

ON THE FRINGES OF ACADEMIA:
JEWISH WOMEN AS UNIVERSITY FACULTY BEFORE 1970

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(Final Revised Draft)

In the 21st century, Jews are extremely prominent and visible in American academic circles, especially at prestigious universities, while women, particularly Jewish women, have made considerable progress within the academic hierarchy. Before World War II, however, both Jews and women encountered major obstacles in attempting to pursue careers at institutions of higher learning, whether in Central Europe or North America. By 1969, Jewish men had managed to gain access to academic appointments in nearly all ranks and fields, but Jewish women were still underrepresented and remained, for the most part, near the bottom of the academic pyramid at American universities and private co-ed colleges. Like other women in academia, Jewish women faced obstacles in hiring, tenuring, and gaining promotions and thus remained largely on the periphery of academic life. Antisemitism declined within American academia after 1945 when Jews “became white” and were no longer classified as an undesirable minority, but, especially before second-wave feminism emerged in the `60s, sexism had not.

Jewish women have rarely been viewed as a separate group within the overwhelmingly male and predominantly Christian academy; collectively, they have remained largely invisible. With two strikes against them as women and as Jews, aspiring Jewish women academics faced even more daunting hurdles than their male Jewish counterparts, whether in the sciences, the humanities or the social sciences; it took them several decades longer to enter and then to advance within the academic ranks. For

Jewish women with doctorates, their gender, even more than their religion or ethnic origins, limited their opportunities for academic advancement throughout much of the twentieth century.

This article will trace the history of Jewish women in academia from the turn of the twentieth century, when the women first began to earn doctorates and seek positions in public and private universities, to the end of the sixties, the cusp of second-wave feminism, when academia started to become a more hospitable place for women. We shall examine the career trajectories of two separate cohorts of academic women: the pioneering generation born in either Europe or the United States before World War I who attained faculty status at German, Austrian, and American universities before 1939 and the younger generation of Central European émigrés and American women born before the outbreak of World War II who embarked on their academic careers in the United States before 1969. We shall compare these two generations with respect to marital status and Jewish identification, and evaluate the interconnections between these factors and academic advancement. Utilizing data from the 1969 Carnegie Commission National Survey of Higher Education Faculty Study, we shall then be able to contrast Jewish women in academia both with other women faculty and with Jewish men in the academy on the eve of the second women's movement.

Before World War II, only a very small cadre of Jewish women managed to carve out niches for themselves in the lower echelons of academia in Central Europe and the United States. Many academics of Jewish descent, whether women or men, did not identify themselves publicly as Jews, even though others often categorized them as such; in many cases, the price of admission to academic ranks was baptism, especially in

Europe. Having Jewish parents was a major disadvantage in the era before 1939 when virulent racism prevailed in Europe and Jewish quotas were in existence at prestigious American colleges and universities. Discrimination against Jews for faculty appointments was common at all levels, whether in junior colleges, women's colleges, public universities, or elite institutions of higher learning. In the early 20th century, some Jewish men succeeded in acquiring faculty positions in medicine, science and mathematics, as well as Semitics and the newly emerging social sciences, but the humanities remained largely closed to Jews in both Europe and North America before 1940. The dramatic increase of Jewish men within American academia occurred between 1945 and 1970. Even though the number of Jewish women in American academia slowly increased after World War II, it was only post-1970 that Jewish women became accepted as members of the "faculty club" in significant numbers, rather than isolated individuals.

A great deal has been written about the history of women in academia in the twentieth century, especially in the United States, and much information is available on Jewish men in academia before and after World War II, but until recently, Jewish women faculty have received little scholarly attention. Harriet Freidenreich's *Female, Jewish, and Educated: The Lives of Central European University Women* sets the historical context for understanding the small group of women of Jewish descent who embarked on academic careers in Germany and Austria before the Nazi era.¹ Susanne Klingenstein recognized that Jewish women for the most part did not begin to enter the faculty ranks in American or English Literature until the 1950s or '60s and did not achieve prominence as literary critics until the '70s and '80s.² As we shall see, the same also holds true for

Jewish women in most academic fields, including medicine, the sciences and the social sciences, as well as the humanities.

A Woman and a Jew

"You are a woman and a Jew and together that is too much."³ That is the response that Austrian physicist Marietta Blau (1894-1970) received when she requested an official academic appointment, or at least some form of paid employment, after working as an unpaid research assistant in the Radium Institute and then the Physics Institute in Vienna for over a decade and winning several prestigious scientific awards in the 1930s. Blau's American contemporary, Libbie Henrietta Hyman (1888-1969) had a similar experience. After receiving her Ph.D. in zoology at the University of Chicago in 1915, she worked for sixteen years as a research assistant for her doctoral advisor and published more than forty articles based on her research on invertebrates. Thereafter, living on royalties from two laboratory manuals which she had written, she accepted a position as "honorary research associate" at the American Museum of Natural History in New York in 1937 and continued publishing for thirty more years.⁴ Despite their acknowledged scholarly accomplishments, neither Blau nor Hyman ever held tenure-track positions, let alone professorships, at institutions of higher learning in Central Europe or the United States. How typical were the experiences of these two Jewish women? Did they face barriers to academic employment, fair salaries, promotion, and recognition due to the fact that were women, because they were Jews, or specifically because they were Jewish women?

In Central Europe, universities constituted an elite Christian men's club, which was very reluctant to admit either Jews or women into their exclusive ranks. Jewish men had been earning doctorates at German and Austrian universities since the mid-nineteenth century, while women only became eligible for university matriculation and doctoral degrees around the turn of the century. Although significant exceptions existed, before World War I Jews were officially excluded from civil service positions in Central Europe, including tenure-track university appointments. Prior to 1919, women were also ineligible for *Habilitation*, the formal credential required for entry-level academic jobs. During the interwar era, Jewish men managed to work their way up the academic ladder, and some achieved full professorships, but Jewish women aspiring to academic careers, like other such women in Germany or Austria, had only reached the lowest rungs of the university hierarchy before the Nazis came to power. Jewish men helped pave the way for Jewish women to enter the academic ranks, but there was a time-lag of several decades before women began to catch up with their male counterparts.

Similarly, in the United States, both Jews and women were largely absent from the overwhelmingly male, Protestant world of higher education before the mid-20th century. In her book entitled *Jews in the American Academy, 1900-1940*, Susanne Klingenstein analyzed the first generation of American Jewish academics in the humanities, but could not identify any Jewish women professors to include in her study of the pre-World War II era.⁵ Indeed, the Christian faculty at prestigious universities often discouraged Jews from pursuing careers in academia, especially in the humanities, but in other fields as well.

A letter written to Cornell classicist Harry Caplan by several of his former professors in 1919 urging him to go into secondary teaching illustrates the serious problem confronting Jews in the academy in the early 20th century:

The opportunities for college positions, never too many, are at present few and likely to be fewer. I can encourage no one to look forward to securing a college post. There is, moreover, a very real prejudice against the Jew. I do not share this, and I am sure the same is true of all our staff here. But we have seen so many well-equipped Jews fail to secure appointments that this fact has been forced upon us. I recall [two Jewish men] – both brilliant scholars of international reputation – and yet unable to obtain a college position. I feel it wrong to encourage anyone to devote himself to the higher walks of learning to whom the path is barred by an undeniable racial prejudice.⁶

Caplan did not follow this advice, but instead had an extremely successful career as professor of classics at Cornell. However, we will never know how many other exceptionally talented Jews, both women and men, became disheartened about their chances of achieving their goals within an academic setting and abandoned their dreams of teaching and research even before their careers had actually begun.

In the United States, few women had the opportunity to earn university degrees, let alone doctorates, before the 20th century. Public universities hired women as faculty primarily in designated “women’s fields,” especially home economics, while the only private institutions that hired women were women’s colleges, most of which had a decidedly Christian atmosphere. Although some Jewish young women, especially the daughters of German Jewish immigrants, attended women’s colleges in the early 20th

century, these private institutions rarely hired Jewish women as faculty members.⁷ By and large, Jewish women were not attracted to the more female-dominated academic fields such as home economics, nursing, and physical education; instead they tended to gravitate towards many of the same fields as Jewish men. Therefore Jewish women were competing mainly with men, both Christians and Jews, for scarce academic positions in medicine, the sciences, social sciences and humanities, as well as education and social work, at public institutions and research universities, while non-Jewish women mainly taught at women's colleges or held positions in "women's fields" or as dean of women at public universities. As a result, because they were both women and Jews, it is not surprising that Jewish women, for the most part, found themselves restricted mainly to research assistantships and lecturer positions, rather than tenure-track appointments or administrative positions, in the public rather than the private sector within higher education in the United States, as in Europe in the early 20th century.

The "Lone Voyagers"

Geraldine Jonçich Clifford has categorized the women on the faculties of American co-educational institutions in the early twentieth century as "lone voyagers" on the margins of academia; their scholarly work was considered to be "on the 'fringes' rather than the 'frontiers' of knowledge." According to Clifford, "Faculty women were, paradoxically, both invisible and extravisible. Manifestations of invisibility included lack of support and recognition—through salaries, promotions, publication offers, holding association offices, offers of outside consulting, the quality of interaction with colleagues, university-conferred honors, and being taken seriously in general. Extravisibility

included the constant pressure of being in situations where one is the exception, where . . . one is on trial as the representative of all other women who would aspire to academic labor.” Whether on part-time or full-time appointments, women were never accepted as equals by their male colleagues and, indeed, in many institutions they were officially excluded from membership in “*The Faculty Club*,” both literally and figuratively.⁸ If non-Jewish women felt excluded within academic circles, all the more so did Jewish women, whether European or American, feel like outsiders in an elite male Christian environment throughout much of the 20th century.

The first generation of women of Jewish descent who entered academia fit perfectly into the category of “lone voyagers.” Among these early pioneers, born before 1900, who embarked on their careers before World War I, were Elise Richter in Austria, Lydia Rabinowitsch-Kempner and Rahel Hirsch in Germany, and Ida Hyde, Libbie Hyman, and Jessica Peixotto in the United States. They were all exceptional individuals, unusually motivated and highly acculturated to their German or American milieu. Most, but not all, of these pioneering women academics had become estranged from their Jewish roots and the Jewish community, whether by becoming baptized, hiding their Jewish origins, or identifying themselves as Unitarians or members of the Ethical Culture Society. They earned their doctorates and began their academic careers relatively late in life. In nearly all of these cases, these “lone voyagers,” like their Christian counterparts, never married, but devoted their lives to their academic or research careers.

In Austria, Elise Richter (1865-1942), a woman of Jewish descent who had opted out of membership in the Jewish community by declaring herself as *konfessionslos*, i.e. without religion, successfully defended her post-doctoral dissertation

(*Habilitationsschrift*) in Romance philology at the University of Vienna in 1905, at the age of forty. Two years later, she received an appointment as the very first *Privatdozentin*, or unsalaried woman lecturer, in Austria. In 1921, she was promoted to the rank of untenured associate professor, the highest position attainable for women of Jewish descent in Central Europe.⁹ In Germany before 1914, two women medical researchers, Rahel Hirsch (1870-194?) in internal medicine and Lydia Rabinowitsch-Kempner (1871-1935) in bacteriology, held titular professorships at the University of Berlin, even though they did not receive formal academic appointments. More typically, women who decided to stay in academia after receiving their doctorates remained unpaid research assistants, working alongside their professors as junior colleagues, but rarely receiving full credit for their finds or earning their *venia legendi*, their right to teach at the university level.

In the early 20th century, Jewish women were disproportionately represented among the vanguard of women in academia in Germany and Austria, even though none of them was ever granted tenure. Before the Nazi era, women never amounted to more than 1.2 percent of all university faculty members in Central Europe. Among the eighty-four women who managed to receive academic appointments in German or Austrian universities, only four, all of whom were Christians by descent as well as religion, reached the rank of full professor before 1939. Among the remaining eighty women who achieved *Habilitation*, including both untenured assistant professors (*ausserordentliche Professorinnen*) and unsalaried lecturers (*Privatdozentinnen*), thirty-two were of Jewish descent: eleven in the humanities, seven in science or math, five in the social sciences, and nine in medical research.¹⁰ It is indeed striking that women of Jewish origin held

nearly two out of five of the scarce academic appointments held by women at Central European universities, at a time when antisemitism was a serious barrier to university hiring. Although an exceptional few, such as Rahel Hirsch and Emmy Noether, remained Jews by religion their entire life, the majority of the women who gained *Habilitation* status, including Elise Richter and Lydia Rabinowitsch-Kempner, can be classified as "Former Jews," since they either were baptized or had formally left the Jewish community.¹¹

On the American scene, Jewish women were much less visible, although at least three dozen women of Jewish descent held academic appointments before World War II. Like other women in academia, both in the United States and Central Europe, a majority of these pioneering women remained single and only one in four had children. Ida Hyde (1857-1945), the daughter of German-Jewish immigrants, earned her bachelors degree at Cornell University in 1891 and then her doctorate in zoology from the University of Heidelberg in 1896, several years before Central European women were allowed to receive degrees from German universities. After holding a research appointment at the Harvard Medical School, she became assistant professor of zoology at the University of Kansas in 1898, and was promoted to associate professor of physiology the following year. In 1905, she was appointed full professor and chair of the newly created department of physiology. A leave of absence in 1918 ended her twenty-year academic career, which she had begun at the age of 43, but she continued to do research even after her retirement.¹² Hyde's contemporary, Jessica Peixotto (1864-1941), the descendent of a prominent Sephardi family, received her Ph.D. in political science and economics from Berkeley in 1900, only the second woman to earn a doctorate at that institution. In 1907,

at the age of 43, she became assistant professor of economics, and in 1918, she was promoted to a full professor of social economics; she was the first woman to achieve that rank at the University of California and also the first woman to head a department.¹³

Successful careers culminating in appointment to full professor and chairing departments or programs were extremely rare for women at American public universities in the early 20th century, however. Some women even had the dubious distinction of ending their long academic careers as “assistant professor emerita.” More typically, women, if fortunate enough to gain tenure, remained associate professors, recognized perhaps as fine teachers but more rarely as scholars. The City University of New York, especially Hunter and, later, Brooklyn College, tended to be somewhat more hospitable than other institutions in offering appointments to Jewish women, especially in the humanities and social sciences. Dora Askowith (1884-1958), on the Hunter faculty for forty-five years, can probably be considered the first woman in Jewish studies at any university. Trained in history, rather than Semitics, with a doctorate in political science from Columbia, and writing on a wide range of topics from Jews in the Roman Empire to American Jewish women, Askowith taught ancient and biblical history, cultural, political and religious history, and comparative religion at various synagogues, schools and cultural associations, as well as at Hunter and the New School. Unlike most Jewish women faculty then and now, she was actively involved in Jewish communal and Zionist organizations. She established and advised the Hunter Menorah Society from 1913 to 1957 and also founded and directed the Women’s Organization of the American Jewish Congress. Dora Askowith’s legacy was undoubtedly as a teacher, advisor, and Jewish

feminist, rather than a noted scholar; like many Jewish women in academia, her main impact was on her students, not on her academic discipline.¹⁴

The Pathfinders

During the interwar years, Jewish women in both Central Europe and the United States continued to have difficulty in gaining tenure-track or full-time salaried appointments. Jewish men were much more likely to achieve academic positions than Jewish women. Many more men than women earned doctoral degrees, but even among Jewish men and women with similar credentials, including married couples, men tend to get appointments and promotions and women did not.

Advancement in academia almost always depended on strong mentorship and the recommendation of senior faculty sponsors, but women, especially Jewish women, frequently lacked such mentors. In the early twentieth century, no women were available to serve as mentors to other women, and few men were willing or able to support the candidacy of women for tenure-track academic appointments, even though they were quite happy to hire their highly qualified women students as research assistants and sometimes as instructors or unsalaried lecturers (*Privatdozentinnen*). For example, Emmy Noether, widely recognized as one of the foremost mathematicians of the twentieth century, never achieved the rank of tenured full professor at the University of Göttingen, but remained an assistant professor until her emigration to the United States in 1933. Noether had received her doctorate in Erlangen in 1907. Until the war she worked without compensation at the Mathematical Institute of her alma mater, doing research and occasionally substituting for her father, mathematics professor Max Noether, in his

lectures. During the war, she became a research and teaching assistant for her *Doktorvater* (or advisor) David Hilbert in Göttingen but remained ineligible for an official appointment as *Privatdozentin*, despite her mentor's intercessions on her behalf. Hilbert supposedly exclaimed at a faculty meeting, "I do not see that the sex of the candidate is an argument against her admission as *Privatdozent*. After all, we are a university, not a bathing establishment."¹⁵ Nevertheless, Noether, after teaching and publishing for more than a decade, only received her *venia legendi*, or right to teach, in 1919, when she was allowed to submit and defend her *Habilitationsschrift*. In 1922, she gained the designation of *unbeamteter ausserordentlicher Professor*, or unofficial assistant professor, an empty title without the accompanying responsibilities and salary. Finally, she managed to get a teaching contract in algebra, which provided her with a small but regular stipend for her teaching.¹⁶

Emmy Noether was a brilliant mathematician who nurtured and inspired many protégés, including several women. Her qualifications for a professorship were indisputable given her international reputation and the caliber of the many students she trained. Like many other Jewish women, she was prevented from receiving a permanent appointment and a promotion for several reasons: because she was a Jew, because she was a socialist, but, most of all, because she was a woman.¹⁷

"Jewish Jews," like historian Selma Stern, who did most of her post-doctoral research in German-Jewish history, had a particularly difficult time acquiring a teaching position at a university. Shortly after receiving her doctorate in history *summa cum laude* from the University of Munich in 1914, Stern consulted her *Doktorvater* (or advisor) about choosing a topic for her *Habilitationsschrift*, confident that she would be able to

realize her dream of becoming a *Privatdozentin* in the near future, but she never received such an appointment.¹⁸ Even baptism did not guarantee a qualified woman of Jewish origin an academic position, however. Eva Lehmann Fiesel, a recognized authority on Etruscan philology who was raised as a Protestant, was hired to teach at the University of Munich on a temporary contract, but never received an official appointment.¹⁹ In fact, not a single woman was hired as a *Privatdozentin* in the Munich Philosophy Faculty before World War II. Although one scholar, Hiltrud Häntzschel, has argued that antisemitism was responsible for so many Jewish women being rejected for academic positions in the humanities, the fact that no women at all received such appointments at the University of Munich and women of Jewish origin held untenured positions at other institutions indicates that misogyny proved an even greater handicap than antisemitism in academic hiring in the early twentieth century.²⁰

The career of Margarete Bieber, a classical archeologist, illustrates the new academic opportunities beginning to open up for women in the humanities in Central Europe during the interwar years, but also the limitations they continued to face. Bieber received her doctorate from the University of Bonn in 1907 and spent the next seven years conducting field research in Athens and Rome, financed at first by her father and then by a fellowship from the German Archeological Institute. After returning to Germany during World War I, she taught a seminar at the University of Berlin, without pay, on behalf of her mentor who had suffered a stroke, and she temporarily took charge of his research institute; nonetheless, as a woman, she remained ineligible for appointment as his successor.

Soon after the war, around the time she formally converted to “Old Catholicism,” Bieber received an offer of a lectureship from the University of Giessen, submitting a manuscript on the ancient Greek theater as her *Habilitationsschrift*. Because her position was unsalaried, her family continued to support her for several more years, but after losing their wealth due to inflation, they could no longer afford to do so. Eventually, she received a modest stipend from the state, which helped cover her living expenses. In 1923, she became an untenured assistant professor; in 1932, she was promised a promotion to the rank of full professor with her salary guaranteed for life. Instead, however, even though she was officially registered as an Old Catholic, she lost her job due to her Jewish ancestry and was forced to emigrate in order to continue her career.²¹ She did, however, eventually receive an appointment as professor of archeology and art history in the College of General Studies at Columbia University.

In April 1933 or soon thereafter, at least 32 out of the 80 women with academic appointments in Germany were dismissed from their jobs on racial grounds due to Nazi legislation. Assistant professors, lecturers, and researchers alike quickly realized that their prospects for alternative employment in Germany were nonexistent. Early warning enabled most of the women under fifty years old to seek personal and professional opportunities elsewhere, especially since most were unmarried and many had professional contacts abroad. Nearly all of the academic women of Jewish descent in Germany succeeded in emigrating; about half of them had already left by the end of 1933. In many cases, they eventually made their way to the United States. However, especially among the first generation of Jewish women in the academy, not everyone was

able to reestablish herself in a position comparable to the one she had left, and some never reached a permanent safe haven.

A few women of Jewish descent who had held academic positions in Central Europe, such as economist Frieda Wunderlich and archeologist Margarete Bieber, were able to re-establish themselves successfully in university careers as émigrés in the US. Other younger university women who had been educated in Germany or Austria but did not obtain academic appointments before the Nazi era also eventually had successful academic careers as university faculty or medical and scientific researchers in emigration. According to Hans-Peter Kröner, an authority on emigration of medical professionals from Nazi Europe, out of fifty-nine women medical researchers who completed their education in Europe, fifty-one managed to obtain academic positions only after emigration and twenty-eight eventually achieved the rank of full professor, which had been denied to women of Jewish origin in Central Europe.²² But gaining entry into the American academic world was no easy task for women, especially in the humanities.

The experiences of classicist Vera Lachmann (1904-85) reflect many of the problems facing not only female Jewish émigrés, but also American-born women in academia in the mid-20th century. Lachmann had received her doctorate in Germanic and classical philology from the University of Bonn in 1930, but, unable to find an academic position in Germany, she established a private school for Jewish children excluded from the German public school system, which she ran until it was closed in 1938. After arriving in New York in 1939, she worked at a variety of jobs, including as a secretary, a clerk, and a domestic; in 1944, she established a summer camp for boys, which she directed for twenty-five years. After having a brief teaching contract at

Vassar, which she referred to as “academic charity,” she managed to land a temporary position as a German translator and then as a one-year replacement at Bryn Mawr, teaching German, Greek and Latin. After working for several years as an evening adjunct at Brooklyn College, she finally received a tenure-track appointment there in classics in 1949. Although she received a Distinguished Teaching Award in 1963, she was not promoted to full professor until 1972. According to one of her women colleagues in the Brooklyn College Department of Classics,

It seems hard to reconcile the traumatic difficulties she [Vera Lachmann] suffered in beginning an academic career in America with the spectacular impact of her teaching on countless students. . . . Despite her passion for teaching and extraordinary devotion to her students, Vera Lachmann’s full-time appointment and promotions were slow and painful for someone who was not so young and was so popular with students.²³

Vera Lachmann was among those academic women who excelled as a teacher but not necessarily as a researcher. As one obituary writer noted, “Vera’s relationship to her students far transcended the learning materials. Not a great scholar, not concerned to become one, Vera was a teacher of rare gifts, a genius in the transmission of values.”²⁴

European émigrés were likely to meet hostility and discrimination directed against them as foreigners, as Jews and as women. Married women encountered obstacles in academia due to their marital status and often had to play second fiddle to their husbands, but unmarried women also faced difficulties in attaining tenured positions, especially outside of New York City.²⁵ Some women managed to find temporary jobs at women's colleges or small private colleges, but interviewers criticized Central European applicants

on their dress, their appearance and their manner, expressing concern that they were not American enough or looked "too Jewish."²⁶ One sociologist was offered a position at a small Christian college in Iowa, but advised not to bring her elderly mother with her, since she would not fit in socially.²⁷ Although sexism seems to have been their most serious problem, xenophobia and barely concealed antisemitism also played a role in making it difficult for university women from Germany and Austria to break into American academia, whether before, during or immediately after World War II. Nonetheless, whether married or single, many of the younger, talented women, such as political philosopher Hannah Arendt and psychiatrist Hilde Bruch, to name but two prominent examples, eventually succeeded in establishing academic careers for themselves in the United States in the post-war era.

Academic Couples in the '30s and '40s

Unlike the pioneering generation born before 1900 and their Christian colleagues, the overwhelming majority of Jewish women academics born in the 20th century married, generally before they obtained their first academic position. In many cases, their husbands were also academics in the same field, sometimes somewhat older than the wives. In Europe, academic couples were rare, but senior male faculty members married to their former students, such as Otto Hintze and Hedwig Guggenheimer Hintze in history at the University of Berlin and Karl Bühler and Charlotte Malachowski Bühler in psychology at the University of Vienna, sometimes held appointments in the same department. In such instances, the husband usually had considerable seniority and the wife remained largely in his shadow.²⁸

At most American universities before the 1960s, however, nepotism rules usually prevented a husband and wife from being employed in the same department or institution, unless the wife was working as an unpaid "volunteer" in her husband's lab. For example, Gerty Radnitz Cori, a baptized Jew with a medical degree from the German University in Prague, arrived in the United States in 1922 with her husband Carl, who had the same educational background; they worked together as a team. Carl became a tenured full professor in 1931 at the age of thirty-five, but Gerty remained a "research associate" at Washington University in St. Louis until 1944, when she was promoted to the rank of associate professor and given tenure at the age of forty-eight. Carl and Gerty Cori jointly received a Nobel Prize in Medicine in 1947.²⁹

Salome Gluecksohn-Waelsch, a geneticist who eventually became a professor at Albert Einstein Medical School in New York, shared a similar experience. After receiving her doctorate in 1932, she emigrated to the United States together with her biochemist husband the following year. Whereas her husband received an appointment at Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons, she remained unemployed for three years. In 1937, she became a "research associate" in the laboratory of one of her husband's colleagues and continued to hold that position for eighteen years at very low pay. No better option was available to her, since at that time no major research institution would offer a regular faculty post to a woman in the biological sciences. Gluecksohn-Waelsch wanted to remain in New York, rather than teach in a women's college elsewhere, because she had two young children. As she later admitted to an interviewer,

Columbia for years deprived me of any chance of a career. It was Heini, my [second] husband, who said, what are you doing there? Why don't you get out and do something on your own? I was totally repressed there.

Finally, in 1955, she received a professorship at Einstein, an institution that had only recently been established. She continued to work there for over forty years.³⁰

The psychologist Else Frenkel-Brunswik also faced nepotism restrictions at Berkeley. From the time of her arrival in the United States in 1938 until her husband's death in 1955, she was designated a research associate in the Institute of Child Welfare, even though she regularly taught seminars in the psychology department. After Egon Brunswik died, their colleagues in the psychology department voted unanimously for her appointment to full professor, but this gesture in recognition of her achievements came too late to be of comfort. Suffering from severe depression, Else Frenkel-Brunswik committed suicide in 1958.³¹

Still on the Fringes, 1945-1969

In the aftermath of World War II, American academia became much more open to Jews, but not to women. As a result, between 1945 and 1969, the representation of Jewish men at all levels of higher education in the United States increased dramatically, but the numbers of Jewish women grew much more slowly; women, especially Jewish women, tended to cluster at the lower rungs of the academic ladder mainly in untenured positions as instructors or lecturers. On the one hand, young Jewish women were more likely to go to college and eventually to graduate school; thus, by the 1960s, more Jewish women were earning doctorates in a variety of fields. On the other hand, Jewish women,

like other women during the “baby-boom” era, were marrying younger and having more children. Therefore, before 1969, the proportion of Jewish women in academia continued to remain fairly low, especially when compared to Jewish men with the same background and education but also in comparison with non-Jewish women.

In 1969, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education conducted a large survey of American faculty, including questions on religion and politics, as well as personal background, education, and academic careers. The raw data from this survey, which has been extensively analyzed both for Jews and for women but never before for Jewish women, provides us with a snapshot of faculty at three hundred institutions of higher learning in the mid-twentieth century and enables us to examine the characteristics of Jewish women in comparison with Jewish men and non-Jewish women on the eve of second-wave feminism.³² According to this survey of 60,028 university and college faculty members, Jews made up ten percent of American academics, roughly three times their proportion of the overall population, whereas women, slightly over half the populations, constituted 15.6 percent of the full-time faculty who responded to this questionnaire. The 661 Jewish women respondents, however, comprised only 11 percent of the Jews, 6.4 percent of the women, and roughly one percent of the faculty at American universities at that time.³³ [Note: the author can easily provide basic tables to illustrate these and subsequent figures, if desired.]

Jewish women in the academy in 1969, most of whom had been born after 1920, belonged to a younger generation than those who had held academic appointments thirty years earlier given that few Jews occupied tenure-track university positions before World War II and relatively few women had been hired between 1945 and 1960. Therefore,

although on the whole the women in academia tended to be older than the men, the Jewish women were somewhat younger than the non-Jewish women and roughly the same age as the Jewish men. Whereas a majority of the non-Jewish women were over forty, with Protestant women older than Catholic women, the majority of the Jewish women were under forty. A higher proportion of Jewish men than Jewish women were in their thirties, while a larger proportion of Jewish women were still in their twenties, just starting out on their academic careers.

According to the Carnegie Commission Study, in 1969, only fifty percent of all faculty members held Ph.D. degrees in various fields of arts and sciences, including 55 percent of the men and 36 percent of the women, while another 33 percent had doctorates or equivalent degrees in other fields, including law, medicine, and education. However, for 22 percent of academics, 18.5 percent of the men but 42 percent of the women, their highest degree was an MA. Among Jewish academics, 30 percent of the women and 12 percent of the men had not yet earned a doctorate in any field. Although some of the younger women were still working on their doctorates, women with only an MA after their names had even more limited their opportunities for academic advancement than men.

Women, especially Jewish women, were much less likely to have tenure-track appointments than men, including Jewish men. Whereas half of all academic positions in 1969 were tenure-track, only one-quarter of the Jewish women in academia, as compared with slightly over one-third of non-Jewish women and almost half the Jewish men, had such appointments. Since so many women, both Jewish and non-Jewish, were hired as lecturers, instructors or adjuncts of various types, it is scarcely surprising that women

were generally to be found in the lowest ranks of academia. Whereas 31 percent of male Jewish academics and 39 percent of male non-Jewish academics had achieved the rank of full professor, only 6.5 percent of Jewish women and 12 percent of non-Jewish women had reached that level before 1969. It is therefore clear that there was little discrimination against Jews per se in academia by the mid-20th century, once Jews had become part of the “white” majority, but there was still a great deal of sexism in academic hiring and promotion. Jewish women in academia had neither significant advantages nor particular disadvantages, given that they belonged to neither a despised nor a privileged minority, but they had to make up for decades of exclusion and lack of advancement.

An examination of the General Catalogue and Bulletin of the College of Arts and Sciences of Brandeis University in Waltham, MA, from 1949 to 1975 reveals a very high turnover of women faculty, both Jews and non-Jews, during the first twenty-five years of the university’s existence. Whether in the humanities or the sciences, women who were hired as lecturers or instructors rarely received tenure-track appointments, even if they held a Ph.D.; those who were hired as assistant professors more often than not left after a few years without receiving tenure. Although most of the female associate professors were eventually promoted to full professor, in 1965-66, among the twenty-four women faculty listed as officers of instruction, there were only two professors and six associate professors, roughly half of whom were Jews. Brandeis certainly had no difficulty hiring, tenuring, and promoting Jewish men, but women, including Jewish women, were clearly underrepresented among the tenured faculty at this Jewish-funded university, as was the case at other co-educational American institutions of higher learning.³⁴

American Jewish women faculty members had just as strong an academic background and received Ph.D.'s from the same prestigious institutions as their male counterparts, but encountered discrimination as women already in graduate school. Among a sample of 224 Jewish academic women born before the end of World War II, roughly a third had attended women's colleges, whether Hunter, Barnard, or one of the other Seven Sisters colleges. The rest had received bachelors' degrees from leading public or private co-educational institutions, mainly in the Northeast, including the City University of New York, Cornell, Brandeis, and New York University, but also Chicago and Wisconsin. They had earned their doctorates at Columbia, Harvard, Brandeis, NYU, Berkeley, Johns Hopkins, University of Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, among other high-ranking universities.³⁵ According to the 1969 Carnegie Commission data, Jewish men were more likely than Jewish women to have received fellowships, teaching assistantships, and research assistantships while in graduate school; Jewish women graduate students, in turn, received more financial support than their non-Jewish counterparts and received their advanced degrees from more prestigious universities. Similarly, half of the Jewish men, as compared to one-third of the Jewish women and thirty percent of the non-Jewish women, credit their graduate sponsors with aiding them in acquiring their first appointment. Women thus had a harder time than men financing their graduate studies and finding a decently paying entry-level job.

Among the respondents to the Carnegie faculty survey, men received their doctorates earlier than their female counterparts, while Jews earned their degrees later than non-Jews. Almost 85 percent of the Jews had completed their doctorates since 1949; 55 percent of all Jews and 45 percent of all women received their degrees after

1959. According to the Carnegie data, three-quarters of the Jewish women and 60 percent of the non-Jewish women had been employed in academia for less than ten years. Just as women academics earned significantly less than men, Jewish women's salaries were significantly lower than those of Jewish men, even within the same rank. Less than thirty percent of Jewish women, as opposed to sixty-five percent of Jewish men, earned more than \$12,000 a year in 1969. Jewish women earned slightly higher salaries than non-Jewish women, even though they had generally been employed in academia for less time, perhaps because Jewish women tended to be employed at public universities and private colleges and in the higher-paying, traditionally male fields in the liberal arts and sciences, unlike non-Jewish women, who were clustered in women's fields like education, social work, and nursing and taught mainly at women's colleges and community colleges.

Women lecturers and instructors, both Jewish and non-Jewish, often found themselves among the "academic proletariat," teaching a heavy load of introductory, sometimes remedial, courses for a minimal salary on a semester or year contract or teaching part-time at multiple institutions for even less pay. While some women continued to work under such adverse conditions for many years, others eventually dropped out of the academic scene due to lack of future prospects and job security; some turned to jobs in academic administration, rather than teaching or research. Even women assistant professors with tenure-track appointments found themselves at a disadvantage compared to their male colleagues, since tenure and promotion generally depended on number of publications, rather than quality of teaching. For the most part, men had more publications than did women when it came time for tenure; Jewish men published more

articles than Jewish women, but Jewish women in turn published more than non-Jewish women. An analysis of the Carnegie data demonstrates that fewer than 20 percent of Jewish male respondents had not published any articles but two-thirds had published more than five articles. By contrast, 43 percent of Jewish women and 53 percent of non-Jewish women had published no articles, but only 21 percent of Jewish female respondents and 15 percent of non-Jewish female respondents had published more than five articles before 1969. What might account for this significant discrepancy in publication records?

“We don’t hire housewives”

One explanation which is frequently given for the lack of tenured women faculty is that, especially after World War II, women in their thirties were likely to be raising children rather than publishing the books and articles required for tenure. It is certainly true that because the academic timetable for tenure comes into conflict with women’s biological clocks, many women have felt that they had to choose between an academic career and a family. Jewish women, however, especially those born after 1920, differ markedly from non-Jewish women in this respect, since the overwhelming majority of Jews have attempted to combine marriage, children, and a career in academia, whereas only a minority of Christian women have done so.

Once again, the Carnegie data indicates that men in the academy were much more likely than the women to marry and have children, but that Jewish women were twice as likely as their non-Jewish counterparts to marry and have children. Almost 90 percent of the male academics, both Jewish and non-Jewish, were currently married in 1969, as

were 70 percent of the Jewish women academics but only 45 percent of the non-Jewish women. Eleven percent of the women, but only two percent of the men, were divorced or widowed at that time. Whereas 9 percent of all men, whether Christian or Jewish, had never married, 60 percent of the Catholic women, 40 percent of the Protestant women, but only 19 percent of the Jewish women had remained single. Likewise, the men had more children than the women, since after all they presumably had wives at home to look after them, but Jewish women had more children than non-Jewish women. Among Jewish women academics, 45 percent were childless, as compared to 65 percent of Protestant women and 70 percent of Catholic women, but only 26 percent of Jewish men. Roughly 16 percent of the Jewish women had one child; 23 percent had two children; and 14 percent had three or more. Even though Jewish women published more articles than non-Jewish women, before 1969, they had more difficulty getting tenured and promoted than their non-Jewish colleagues, perhaps because so many more of them were wives and mothers, as well as aspiring academics. Indeed, an English department chair at the University of El Paso informed Mimi Gladstein in the mid-sixties, “We don’t hire housewives.”³⁶

The author’s sample of American Jewish women faculty members gathered at the end of the 20th century when most of these women were approaching retirement age, if not already retired or deceased, indicates a major change from the “lone voyagers” of the earlier generation. Over 90 percent of Jewish women academics born between 1920 and World War II eventually married and roughly 75 percent of them had children, in many cases before they entered the academy. Roughly one in six had a single child; two out of five had two children; one in four had three children; and one out of twenty had more

than three. About half of these women remained married to the same spouse, while the other half became divorced, remarried, widowed, or had long-term partners, in some cases lesbian partners; the lesbian women in the study population for the most part had been married and had children before coming out as lesbians. Not surprisingly, the majority of the Jewish women in academia had spouses or partners with advanced degrees.

According to the Carnegie Commission data, the spouses of Jews were more highly educated than the spouses of non-Jews. Roughly 55 percent of Jewish women and 30 percent of Jewish men had spouses with graduate or professional degrees. The fact that so many Jewish women were married to other academics, often in the same field, frequently complicated their lives in academia but in other cases opened up opportunities for them within the university framework.

Family Background, Politics and Religion

Like most academics and most American Jews born after 1920, Jewish academics came from middle-class, rather than working-class, backgrounds. Many of their fathers owned small businesses, some were professionals, but few were factory workers.³⁷

Although some of the Jewish women and men in academia before 1969 had been born in Central Europe and immigrated to the United States mainly before the Holocaust, most were the American-born daughters and sons of Eastern European immigrants.

Interestingly enough, the family backgrounds of Jewish and non-Jewish women do not seem to differ greatly, at least with respect to the level of education of their parents.

However, the parents of Jewish women seem to have been more highly educated than the

parents of Jewish men in academia. Almost half of the fathers of Jewish men in academia and over 40 percent of their mothers had not completed high school, whereas less than forty percent of the fathers of Jewish academic women and only a third of their mothers had less than a high school education. A quarter of the fathers of Jewish women and over 10 percent of their mothers had attended or completed graduate school, while fewer than one in five fathers of Jewish men and only 5 percent of their mothers had achieved that level of education. Just as in Central Europe, Jewish women with advanced degrees by and large came from a somewhat more affluent and better educated families than did their male counterparts, so too in the United States Jewish women often came from comfortable middle-class homes and both their mothers and their fathers were more likely to have post-secondary education.

The political attitudes of Jewish academics, whether male or female, both as students and as faculty, demonstrates the strong Jewish proclivity towards liberalism and left-wing politics in the 20th century, which is reflected as well in the political affiliation of the fathers of Jewish academics. Although the fathers of Jews in academia were somewhat less liberal and more middle-of-the-road than the academics themselves, Jewish fathers were almost three times more likely to be on the left than the fathers of non-Jewish academics, whereas non-Jewish fathers tended to be two to three times more likely to be on the right politically.

The political orientation of Jewish women in academia closely resembled that of Jewish men, but contrasted quite starkly with that of non-Jewish women. Three quarters of American Jewish academics identified themselves as left-wingers or else liberals politically in the 1969 Carnegie Commission Study as compared to only 45 percent of the

non-Jewish academics. Jewish academic women were slightly more liberal politically than Jewish men, but twice as likely as non-Jewish women to be leftists or liberals, whereas non-Jewish women were slightly less likely than their male counterparts to be on the left, but more likely to categorize themselves as middle-of-the-road as compared to Jewish women or non-Jewish men. While more than a quarter of non-Jewish academics were conservative politically, only 7 percent of Jewish men and 5 percent of Jewish women defined themselves as moderately conservative. Less than one percent of Jews classified themselves as strongly conservative.

The Carnegie Survey revealed that Jews in academia, both women and men, were not only farther to the left than their Christian colleagues, but also much less religiously committed; most would define themselves as secular humanists or agnostics. Half of all academics who had been raised as Jews were indifferent to religion, while one in five were opposed to it. Roughly a quarter of the Jews considered themselves to be moderately religious, whereas less than one in twenty categorized themselves as deeply religious or religiously observant. Out of the 611 women in the Carnegie sample who had been raised as Jews, only 70 percent still identified as Jews; one quarter belonged to no religious group and one percent had been baptized. Among the 462 women who self-identified as Jews at the time of the survey, nine out of ten had been raised in Jewish homes, 5 percent had been raised with no religion, and 5 percent were converts to Judaism. However, the attitudes toward religion among women who had been raised as Jews were not very different than those of women who had been raised without any religion at all. Less than one-third of Jewish academic women considered themselves to

be either deeply or moderately religious, as compared to 70 percent of the Protestant women and 80 percent of the Catholic women.

As we have already seen within the author's study population, the members of the older generation of women academics born before World War I, whether in Central Europe or the United States, were generally far removed from anything Jewish. Many avoided calling themselves Jews; some of the European-born women were baptized, while the American-born tend to identify with Ethical Culture or Unitarianism; others formally left the Jewish community or identified themselves as atheists. Among the generation of women born during the interwar era, mostly daughters of Eastern European immigrants, many rejected Judaism as a religion, but retained an ethnic or cultural Jewish identity. Married women of the younger generation were more likely to be actively involved within the Jewish community than the "lone voyagers" of the pioneering generation; some belonged to non-Orthodox synagogues or Hadassah and quite a few visited Israel or taught there at some point during their careers. Most Jewish women academics, however, remained outside the organized Jewish communal framework. Both single women and intermarried women often cut their ties with both Judaism and Jewishness,³⁸ but most retained at least nominal identification as Jews. Even though they associated with both Jews and non-Jews professionally and socially, most respondents to the author's questionnaire were quite aware of their own Jewishness and that of their friends and colleagues. Older women respondents seemed more conscious than younger women of experiencing antisemitism personally, if not professionally, but very few women felt that being Jewish had adversely affected their careers in terms of hiring, tenure or promotion. Most women did not consider their Jewishness as a significant

factor in their careers, but some developed increased Jewish awareness as they grew older, especially after 1969 and the rise of second wave feminism. What most of these women had in common, however, was the fact that they were attempting to combine marriage and motherhood with an academic career.

Wives and Mothers in Academia: Overcoming the Odds

Three examples, sociologist Rose Laub Coser (1916-94), economist Anita Arrow Summers (b.1925), and historian Natalie Zemon Davis (b.1928), demonstrate different career paths of Jewish women academics married to male academics that enabled them to combine successful careers in the academy with their roles as wives and mothers. Born in Berlin but educated in Antwerp and New York, Rose Laub immigrated to New York in 1939. Three years later, she married Lewis A. Coser, a fellow refugee from Nazi Europe, who, like Rose, was a committed socialist and also became an eminent sociologist; not long thereafter, the couple had two children. Both Cosers received their Ph.D. in sociology from Columbia University, Lewis in 1954 and Rose in 1957, at the age of 41. Like other married women in academia at that time, Rose Coser followed a much more difficult career path than her husband, working for many years both before and after receiving her doctorate, first at Columbia and then the University of Chicago and later in the psychiatry department of Harvard Medical School. While Lewis taught at the University of Chicago and then served as professor of sociology at Brandeis, Rose held positions as instructor and then assistant professor at Wellesley College (1951-59) and as associate professor at Northeastern University (1965-68). In 1968, Rose and Lewis Coser were both offered professorships at the State University of New York at Stony Brook,

among the first academic couples in the country to serve in the same department, once nepotism regulations were abolished. After retiring from Stony Brook in 1987 at the age of seventy-one, she continued working as an adjunct professor at Boston College and as a visiting professor and scholar at Radcliffe.³⁹

An ardent feminist and vocal supporter of affirmative action and social justice, Rose Coser made many important contributions to the fields of medical sociology, sociology of the family, and gender roles; her last book, *Women of Courage* (1999, published posthumously) was a comparative study of Jewish and Italian women in New York at the turn of the century. Rose Coser published extensively, both on her own and jointly with her husband Lewis; they were among the founders and frequent contributors to *Dissent* magazine. One of her colleagues credits her with the “melding of the personal, political, and intellectual. . . Indeed, the lesson of woman as social activist, intellectual, teacher, scholar, and wife, mother, host—that combination of statuses—interested Coser.”⁴⁰ Rose Coser entered academia relatively late in life, after raising two children, and was finally appointed full professor, jointly with her husband, at the age of fifty-two. An expert on the complexity of roles in society, she managed to combine successfully a multiplicity of academic, public, and family roles in her own life and career.

Anita Arrow Summers, the American-born daughter of Jewish immigrants from Rumania who had come to the US at a very young age, might be classified as an “accidental academic.” After receiving a BA in economics from Hunter College in 1945 and her MA from the University of Chicago two years later, she began doctoral work at Columbia but left in 1951 as an ABD after passing her qualifying examinations. The

sister of a well-known economist, she married another economist in 1953 and had three sons soon thereafter. As she later recalled, “I left my job and had no thoughts of having any future professional activity. I reentered the field when my youngest was seven and fully in school – but kept my activity part-time for many years.” After more than a ten year hiatus for child-rearing, in 1965 from “out of the blue,” even though she did not yet have any publications, she was offered a position as lecturer in the department of economics at Swarthmore, where she taught part-time for six years. After working for several years as an economist in the Research Department of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, she was invited to start a Public Policy Program in urban economics at the University of Pennsylvania, where her husband was professor of economics. After working as an adjunct professor from 1979 to 1982, with a long list of publications but no doctorate, she was promoted to full professor in the Department of Public Policy and Management at the Wharton School in 1982, where she remained until her retirement as professor emerita ten years later.⁴¹

Like Rose Coser, Anita Summers began working in the same school or department as her husband after raising her children and working in a non-tenure-track position elsewhere. Unlike Coser, however, Summers never felt that she had encountered any discrimination as a woman. “If anything,” she claimed, “all efforts were directed at my advancement.” Summers did not believe that the feminist movement affected her career in any discernible way “except to get me put on many more influential committees”; she never taught women’s studies courses or did research on women. Instead she served as department chair, member of the Academic Planning and Budget Committee of the university and the Dean’s Advisory Committee at Wharton, as

University Ombudsman, Chair of Social Science Research Awards at Penn and Chair of Wharton's Research Committee. Anita Summers mentored many students at Wharton, including quite a few women. As she reported, "The women were very interested in knowing 'how I did it'—how did I have a full family life and a career."⁴²

Natalie Zemon Davis (b.1928), the daughter of American-born Jewish parents, had a somewhat different experience combining a family and an academic career. At the age of 19, a year before graduating from Smith College summa cum laude, Natalie Zemon married Chandler Davis, a non-Jewish graduate student of mathematics at Harvard, much to the consternation of her family and her history mentor at Smith. As she recounted in a 1997 lecture to the American Council of Learned Societies entitled "A Life of Learning,"

Even Miss Gabel feared my marriage tolled the knell of my history career, though she never said it right out. Her generation had taken a different path; how could I ever be a scholar if I were traipsing after my husband amid the clutter of children? On the other hand, I had a husband early along, who truly believed in women's careers; and who was genuinely committed to sharing household tasks and parenting. We began a lifelong conversation about politics, history, science, and literature. And now it seemed to me my vocational path was set. I had planned to get a doctorate in history . . . Since Chan was going on to university teaching, I thought, "OK, I'll become a professor instead."⁴³

Natalie Davis' road to becoming a professor was not smooth. While writing her dissertation at the University of Michigan during the 1950's, she had three children. Due to her own and her husband's left-wing activities, she lost her American passport

temporarily, thereby making it more difficult for her to do archival research in France. After Chandler Davis was dismissed from his position at the University of Michigan as a result of HUAC accusations, Natalie Davis taught part-time at Columbia and then at Brown after receiving her doctorate in 1959, but eventually followed her husband to Toronto. He became a professor of mathematics at the University of Toronto in 1962, but she continued to teach part-time at both York and at the University of Toronto, until finally she was offered an assistant professorship in the Department of History at U of T in 1968. Three years later, she accepted a professorship at Berkeley, which resulted in a rather lengthy commuter marriage, at first from Berkeley to Toronto and then from Princeton to Toronto. From 1981 until her retirement in 1996, she served as the Henry Charles Lea Professor of History at Princeton. Unlike most other women in her age cohort, Natalie Davis retained a strong, positive Jewish identity, incorporated Jewish materials in her courses on early modern history at Princeton, and later wrote an important work comparing the lives of Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish women in the 17th century, entitled *Women on the Margins*.⁴⁴

Before her career took off in the '70s, the experiences of Natalie Zemon Davis resembled those of many other Jewish academic women of her generation, those born before 1939 who embarked on an academic career before 1969. Davis married young, before beginning graduate studies, and remained married to the same academic spouse throughout her career. As was the case with a majority of her contemporaries, her children were born during her graduate studies, before she received her doctorate and more than a decade before she obtained a tenured position. Like many others, she needed to find a solution to the "two-body problem." She frequently moved from one part-time

job to another in the first decades of her married life so that she could follow her husband, but, unlike most other married Jewish women academics, she eventually opted for a commuter marriage so that she could achieve the rank of tenured professor.

Most women in this generation had their children, earned their doctorates, and obtained their first academic positions around the age of thirty, although a substantial minority completed their degrees and managed to get full-time academic jobs later in their thirties after their children reached school age. Less than half of the women in my study population had their first child after receiving their doctorates and a third had their children while holding a full-time academic appointment. It was almost unheard of for a woman to interrupt her academic career for child-raising in her mid-thirties and return later to a tenured or even tenure-track position without encountering significant discrimination.⁴⁵ It is noteworthy, however, that those women who remained single or childless were no more likely to complete their doctorates before the age of thirty or gain tenure-track positions soon thereafter. Until the rise of feminism, most Jewish women were still outsiders, not yet at home within the “faculty club,” trying to carve out a place for themselves both as women and as Jews in academia.

Women on the Margins: Outsiders and Feminists

In the 1970's, Natalie Zemon Davis was among the remarkable number of Jewish women academics in the social sciences and the humanities who became pioneers in women's history and women's studies. As a woman, a Jew, and a leftist activist, she, like many of her contemporaries, considered herself an outsider in the male, Christian academic world and hence became drawn to involvement with the burgeoning feminist

movement. Indeed, perhaps because she spent so much of her life as an outsider in academia, she focused much of her research on others located on the margins of society, even before studying “the Other” became fashionable within the academy. As she recalled in her 1997 ACLS lecture,

As I moved from post to post, I kept finding myself one of a tiny minority of women in a department. At many a department meeting I was the only woman present, and might have to suffer the indignity of some senior historian addressing everyone else as Professor So-and-so and me as Mrs. Davis. Now I was pretty tough, well seasoned by my years as “the only Jew” and then as outcast left-winger, and I also had support along the way. . . . All of this was teaching me that being a woman made a big difference, and that I had better attend to it practically and intellectually. . . . by the early 1970s, the women’s movement was in full flower in Toronto influencing us all.⁴⁶

The feminist movement led to a journey of self-discovery and “consciousness raising” for Jewish academic women, both as women and as Jews. In *Reinventing Womanhood* (1978), Carolyn Heilbrun (1926-) , a professor of English in the College of General Studies and one of the few tenured women at Columbia in the early ‘70s, explored the connections between being a Jew and becoming a feminist and learned that “women are often outsiders twice over.” Like many American-born women of her generation, Heilbrun had received no Jewish education; her parents attended a Christian Science Church. Until the age of fifty, Heilbrun had believed that the fact that she was Jewish had “less than nothing to do” with her research on women and identity, but she came to realize that

To be a feminist one had to have had an experience of being an outsider more extreme than merely being a woman. . . . I began to understand that having been a Jew, however unobserved that identification was, however fiercely I had denied the adamant anti-Semitism all around me as I grew up—still, having been a Jew had made me an outsider. It had permitted me to be a feminist.

Heilbrun also claimed that Irving Howe's *World of Our Fathers* helped her to understand that "if Jews were outsiders, women were outsiders among Jews."⁴⁷

For the most part, before 1970, Jewish women in academia functioned as outsiders and individuals in an overwhelmingly male world, rather than considering themselves to be part of a larger group, whether as women, as Jews, or as Jewish women. As Carolyn Heilbrun pointed out, women in academia, as in other professions, generally achieved success by becoming "honorary men, neither admiring nor bonding with other women, offering no encouragement to those who might come after them, preserving the socially required 'femininity,' but sacrificing their womanhood." She argued that "women, while not denying to themselves the male lessons of achievement . . . [should] recognize the importance of taking these examples to themselves as women, supporting other women, identifying with them, and imagining the achievement of women generally. . . without being co-opted as honorary members of a male club."⁴⁸

Among the earliest generation of Jewish women academics, several women including bacteriologist Lydia Rabinowitsch-Kempner, physiologist Ida Hyde, and Romance philologist Elise Richter, can be categorized as feminists, albeit sometimes reluctant feminists, because they helped establish organizations to provide fellowships for other women embarking on academic careers and enable them to join their ranks.⁴⁹

During the interwar years, some European academic women, including pioneering nuclear scientists, tried to band together and provide one another with moral support and social outlets, even if they could not help each other very much professionally.⁵⁰ But before the rise of second wave feminism in the United States, few women in academia organized collectively or spoke out on behalf of other women. The situation began to change dramatically in the late '60s and the '70s when women began to come into their own on campus with the development of women's studies. As women's studies courses, programs, and departments sprang up around the country, academic women's networks and caucuses within professional associations also developed. Jewish women played a very prominent role among the founding mothers of women's studies.⁵¹ Jewish women's studies grew up somewhat later and Jewish women's caucuses within the Association for Jewish Studies, the American Sociological Association, and the American Women's Studies Association only appeared in the 1980s and '90s.

Women faculty were often stereotyped primarily as teachers and nurturers of undergraduates, rather than researchers and graduate faculty, but those women who succeeded in the academic world generally did extensive publishing as well as teaching in order to be eligible for both tenure and promotion at most universities. In reviewing the publication records of over one hundred Jewish women in academia born before 1945, I was impressed by their extensive bibliographies of both books and articles in a wide range of fields and on a variety of topics, but I was particularly struck by how many of these women researched and wrote on women's issues. Over the years, women faculty members, both Jewish and non-Jewish, often served as student advisors and mentors, especially for women graduate students, but it is not clear how often they had

the opportunity to mentor other women faculty or how many actually did so before 1969. Thereafter, however, Jewish women increasingly became involved in university administration and service, sometimes becoming department chairs, program directors, deans, and, eventually, provosts and presidents. In an article entitled “Chairing the Department: A Matriarchal Paradigm,” Mimi Gladstein, one of the founding mothers of women’s studies, an English professor, and dean of humanities at the University of Texas at El Paso, with a touch of humor recounted her experiences as a feminist in academia as follows:

Like most women who joined university faculties during the late sixties and early seventies, I found an entrenched masculinist system, not only in the [English] department but also throughout the university administration. How sweet it was those many years later, to be the chair who presided over the retirement party for the man who did not hire housewives. And since the department had its Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Melville men, I am fond of explaining that I found an appropriate area, one they did not have covered when I left for graduate school. I became the department’s “women’s man,” teaching the first women’s studies courses, leading the battles for equity. . . . Extrapolating the universal from the individual and personal, I would like to suggest that though one reads volumes about women’s lack of preparation for administrative positions, all I really needed to know about chairing a department I learned by being a Jewish mother. Being a feminist also helped.⁵²

In recent years, many Jewish women in a wide range of fields have written about their personal experiences as women in academia, mainly in short autobiographical sketches in collected volumes. Nearly all relate stories of discrimination against them as women,

whether in the hiring process, getting tenured, or being promoted in a timely fashion; virtually every academic woman noted that her salary was lower than men of a comparable rank at their institution. Although some recounted incidents of antisemitism within the academy, almost no one claimed that it hampered their academic careers and advancement. Relatively few focused on what it meant to be an observant Jewish woman in academia, since the overwhelming majority of Jewish academic women are secular. However, Frances Degen Horowitz, a developmental psychologist who rose to be president of the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York, wrote an article entitled “A Jewish Woman in Academic America” in which she summarized the challenges of being both Jewish and female in academia in the late 20th century as follows:

Currently, academic women must balance the traditional socialization effects of being reared female, the inclinations to family and childrearing and their time demands, against the impetus to a full academic career. For the Jew who wishes to retain a strong identity, the balancing pressures are in some ways more subtle and more difficult to articulate. They involve the conflicting pressures of time, of circle, of ritual, of calendar, of distinctiveness. For the Jewish academic woman her two sources of identity, female and Jewish, face off academic identity. It is obvious that in woman, Jew and academic, an interesting set of combinatorial dilemmas can result.⁵³

Horowitz, who was born in the Bronx in 1932 and grew up in a traditional Jewish home, feels that Judaism shaped her personal identity more than her gender. Her career trajectory, however, clearly demonstrates the changes that have occurred during her

lifetime with respect to the opportunities for Jewish women in academia. Frances Degen married at the age of 21, after receiving her BA in philosophy from Antioch. After earning an MA in elementary education, she taught for several years before entering a doctoral program in developmental psychology at the University of Iowa where her husband was on the faculty. Due to nepotism regulations, she was only able to hold part-time jobs while working on her degree in the 'fifties and for five years thereafter while raising two young children and moving with her husband, an English professor. By the mid-sixties, however, nepotism rules were lifted at the University of Kansas, and she received a tenure-track appointment. Horowitz credits affirmative action for her fairly rapid progress up the academic ladder:

I do not think being a woman adversely affected my academic advancement. In fact, I think it advantaged it because the 60s and 70s were years when the feminists were raising consciousness and the university was interested in promoting and advancing women in response. We stayed at Kansas for 30 years. In that time I moved from being a chair of a department to being the associate dean of arts and sciences and, finally, the last 13 years, I was the Vice Chancellor for Research, Graduate Studies and Public Service. . . I think the feminist movement sensitized many people to the paucity of women in academia and in academic administrative leadership positions. I think this helped me.⁵⁴

Unlike many of her women colleagues in the 'seventies and 'eighties, Frances Degen Horowitz did not teach women's studies courses or do research on women, but she did specialize in early childhood development and mentored many women students.

Horowitz recognized the difficulties that Jewish women had to deal with both as women

and as Jews, but also the new opportunities for women in academia as a result of second-wave feminism, including academic administration.⁵⁵

Members of the Faculty Club and the Women's Caucus

During the course of the last hundred years, Jewish women academics progressed from being “lone voyagers” in the pre-World War II era to “pathfinders” during the post-war era, and finally to the growing younger generation of “pathtakers” by the end of the 20th century. The ‘40s generation and the “baby-boomers” have now assumed the leadership roles not only within women’s and gender studies, but also within Jewish studies and other areas of academia, including top administration. What differentiates the “baby-boomer” generation from their predecessors is the fact that they were still students during the rise and blossoming of second-wave feminism. For many women, especially in the humanities and social sciences, however, women’s studies programs have provide an oasis within the still predominantly male world of academia. The ‘40s generation which entered academia in the ‘seventies and their successors in the late 20th century deserve a separate study of their own, however

Nevertheless, traces of Jewish outsider status still remain and many of the problems facing women in academia have by no means disappeared.⁵⁶ For some Jewish women in academia, acceptance as equal members of the “faculty club” in terms of salary and promotion to full professor has remained elusive; some may still feel like step-daughters in the academy, on the margin of their disciplines. In fields such math and science, it is often an individual struggle to overcome tremendous odds with relatively little support. Being a woman, especially being a wife, mother, and care-giver, can still

cause conflict when it comes to hiring, tenure, and promotion. Spousal hires sometimes help solve the “two-body problem,” but having a very supportive spouse or partner is essential for academic marriages to succeed.

The post-1969 era has witnessed the growing acceptance of women within the burgeoning field of Jewish studies. Just as a major transformation has occurred within non-Orthodox synagogues since 1970 thanks to Jewish feminism, so too within Jewish studies, women have made significant strides toward equality. Now, after thirty years, women not only count as members of the *minyan*, i.e. as faculty members and program chairs, but they also serve as *sheliche tzibbur*, or leaders within the field and its professional organizations. Until the late 1960s, women with doctorates in Jewish learning would have been denied appointments in most universities, including Jewish institutions. In its early years, there were very few women members of the Association of Jewish Studies; in 1978, among the 102 full professors within this organization, only one was a woman!⁵⁷ By the early 21st century, however, women have served in every rank and position within the leading programs and organizations in Jewish studies. Jane Gerber, Ruth Wisse and Judith Baskin have served as president of the Association for Jewish Studies and Paula Hyman is the first woman president of the American Academy for Jewish Research. Although Gerber and Wisse were born before World War II, they, like most other Jewish women academics of their generation, did not complete their doctorates and gain their first tenure-track appointments until the late `sixties or early `seventies. Most prominent Jewish women scholars, whether in Jewish studies or other fields, were born during or soon after World War II.

Today most Jewish women who occupy tenured academic positions no longer consider themselves academic outsiders, either as women or as Jews. Indeed, some women refused to fill out questionnaires for a project entitled “On the Fringes of Academia,” either because they did not think of their Jewishness as a salient factor in their careers or because they saw themselves as part of the mainstream, rather than marginal members of the academic community. Others were too busy with other responsibilities to take the time to fill out a long questionnaire. Some Jewish women in academia have rediscovered their Jewish roots and identities, while others have become more actively involved in Jewish communal life and Jewish causes. Being Jewish is no longer an issue in academia; by and large, Jews have been accepted as “white” and joined the majority culture.

In the 21st century, Jewish academic women no longer consider themselves to be on the fringes of academia; they have made it into the mainstream. Both baby-boomers and their daughters are now accepted as dues-paying members of the “faculty club,” but they are still actively involved in women’s caucuses, including Jewish women’s caucuses. Now that the field of women’s studies has transformed into gender studies and identification with “the Other” has become “politically correct,” the outsiders have become insiders and Jewish women no longer see themselves as “the other Other.” Perhaps they can simultaneously be considered both insiders and outsiders within the academy. Jewish women have indeed come a long way in academia since the early 20th century, but it is necessary for them to look back at their predecessors, the “lone voyagers” and the “pathfinders,” in order to recognize how far they have come and the distance they still have to travel to be fully “at home” in academia.

 Notes

¹Harriet Pass Freidenreich, *Female, Jewish, & Educated: The Lives of Central European Jewish Women* (Indiana University Press, 2002).

²Susanne Klingenstein, *Jews in the American Academy, 1900-1940* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1998), p.200; "But My Daughters Can Read the Torah: Careers of Jewish Women in Literary Academe," *American Jewish History*. Vol. 83/2 (June 1995), 247-86.

³ Since she had been supported entirely by her family before her emigration to Mexico and then the United States, the Austrian government refused to pay Marietta Blau a pension when she eventually returned after the war. Leopold E. Halpern, "Marietta Blau: Discoverer of the Cosmic Ray 'Stars'," in *A Devotion to Their Science: Pioneer Women of Radioactivity*, ed. Marlene F. and Geoffrey W. Rayner-Canham (Philadelphia: Chemical Heritage Foundation/Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1997), 196-204; idem, "Marietta Blau," in *Women in Chemistry and Physics: A Biobibliographic Sourcebook*, ed. Louise S. Grinstein, et al., (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 57-64.

⁴ *Jewish Women in America*, I, 665-6; "Libbie Henrietta Hyman" in *Biographical Memoirs*, Vol. 60 (1991), 1033-114; Richard E. Blackwelder, "Libbie H. Hyman Memorial Issue: Her Life," *Journal of Biological Psychology* 12 (1970), 1-23; Nathan W. Riser and M. Patricia Morse, eds., *Biology of the Turbellaria: Libbie H. Hyman Memorial Volume* (1974), ix-xxv; Judith Winston, E., ed. *Libbie Henrietta Hyman: Life and Contributions* (1999).

⁵ Klingenstein, *Jews in the American Academy, 1900-1940*, xiii

⁶ Judith P. Hallett, "Nunc Meminisse Iuvat: Classics and Classicists between the World Wars." *Classical World*. Vol.85/1 (September/October, 1991), Appendix B, 27.

⁷ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater* (New York: Knopf, 1984), 155, 184-5, 258-9 Bryn Mawr, for example, accepted Jewish women as students, but due to the antisemitism of its

president M. Carey Thomas was reluctant to hire them as faculty before the arrival of émigrés from Nazi Germany in the early 1930s. See Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *The Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas* (New York, W.W. Norton, 1997).

⁸ Geraldine Jonçich Clifford, *Lone Voyagers: Academic Women in Coeducational Institutions, 1870-1937* (New York: Feminist Press, 1989), 28-29.

⁹ Elisabeth Andraschko, "Elise Richter - eine Skizze ihres Lebens," in Waltraud Heindl and Marina Tichy, eds., *"Durch Erkenntnis zu Freiheit und Glück ..."* (Vienna: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1990), 225-30.

¹⁰ Elisabeth Boedeker and Maria Meyer-Plath, eds., *50 Jahre Habilitation von Frauen in Deutschland* (Göttingen: O. Schwartz, 1974); Stephanie Habeth, "Die Freiberuflerin und Beamtin (Ende 19. Jahrhundert bis 1945)" in Hans Pohl, ed. *Die Frau in der deutschen Wirtschaft* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1985), 168-70; Doris Ingrisch, *"Alles war das Institut!" Eine lebensgeschichtliche Untersuchung über die erste Generation von Professorinnen an der Universität Wien* (Vienna: Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung, 1993), 73.

¹¹ Freidenreich, *Female, Jewish, & Educated*, esp.133-152.

¹² Ida Hyde, "Before Women Were Human Beings." *Journal of the American Association of University Women* (June 1938), 226-36; *Jewish Women in America*, I, 664-5; Margaret W. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 41-2; G. Kass-Simon and Patricia Farnes, *Women in Science: Righting the Record* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 239-44; *Biographical Dictionary of Women in Science*, 635-6; *Notable American Women*, 247-9.

¹³ *Jewish Women in America*, II, 1040-41; Henry Rand Hatfield, "Jessica Blanche Peixotto," *Essays in Social Economics in Honor of Jessica Blanche Peixotto* (1935), 5-14, 361-3; "Jessica Blanche Peixotto, Economics: Berkeley." *In Memoriam* University of California (1941); *Notable American Women*, 42-3; Obituary. *NYT*, October 21, 1941, 23:5.

¹⁴ *Jewish Women in America*, I, 81-2.

¹⁵ James W. Brewer and Martha K. Smith, eds., *Emmy Noether: A Tribute to Her Life and Work* (New York: Marcel Dekker, 1981), 14.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 18; Auguste Dick, *Emmy Noether 1882-1935* (Boston: Birkhäuser, 1981), 50-1.

¹⁷ Freidenreich, *Female, Jewish, and Educated*, 76-7.

¹⁸ Selma Stern became a research associate at the Akademie für Wissenschaft des Judentums, an institute directed by the man she eventually married, Eugen Täubler. Marina Sassenberg, ed., *Apropos Selma Stern* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Neue Kritik, 1998), 18-20.

¹⁹ Hiltrud Häntzschel, "Die Philologin Eva Fiesel (1891-1937)," *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schiller-Gesellschaft*, 38 (1994), 339-63; *idem*, "Amerika gab ihr, was ihr Heimatland immer verwehrt hatte," in *Bedrohlich gescheit: Ein Jahrhundert Frauen und Wissenschaft in Bayern*, ed. Hiltrud Häntzschel and Hadumod Bussmann (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1997), 242-7.

²⁰ Hiltrud Häntzschel, "Aktenvermerk `abgelehnt'"; *idem*, "Der Exodus von Wissenschaftlerinnen," 43-52; *idem*, "Frauen jüdischer Herkunft an bayerischen Universitäten: Zum Zusammenhang von Religion, Geschlecht und `Rasse,'" in *Bedrohlich gescheit*, 105-36.

²¹ Larissa Bonfante, "Margarete Bieber (1879-1948): An Archaeologist in Two Worlds," in Claire Richter Sherman and Adele M. Holcomb, eds., *Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts, 1820-1979* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981), 242-51; Annette Kuhn, et al., eds., *100 Jahre Frauenstudium* (Bonn: Edition Ebersbach, ca.1996), 12, 55, 140-46.

²² Hans-Peter Kröner, "Die Emigration deutschsprachiger Mediziner im Nationalsozialismus," *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, 12 (1989), Sonderheft, 20.

²³ Hallett, "Nunc Meminisse Iuvat," 19-20.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 26. Lachmann was also highly respected as a poet. Her many volumes of German poetry were dedicated to her partner of thirty years, composer Tui St. George Tucker. It is interesting to note that Vera Lachmann and Margarete Bieber, two emigres with tenured appointments in classics, were among the very few Jewish lesbians in academia openly living with their partners before second-wave feminism made such arrangements more widely accepted. See also "*Hier ist*

kein bleiben länger: " Jüdische Schulgründerinnen in Wilmersdorf (Berlin: Wilmersdorf Museum, 1992), 30.

²⁵ Mathematicians Emmy Noether and Hilda Geiringer, Etruscan specialist Eva Fiesel, Germanist Hilde Cohn, and social work educator Hertha Kraus all held positions at Bryn Mawr College upon their arrival in the US in the 1930's. Kraus was the only émigré to remain at Bryn Mawr; Noether and Fiesel both died soon after their emigration; Geiringer eventually taught at Wheaton College in Massachusetts. Personnel Files, Archives, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, PA; Felix Gilbert, "Desirable Elements: Refugee Professors at Bryn Mawr in the '30's and '40's," in *A Century Recalled*, ed. Patricia Hochschild Labalme, (Bryn Mawr College Library, 1987), 73-86. See also Sibylle Quack, *Zuflucht Amerika* (Bonn: Dietz, 1995), 190-200.

²⁶ Erna Barschak, *My American Adventure* (New York: Ives Washburn, 1945); case files, American Friends Service Committee Collection, Balch Institute, Philadelphia.

²⁷ Case file #214, AFSC Collection, Archives, Balch Institute, Philadelphia.

²⁸ Freidenreich, *Female, Jewish, and Educated*, 120-122.

²⁹ Sharon Bertsch McGrayne, *Nobel Prize Women in Science* (Birch Lane Press, 1993), 99-107; Mildred Cohn, "Carl and Gery Cori" in Helena M., Pycior, Nancy G. Slack, & Pnina G. Abir-Am, eds. *Creative Couples in the Sciences* (Rutgers, 1996), 72-84.

³⁰ Unlike many male émigré intellectuals, her second husband, Heinrich Waelsch, provided Gluecksohn-Waelsch with a great deal of encouragement and support in the home and helped in raising their children. "Interview with Salome Waelsch," in *The Outer Circle*, ed. Zuckerman, et al., 71-93; Michael T. Kaufman, "A Jew, a Woman and Still a Scientist," NYT, February 6, 1993.

³¹ M. Brewster Smith, "'Else Frenkel-Brunswik,'" in *Women in Psychology*, ed. O'Connell and Russo, 90-2; *Jewish Women in America*, vol. 1, 479.

³² Analysis of the results of this survey formed the basis of many studies on both women and Jews in academia published in the '70s and '80s, including Martin, Trow, ed., *Teachers and Students: Aspects of American Higher Education* (McGraw-Hill, 1975); Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. *Opportunities for Women in Higher Education: Their Current Participation*,

Prospects of the Future and Recommendations for Action. Report and Recommendations, September 1973 (McGraw-Hill, 1973); Stephen Steinberg, *The Academic Melting Pot: Catholics and Jews in American Higher Education* (McGraw-Hill, 1974); Everett Carl Ladd, Jr. and Seymour Martin Lipset, *The Divided Academy: Professors and Politics* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975); Seymour Martin Lipset and Everett Carl Ladd, Jr., "Jewish Academics in the US: Their Achievements, Culture & Politics," *American Jewish Yearbook*, 1971, Vol. 72, pp.89-128.

³³ The following analysis is based on data from Everett Ladd, S.M. Lipset, and Martin Trow, *Carnegie Commission National Survey of Higher Education: Faculty Study Subsample*, 1969, (Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, ca.1978) (<http://www.icpsr.umich.edu:8080/ICPSR-STUDY/07078.xml>)

³⁴ Brandeis University Archives, Waltham, MA; "H.O.W. Brandeis: The History of Women at Brandeis University, 1947-2000," catalogue and captions for photo exhibit, Hadassah-Brandeis Institute, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA.

³⁵ This sample of 223 American academic women has been derived from encyclopedias, biographical dictionaries, internet sites, CV's, and questionnaire responses using a snowball sample. Among this study population, almost 30 percent were born before 1920, 40 percent between 1920 and 1939, and 30 percent during and immediately after World War II.

³⁶ Mimi Gladstein, "Chairing the Department: A Matriarchal Paradigm" in *Liberty for Women: Freedom and Feminism in the 21st Century*, edited by Wendy McElroy (Ivan R. Dee, 2002), 121.

³⁷ Steinberg, *Academic Melting Pot*, 91-5.

³⁸ In a footnote, Suzanne Klingenstein quotes Elaine Showalter as follows: "Personally, I come from a Jewish background, but I broke away from it nearly 30 years ago; my family disowned me when I married a non-Jewish man. We are atheists, have raised our children without religious identification, and do not identify either culturally or spiritually with Judaism. It plays such an insignificant role in my life that I would have nothing to contribute to your book. (Klingenstein, "But My Daughters Can Read the Torah," 261)

³⁹ *Jewish Women in America*, I, 290-2; Mary Jo Deegan, ed., *Women in Sociology: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991), 110-7; Judith R. Blau and Norman Goodman, eds., *Social Roles and Social Institutions: Essays in Honor of Rose Laub Coser* (1991).

⁴⁰ Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, "In Memoriam: Rose Laub Coser 1916-1994," *Dissent*, 42, Winter 1995, 107-10.

⁴¹ Author's questionnaire completed by Anita Arrow Summers, summer 2003.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Natalie Zemon Charles Homer Haskins Lecture for 1997, ACLS Occasional Paper, No.29, 6-7.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*; questionnaire completed by Natalie Zemon Davis, 2003; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

⁴⁵ One example of an interrupted career without ever achieving tenure is that of Rivkah Harris (b.1928), an Assyriologist with a Ph.D. from the Oriental Institute of the University Chicago who was married to an Orthodox rabbi. After receiving her doctorate at the age of 26, she took off twelve years to raise her two children, but continued to do research and publish articles. She managed to find a tenure-track position, but then left for three years to follow her husband to Toronto. Upon returning to Chicago, she held another tenure-track position as associate professor in the department of the History and Literature of Religions at Northwestern, but was denied tenure in 1978, despite her publications and her popularity as a teacher. Thereafter, she continued to teach as an adjunct associate professor at various institutions and did research on women in Mesopotamia. (Questionnaire completed by Rivkah Harris and documentation, 2003-4)

⁴⁶ Davis, *A Life of Learning*, 15-16.

⁴⁷ Carolyn G. Heilbrun, *Reinventing Womanhood* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979), 20-1. See also Klingenstein, "But My Daughters Can Read the Torah," 264-9.

⁴⁸ Heilbrun, *Reinventing Womanhood*, 29, 32.

⁴⁹ Freidenreich, *Female, Jewish, and Educated*, 150-1; *Jewish Women in America*, I, 664-5.

⁵⁰ Freidenreich, *Female, Jewish, and Educated*, 151.

⁵¹ For example, at least one-third of the contributors to *The Politics of Women's Studies: Testimony from 30 Founding Mothers* (Feminist Press, 2000) were Jews, including the editor, Florence Howe, as well as Nancy Hoffman, Sheila Tobias, Mimi Gladstein, Barbara Gerber, Marilyn Boxer, Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy, Annette Kolodny, Myra Dinnerstein, and Nona Glazer. This list is but a small sample of the much larger contingent of Jewish women who made important contributions to the development of women's studies after 1969.

⁵² Gladstein, "Chairing the Department: A Matriarchal Paradigm", 121-2.

⁵³ Frances Degen Horowitz, "A Jewish Woman in Academic America" in Sharon S Brehm, ed., *Seeing Female: Social Roles and Personal Lives* (Wesport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1988), 62.

⁵⁴ Questionnaire completed by Frances Degen Horowitz, 2003.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ See, for example, fairly recent articles such as Shulamit Reinharz, "Marginality, Motherhood, and Method: Paths to a Social Science Career and Community," in Sarah Fenstermacher, and Ann Goetting, eds., *Individual Voices, Collective Visions: 50 Years of Women in Sociology* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), 285-302; Evelyn Torton Beck, "The Politics of Jewish Invisibility in Women's Studies," in *Transforming the Curriculum*, Johnella E. Butler and John C. Walter, eds. (SUNY, 1991), 187-97; Deborah Dash Moore, "On the Necessity and Impossibility of Being a Jew in the Academy., *Cross Currents*, 43/4 (Winter 1993-94), p.503-17.

⁵⁷ Paul Ritterband and Harold S. Wechsler, *Jewish Learning in American Universities: The First Century* (Indiana, 1994), 234.