

Lives of American Women

A HISTORY WITH DOCUMENTS

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□ *LIVES* of □
AMERICAN
□ *WOMEN* □

A History with Documents

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For Our Parents

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Preface

In this book we have examined the lives of American women from the seventeenth century to the present, using the concept of the life cycle as an organizing principle. Our primary focus has been on women themselves and the ways in which they have evaluated their experiences, relationships, and choices at each stage of life. Our goal has been to build a sturdy historical foundation for the study of contemporary women's lives.

Through our work we have sought to demonstrate that the life cycle concept can enhance historical studies of American women by furnishing a means for integrating two levels of analysis, the individual and the societal. Studying women's lives in terms of developmental as well as historical guideposts has enabled us to clarify the relationship between individual and social change. This approach should make the text particularly useful for courses in women's history, women's studies, and American social history.

The book consists of a general introduction and five chapters that correspond to five basic life stages: childhood, adolescence, young adulthood, middle age, and old age. The introduction sets the stage for the chapters that follow by reviewing the varied applications of the life cycle concept. Each period of life is then explored from historical, psychological, and sociological viewpoints. After identifying the major theoretical issues pertaining to the life stage, we outline the dominant and alternative experiences of the life stage from the colonial era to the present. This historical narrative supplies a framework for interpreting the detailed case studies in each chapter.

Personal documents composed by women form an integral part of every section of the book. In addition to illustrating the historical trends and patterns delineated in the comprehensive discussion, they highlight fundamental aspects of personal development. However revealing the documents are of the complexity of individual lives, these fragments of personal history are designed to illuminate experiences and attitudes common to women over the centuries.

Certain criteria guided our choice of documents. We preferred writings such as diaries and letters that revealed an individual's immediate interpre-

tation of events, rather than accounts composed from hindsight. We felt that lengthy selections from the writings of a small number of women would produce greater insight into women's lives than would brief excerpts from the testimonies of a wider sample. It was essential, however, that the documents chosen reflect the variety of experience and take into account differences in social class, race, ethnicity, religion, and regional background, as well as personality, temperament, and talents. Above all, we sought authentic voices, women who truly represented their peers. Our subjects, then, are by definition ordinary women rather than exceptional women.

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Introduction

Inaccurate images of women's lives abound in American culture. Like the reflections in a fun-house mirror, these images convey a semblance of truth but in a form so exaggerated that all sense of proportion is lost. The perfect housewife, the devoted mother, the frustrated spinster, the sex object, the ruthless career woman, the "uppity" woman — all of these stereotypes have proved exceedingly durable because they offer simplified, yet believable, versions of the life experience of American women. Indeed, it is their idealized quality that has made these images so influential in molding our perceptions of female existence. Nevertheless, it is widely recognized that such stereotypic representations distort the reality of women's lives. By reducing women to embodiments of particular attributes, they conceal the ambiguities inherent in female identity and mask the contradictory impulses with which women have perennially struggled. Unquestionably, the actuality of female experience in America has always been far more complex than is suggested by prevalent characterizations.

In recent years historians have made considerable headway in correcting the simplistic images of women embedded in popular culture. Spurred by the changing climate of opinion concerning woman's role in society, feminist scholars have mounted an impressive research effort designed to ferret out the salient facts of American women's lives, past and present. Assessment of newly unearthed documents, as well as standard sources, in the light of modifications in social and psychological theory has produced an ongoing reinterpretation of the female experience in America. Although the emergent scholarship is diverse in character, it is possible to categorize current research efforts under two broad methodological approaches.¹

One major thrust of recent work is directed toward delineating the framework of female life in America, or what might be called the objective

¹ For useful reviews of recent works on the history of American women, see Barbara Sicherman, "American History — Review Essay," *Signs* 1 (Winter 1975): 461–485; and Mary Beth Norton, "American History — Review Essay," *Signs* 5 (Winter 1979): 324–337. Insight into the field of women's history can be gained from Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

circumstances of women's lives. The aim of such studies is to provide an analysis of the social and economic conditions as well as the cultural imperatives that have defined women's lives. Resourceful investigators have accumulated an enormous body of information through studies of demographic processes, employment patterns, household technology, medical care, and voluntary organizations. In addition, surveys of ideas and attitudes have clarified the cultural norms that guide female behavior. Researchers have combed obvious as well as obscure sources, ranging from sermons, magazine articles, and works of fiction, to films, television programs, and advertising, to ascertain the messages being transmitted to women about the ideals of femininity. All of this work has finally made it possible to place American women in the context of their times.

A different, but complementary, approach to the study of American women's lives takes as its starting point the individual female rather than the society and culture. Biographies not only document the personal history and public career of a particular woman but, more importantly, attempt to explain the reasons for her behavior at critical junctures in her life. The most illuminating studies in this vein focus on the subjective reality of female life, probing women's mental and emotional states, and draw conclusions about their psychological makeup.² The value of this perspective on women's lives is evident, since it alone affords readers the opportunity to scrutinize a woman's inner self.

Nevertheless, biographical studies, no matter how ably conceived and executed, do not provide an adequate basis for generalizing about the life course of the majority of American women. With few exceptions, biographers have written about notable or notorious women, women who stood out from the mass because of their distinctive accomplishments or their defiance of convention. What makes a woman a likely candidate for an in-depth profile is the fact that she led an unusual life or played a decisive role in shaping public events. In other words, the rationale for the selection of an appropriate subject is her singularity, not her typicality. Consequently, the findings of biographers, however enlightening with respect to individual careers, have limited applicability. There remains a significant gap in our knowledge of the female experience in America that can only be filled when scholars are convinced of the necessity of examining the subjective dimension of the average woman's life.

The personal histories of ordinary women merit investigation for a purpose other than that underlying traditional biographies. A particular female life can be dissected for the light it sheds on representative patterns of female development rather than, as in the traditional biographical approach, for its own sake. Instead of laboring to discern those qualities that make their subjects unique, researchers examine the lives of ordinary women to identify commonalities in experience and outlook. They begin with the premise that although few American women have had the resources to

² See, for example, Allen F. Davis, *American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); and Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).

challenge the norms of their culture directly, countless women have dealt with the manifold problems posed by their daily existence in creative and meaningful ways. These women very definitely did make their own history, even if they were hemmed in by the proscriptions of society. Their legacy to us will be lost unless we devise an effective strategy for analyzing their life experiences.

Collecting and evaluating personal documents is one means of answering this call. Gathering such data presents a real, but not insurmountable, problem. Diaries, letters, and autobiographies of undistinguished women are available in plenitude to the diligent researcher, but, not surprisingly, white, middle-class, Protestant women are clearly overrepresented in these sources. This bias must be consciously compensated for in the presentation and interpretation of documents.

A more knotty problem concerns the elaboration of a methodology that facilitates generalization about the full spectrum of female experience in America without sacrificing the personal element so crucial to biographical works. In essence, what is needed is a mode of analysis that preserves the focus on the individual, which is the sine qua non of biography, but at the same time allows us to reconstruct representative female experiences for different historical periods. We believe that the concept of the life cycle, employed by developmental psychologists to study processes of cognitive growth and identity formation, can be used fruitfully to structure a historical study of the temporal dimension of female life. In this book, life cycle categories supply a matrix for organizing personal documents produced by American women over the centuries. We do not assume that each life stage embodies any one specific psychosocial task, but we do believe that there are certain theoretical issues that are critical for understanding each life stage and that these issues must be explored before historical analysis can proceed. Although this application of the life cycle concept lacks the theoretical rigor customary in the social sciences, it promises to increase our understanding of the nature of individual development in both the past and present.

Processes of aging as well as the progression of changing roles people assume from childhood through old age have long been popularly perceived as movement through stages in life.³ The emergence of a scientific model of life stages to describe the many facets of human development,

³ This is not to imply, however, that those stages have been uniformly or universally understood in the past, or to say that what is defined as a separate stage at any historical period has always been recognized as such. Many factors shape a society's classification of people at all ages. Recent scholarship investigating how conceptions of childhood, adolescence, and adulthood have been profoundly influenced by social forces and how they reflect demographic circumstances includes: Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962); Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977); Winthrop D. Jordan, "Searching for Adulthood in America," and Tamara K. Hareven, "The Last Stage: Historical Adulthood and Old Age," *Daedalus* 105 (Fall 1976): 1-11, 13-27; David Hackett Fischer, *Growing Old in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977); and W. Andrew Achenbaum, *Old Age in the New Land: The American Experience Since 1790* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

however, is a relatively recent phenomenon. Originating in the biological sciences in the nineteenth century, the life cycle concept has become a potent analytical tool for psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, and historians.

Charles Darwin's biological theory of evolution — a gradual, continuous process beginning with single-cell organisms and advancing through higher stages to the most complex species, human beings — dramatically transformed conceptions of the physical and psychological nature of individual development. Among the first to explore the psychological implications of Darwin's ideas was G. Stanley Hall. Constructing an evolutionary psychological system, Hall delineated a series of biogenetic stages of individual development, linking each to a particular stage in the evolution of the whole species.

Hall postulated that physiological factors, which were genetically determined, controlled human consciousness and behavior. Minimizing the role that environment plays in shaping personality, he described natural patterns of physical and psychological development as they unfolded during different periods of life. Although Hall explained both male and female development in terms of biology, he maintained that physiology controlled females to a greater extent than it did males. Because a woman's sex organs constituted a "far larger proportion of her body than those of man," he wrote, "their psychic reverberations" were "more all pervasive." The natural course of development for females thus led inevitably to marriage and motherhood.⁴

Early in the twentieth century Sigmund Freud proposed his general theory of human sexual development, which he expanded and revised throughout his life. Freud described how the unconscious and its mechanisms function at various psychosexual stages of development and serve as a source of motivation and behavior. He hypothesized that the course of development diverged for males and females during the phallic stage, between the ages of four and seven, when children discover that the genitals of the sexes are different.

According to Freud, the girl's discovery that she lacks a penis makes her envious of males and has profound psychological consequences for her later personality formation and behavior. If she follows a "normal" path of development she resolves her penis envy, becomes reconciled to her anatomical inferiority, and accepts her position in life. Freud also saw the psychosexual conflicts characteristic of each life stage as largely unaffected by environmental influences. Thus, anatomy determines personality, emotions, interests, and character and explains differences between the sexes.⁵

⁴ Hall (1846–1924) began his research on developmental processes in children in the 1880s, later exploring adolescence and old age. A discussion of his contributions to developmental psychology can be found in Howard Gardner, *Developmental Psychology: An Introduction* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1978), pp. 148–151. Quote is from Hall, *Adolescence* (New York: D. Appleton, 1904), 2:562.

⁵ For a lucid discussion of psychoanalytical theories and criticisms from feminist writers, see Juanita H. Williams, *Psychology of Women: Behavior in a Biosocial Context*

Interest in the stages of life development waned after 1920, as environmental learning theories began to dominate the field of psychology. Reacting against both the methodology and assumptions of early developmental psychologists, environmental learning theorists emphasized the role of environment in conditioning personality and behavior and turned their attention to creating experimental situations where variables could be precisely defined and controlled.⁶ The resurgence of interest in the life cycle idea in recent decades is directly attributable to the original research and writings of Jean Piaget and Erik Erikson.

In his investigations of how children learn to reason, Piaget identified a sequence of cognitive stages through which children pass, each reflecting different modes of organizing knowledge and understanding the world. Piaget held that all children move through cognitive stages in sequence, proceeding from the simple, reflex behavior of infancy to the development of logical thought processes. By linking these stages of cognitive development to levels of maturation, which define the nature and limitations of intellectual functioning at any particular phase, Piaget offered a cognitive-structuralist framework of analysis.⁷

Without a doubt the best-known general theorist of the life cycle today is Erik Erikson. His research and writings in the 1950s and 1960s extended psychoanalytical insights about human development by emphasizing the importance of societal influences on personality formation. Erikson divided life development into eight stages, postulating that growth depends on how successfully each person resolves specific psychological crises, in sequence and through interaction with one's environment. Subsequent achievements depend on past accomplishments, and how an individual resolves each crisis directs future identity development. For Erikson, certain periods in life are critical for an individual's social and emotional growth. They are seen as times when specific life experiences can shape individual personality for life. The eight stages are thus defined in terms of particular psychological tasks an individual is attempting to master.⁸

(New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), pp. 17–62. A full-length account of the life cycle from a psychoanalytical perspective is provided by Theodore Lidz, *The Person* (New York: Basic Books, 1968).

⁶ Gardner, *Developmental Psychology*, pp. 150–151.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 62–80. The ideas of Piaget and anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss and the creation of a structuralist movement in the social sciences are thoroughly discussed in another book by Gardner, *The Quest for Mind: Piaget, Lévi-Strauss, and the Structuralist Movement* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973).

⁸ Erikson's major writings include *Identity and the Life Cycle: Selected Papers*, Psychological Issues, no. 1 (New York: International Universities Press, 1959), which was revised in *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), and *Childhood and Society* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963). The literature on childhood and adolescent development is extensive, and not all of it is systematically related to Eriksonian concepts and theories. Development during adulthood has received increasing attention in recent years. See the work of Bernice L. Neugarten, *Personality in Middle and Late Life: Empirical Studies* (New York: Atherton Press, 1964) and Neugarten, ed., *Middle Age and Aging* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968). On male development during adulthood, see Daniel J. Levinson, et al., *The Seasons of a Man's Life* (New York:

At Stage I, during infancy, the newborn is totally dependent on others for physical and emotional support and feels both trust and mistrust toward the surrounding environment. In resolving those feelings, the presence or absence of a nurturing environment is a crucial factor in determining how trustful or mistrustful the infant will become.

The child at ages two to three begins discovering new abilities and creating a sense of individuality. The psychological task at Stage II is to gain a sense of autonomy. If this is unsuccessful, for example, if parents are too permissive or too strict, a child may become inhibited, feel shame or doubt. During Stage III, the preschool years, the child is learning to be assertive and is testing the limits of initiative. This is the time for acquiring a sense of conscience and responsibility; failure to do so results in feelings of guilt. The next critical period comes for the school-aged child at Stage IV. The psychological task is to develop feelings of competence. Through the performance of school activities, the child can either gain a sense of accomplishment or inferiority. Cognitive development is particularly important during the years from ages six to twelve.

Achieving an integrated sense of self is the task which confronts the individual during adolescence and characterizes Stage V. At this period a young person is questioning future roles and making decisions with long-term ramifications. Failure to create a strong sense of identity at this stage can result in identity diffusion.

The last three crises that Erikson describes occur during adulthood. At Stage VI the young adult is developing the capacity for intimacy in personal relationships and preparing to make decisions about marriage and family life. Failure in relationships at this stage can result in a sense of isolation and self-absorption. Middle adulthood, Stage VII, can be a time of generativity or of stagnation. Erikson defines generativity as "concern in establishing and guiding the next generation." This impulse can be satisfied in various ways, such as working or having children. Failure to become generative results in stagnation — accomplishing nothing creative and setting no new goals in life. The last psychological problem is faced during old age, Stage VIII. At this point the individual reflects upon past accomplishments and must accept them. Failure to do so can lead to feelings of despair and futility.

Although Erikson's model of human development has been enormously influential in molding both popular and scholarly conceptions of the life cycle, it has not been totally immune to criticism. While paying homage to the originality and perceptiveness of Erikson's formulations, researchers have been frustrated by the resistance of his concepts to empirical testing.

Ballantine Books, 1979). A popularized account of crises in adult life is Gail Sheehy, *Passages* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1976).

Erikson's theories have been summarized in many places. This discussion draws on material in Gardner, *Developmental Psychology*, pp. 528–532, 545–546; Williams, *Psychology of Women*, pp. 49–51; and Diane E. Papalia and Sally Wendkos Olds, *Human Development* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978), pp. 106–107, 164–165, 227–228, 262, 342, 379, 426.

Until the issues of each life stage are defined more precisely, they contend, the entire Eriksonian schema will remain in the realm of the speculative.

Another criticism leveled at Erikson is that there is not enough evidence to support the idea that any one psychological characteristic is definitively achieved at any particular stage or by any specific time. It has been hypothesized that each quality that Erikson defines — trust, autonomy, identity, and so on — has different meanings at various age levels. Furthermore, there exist many individual and group exceptions to Erikson's sequential pattern.⁹

Perhaps the most trenchant criticism of Erikson's model has been advanced by feminist scholars who note that his research subjects have been predominantly male; when women are mentioned in his works they are discussed primarily in terms of their roles as mothers. Once more, the female reproductive function emerges as the main determinant of identity.¹⁰ In essence, these critics argue that the Eriksonian model of psychological development is premised exclusively on male life experiences and is therefore, in fact, a theory of male development. As psychologist Juanita Williams aptly puts it, "If women are an exception to the theory, then it is not a theory of human development."¹¹

Whether or not the psychosocial stages identified by Erikson can be verified using female subjects is not yet clear. Research now in progress on female development over the life span will shed much-needed light on this question and may ultimately lead to the creation of new psychological theories.¹²

Sociologists have suggested that Erikson's fixed sequence of psychological stages implies an orderliness in people's lives that is not realistic in light of the frequency with which social roles and relationships change. Since personality is expressed through the roles and relationships an individual experiences, when these change substantially, so too does the person.¹³

⁹ These criticisms are discussed in an essay by John A. Clausen, "The Life Course of Individuals," in *Aging and Society*, eds. Matilda White Riley, Marilyn Johnson, and Anne Foner (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1972), 3:457–514, and Erikson himself has acknowledged them.

¹⁰ These problems in the relationship between Erikson's theories and the psychology of women are raised by Williams in *Psychology of Women*, pp. 50–62. Williams points out that Erikson addressed the issue of female personality development per se late in his career in two papers, "The Inner and the Outer Space: Reflections on Womanhood" (1964) and "Once More the Inner Space" (1975). Erikson analyzed differences in play activities of boys and girls, ages ten to twelve, which he then linked to differences in male and female anatomy. His conclusion, that anatomy determines identity, has been strongly attacked.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹² Carol Gilligan discusses the ways in which theories of the life cycle, by failing to take into account experiences of women, promote imbalanced conceptions of human development. See "Woman's Place in Man's Life Cycle," *Harvard Educational Review* 49 (November 1979): 431–446. Mary Brown Parlee reviews the current state of psychological research and theory about and for women in an essay in *Signs* 5 (Autumn 1979): 121–133.

¹³ Clausen, "The Life Course of Individuals," p. 505. The complex questions of to what extent identity is comprised of one's roles and in what ways it is independent of

By conceptualizing the life cycle in terms of sequences of roles that individuals assume within the family, in school, at work, and in the community at large, sociologists offer an alternative approach, one that is more flexible in studying female development. For sociologists, investigations of the nature of human interactions within social and economic structures is central to understanding individual development over the life cycle. Sociological theories identify stages in family, marital, and career cycles that highlight important developments in people's lives.

Each stage in the family life cycle — being newly married, becoming a parent, living alone with one's spouse after the children have left home, and, finally, living alone after the death of a spouse — is characterized by very different personal involvements and interests. Changing marital and parental roles and responsibilities within the family profoundly affect people's life patterns and thus influence the ways they see themselves, as well as how others perceive them.¹⁴

By compiling data on the experiences of successive birth cohorts as they pass through the stages of life, researchers can discern dominant and alternate patterns of role sequences. Analysis of statistics on marriage, divorce, fertility, mortality, and labor-force participation enables social scientists to depict changing life patterns as well as to pinpoint variations according to sex, race, and nativity.¹⁵

Historians as well as sociologists have recognized the value of the life cycle concept for their work. In his pioneering study of family life in seventeenth-century Plymouth, John Demos utilized Eriksonian theory to probe the inner life of Puritan colonists in family settings. Applying Erikson's definition of each life stage to historical data, Demos analyzed the

them are dealt with in Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1966) and in Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1959).

¹⁴ Clausen, *ibid.*, pp. 482–500. Interpreting findings that reveal that women today are having fewer children, spending fewer years raising them, and living longer than in previous times, Roxann A. Van Dusen and Eleanor Bernert Sheldon hypothesize that the importance of the marital life cycle has declined in the total life cycle of females, and the effects of this development will be profound with respect to changing sex roles and bases of self-identification in the decades ahead. See their article, "The Changing Status of American Women, A Life Cycle Perspective," *American Psychologist* (February 1976), pp. 106–116. See also the writings of Jessie Bernard, *The Future of Motherhood* (New York: Dial Press, 1974) and *Women, Wives, Mothers: Values and Options* (Chicago: Aldine, 1975). Another sociological view is provided by Bernice Neugarten and N. Datan, "Sociological Perspectives on the Life Cycle," in *Life Span Developmental Psychology: Personality and Socialization*, eds. P. B. Baltes and K. W. Schaie (New York: Academic Press, 1973), pp. 53–69.

¹⁵ See, for example, Glen H. Elder, Jr., *Children of the Great Depression: Social Change in Life Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974). This long-range study on the family, educational, marriage, and employment experiences of a cohort born in 1920 and 1921 in Oakland, California, uses data gathered from the 1930s through the early 1960s. Also, two articles by Peter Uhlenberg, "A Study of Cohort Life Cycles: Cohorts of Native Born Massachusetts Women, 1830–1920," *Population Studies* 23 (1969): 407–420, and "Cohort Variations in Family Life Cycle Experiences of United States Females," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 36 (May 1974): 284–292.

psychological development of the typical colonist from birth, through youth, to adulthood, and into old age.¹⁶

Sociologically oriented historians have forged new theoretical and methodological approaches to studying stages of family development throughout history. Although this work focuses on the family, rather than the individual, studies employing concepts such as the family life cycle and the life course, which have their roots in sociology, clearly can enhance our understanding of individual life patterns. The demographic findings of these historians have illuminated different patterns of female behavior at different historical periods.¹⁷

Two recent major works in women's history offer limited applications of the life cycle concept: Mary Ryan's *Womanhood in America from Colonial Times to the Present* and Gerda Lerner's *The Female Experience: An American Documentary*.¹⁸ As part of her wide-ranging, chronologically organized overview of womanhood in America, Ryan presents a series of composite pictures of typical female life cycle patterns during key historical periods. In contrast to that of Ryan, the primary focus of Lerner's work is on the personal dimension of women's lives. Lerner uses the life cycle concept as the organizing principle of one major section in an innovative documentary history compiled from the female point of view. That the life cycle concept provides an invaluable framework for structuring inquiries into American women's lives is no longer in doubt. What remains to be seen is how profoundly its implementation will transform our understanding of the history of American women.

¹⁶ John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970). And also, Demos, "Developmental Perspectives on the History of Childhood," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (Autumn 1971): 315–327. Historian David Hunt has also applied the Eriksonian model in his work on family life in seventeenth-century France, *Parents and Children in History: The Psychology of Family Life in Early Modern France* (New York: Basic Books, 1970). Hunt limited his analysis to the stages of infancy and childhood.

Erikson himself has written psychobiographies of Luther and Gandhi, following the course of their lives through various sequences of development and exploring the relationships between their inner and public selves. In her psychobiography of Thomas Jefferson, Fawn Brodie acknowledges the influence of Erikson's writings and draws on his ideas throughout the work. Erikson, *Young Man Luther* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968) and *Gandhi's Truth* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969). Brodie's book is *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974).

¹⁷ For a sampling of this work, see Tamara Hareven, ed., *Transitions: The Family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective* (New York: Academic Press, 1978). Other methodological articles by Hareven include, "The Family As Process: The Historical Study of the Family Cycle," *Journal of Social History* 7 (1973–1974): 322–329, and "Cycles, Courses and Cohorts: Reflections on Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Historical Study of Family Development," in *ibid.*, 12 (Fall 1978): 97–109.

See also the work of Robert V. Wells, "Women's Lives Transformed: Demographic and Family Patterns in America, 1600–1970," in *Women of America: A History*, eds. Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979), pp. 16–33; and his article, "Demographic Change and the Life Cycle of American Families," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (Autumn 1971): 273–282.

¹⁸ Mary P. Ryan, *Womanhood in America from Colonial Times to the Present*, 2nd ed. (New York: New Viewpoints, 1979); Gerda Lerner, *The Female Experience: An American Documentary* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1977).

