full assumption of domestic responsibilities. In fact schoolteaching probably served the function of displaying marriageable girls. Schoolteaching had specific characteristics—male control over working conditions and community control over living conditions—which allowed it to coexist peacefully with local definitions of appropriate behavior for young women. Additionally, low pay combined with high turnover indicated that the community did not expect the women who taught school to function autonomously in the world. The fact that schoolteaching in Vermont did not provide a threat to patriarchal society lends weight to the need to reconsider the underlying assumptions of the "panacea" role of employment.



SOUVENIR

District No. 3 School,

CADYS FALLS, VERMONT.

Term, April 20 to June 27, 1908.

M. Glee Towne, Teacher.

TRUSTEES,
C. A. Slayton, G. I. A. Smith,
G. F. Earle.

Schoolteaching ". . . enabled women to work while preparing themselves for their prescribed roles."

Vermonters created the basic legal outlines of their school system through four primary pieces of legislation: a passage in the state Constitution of 1777 providing that "a competent number of schools ought to be maintained in each town. . . ;" legislation in 1782 and 1795 which transferred control from the towns to the smaller districts within towns; and legislation in 1845 which created officers with statewide authority and "embodied nearly all the features of the educational system in operation for the next sixty years."[6] These acts together ensured that predominant control of most aspects of the schools rested in the hands of district committees and that the schools would be inexpensive, with the burden for financial costs falling on community members through a tax on the voters or real property. Any community wishing to set up a school had simply to provide a warning to the inhabitants of the district that a meeting would be held to that effect. The meeting would select a school committee to control the certification and hiring of teachers, the length of the school term, and the arrangements for providing the schoolhouse with wood and the teacher with a place to board. Generally arranged as a "tax upon the scholar," the costs of fuel and board fell on families in direct proportion to the number of children they had attending school that term. In 1843 at least 1,809 district schools operated in Vermont, and by 1892, the last year before a mandatory town system went into effect, there were 2,524 schools employing 4,351 teachers.[7]

The establishment of public education superceded the previous methods of educating young children, much of which had been in the home or in dame schools and in the hands of women.[8] Although much of the teaching was still to be done by women, the men controlled the particular shape of this system.

In addition to the common schools, Vermont had other educational institutions—academies, select schools, colleges and a university. This investigation is limited to the common school teachers because the other schools employed only a small proportion of all women engaged in teaching. These institutions also taught different material to a different clientele and had a variety of other characteristics which distinguish them from the more numerous common schools including more frequent sex segregation, less dependence on community and state guidelines, and occasionally, a greater consciousness of a unique responsibility toward women.[9]

The conditions in Vermont resembled those in some other states, especially the pace at which women were incorporated into the occupation.[10] Vermont school officials frequently compared their system with developments in other states and, on occasion, explicitly attempted to model themselves along the lines established in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other states. At the same time, because Vermont was less developed than these other states, a history of the occupation in Vermont from about 1800 to 1860 provides a counterpoint to the recent emphasis on education in industrialized areas.[11]

Common schoolteaching in Vermont began as a male occupation. It became sexually integrated at the turn of the nineteenth century, and by mid-century most teachers were women. Thereafter, teaching was woman's work in the sense that they predominated numerically. Records of teachers' names for individual districts no longer exist in most cases for the period before 1846, though the accounts of district meetings frequently remain. The state issued statistical summaries once in 1844 and then not again until 1846, after which reports appeared regularly. Town histories provide some evidence about the relative proportions of male and female schoolteachers. While the names of both men and women appear in accounts for the first half of the century, the obviously incomplete lists render it impossible to determine exact percentages of males and females or sex related variation in the conditions of employment.

Women quickly won the right to teach, at least in the summer term when the larger boys did not attend school. Edward Miller and Frederick P. Wells in their *History of Ryegate, Vermont*, comment on this transition: "Schoolmasters were invariably employed as teachers, both summer and winter, until about 1802. 'People did not think,' says Mr. Miller, 'that a woman could teach school any more than she could mow or chop wood.' But about that time, Abigail Whitelaw succeeded in persuading the committee to let her try her hand at teaching, much against their conviction. But she settled the question beyond all future cavil, and after that school mistresses were generally employed in summer."[12] Matt Bushnell Jones writes in his history of Waitsfield that he found no "mention of a summer school, generally called in the records a 'woman's school' because of the fact that a female teacher was employed" until 1800. "These summer schools usually continued from May to September and were attended by the small children and the girls."[13]

Gradually women won the right to teach other terms as well. The three Brown sisters of Plymouth Notch – Pamela, Sally and Susan – all taught during the winter and fall terms as well as the summer terms in the 1830's.[14] When the state first published statistics in 1844, females held approximately sixty-four percent of all the teaching positions,[15] though women may not have generally taught the full range of terms, for the statistics only report the number of months taught by male and female teachers. However, the high proportion of teaching by females strongly suggests that they began to teach year-round. The records for School District #4 in Middlebury support this conclusion: in the 1840's and 1850's women taught summer, winter and fall.[16] At the beginning of the Civil War, seventy-five percent of all teachers were women, and at the end of the war the figure rose to eighty-five percent.[17] It remained at this level with only minor fluctuations until the twentieth century. (See Figure 1.)

The feminization of the occupation proceeded with the support of state officials and, with hiring at the local level, presumably the support of community members. These men, who dominated both levels, had little choice. The great expansion of the common school system, the increasing size of the student body, and the emigration from Vermont created a demand for labor. The ideology that women should remain in the home was exploited to serve this need, and it "appeared in the teaching field, as it would in industry, that role expectations were adaptable provided the inferior status group filled a social need."[18] In fact, the society referred directly to the role expectations as a justification for hiring women in the first place and then turned around and neatly used the same expectations as a reason for limiting their role in the educational system once hired. The ideology also worked indirectly. Because society held that middle class women should not work and there were few socially acceptable means for a woman to earn a livelihood, they could be hired cheaply and the extent of their participation could be modified, if necessary, to meet the needs of the male labor force.

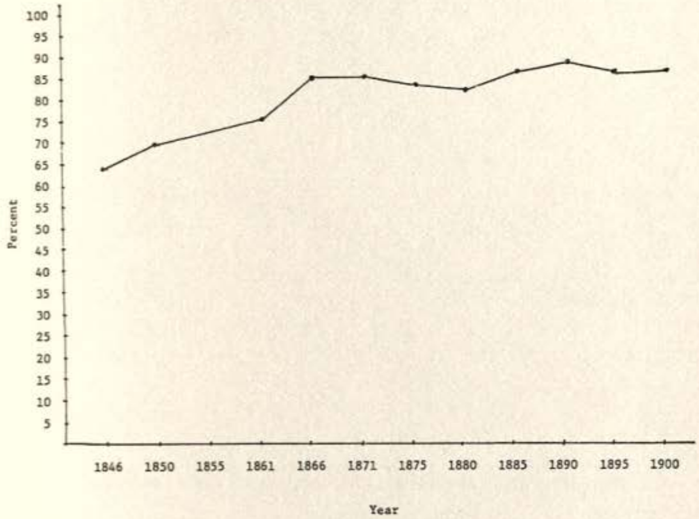
Although not the original justification for hiring women, the "cult of true womanhood," with its peculiar notions about the natural attributes of all women, found endorsement in official statements about feminization throughout the 1850's and 1860's. The state superintendent asserted that teaching was the most appropriate occupation for women, for in teaching "her moral and intellectual qualifications, her devotion, her unselfishness, her calm, quiet resolution, her love of children and natural aptitude to teach, may all find ample scope, and profitably to the public good."[19] Not only did teaching allow a woman to exercise her special abilities, but it provided her with experience which would prove useful in her later role as wife and mother. She would directly benefit the children because of her superiority "in the departments of morals and manners" and her "greater tact and capacity for developing the affections and refining the taste of [her] pupils."[20] The whole society might even gain in "social, moral and intellectual culture" when women were at the blackboard.[21]

This notion that woman has a unique set of sensibilities worked against her and circumscribed her role in the educational system. While eminently suited to the instruction of young children, women could neither be a controlling voice in the schools, nor the only voice heard. In 1852 the legislature addressed the issue of control in response to a petition "praying that women may be allowed to vote in school meetings." (Not until 1880 would such petitions be successful.) In denying the petition, the State Committee on Education expressed its conviction that "The other sex can best discharge their duties as educators, at the fireside or in the schoolroom: and that they may also exert a due influence in the management of school-district affairs by other means, and in a more quiet and suitable way, than by mingling in noisy and excited debates, for which nature seems not to have fitted them."[22]

The relative cheapness of female teachers continued to provide an incentive for their selection throughout the years. An 1849 report, self congratulatory on the fact that general improvement in education had occurred without an increase in money expended, noted that the saving had resulted from "the more extensive employment of female teachers."[23] Thirteen years later, the superintendent argued that female teachers, cheaper than their male counterparts, should be used "provided it can be shown that schools taught by females compare favorably with those taught by males."[24] Occasionally, the reports of the superintendents made reference to the fact that the wages women received were too low to compete with those offered in other vocations and even suggested, though briefly, that women deserved

FIGURE 1

Percentage of all Teachers who were Female
1846-1900



Notes: The 1846 statistic is based on the number of months taught by males and females. The statistics for the years 1850-1870 are based on the numbers of weeks taught by males and females. The remaining statistics are based on number of male and female teachers.

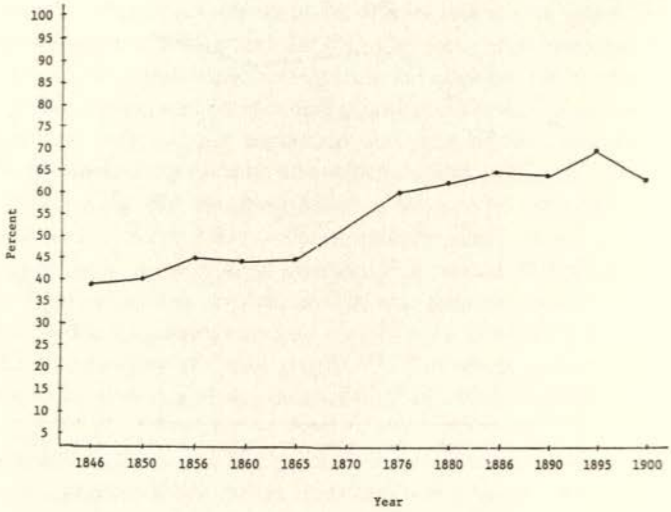
Source: All statistics computed from data presented in the *Vermont School Reports*.

as much pay as men. Such sentiments did not become policy, teachers' wages stayed below those offered in factories until the 1880's, and men continued to receive more than women. (See Figures 2 and 3.) Economy remained a major consideration; female labor was cheap.

The official attitude towards the most advantageous *degree* of feminization varied throughout the century. The timing of these variations was not random. In his first official comment on feminization State Superintendent Horace Eaton hedged; he gave his qualified approval. "There is a limit," Eaton wrote, "beyond which it is not desirable that females should be employed as teachers in our common schools; but . . . this limit had not yet been reached."[25] During Civil War years, with the attendant shortage of male labor, school officials were ready to hand the whole game over to women. The superintendent reported on the growing numbers of women in the teaching ranks as "not to be regarded with apprehension, but is to be cordially welcomed. . . It is worthy of notice, too," the report continued, "that this change will not be confined to the primary and

FIGURE 2

Female Teachers' Wages as a Percentage of Male Teachers' Wages
1846-1900

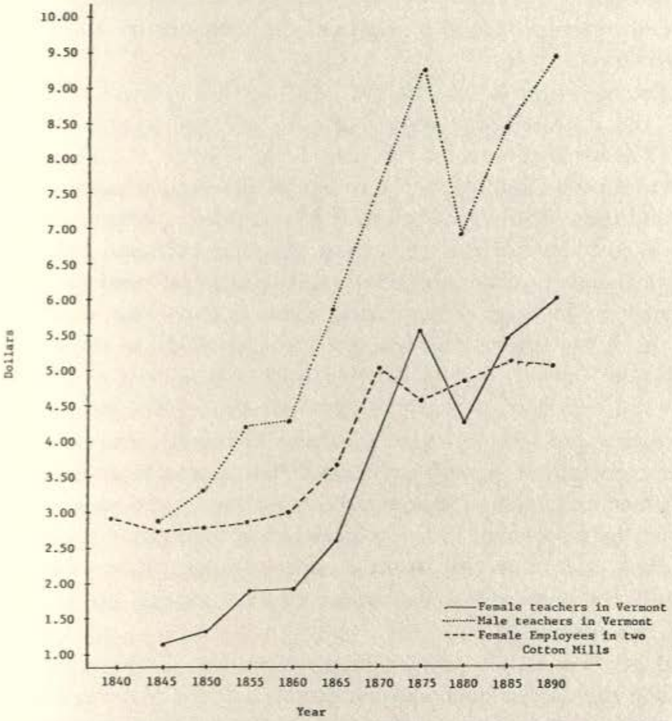


Sources: All statistics are calculated from data on male and female salaries reported in the *Vermont School Reports* with the exception of the 1876 statistic which is calculated from data reported in Mason S. Stone, *History of Education in Vermont* (Montpelier, Vermont: Capital City City Press, 1935).

elementary schools alone."[26] When the men began to return from the wars, such lavish praise was withdrawn: women were again limited to the younger children because "it cannot be denied that they are less gifted with the powers to inspire children, especially of a riper age with the highest motives and the loftiest aims for practical life."[27] With the luxury of hiring males the superintendent expressed the fear that the schools were given "too much into the hands of women, and often into the hands of untutored and inexperienced girls."[28] The rhetoric abated as the percentage of male teachers rose slightly, but in the 1880's, as men felt the effects of the depression, the officials expressed again their sense of danger of "giving our schools too largely into [female] hands."[29] Throughout these years women were considered the marginal group. Even when well over half of all teachers were, in fact, women, their participation was examined in separate sections of the state reports. Men were teachers; women were "female teachers."

FIGURE 3

Comparison of Weekly Wages for Vermont School Teachers and Female Employees in Cotton Mills 1840-1890



Notes: Statistics for teachers' salaries for the years 1845-1860 are calculated from monthly salaries.

Sources: *Vermont School Reports*; Mason S. Stone, *History of Education in Vermont* (Montpelier, Vt: Capital City Press, 1935); and Edith Abbott, *Women in Industry: A Study in American Economic History* (New York, 1910), p. 29.

The men and women who taught in Vermont's common schools were similar in their youth and in the brevity of their tenure, but teaching played a far different role in the total lives of the men and the women. In 1890 legislation fixed the minimum age at which an applicant for a certificate could earn a license to teach at seventeen years. Prior to that time the law provided no lower age limit. Occasionally a girl of fourteen or fifteen would find herself in charge of a school, but such incidents were rare.[30] In 1846 the schoolteachers in Vermont averaged twenty-two years of age with county averages as low as nineteen and as high as twenty-five.[31] A year later (the last time the state statistics reported age) the average was again twenty-two with county extremes of twenty-one and twenty-three.[32] The statistics did not break down precisely for men and women, but the small variation in average ages suggests little if any significant differences between the two groups. The frequent comments in state documents deploring the youth and inexperience of school teachers contained no sexual bias.

Both the men and women taught for only brief periods in their lives. In 1847 the state statistics report that an average teacher taught 4.7 terms.[33] The same reports for the years from 1862 to 1872 indicate that between twenty-five and thirty-five percent of all teachers had never taught before, and these figures may be low.[34] In one town – Plymouth, District #10 – pay stubs for the teachers between the years 1872 and 1877 indicate that ten different teachers worked in the twelve school sessions. Only the ninth teacher, Julia A. Emery, taught more than one term in that district. Even her employment was episodic: she taught in the summer of 1876, did not work in the winter of 1876-77, was rehired in the summer of 1877 and remained to teach the newly instituted fall term that year. During those years only one man taught in Plymouth, and he, like most of the women, stayed for only one term.[35] The statewide statistics did not separate men and women, although the reports suggested somewhat more consistency by the women. The reports deplored high turnover, along with youthfulness, and in his first report as superintendent, Eaton summarized the picture for both men and women: "Few 'if not evil' are the days of teachers in Vermont."[36]

But these "few days" meant something entirely different to the two groups. For the men, school teaching provided a type of periodic employment which enabled them to pursue a more serious and prestigious career. In Waitsfield at least twenty-five men taught in the town in the antebellum period.[37] Only two of the twenty-five remained teachers; among the rest seven were missionaries or ministers, four were lawyers, one a physician, one a college president, one a secretary of the Western Education Society, and one a "prominent man." This type of part-time or amateur participation in teaching by the young men predominated. "During the winter some of the districts attempted to supply their schools with students from Middlebury College or the University of Vermont."[38] In fact, Middlebury arranged its calendar so that the students would have time off in the middle of winter to teach a term in one of the nearby towns.

Teaching provided a means for a young man to raise cash to support his training for a professional career. The professionals regarded such involvement ambivalently. *The Vermont School Journal* (the organ of the Vermont State Teachers' Association) in 1862 printed the remarks of a certain G.A.C.:

> "Do you know where a school is to be had?" said a spruce young Sophomore to me not long ago. "A friend of mine wishes to get a school somewhere. He wants to raise the wind." "Opportunities," I replied, "are few, as there are far more applications than places." He passed on but his last remark came ringing back into my ears. I could not forget it. He wants to raise the wind. He wants to get a little money to help him through his studies, or to satisfy some immediate demand. He has, probably, no *intention* of making teaching a profession. He has no elevated and novel conceptions of a teacher's duties, influence, and responsibilities, or the dignity of his calling. He *cares* for none of these things.[39]

Did the women care more? Did they engage more seriously in the occupation than the men? It is certain that women teachers were neither involved in nor enroute to a professional career. Common opinion of the times gave women more credit for commitment and devotion to teaching than the men; the accuracy of the popular perception remains in doubt. In an 1858 diary Melissa Dolloff aspired to these qualities of her occupation which G.A.C. deemed insufficiently realized by the sophomore's friend: "(I) think I shall like my school very well. I mean to do all in my powers to learn the scholars and teach them how to behave in school though they have behaved very well." She continued, however, that she wished "it agreed with my health better to teach school. I should like it much better if it did but I think it is too tiring to my mind as it makes me . . . sick to teach."[40]

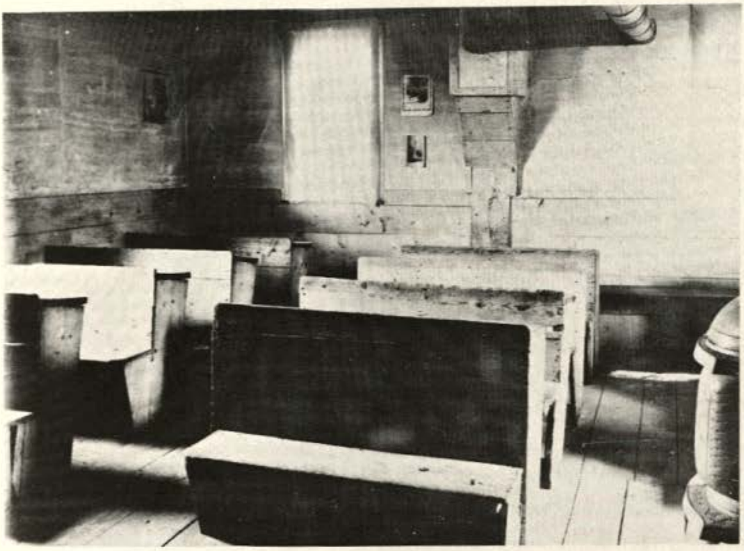
Matt Bushnell Jones' *History of Waitsfield* mentions twenty-nine women who taught there before the Civil War. Genealogical records included in the history provide data for twenty-three of them. Of these, sixteen married, three-quarters of them by the time they were twenty-five. The daughters of solid New England families, with their fathers often sixth or seventh generation Vermonters who divided their time between farming and participation in town affairs as justices of the peace, town clerks, treasurers, selectmen, and representatives in Montpelier, these young women married men similar in social position to their own fathers. For them schoolteaching was an episode between the completion of their own studies and the assumption of new responsibilities.[41]

No apparent difference separates the socio-economic characteristics of the three women who remained teachers throughout their lives and those who left the field for marriage. The reasons why some remained teachers while others threw their lots into domestic affairs becomes important to an understanding of the meaning of the work to women at that time. Some had no choice; they could not find eligible husbands. Others may, in fact, have chosen teaching over marriage for the sake of geographical mobility and protection from the responsibilities incumbent upon a rural housewife, including the dangers of childbirth. Many women seem to

Young scholars, dressed for the occasion, pose at a district school in Waitsfield, while their teacher stands beneath the broken panes above the doorway.

have moved around within Vermont from district to district of the state or to the South and West.[42] When women remained near their homes, genealogical records often treated them in language which suggested a somewhat ambivalent respect. "Aunt Betsy, as she was familiarly and affectionately called by the old and young of two generations, was a noted woman in Springfield," began a typical account. "She was for many years," it continued, "a successful teacher in the district schools. Never forming family ties of her own, the overflowing bounty of her loving heart found its recompense in doing good in the families of others. If she was a little domineering sometimes, she was a very pleasant and efficient autocrat, and most people were willing to submit to her ways for the sake of her service."[43]

The common schoolmistresses, then, were predominately young, unmarried daughters of respectable farmers "drawn from the bright young people of the neighborhood."[44] Although neither the laws themselves nor the *Vermont School Report* make reference to the unmarried status of women until 1868, when they urge that married women remain in the profession, no married names appear in town histories or on any pay stubs. While Vermont's rule remained unwritten, elsewhere the ban was explicit. A New York City law held that "[s]hould a female teacher marry,



An interior view of a district school in Waitsfield.

her place shall thereupon become vacant," and not until 1904 did Mary Murphy's case successfully challenge this statute.[45] The judge held that marriage was not misconduct. Pregnancy was another matter. Not until nine years later did women begin to take issue with the edict that teachers lost their jobs when they became pregnant, a condition which often followed shortly upon marriage.[46] Women who kept private schools did so while married, sometimes along with their husbands, offering the "accomplishments" without which a young girl could not call herself finished.[47] But the public perception of the occupation of common school teaching did not include married women. In examining the effects of wage labor on a woman — her public status, her autonomy within the home, her ability to choose a life for herself — the fact that a woman could not both work and marry was of great significance. It meant that the opening of this form of wage labor to women did not threaten the authority of a husband and that the occupation coexisted peacefully with a social definition of woman's role as daughter, wife and mother - "the best of true womanhood."

Nor did teaching challenge a young middle class girl's chance of preparing herself for the prescribed role. This enthusiasm with which the nascent school systems hired young girls lends circumstantial evidence to this assertion. Three existing diaries written by young school teachers (two of them sisters) offer more direct evidence. Pamela Brown's 1835 diary provides little indication that teaching altered her daily life to any great extent. When she was not teaching, she helped her family with the sewing, spent a great deal of time "visiting," and read ladies magazines or "good" books. On January 12 she "sewed some. Went with Dr. Carter, Thomas and Marcia to Mrs. Hale's. We had a pleasant visit. Did not get home till one." The next day she "sewed some and helped Mother about the house. She washed. Louisa and I rode to the store and home by Halls and back with John Brown."[48] When she was teaching, her days were much the same, although the sheer quantity of goods she produced decreased. On January 20 she noted simply "Taught school. On the Evening read aloud "Twelfth Night" or What You will. (sic)" A day later her entry read "Taught school. Knit and read some."[49]

Pamela Brown seems as subject to her family's authority when she was away as when she was at home. The family called for her when they had visitors, on occasion sent younger siblings for her to care for and saw no problems with asking her to dismiss school in order to spend time with a brother on his return from Michigan. While she presumably gained some financial independence, she maintained a primary orientation as a daughter contributing to the household economy. Her evening sewing was not only for herself; she made clothes for her father, her brothers, and her sisters. An older (married) sister even sent cloth to her with the request that she make some shirts for her brother-in-law.[50]

Melissa Doloff, who also contributed to the household while she taught (and lived at home during at least one term), incorporated her teaching into the definition of a proper daughter. At the beginning of a term, after commenting that the offer she had received would not pay as much as she felt she ought to have, she wrote that she would take the office "as I wish to be at home so as to help mother as she cannot get along without I do the sewing but as far as I am concerned I would rather not teach at all this fall but I feel it to be my duty to help the folks all I can (sic)."[51] While she noted repeatedly that staying home and teaching (rather than doing nothing or going to work in a factory) was consistent with her duty, it is also clear that Melissa achieved a measure of autonomy. She received an invitation which her father did not wish her to accept; she did anyway and made no further mention of the incident, except that she had a good time.[52]

These girls easily incorporated teaching into their roles as dutiful daughters, contributing to the household through both their domestic labors and their salaries. Often they attended to the family's demands before those of the schoolhouse. They also subordinated teaching to their

Many teachers were not much older than their students.

roles as responsible female members of the community. On at least two separate occasions Pamela Brown left school to attend to the needs of others. Once she dismissed her students early to sit by the bed of a seriously ill woman. Another time she cancelled the entire day when "About eight o'clock this morning Cephus Wheeler called at Mr. Hall's and let us know that Mrs. Taylor's babe was dead. He wanted to go to help them today. As Mrs. Hall was gone I told him I would go and did not keep school today. I went accordingly and staid till about night when I returned to Mr. Hall's."[53] Neither of these incidents earned her a reprimand, and she had the opportunity to return and teach the following terms.

Teaching became "women's work" in more than the sense that they numerically predominated in the profession. A relatively large proportion of all women who lived in the nineteenth century taught at some point in their lives. Using the total number of women living in Vermont as the base statistic for determining the percentage of women involved in education at any single point in time, teaching does not obviously emerge as a crucial variable in the lives of women: the percentage of the total female population engaged in teaching in 1880 was only two percent; in 1890 it remained the same and in 1900 it was only one percent.[54] Another method to calculate the impact of the occupation on women's lives employs as the base statistic the number of women between the ages of twenty and thirty.

This procedure has clear drawbacks: although the average age of teachers was twenty-two in the 1840's, comparable statistics are not available for the later years and at no time were *all* teachers drawn from the between twenty and thirty age group. Nevertheless, this procedure produces more startling statistics. The number of women teaching in 1880 reaches fifteen percent of the total number of women in the specified population, fourteen percent in 1890, and eleven percent in 1900.[55] A third method to measure the importance of teaching in the lives of nineteenth century women attempts to calculate the "percentage of women who at some time had the experience of conducting classes," and concludes with the startling estimate that one out of four Massachusetts females born in this country once taught school.[56] The proportion in Vermont may have been as high. Though numerical data for Vermont does not match the quality of Massachusetts data, the elements of the general statistic appear the same: an expanding school system, high turnover rates, and a rise in the proportion of female teachers.

Viewed as a brief interval in approximately one quarter of the lives of all young women, common schoolteaching assumes the quality of a rite of passage, whereby eligible women were shown off to the local community. By allowing her to take on the mantle of a schoolteacher, a girl's parents signalled that she had completed her own education and was now ready for marriage. Schoolteaching also provided a means by which a girl could achieve a high degree of visibility without endangering her modesty. And, if visibility within the local district did not result in the attraction of an appropriate husband, young women had a suitable cover for surveying other territories.

In its pure form, a rite of passage involves three stages: separation, liminality and reaggregation.[56] Schoolteaching corresponds only roughly to this concept. While the schoolteachers frequently achieved a separation from their former lives (often through boarding), they were not released from the responsibilities incumbent on other women in the community where their behavior was closely monitored. The local patriarchy controlled their selection into the occupation, style of teaching and living conditions.

An 1827 "act to provide for the support of the common schools" established broad criteria for the selection of teachers by local superintending committees, which it required to assure "the good moral characters of all instructors who may be employed . . . and to satisfy themselves, by personal examination, of their literary qualifications for teaching, and capacity for the government of schools; and no instructor," the act continued, "shall be entitled to receive any compensation for his or her services in the instruction of any school aforesaid, without first obtaining from said committee, or a majority of them a certificate of his or her qualification aforesaid."[57]

Morals came first, literary qualifications second. Without an independent source of credentials, teachers necessarily depended on community definitions of suitability. This system of examination at the *local* level persisted until 1889, even as other levels of certification emerged. In 1845 teachers could substitute county certificates for those issued at the town level, and nineteen years later a diploma from a normal school graduation became an added means for eligibility. Eventually state Board of Education certificates and teacher training programs in high schools and academies provided other means as well.[58] The development of these alternative certification procedures allowed a measure of independence and the possibilities for mobility lacking in the early years. At all levels men controlled who taught and also how they taught. In 1864 a superintendent wrote letters to all the teachers within his district, and to a certain Miss M. he wrote that he had found "some faults in management and instruction which should be corrected. Allow me to speak plainly of what I notice as defective in *your* school. You lack energy. In your manner you appear dull and stupid. Your heart beats too slowly; your blood runs sluggishly in its round of circulation; your eyes do not flash with enthusiasm; your voice falters all indicating a want of earnestness in your work." He followed this assault on Miss M.'s work with some suggestions on how to improve herself. She should, he persisted, begin the day with a "cold bath in the morning, or an hour or two of vigorous Free Gymnastics, . . . It would also be useful for you to dwell frequently and long upon the greatness and importance of your work, and the responsibility of your position. I advise you to read the life of Dr. Arnold and other similar works which are well calculated to awaken the spirit of earnestness in the teacher. By some means, do wake up and stir yourself, or I must advise you to seek some more congenial employment."[59]

Although not all schoolmistresses received so severe a judgment, they were all subject to visits by the superintendents. The issue of supervision weighed heavily on the minds of the townspeople and the State Board of Education. The 1827 law established mechanisms which enabled the community to keep tight control over the school. "It shall . . . be the duty of the superintending committee or some one of them, to visit each of the district school in said town, for the purpose of making a careful examination thereof, - of seeing that the scholars thereof are properly supplied with books, of inquiring into the regulations and discipline of such schools, and of the habits and proficiency of the scholars therein; such visits to be made on some day during the first or second week after the commencement of such school, and also once a month afterwards, without giving previous notice of such visits to the instructors of such schools."[60]

The power vested in the hands of the local superintending committee not only made women dependent on its criteria for jobs, it also made school teaching an unstable position. First, the election of a new committee at the annual March meeting might bring with it a change of teachers, thus contributing to the high turnover rate. "[A]lmost every man who is elected to this office has some cousin, niece, or daughter for whom he wishes to provide. Some of these may be excellent teachers and as good as can be found; but the next man who happens to be elected committee, having similar favorites, places a new teacher in the school, regardless of the superior qualifications of the old one."[62]

Even within a single term the teacher first had to win the approval of the committee.* Dissatisfaction with teachers led to firing them before the end of the term. Then the teacher would have to sue for her wages.[63] Sometimes dissatisfied parents simply withdrew their children from the school, which left the teacher without a job — and without any pay. Miss Lizzie Hawley, hired to teach the winter term in 1871, kept school very strictly and refused to allow the children to sit near the fire, even on cold days. As a consequence "all but five children left school and about the middle of the third week Miss Hawley resigned."[64]

The law required the observation of teachers; society demanded this observation during the teacher's leisure time. In most communities the teacher "boarded around" and until 1866 approximately two-thirds of the school teachers lived in this fashion.[65] By "boarding around" the teacher spent a week with each family who had children in the school. She moved from house to house, occasionally returning to one if the family had a larger number of children attending that term. An alternative way of housing the teacher was to "sell" the board for the entire term to the lowest bidder at the school meeting. Only occasionally did a school district allow the teacher to select his or her own place to board or did the teacher live close enough to home that she could remain there. These systems of boarding had several important effects. It isolated the teacher from others in similar positions. At a time when the distinction between woman's work and man's work was becoming more extreme and women increasingly came to rely on each other for emotional and intellectual

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*In actual practice the chairman of the district school committee often functioned as THE committee. Frequently a chairman would be elected repeatedly, establishing through longevity of service a leadership role seldom challenged by other committee members. Aspiring young teachers quickly learned who must be approached for a teaching position and who must be kept contented.

Many of the women who continued teaching did so because "they could find no eligible husbands."

support, the isolation from close friends, colleagues and family must have been painful for some.[66] "Boarding around" also made female teachers especially visible to a wide cross-section of the community. The families who provided the board could observe their behavior and personal attributes. Not infrequently, one of the homes would be that of the district superintendent who had absolute power over the teacher. Boarding, by definition, left the woman dependent. As long as the teacher did not pay the families with whom she boarded (true regardless of whether each family had a responsibility to board the teacher proportionate to the number of children enrolled in the school or whether the teacher lived with the lowest bidder), she could not negotiate the terms of the arrangement. Sleeping quarters might be shared with other family members, and the routine household responsibilities which fell on women would be expected of the boarder as well. Pamela Brown commented on her participation in the households in which she lived: at Mr. Hall's she knit a cap for "old Mrs. Hall;" and at Mr. Allen's she "washed Mrs. Allen's dishes."[67] A woman's board cost less than a man's, perhaps because women ate less. More likely, the differential was because a woman living in a house made a contribution to the maintenance of the house not asked of a man.

Boarding thus isolated the schoolteachers from others similarly situated, allowed for visibility by the entire community, and left them subject both to the constraints of suitable behavior and to the demands of household maintenance. The public stated other reasons for supporting the practice, which, presumably, derived from a still earlier custom of hiring a travelling schoolmaster to live in the home for a time. The public found "boarding about" an inexpensive means of housing teachers which apportioned the burden for such support equitably according to the number of children in a family attending school that term. The practice also was said to "better acquaint the teacher with the scholars." In isolated regions families probably found it a treat to have a respectable visitor in the home for a week or so, particularly if she helped with the household chores.[68]

When the public sentiment turned against the practice in the 1860's, the *Vermont School Report* in 1863 lambasted the practice on the grounds that teachers, if expected to perform adequately within the schoolhouse, needed "daily effort in preparation" for the classroom. "So long as the teacher goes wandering about from house to house in search of his daily bread, with no fixed home and no possibility of surrounding himself with the conveniences of study and thought, so long it will be idle and useless to hope for any but common place efforts from him."[69] The seed of major change rests in this passage: the public had begun to perceive schoolteachers as a group with professional needs. The disenchantment with boarding had other roots. The legislation of 1864, which abolished the practice, required that "all moneys necessary to defray the expense of supporting the schools be raised by a *tax upon the Grand List*." This legislation was part of a larger policy to redistribute the cost of maintaining education to make it fall proportionate to real property rather than the number of children who used the schools.

Schoolteaching did not pay well in the nineteenth century. The 1844 *Report* of the Superintendent of Common Schools provides the first official statistics. Female teachers received an average of $4.80 a month above room and board.[70] Melissa Doloff agreed to teach for a dollar and fifty cents per week; it was all she was offered. "Mr. Long," she wrote, "spoke to me tonight about keeping the school this fall in this place he said he would pay me one dollar and fifty cents per week for eight weeks and that was the most he could pay as there had been several applications for a dollar and a dollar and a quarter I think I ought to have a dollar and seventy-five but do not know but I shall keep as he offers."[71]

Over the century, the wages slowly rose. (See Figure 3.) The meaning of these wages must be seen in the context of two factors: the period of work and the teachers' living expenses. The high turnover rate among schoolteachers, averaging 4.7 terms, each three months long (stated in *Vermont*

"The common schoolmistresses . . . were predominantly young unmarried daughters of respectable farmers 'drawn from the bright young people of the neighborhood.'" The schoolmistress of School #9, Ludlow, photographed with her flock in October, 1909.

School Report of 1847), at a salary of $4.65 a month, meant a career earning of $65.56.[72] Though this may have provided a hefty sum for a dowry, the fact that one's earning power was limited to such a brief period indicates the absence of any expectation of earning a living teaching, a fact not officially acknowledged until late in the century when the *Vermont School Report* noted that wages should be raised to allow teachers to live on what they made.

Teachers, provided with room and board, were not expected to purchase household supplies with their wages. For the dollar a week a teacher might earn in the 1840's, she could purchase a pound of butter (12 cents), a dozen eggs (10 cents), a bushel of potatoes (15 cents), a bushel of oats (12 cents), and two quarts rum (34 cents). Other items a teacher needed cost more. A teacher would be hard pressed to buy decent clothing on the salary when fancy combs cost 33 cents and shawls of silk and cotton cost $7.00. Professional expenses could also add up: a pair of spectacles bought from a peddlar cost $2.25, a year's subscription to *The Atlantic* and the *Vermont School Journal* cost $3.00, *Sargent's Original Dialogues*, a widely advertised reader, cost $1.00, and *Quackenbos' English Grammar* sold for 75 cents.[73] Evidently most of the women who kept common school spent their wages as one might an allowance, contributed to the household economy, or saved for a dowry. They were still integrated into the family economy. They contributed to it through sewing and caring for young children, and they relied on it for such major purchases as cloaks and shawls.

How else could a young woman earn money in rural New England in the nineteenth century? Some Vermont women probably chose to leave and seek employment in the mills of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, or Connecticut. Some Vermont schoolmistresses apparently viewed millwork as a preferable means of earning a living. The *Vermont School Report* in 1864 acknowledged that the mill option (especially during the Civil War) threatened the stability of the labor supply. In fact in the years before 1865, the women had good reason to choose factory work over teaching: the pay was better; one could escape the daily duties of family life; and one could live with others of the same age.[74]

For women who did not want to leave Vermont, however, the choices were extremely limited. One could earn money at home making butter or cheese ($2.00 - $3.00 a week), by taking in fine sewing ($3.00 - $6.00 a week), or by other varieties of "home work." Sally Brown, for instance, supplemented her teaching salary in this way when her father sold her "stocking yarn for five shillings a pound."[75] Paid employment outside the home scarcely existed in the first half of the century. Domestic service — at wages only slightly below those given to schoolteachers — was an unfavored option, which in 1870 accounted for sixty-nine percent of all women employed outside the home. Women in the social stratum from which the teachers came probably would not choose domestic service. In 1860 only five manufacturing occupations in the state employed over fifty women, and each of them entailed work which women had performed at home; making boots and shoes, clothing, cotton wear, hosiery, and woolen goods. In 1870, teachers made up 25 percent of the 13,500 Vermont women employed outside the home. (Only 6 percent of women employed outside the home worked in occupations other than teaching and domestic service.) For men, at the same time, teaching accounted for less than one percent of the total job opportunities.[76] In this sense teaching was women's work. Society tended to frown on the employment of women, but it accepted schoolteaching, for that work did not lead women away from the fold or into other work outside the home.

A certain means for any occupation to replace men with women came when women accepted the offers of cheaper wages. In the case of schoolteaching, the fact that the decisions about wages were made at the community level supplies further evidence that the citizens of Vermont did not object to the feminization of the occupation. In the 1840's, school-

Perhaps the two schoolmistresses seen with their students ca. 1895 "incorporated teaching into their roles as dutiful daughters, contributing to the household both through domestic labors and their salaries."

mistresses earned less than forty percent of the wages paid to schoolmasters. This proportion gradually rose until 1900 when female salaries reached sixty-two percent of those paid to men.[77] The difference, in the early years, developed when women tended to each summer sessions, considered easier to manage as no sixteen year old boys attended. The simple realization that women would work for less also motivated the supervisors. Without competition from other "respectable" employment, without the assumption that a family had to live on the wages, and in a context where the work was seen as part of the duty to one's family and the larger community, there was no compelling need to pay them more.

Most women did not gain autonomy by teaching. The employment did not free them from the immediate context of a family's authority, nor did it free them from the broader context of a patriarchal society. The ideological constraints had temporal counterparts in the close supervision over the teachers, the low wages which they received, and the lack of alternative employment.

In her recent work on life in working-class families, Lillian Rubin noted that a married woman's employment in the context of traditional notions of male authority can create extreme tension. Woman's work may conflict sharply with the cultural command for dependence, submission and subordination to her man.[78] One student has argued that school teaching was the "cutting edge," the first occupation involving large numbers of women, which he suggests functioned as a course of social mobility on a personal level and as concrete evidence of women's capabilities on a society level.[79] While this may have occurred and thus enhanced women's roles, it did not fundamentally alter them. The ideological adaptation alleviated tension while the occupational structures limited freedom. Common schoolteachers joined the labor force without ever leaving home.

NOTES

[1] No single piece of work explicitly states all of these assumptions. Nevertheless, they were underlying the early efforts of the woman's movement which aimed at "liberating" women from the constraints of domesticity and which left a legacy of distrust among women who had to work outside the home. Some of the anthologies which contain arguments for the employment of women, as well as some of the counter arguments, include Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran, eds., *Woman in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness* (New York: Basic Books, 1971); Robin Morgan, ed., *Sisterhood is Powerful* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970); and Mary Lou Thompson, ed., *Voices of the New Feminism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970).

[2] Nancy Quinn, "Anthropological Studies on Women's Status," "Annual Review of Anthropology," vol. 6 (1977): 181-225 provides a useful review of the anthropological studies. For a discussion of the sociological and historical approaches which includes competing definitions of the concept "autonomy" see Renate Bridenthal, "Towards a Feminist Marxism: The Dialectics of Production and Reproduction," *Conceptual Frameworks for Studying Women's History* (Sarah Lawrence Women's Studies Publication, mimeographed). Louise A. Tilly, Joan W. Scott, and Miriam Cohen, "Women's Work and European Fertility Patterns," in *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective*, ed. Michael Gordon, 2nd. ed. (New York: St. Martins Press, 1978), pp. 289-312 provide a partial antidote in their response to Edward Shorter's hypothesis in "Illegitimacy, Sexual Revolution and Social Change in Modern Europe," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 2, (1971), 261-269 that the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century rise in fertility in Western Europe could be linked directly to the emancipating effects of female participation in industrialization. Tilly, Scott and Cohen assert the need for close examination of the contexts - organizational and ideological - in which women work before drawing board theoretical conclusions.

[3] Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, vol. 18, Summer 1966, 151-174.

[4] *Ibid.*; and Gerda Lerner, "The Lady and the Mill Girl: Changes in the Status of Women in the Age of Jackson," in *Our American Sisters*, Jean E. Friedman and William G. Shade, eds., 2nd ed. (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1976), pp. 120-132.

[5] A discussion of the early socialization of young girls to the cult of domesticity can be found in Mary Ryan, *Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Franklin Watts, Inc., 1975), pp. 137-193.

[6] Mason S. Stone, *History of Education: State of Vermont* (Montpelier, Vt: Capital City Press, 1935), p. 57.

[7] Vermont, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Vermont, Thirty-Third Vermont School Report made by the State Superintendent of Education to the Legislature*, 1890. (Hereafter all such reports cited as *Vermont School Report*.)

[8] For a complete discussion of early education (particularly for girls) see Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States* (New York: The Science Press, 1929), vol. 1. See also James Axtell, *The School Upon a Hill* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1976).

[9] In 1846 the *Vermont School Report* lists 82 private schools in contrast to 2,276 district schools. In 1870, only nine percent of all schoolteachers were employed in non-public educational institutions. *Vermont School Report* (1846), app. p. 43; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census of the United States*: 1870, Vol. 1, 469.

[10] Woody, *Women's Education*, pp. 460-518; and Richard M. Bernard and Maris A. Vinovskis, "The Female School Teacher in Ante-Bellum Massachusetts," *Journal of Social History*, vol. 10, Spring, 1977, 332-345.

[11] Michael B. Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968) and *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America* 2nd ed. (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1975); David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974); and Diane Ravitch, *The Great School Wars: New York City, 1805-1973* (New York: Basic Books, 1974).

[12] Edward Miller and Frederick P. Wells, *History of Ryegate, Vermont* (St. Johnsbury, Vt.: Caledonian Co., 1913), p. 156.

[13] *History of the Town of Waitsfield, Vermont: 1782-1908* (Boston: George E. Littlefield, 1909), p. 153.

[14] Blanche Brown Bryant and Gertrude Elaine Baker, ed., *The Diaries of Sally and Pamela Brown (1832-1838) and Hyde Leslie (1887), Plymouth Notch, Vermont* (Springfield, Vt.: William L. Bryant Foundation, 1970).

[15] Vermont, *Journal of the House of Representatives* (1884), p. 145.

[16] "District No. 4: School Records," Middlebury School Records, Sheldon Museum, Middlebury, Vermont.

[17] *Vermont School Report* (1861), p. 6; and *Vermont School Report* (1865), p. iv.

[18] Lerner, "The Lady and the Mill Girl," p. 126.

[19] *Vermont School Report* (1864), p. 80

[20] *Ibid.* (1865), p. vii; and (1868), p. 47.

[21] *Ibid.* (1865), p. vi.

[22] Vermont, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Vermont* (1852), p. 353.

[23] *Vermont School Report* (1849), p. 16.

[24] *Ibid.* (1862), p. 67.

[25] *Ibid.* (1850), p. 20.

[26] *Ibid.* (1864), p. 77.

[27] *Ibid.* (1968), p. 47.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.* (1882), p. 10.

[30] Stone, *History of Education*, p. 118.

[31] *Vermont School Report* (1846), p. 18.

[32] *Ibid.* (1847), p. 20.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[34] *Ibid.* (1862, 1864, 1866, 1868, 1879, and 1872).

[35] "Plymouth School Records," MSS 24, 58-64, Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vt.

[36] Stone, *History of Education*, p. 115.

[37] Jones, *Waitsfield*, pp. 158-162.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

[39] *Vermont School Journal* IV (January, 1862), 12.

[40] Melissa S. Dolloff, "Diary of a 'love-sick' school teacher, ages 19, 1858," September 27, MSC-175, Brigham's Index, Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vt.

[41] Jones, *Waitsfield*, p. 211. The genealogy includes mostly individuals residing in the town at the time of publication (1909). The six women for whom the volume provides no genealogical records may have come from other towns or may have been from families which the genealogist did not consider sufficiently noteworthy. The genealogy makes it clear that three of the women engaged in teaching for much of their lives; it contains no information for the remaining four women except (in two cases) date of death. The ages at which the women married ranged from nineteen to thirty-two. The genealogy is vague about the precise occupations of individuals, though many small town residents were farmers. The husbands are mentioned by name only if they were not, themselves, Waitsfield residents.

[42] Evidence of mobility comes from genealogical records which sometimes note places in which the individual was employed and place of death.

[43] Mary W. Ellis, *Eureka: The First Village in Springfield, Vermont* (Springfield, Vt: Historical Committee of the Miller Art Center, 1959), p. 216.

[44] *Vermont School Report* (1969), p. 47.

[45] Barbara Mayer Wertheimer, *We Were There: The Story of Working Women in America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), pp. 243-248.

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] Vermont town histories frequently list the names of teachers of private educational establishments, a large number of whom were either married or widowed.

[48] Brown, *Diaries*, p. 31.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Dolloff, "Diary," September 12.

[52] Brown, *Diaries*, pp. 48 and 66.

[53] These figures were calculated from census data on the total number of females in Vermont for each of the years mentioned and from *Vermont School Report* statistics for the total number of teachers in the same years. It is not possible to calculate the percentage of Vermont women engaged in teaching for earlier decades because the official statistics report only the number of weeks or months taught by females and not the number of women employed. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *The Tenth Census of the United States*; *The Eleventh Census of the United States*; *The Twelfth Census of the United States*; and *Vermont School Report* (1880, 1890, 1900).

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] Bernard and Vinovskis, "The Female School Teacher," p. 333.

[56] Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. M.B. Vizedom, and G.L. Caffee (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960).

[57] Vermont, *Acts Passed by the Legislature of the State of Vermont* 1827, Public Act 23, Section 3, p. 19.

[58] Stone, *History of Education*, pp. 119-122.

[59] *The Vermont School Journal* VI (February, 1864), 25.

[60] *Public Act 23*, p. 19.

[61] In Waitsfield, five of the thirteen town superintendents who served between 1846 and 1871 were ministers. Jones, *Waitsfield*, p. 156.

[62] A.M. Caverly, *History of the Town of Pittsford, Vt.* (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle and Co., Printers, 1872), p. 554; and *Vermont School Report* (1863), p. 82.

[63] *The Vermont School Journal* V (July 1862) 174; Brown, *Diaries*: and M. Eva Baker, *Folklore of Springfield, Vermont* (Springfield, Vt.: privately printed, 1922).

[64] Baker, *Folklore of Springfield*, p. 93.

[65] Statistics reported in *Vermont School Report* (1861-1874). After the policy change in 1866, the percentage of teachers boarding around declined to approximately thirty-three percent.

[66] Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth Century America," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* I (Autumn, 1975): 1-30.

[67] Brown, *Diaries*, pp. 33-34.

[68] *Vermont School Journal* III (1861), 117.

[69] *Vermont School Report* (1863), p. 86.

[70] *Ibid.* (1865), p. 110.

[71] Dolloff, "Diary," September 12.

[72] *Vermont School Report* (1847).

[73] Brown, Diaries; *Vermont School Journal* (advertisements); Stone, *History of Education*; Edith Abbott, *Women in Industry: A Study in American Economic History* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1916), pp. 35-37; and Edward T. Fairbanks, *The Town of St. Johnsbury, Vermont* (St. Johnsbury, Vt. Cowles Press, 1912), p. 118.

[74] Abbott, *Women in Industry*, pp. 109-147; Harriet H. Robinson, *Loom and Spindle: or Life Among the Early Mill Girls* (Kailua, Hawaii: Press Pacifica, 1976); Fairbanks, *St. Johnsbury*, p. 118; and *Vermont School Report* (1864), pp. 78-79.

[75] Brown, *Diaries*, p. 26.

[76] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census of the United States*, Vol. I: *The Statistics of the Population of the United States*.

[77] *Vermont School Report* (1896-1900).

[78] Lillian Rubin, *Worlds of Pain* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976), pp. 155-184.

[79] Marshall True, "Nineteenth-Century Schoolmarms: The Cutting Edge?" address presented to the Vermont Historical Society 1978 Annual Meeting, Montpelier, Vermont.