

PAULA FASS

Christina Maslach:

Okay, so let's begin your interview. So, Paula, could we start with just basic demographic information? Your name, birth, school, etcetera? Before you got to Berkeley.

Paula Fass:

I have to warn you that my demographic information is a little, in fact, very different than most others. So, I was born on May 22nd, 1947, in a displaced prison camp in Hannover, Germany. Both of my parents were Holocaust survivors and the only survivors of their families who had made it through the camps. My father and mother both had families and children before the war. My mother had a son who was taken away when he was three years old from the ghetto, the Lodz Ghetto, when they rounded up all the young children. My father had four children ranging in age from fourteen to five, and they went with him and his wife to Auschwitz. And they disappeared. So, I had a very unusual childhood. I was in Germany until I was three and a half years old. As you might imagine, given their experience, my birth was a kind of magical event and I got lots and lots of attention, both from them and from the group of survivors with whom they associated in this DP camp. My mother and I were very, very close and we remained close throughout her life. And I'll talk a little bit about that, since it had something to do with my Berkeley experience, in a little bit. I came to the United States in 1951. I remember very fragmentary things about Germany, mostly walking through rubble. I mean everything was largely destroyed. Hannover was a major industrial city, and it was destroyed. The block that we lived on, the Auerstrasse, which I've returned to a few years ago when I gave some lectures in Germany, was a single block and it was in the British Zone of occupation. And there was a British encampment right across the street from where we lived. So, it was a very, very unusual childhood. I can visualize where we lived as a young child very well. It's amazing how my visual memory of that place is quite acute. It was one room and a small kitchen. I even remember my mother standing on a chair at one point in the kitchen and trying to change a light bulb and a bullet whizzing through the window. Well, the British soldiers were obviously playing around with their ammunition or maybe testing it. So, I warned you that I have a very unusual origin and I have actually written about it. I've written about my family in a book called, *Inheriting the Holocaust: A Second Generation Memoir*.

Christina Maslach:

Oh, okay. That I didn't know.

Paula Fass:

So I came to the United States at three-and-a-half on the Admiral Muir, a repurposed munitions boat. And we were a group of refugees who came to New York in January of 1951 after a ten-day voyage across the Atlantic, in the middle of the winter. Now, today, if you crossed the Atlantic by ship, (but very few people do), but if you do, it takes four or five days, it took us ten days. And we were storm-tossed the entire time. And I was quite ill and wound up in the infirmary. And I was in quarantine because the doctor claimed that I had measles. My mother looked at me and said to the doctor, "This child doesn't have measles. She doesn't have a spot on her." He said, "Well no, she's got internal measles, she has to be in quarantine." So, they tried to

keep my mother away from me. So here I was, not only coming over to a new strange country, but not being allowed to see my mother or father. My mother used to hide in the evenings behind the door of this infirmary. And the doctor found her every time and pulled her out. At any rate, at the end, when we finally arrived, I was handed over to my mother and we went to see the Statue of Liberty together, as we arrived in New York Harbor. Then this German doctor, this is after my parents' experience, came up to her and said, "Well you see, we haven't kept your daughter away from you, you have your daughter." He had threatened to put me in Ellis Island and keep me there. It was a very interesting experience for a three-and-a-half-year-old to listen to. But he did say how my mother spoke very good German, as I did at that time. "Sie ihnes kind doch haben - "You have your child." So, we came to the United States. There were various refugee aid groups who paid for us to stay in a hotel in New York and paid for us to eat. And I was still very sick. It turned out I had tonsillitis which I suffered from as a child many times. Once we arrived, my father went to work right away. He refused to be supported by aid agencies. He was very hard working but he didn't know New York, of course. We lived in a Manhattan hotel when he heard about a job, and it was in Brooklyn. And he had no idea how to get there. So, he walked. He walked from Manhattan over the bridge to Brooklyn, to this place out in Brownsville. Yes. We were both refugees and immigrants. I mean, Holocaust survivors and immigrants. My story is very much an immigrant story. But it also is complicated by the fact that I lived in a household where the shadows of an earlier life were always there. Especially for my father. My mother was able to talk about it much more fluently and often to me. My father, on the other hand, had a very difficult time talking about his experiences. And what I knew about them and learned about them, I overheard in their conversations with each other. But my mother told me the stories of the children being taken away. And she told me, I don't remember this, but she told me that I said to her, "Will they take me too?"

Christina Maslach:
Oh, yeah.

Paula Fass:
So she said, "Oh no, never." So, there are a variety of stories that I can tell. I'm not going to linger over it. But I did go to elementary school in Bedford-Stuyvesant in New York, which is where we wound up, initially. Then we moved. I went to a school which was not exactly integrated. It was maybe 10 or 20% white and almost all my friends were African American. In fact, when my mother tried to enroll me in kindergarten, which was very difficult to do at that time in New York, because there were only half classes, and they were very selective. Mrs. John Killens, (her husband was novelist, John Oliver Killens) who was one of our neighbors, and who spoke fluent German, went with her and she translated for my mother. And my mother said, well, if there's anybody who should be getting this place at school, it's my daughter because she needs to become an American. This African American woman translated for this refugee immigrant. In the American schools, it's a wonderful story.

Christina Maslach:
What a great story.

Paula Fass:
So I eventually started in kindergarten. And, of course, I spoke no English. The only thing I

knew how to say was, "good day," and "thank you." I had one of these old, blue-haired, kindergarten teachers and I wound up in the corner on a high stool many times since I did not understand or speak English and could not follow her directions.

Christina Maslach:
In kindergarten. Oh my God.

Paula Fass:
Subsequently, as a social historian, I have written about immigrant experiences in the schools, in part because of my own experiences and interests. One book especially, *Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education* deals with this. In fact, my own experiences have often influenced my perspective on history and helped to guide my selection of subjects for research.

Christina Maslach:
Your own, yes.

Paula Fass:
Yes, so, I did very well. I was one of those kids who graduated from high school at the age of 16. And went off to Barnard College in New York. I wanted to go to Vassar, and I got into Vassar, but my parents would not, given their experiences, they would not let me live away from home. This is a very immigrant experience. It continues to this day, and immigrants of various kinds don't want their children to be apart from them. They don't trust the government. They don't trust that their children will be safe, and they need their children's help negotiating a new culture and language. And so, I had that experience, and I commuted to Barnard all four years. I was getting up at 6:00 in the morning so I could get on the subway train and get to college because I had very early morning classes and things like that. I graduated from Barnard in 1967. I was not yet 20 years old as a history major. I won the History Prize and was awarded a slew of fellowships to graduate school. And I thought, that now that I was finally a grown up, I applied for a Fulbright to study in Germany, and I'd gotten it. And I was going to study how the Germans received Freudian ideas as compared to how Americans had received these ideas. I was very interested in Freud and psychoanalysis then. And so, this was a great project. But, after accepting the Fulbright and committing myself to travel back to Germany, I realized that my father wasn't speaking to me for a while. And eventually, he was looking ill, and I asked my mother, "What's wrong with Daddy?" And she said, "It's amazing that you didn't realize that for him the idea that we were going to Germany for a year is simply unbearable." She said, "If you had decided to go anywhere else", he could have agreed. In my imagination, this was going to be my liberation from childhood dependency and their past. I would be away from home, finally. I'd been accepted to Harvard graduate school to go to after I came back from Germany. But I just couldn't do it to my parents. At that point, the only thing I can think of was going over to Columbia, where I knew some people, and asking if they would still accept me for graduate school. This was June. I was supposed to leave for Germany at the end of June, and at that point I said to my father, "Well if this is really so difficult for you, I'm not going." So I wound up at Columbia, not too far from my parents. I managed to get my fellowship back and that's where I went to graduate school. I started at Columbia in 1967. So, did the student revolts—an interesting time.

Christina Maslach:

Right, I was going to say! Timing, Paula.

Paula Fass:

In fact, when I was applying to graduate schools, Annette Baxter, who was someone I adored at Barnard, and who really helped me as a mentor, (the kind we always want to acknowledge and acclaim), said to me, "Why don't you apply to Berkeley? It has a great history department." I applied to Yale and Stanford and Harvard and Columbia. And I said, "I'm not one for getting involved in those kinds of things." Instead, I went to Columbia! I actually, I had a very good and interesting time in Columbia. One of the things about the Columbia program is they let you do what you wanted. There were very few requirements after the first year. And you took a lot of courses, just for credit. And you took writing seminars. And the person I chose to be my mentor was Richard Hofstadter, who was a great historian. Unfortunately, he died before I finished with him. And I also became his last research assistant. I really helped research and edit his last book. So, I had a privileged experience at Columbia. But I have to mention one thing, which I think is relevant to us. So far, I haven't talked about being a woman. So, let me tell you that he had invited me to lunch at the Faculty Club to celebrate after I took my orals (I took my orals with Hofstadter and a group of other men). And I sat at the Faculty Club and waited and waited and he was going to tell me if I had passed at lunch. I hadn't been told anything before I left. I just sat at the Faculty Club, I waited for about 40 minutes. And I thought, "Oh for sure, he's not coming." He and his wife, Bea Hofstadter, "They're not coming because I failed." I was completely terrified. Well, they finally arrived. And then he said, "Well, of course you passed." He said, "First thing I want you to do is go call your parents," which I did. And I went to call my parents. And then he said, "I want to tell you why it took us so long to get here." And he said, "It was because we had a long conversation about women in academia." About talented women and what would happen to them, and how they would manage to maintain both a professional life and a personal life." He was a very shrewd man, Hofstadter. "How they would maintain a professional life and also proceed to have families and have the kind of life that a man could expect to have as an academic." And so, my orals became the basis for this long conversation. It kept all these people there and unbeknownst to them, it kept me on tenterhooks.

Christina Maslach:

Oh my gosh. What a story. That's interesting.

Paula Fass:

So, I was fearless in a lot of ways. I was a very anxious child, given my parents' experience, but because of their experience, I was also quite fearless. I figured what can happen to me? What could happen to me that would be as terrible as what had happened to my parents, right? I mean I could get denied something, but I had lots of courage, including the courage to ask Richard Hofstadter to be my mentor. He was the most prestigious historian in the country at that point. It was fascinating because he was incredibly wonderful to me. And all the time I worked with him, he was sick from leukemia, from which he died at the age of 54. I never got to finish with him as a result.

Christina Maslach:
I didn't know that. Wow.

Paula Fass:
I used to go visit him in the hospital and bring flowers or sometimes to give blood. And the last time I saw him, which was the day before he died, he called me in because I had not seen him for some time. Hofstadter called me in, and he asked me how my work was going. So, I had a very unusual and privileged experience as a graduate student.

Christina Maslach:
Right. That's amazing.

Paula Fass:
It was. A lot of people asked after he died, several people asked if they could be my mentor, Eric McKittrick asked me, Bill Leuchtenberg asked me. A lot of people ask how they could help out because all his students were kind of dropped in the middle of our dissertations. So, I eventually worked with David Rothman, and that turned out to be a really good thing for me because it helped me to define myself as a social historian rather than as someone who did political culture, which is really what Richard Hofstadter did. I want to say one more thing about Richard Hofstadter, and I promise it won't take too long, but you can see how influential he was. He was a tremendous influence on my life. And in that first seminar, I took with him, he went around the room, and he asked, "What do you want to be working on?" I said, well I had written up an honors thesis at Barnard on Freudian influence on American literature and written a master's Thesis on A. A. Brill, the first American Freudian and Freud's first translator. And so, I said, I wanted to continue writing something about Freud and American culture. And he looked at me and he said, "You know what? I think you've done enough of that. I think it's time for you to start something else." And this was a man who himself was very interested in Freud, but he recognized that I should not just dwell, that I should move on. And I did.

Christina Maslach:
Forge a new path.

Paula Fass:
Yeah. So, he was great. By the time he died, I had already defined my thesis topic and I had already been working on it. But it took a different direction, once I worked with David Rothman. Much more of a social history direction. And that really was very important to my hiring actually, at Berkeley, which is why I'm telling you about this. But Berkeley was not my first job. After my five years of fellowship ran out, I said, "I need to find something." I was accustomed to supporting myself. And so, I found a listing for a job at Rutgers University over the river in New Jersey. And I had finished, at that point just two chapters of my dissertation, although I had done a good deal of the research. And so, I applied for the Rutgers job, and I was interviewed there by Phillip Greven, who happened to be very interested in psychoanalysis. Since my dissertation was very incomplete, I talked about my master's thesis and my undergraduate thesis. I didn't mean to talk at all about my dissertation, which was just in process, and he hired me on the spot. So, I started teaching at Rutgers when I was 24 years old, actually 25 once I started in 1972. And I had a terrific job at Rutgers. I loved my students; it gave me a lot of experience teaching. I had

never put courses together. And I was able, the summer before I started at Rutgers to finish writing most of my dissertation. I arrived at Rutgers, and I was a lecturer. I was technically a lecturer because I couldn't be in the professorial ranks not having finished my dissertation. I didn't defend my dissertation until the January of the next ...of that year (1974). But it was great. And I loved my job and I was able to visit my parents, practically every weekend. My parents were really important to me. I was important to them. And then out of the blue, I get an invitation to apply for a job, this is during my second year at Rutgers, to apply for a job at Berkeley. I had no plans for applying for jobs at that point.

Christina Maslach:
You had one.

Paula Fass:
Yes, I had a job. At Berkeley, this was in 1973. Berkeley, I now realize, because of affirmative action was looking to hire women. And because Natalie Davis, of course, was in the department, and they were looking for an American historian. And so, they actually wrote around to various people asking for recommendations of women in the field. I initially was not interested. But everyone at Rutgers said to me, "How can you not apply? It's the best history department in the country. How could you not?" I said "Okay. I'll apply." But I had no intention of actually going, and I thought I would never get the job anyway. By that point I had my whole dissertation, on youth culture in the 1920s (this became my first book, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s*). I sent them the dissertation. And then Winthrop Jordan, who was the chair of the search committee, called and said, "Oh, we'd like to meet you at the AHA (American Historical Association meeting)," which at the time was to meet in San Francisco. I said, "Well, I have no plans to go to AHA." He said, "Oh, okay." So luckily, I didn't go to the AHA, because the fact is, that if I had gone, I would probably have gotten lost among the many others being interviewed there. I mean how you just see one person after another in a small little room. I didn't go because I didn't need this job. Then he calls me, and he says, "Well, we'd like you to come out for an interview. We have three finalists and you're one of them. We've got to interview you." They called me out for February 1st. I have to remind you of how Februarys here can look with the trees in bloom and everything looking beautiful and being warm. I borrowed my mother's cashmere coat, got in a taxi to go to Kennedy Airport. The taxi slid the entire way because we had had an ice storm. The icicles were hanging from the trees, I get on the plane, and I land in Berkeley, 74 degrees. I called my mother and I said, "I'm in fairy land." I had never been to California. I had hardly been West of the Hudson River. I said, "I'm in fairy land, I can't believe I'm here." So, I had a really wonderful set of interviews with a whole group of different people who invited me to lunch and formal dinners. And I had this terrific dinner party at Winthrop Jordan's house. And before the dinner party, Natalie Davis says to me, "I will seat you next to Kenneth Stampf," who is the senior historian on the committee. He was a very distinguished historian of slavery, "and I want to make sure you have good conversation with him." So she was clueing me in that he was the person who needed to be persuaded.

So over the long run, Ken became one of my very best friends, and even after he retired, I used to have lunch with him regularly once a month. But at the time, again, he was one of those who needed coaxing. One of the reasons I had such a good set of interviews is I was utterly and completely relaxed.

Christina Maslach:

Because you didn't have to worry! That is a great setup.

Paula Fass:

It's the only way to have those interviews. If I had been nervous, if I had been anxious, I would've crumbled all over the place. Instead, I enjoyed myself. I enjoyed these people who eventually became my new colleagues, they really enjoyed me. I went back home, and I told my mother, and we discussed the whole thing. Then I went back to Rutgers, this was February. Everyone at Rutgers knew that I had come to Berkeley, not that I had told them, but those kinds of things leak out. Within a week I got a phone call from Winthrop Jordan saying that I was their candidate. I had gotten a unanimous vote of the committee. He kept me informed, and it was apparently unanimous in the department.

Christina Maslach:

Wow. That's wonderful.

Paula Fass:

Well as I say now, I realized they were looking for a woman and it turns out they were looking for someone who's doing social history, which I did not know at the time. So, having done a dissertation in social history and identifying myself as a social historian, I fulfilled both of their requirements. Very shortly after that I got a call from the chair of the department offering me the job and offering me a salary, which was the equivalent of what I was getting at Rutgers. And I said, well, I'm getting that at Rutgers already.

Christina Maslach:

Yes. I love it.

Paula Fass:

Where I got the, what we would call, chutzpah, I don't know. So, he came back to me, and said he'd had a conversation with the Dean and yes, they would raise my salary and it was agreeable. But then they sent me a letter of invitation from the Dean, and I sat on it and sat on it and sat on it. Well, because of my parents. I went home and I had a conversation with them about my going, and my father said, no, he said, that's so far away. My parents had never flown before. I had. I mean I'd gone to Europe, but they never had flown before. And he said, no, it's just too far. My mother sat there, and she said, she'd always been incredibly supportive of my career, incredibly supportive. She said, would this make a difference to you in your career? Is this going to be important to you? And I said, yes, I think it will. I mean, Rutgers is a good job, but a job at Berkeley is a job at Berkeley. It's considered the best that I could get. So, she looked at my father and she said to him, you know, there comes a time when the mother bird has to throw the baby bird out of the nest. She said this to my father, and he looked at her and he said, okay. She had also been the one who had convinced him that I should go to Barnard because it was better than going to Brooklyn College, which would have been the other local school. And even though he had to pay my tuition, which in my family was not an easy thing. My father was a small-scale businessman, but we lived very, very modestly. So, I said, okay. I said, if you say it's all right. The deadline for this letter was April 10th. This was April 2nd. So, and what I was subsequently

told by people at Berkeley was that they thought that I was trying to bargain or something, they had no idea that I literally couldn't figure out whether I should go because it was so far away. So I arrived, and everyone was extremely nice to me. Marcia Abrams, Richard Abram's wife had found me a sublet in Berkeley. And I was, I had an extraordinarily wonderful experience when I arrived except that I was very lonely. I mean, apart from my colleagues, of course, I didn't know anyone else except for the TAs. And I'm going to talk in a few minutes about my teaching experience. I did socialize actually quite a bit, both with my colleagues and with one of my TAs the one TA who was a woman, all the others were guys, my TAs were the albatross around my neck. Most of them were older than I was.

Christina Maslach:
Check. Yeah. I remember that.

Paula Fass:
Of the eight, only one was a woman. So, there was seven guys, and I was given an extremely heavy teaching load. We were still on the quarter system. I arrived in August of 1974. I was hired in 1974. I arrived in August 1974. And I had stupidly volunteered to Winthrop Jordan that I would be happy to teach the introductory class, which I had taught at Rutgers. At Rutgers, there were 40 people in my class. So, when I arrived in the History Department, and asked Libby Sayre, who at that point was the undergraduate advisor, why do I have TAs? And she said, oh, you don't know? And I said, know what? Do you have any idea how many people are in your class? And I said, no. There were 550 people in my class.

Christina Maslach:
Extra zero after the 40.

Paula Fass:
And she walked me to PSL, the Physical Sciences Laboratory Building, which is one lecture room, comprising the entire building, and I look in there, and I said, Oh my God. You know, I had kind of informal lectures all written out, but I gave them completely extemporaneously. I said, I'm supposed to teach in this class. So, it was August, luckily. We didn't start until the end of September when we were on the quarter system. So, I get myself all ready, using my older lecture material as the base and moving from there. I said to myself, well, if I'm going to be teaching a class with sections, I've got to figure out what's going on in the section. So, on top of my big lectures, three times a week, and my undergraduate seminar, I took one of the sections. So, I had three classes the first quarter that I taught. In December, I got very sick, and I fell apart. I was running a very high fever. I think I had lost something like 10 pounds. I was totally and completely exhausted. And you know how it happens that you kind of keep yourself up until you fall down. So, during Christmas I fell apart and I was running a 102 fever. I didn't have a doctor. I was absolutely depleted and exhausted. And at PSL, at the beginning of every lecture, there was this little play that took place because I walk back and forth when I lecture, I don't stand in front of a stable mike. A tech had to hook me up with the mike, I was hooked up with the mike through my dress or my skirt or my blouse, so that I could walk back and forth. And the students, the vast majority of whom had never had a female lecture in their lives would just find this hysterically funny that they would have to run the mike through my clothes. Luckily, I was as I told you, I was in some ways quite fearless. So, I gave these lectures, spending hours preparing

and memorizing. They were very good lectures. I got very good reviews. But at the end of that semester, I also realized that I really was the first female lecturer many of these people had ever seen. My evaluations said things like I've been wanting to ask you out since the beginning of the semester.

Christina Maslach:
Yes, yes. Me too.

Paula Fass:
So you know! You have a young female lecturer up there. They don't know what to do. Or some of my female students responded by saying "I love your clothes and your jewelry." "You remind me of Jackie Kennedy." I was a New Yorker. I dressed very differently than their California cohort. So, I had these very interesting evaluations from undergraduates, but they were not my problem. They were just out of sync. They needed to learn about women as professors. By the second time I gave the lecture course, it was better. I was fine. I knew how to parry those kinds of things. My TAs, however, were a royal pain. I was a social historian and many of them were political historians. Social history at the time was just making its entrance and required legitimacy. And there was quite a bit of conflict within the department among the faculty about whether social history was worthwhile and that was carried over to some of the graduate students. So, I would be teaching my class, the introductory US class with a social history spin. Teaching about the society and the culture and gender and sexuality, and things like that. And they would ask questions, trying to trip me up on political questions as if, because I was doing social history, I would not know the political history. But, of course, I learned political history for my orals. So, they'd ask me, and so tell us about the Wilmot Proviso and they would literally raise their hands in the middle of a sentence and ask questions with no relevance, just to trip me up.

Christina Maslach:
Wow, in your class? I've never heard that, yeah.

Paula Fass:
Subsequently, I've gotten letters from these TAs apologizing for their behavior.

Christina Maslach:
Oh wow. Well at least you had that, that was good. Amazing. Okay.

Paula Fass:
They were very difficult. Okay, they were jealous, they were sexist, they were totally not used to having a woman teach to them or supervise them in any way. And in most cases, they were older than I was.

Christina Maslach:
That's, I had that same thing, right. Because you've left graduate school with your doctorate. It's literally...

Paula Fass:

And they're your TA.

Christina Maslach:
Yes, yes.

Paula Fass:

So that was really my rough experience. Not my colleagues. Natalie of course was wonderful. She immediately invited me out to lunch at Chez Panisse. But my male colleagues were wonderful, too. I got more invitations to lunch and more kindness and courtesy, than I had any reason to expect frankly, and Ken Stampp and his wife invited me to Christmas dinner. I mean, here I was alone and they were remarkable, really remarkable. I have nothing but good things to say about the vast majority of my colleagues, I won't say all of them, okay? But the vast majority of my colleagues were really decent, really decent. There was one issue in the department, which I learned about after I arrived. There was a guy in the department whose name was James Kettner, who was teaching colonial history. And he was very good. And he was a political historian. He had been hired as a temporary hire. And I think that when they tried to hire me, initially, some people wanted to hire him on a permanent basis but after I came, they managed to work it out. So, they got another position and hired Jim two years later. Once we were both regular faculty, the whole question of political history versus social history got worked out and we were both represented. And Jim, and I were very good friends. I mean he was a very nice guy. And so that issue which was really about the nature of the kind of history that you studied, became a non-issue, after a while. Although, initially, as I say, it was an issue and Natalie in her interview with us talked about that as well, that there were a whole group of people in the department who wanted to do the newer kinds of history, private history, the history of small places, the history of ordinary people not included before. And I did that. My dissertation, and the subject of my first book, was a history of youth culture in the United States, in the 1920s (*The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s*). So, on the one hand, a lot of people were looking for a social historian and that helped me; on the other, whatever reservation there was initially, was about that rather than about me.

Christina Maslach:
Right, I got it.

Paula Fass:

And it took me a little while to figure that out, it took me a couple of years. And then I realized what happened, what was going on there. I came up early for tenure, because I had had teaching experience before I came to Berkeley, and I had a book in press. Earlier than my male colleagues. My tenure decision was uncontested and unanimous. So, I did not have that problem. Subsequently, I realized that over time my male colleagues were being promoted and given merits faster than I was. So, it's not all without issues, you know? Over time, nobody talked about what their salaries were. But when you did find out certain kinds of things, you realized that the men, even though you had a better teaching record, the same number of publications at least, were actually being promoted more quickly.

Christina Maslach:
Yeah. And that data for the university has shown that is true across a lot of departments,

certainly in mine and others, yeah.

Paula Fass:

Yes, yes. Now eventually I had children, and maybe that became part of what was going on, but I don't know. I don't know. All I know is that in the long-term others did get promoted faster than I did. Not for my promotion to full professor that was uncontested. It was the movement within ranks that I think was not completely equitable.

Now I want to talk about one more thing before I move on to teaching. It's the combination of the conflict between my coming here and my family. And it's also a sign of how wonderful my colleagues were to me. The most difficult experience of my life was when my mother developed incurable and untreatable cancer. And it happened in the third year that I was here. So, I was not 30 years old yet and she developed an untreatable cancer. I was there at the time when she had the surgery because I was on leave that year on a Rockefeller Fellowship, and my book had just been published. And she had my book under her pillow to show everyone who walked into her hospital room about her daughter's book. And I was in despair. I had to go back and finish my classes at that point. And I did. And then I went back and spent the summer with my mother in the house taking care of her. This was before hospice and my father refused to let her go back to the hospital. And my father also refused to tell her that she had cancer.

Christina Maslach:

She didn't know?

Paula Fass:

No. It was an extremely difficult time and we needed to start the fall semester. And so, I flew back to Berkeley. She had cancer of the bile duct by the way, which is very rare, very unusual and very incurable still. And she was 67 years old.

Christina Maslach:

Oh my God, wow.

Paula Fass:

I mean my mother and I were very close, and here I had separated myself from her by 3000 miles. I needed to teach in the fall. So, I began teaching and I would fly back to New York on Thursday night and spend Thursday through Monday mornings; return to Berkeley Monday evening, teach Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and fly back to New York. I did that for three weeks. And my chair, Robert Middlekauff found out what I was doing, and called me into his office. And he said, you cannot do that. That's not possible. So, I said that I have to be there with my mother. And he said, yes, you do. And therefore, I'm giving you a leave of absence. He said, we will figure out how to deal with your classes. I said, well, one of my classes is a graduate seminar. And I said, I can do that on the phone with my students. And he said, okay. Especially since in a graduate research seminar, after the first several weeks, it usually disbands as a class and students do their own work. And then they just confer with you until the end when we meet together as a class to discuss each of the papers.

So Bob said okay, I'll let you do that. But you're not to teach the lecture course. And we'll get

someone in there to teach the lecture course for you. That's the kind of people that were in that department. So I went back and I stayed with my mother until she died in February, though I did make short trips to Berkeley for my own mental health to get away briefly from my mother's illness. During those short trips, my colleagues took care of me, brought me to their homes for dinner and kept me sane.

Christina Maslach:
Oh my gosh, Paula, wow.

Paula Fass:
She died in February. Her birthday was February 1st, she died on February 2nd. But there's one more piece to this. Because of the situation was so tense, I flew back to go back to my apartment here in Berkeley. And I just stayed there and met with my graduate students. Then in the middle of the night on January 31 my father called me and said, you've got to come back right away. So, I took the first plane out. Diane Clemens, my colleague took me to the airport at 5 in the morning for a 6:30 plane, the earliest plane in the morning. She took me to the airport, put me on the plane. I did not know during the entire plane trip back whether my mother was still alive. I walk in and my mother looked at me for the last time and it seems as if she were waiting for me to return before she could leave. She says to me, these are her exact words. "Oh, Paula your voice is like honey, your life should be so sweet." And she died that night. I told you it was an unbelievably wrenching experience. And as you might imagine, my sense of feeling guilty about having abandoned her, was pretty acute for a long time.

Christina Maslach:
Wow. Oh, Paula. I had no idea.

Paula Fass:
She died within four years of my leaving. So, I had this really bitter and sweet initial Berkeley experience. One more thing I didn't tell, while I was there taking care of my mother, the department voted my tenure. I have a very unusual story to tell. And I got phone calls at my parents' house from, it must've been 25 people who called to congratulate me. I knew they were putting me up for tenure but not exactly when. They always put people up through tenure in the fall and I was at home that fall.

Christina Maslach:
But if you remember, there have been one or two people where the tenure process was like almost secret and then they got told and hadn't realized that in fact. So, you did know...

Paula Fass:
I knew sufficiently so that I ordered 50 copies of my book and had one of my colleagues distribute them into the mailboxes. Imagine my mother's joy knowing that I had gotten tenure at that point, it was a good thing, actually that it happened when it did. And I was very fortunate. It was, uncontested in the department. At the same time, it took forever to go through the university. And we'll never know why, but we've become accustomed to that now. But I was back in Berkeley. My mother died in February. I was back by March. I was back in Berkeley, waiting and waiting and waiting for the word from the Dean, nothing came. And at that point,

Bob Middlekauff and Bob Brentano, who was taking over as chair, would come to me practically every week and say, Oh, don't worry, Paula. This is just routine. Just to reassure me. Now, I don't know if it was routine, to be honest with you. I don't know if there was someone on my ad hoc committee who was holding things up, I simply don't know. I could find out but I don't want to. Today we would get a report from the ad hoc, et cetera. But then of course it was completely secret. I did not find out from the Dean until the end of May. And my department had voted in the fall, I think it was in October. But the outgoing chairman and the ingoing chairman, the two Bobs, were basically holding my hands and telling me not to worry. So, I was very lucky.

Christina Maslach:

I can see that, that's great. But you know, what was interesting, just as a little side note, when I at one point was working for Carol Christ as the faculty assistant, on the status of women, and there would be a times where I'd be having to go through and read files and stuff like that, and you would see that there would be things that would delay the ad hoc because it took forever to get the third person on the committee. I kept thinking -- people are waiting out there and this is dragging on for totally irrelevant reasons. I worried about that at the time.

Christina Maslach:

Yeah, because this was somebody that you or anybody could go to confidentially, and just say, "I'm concerned about this or what the hell is happening?" Or whatever.

Paula Fass:

They were. I was, as I say, lucky to have had those two Bobs who were there for me. So, let me say that was the year I also met my husband.

Christina Maslach:

Oh, okay. And how did that come about?

Paula Fass:

Yes. Well, the history department, including Natalie Davis, interviewed candidates to do the History of Biology—a new position for the History Department, and that person turned out to be John Lesch, my husband. So, he was hired by the history department before I knew him. I knew nothing about him because I was away taking care of my mother at the time this was happening. In fact, he never came for an interview because he was in Jerusalem at the time, finishing his dissertation and working for the American Friends Service Committee. But Natalie was in Jerusalem; she interviewed him. So she was the only one who actually met him in person.

Christina Maslach:

Oh, I see. Got it.

Paula Fass:

So Natalie had interviewed both of us. She interviewed me and she interviewed my husband. I didn't know Jack at the time. So, he was hired in the History Department and I met him in the fall once he came and I was back from New York. I was his senior colleague. He was still an Assistant Professor. And I had just been promoted to Associate Professor by the department. And we became friends. In many ways he was like I had been when I first came out. If I was a lost

soul when I first arrived, he was a lost soul when he first arrived. He had just come from Jerusalem where he had spent two and a half years. It was like being plopped onto Mars, from Jerusalem to Berkeley. I was there to help him to adapt. Kind of the way my colleagues had helped me, I tried to help him. So, we became friends. We went to the movies; we went out to dinner. I mean, we were really just friendly colleagues for about six months, and then we realized that there was something between us that was more than friends. I was very nervous about it. Very nervous about it for several reasons. One is that Jack's not Jewish, and in my household, given my parents' experience, that was a no-no. And he was my colleague. I had been very careful never to go out with colleagues. I was very professional, and I was not going to have anything like that hanging over my head. No way. So, we started dating and it was completely hush-hush. We did not want anybody to know about it. We never went out on dates in Berkeley. We'd go to San Francisco hoping no one would spot us. In San Francisco... But even so, by that point in time, I had taught 2000 to 3000 students in my introductory classes, so no matter where we went in San Francisco, somebody recognized me, but we never ran into colleagues.

Christina Maslach:
Somebody would know. "Oh, hello."

Paula Fass:
I met people in the New York subways. I have met people in the Paris Metro. I have met people I taught in my classes everywhere. Students were one thing. We spent a year and then we finally moved in together, but he kept his apartment and we kept two landlines. We didn't want anyone to know. And we were so good at it actually, that there were subsequently new hires who never knew that we were married to each other. Once the fact that we were together was public, some people were taking bets in the department, about how long this would last, which was one of the very things I was afraid of. What I was afraid of was that we would go out with each other. I had tenure. We would break up and it would cause a problem for him.

Christina Maslach:
Right. I was going to say that. Yeah.

Paula Fass:
And so, that was why we were very careful. And after we were married, people took bets on how long it would last. Well, I want to say to everyone, my husband Jack Lesch and I, have been married for 40 years.

Christina Maslach:
Bravo congratulations! Good for you. And he got tenure, I assume?

Paula Fass:
Tenure eventually, yes he did get tenure. His tenure came after our daughter was born. Of course, I was completely not involved in decisions about his career, never got any of the reports, did not know when the meetings were or who was on his committee. We tried to very careful not to allow our marriage to influence decisions about either of us.

I was the first woman to be pregnant in the History Department. The first faculty person to be pregnant in the department. And I've had a very, I won't say difficult pregnancy, but I was physically nauseated for four and a half months, and I was teaching.

Christina Maslach:

And you were teaching... Yeah. Okay.

Paula Fass:

And I was teaching. So one of my colleagues offered to change classrooms with me because I needed the bathroom, and the classroom I was in was far from the bathroom and so he said, "Well, why don't you take my room and I'll take your room, then you'll be closer to the bathroom." Well, it turns out that even though I was tremendously nauseated and Jack would pick me up after my lecture with a pot in the car, I never, ever had to go to the bathroom. You know, the adrenaline starts going when you're teaching...

Christina Maslach:

Yeah, I know.

Paula Fass:

... and you just go through it. You just get through it. At any rate, so she was born, and everybody came with a gift, and with the gift and the lovely visits came their germs too. My daughter, Bluma (named after my mother) whom we call Bibi, got sick within two weeks. Well, everybody in the department wanted to meet her. She was a very special child. She was born to two people in the department.

Christina Maslach:

Yeah, that's true. Wow. Okay.

Paula:

So, everyone did meet her and she wound up...almost in the hospital. She had repeated colds. She's a very vigorous girl now. She's 5' 8", she runs the marathon; has done seven marathons. She's very vigorous. But at the time, she caught everything. And I had maternity leave only because Bob Middlekauff was once again chair. At the time there was, of course, no maternity leave policy, and when he knew I was pregnant, he called me in and he said, "Okay, Paula. I'd like to arrange for your maternity leave." And I said, "Bob, I'm not sure I'm going to need it." I'm the first woman to do this and I've got to uphold all womanhood and demonstrate that I can do it just like my male colleagues. Idiotic. I mean, this just goes to show you what happens in this pioneering generation. We had no models for so many important matters.

Christina Maslach:

Yeah, yeah. Absolutely.

Paula Fass:

So, he gave me, at that point, it was one quarter; we were still on the quarter system. My daughter was born October 8th and I had to go back to teaching in early January. That was pretty tough. You had a very hard time getting childcare. It was a good thing Jack was an academic too.

I mean, we used to pass her to each other, like a football in the parking lot. We would never teach on the same day, in case she was sick or our childcare person didn't come (which happened often). And in case one of us had to be there, it was actually pretty rough. I have to say, at the time. If I had been wise enough I would have asked Bob Middlekauff for another quarter. He'd happily have given it to me.

Christina Maslach:

Yeah. It's interesting because I mirror your experience in many ways. It's really interesting, only Phil and I were at Stanford and Berkeley. So we couldn't pass off the baby in the parking lot. But we did try to work out alternate "flex" days, when one of us could stay at home, if necessary.

Paula Fass:

Nursing was practically impossible. Between the timing issues and nobody froze milk at that time, between timing and the tension of teaching and research, that was practically impossible. But I have no regrets and, as I say, I'm very fortunate. We did wait a long time to have another child though. I'd basically decided that I just couldn't do it. I mean, I was delaying writing my second book (*Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education*). Everything was getting delayed. Oh, one more thing I have to say that had to do with my pregnancy...I was going to New York to do some research at New York public schools at that time. I was writing one of my chapters for this second book, it was about ethnicity in New York public schools in the 1930s and 1940s. In order to do my research, I was going on the subway very pregnant and sometimes when I went to some of the Bronx schools... some of the most dangerous places in New York, because that's where you got the yearbooks I was using as my sources (in the schools themselves), I was pretty much the only person on the train after a while. I mean, this is just to show everybody how devoted we are as scholars. This is during the pregnancy. By then, I had gotten over my nausea, but I was very pregnant. I went back to New York on my own and did research et cetera, et cetera. So, you know, we don't give up on the work that we do and I was very keen to get this second book out and I said, "I just didn't see how I was going to manage to do that if we were going to have another child." So, we waited and waited and then when I turned 39, Jack said, "Well, if we're going to have another child it's now or never." So, I had almost, but not quite finished my book... But I said "Now." So, we proceeded to have our son, Charlie.

Christina Maslach:

What is the age difference?

Paula Fass:

There's almost six years between them. We waited quite a long time. In terms of Charlie, I was on a major committee appointed by the Chancellor to examine undergraduate education at Berkeley. I had been getting involved in all kinds of administrative things by this time. I was twice the vice-chairman of my department. That was actually a very good thing for me. I got to know my colleagues very well because I was vice-chair for curriculum. I had that too.

Christina:

Yes. Okay, whoo! We're like...

Paula Fass:

Wow, such a parallel Christina, such a parallel. And you know how you had to persuade your colleagues to do certain kinds of courses, I became very good at that. And Bob Middlekauff very much wanted me to do university committees because he knew this was important for promotions and tenure, and so I got on several of the university committees including the one on teaching?

Christina Maslach:

Yeah, there was one on teaching.

Paula Fass:

Then I was elected to Divco, two times. But the time I was pregnant with Charlie, I was on a major committee that was appointed to examine undergraduate education. It was the Swanson Committee.

It was a very significant committee and we continued beyond the end of the semester. By the end of May, I was nine months pregnant and getting very close to my due date, and I had not missed a single one of those meetings. I was not there at the meeting on June 2nd because Charlie was born that morning. So, you know, we kept up our teaching. I was teaching to the bitter end. We kept up our administrative work. We kept up our scholarship. I mean we did all of these things, not just as women, but as pregnant women. This was at the time, and as you know well, when no provisions made for that. There were no provisions made. I had already had tenure. I had tenure before I got married, so that was not an issue. No provisions for promotions or anything that take time off for matters relating to children, none of that existed. So, I think our cohort really had a tough time, but it toughened us up too. I mean, we did what we had to do and we showed our senior colleagues as we planned to show them, that we could do it just as they did it. Now, the fact is we came home and yelled and screamed, there's no dinner on the table, the laundry's not done. But we did it, right? We did. It came out of our hides. Now, I have to say I had extremely helpful colleagues from the colleagues who held my hand and said, "It's going to be okay," male colleagues, and colleagues who gave me their lecture rooms next to the bathroom when I was pregnant. These were good people. I think individually, they understood that we had a more difficult time than they did. That it was harder for women. Even though the institution itself hadn't yet made provisions for it.

Christina Maslach:

Right. And, I think that's an important point, and actually a theme that we've heard from several of our other interviews. And it was just great to say that there would be a colleague and it might be the department chair, it might be whatever, who recognized that you really were entitled to finish this book or do this other kind of thing. If you remember, we interviewed somebody who said that the department chair gave her a leave so that she could go and finish it, and she was...tears going down her face as she talked about it. And it wasn't that she had gone begging and pleading whatever, he realized...

Paula Fass:

No. Exactly. I think that we realized at the time that we were conspicuous. That we would be noticed. That people were watching us, and that we were going to demonstrate that we were not

weak, that we were not stupid and that we could do it, and we were doing it in a sense whether we knew it consciously or not, on behalf of other women who would come after us I think. And there were colleagues who also saw that. They saw that and they were helpful. Some of them were women like Natalie, or like Diane who took me to the airport. The two women who were here when I arrived, Natalie and Diane, had come with tenure and had their children before they came.

Christina Maslach:

Oh, I didn't know that. Okay, so that was not part of their...

Paula Fass:

I'm the first woman to be tenured in the department. I was the first woman to come up and to be tenured. It's a sign of the nature of my department that I got a unanimous tenure vote. I mean, it's really a tribute to them.

Christina Maslach:

Yeah. That's wonderful to hear.

Paula Fass:

And, I want to acknowledge that and I really, really feel that it needs to be acknowledged, that it was certain departments who made it possible, and other departments that did not. And that's just the truth. The University of California, as we know, is a department place. You live in a department.

Christina Maslach:

You do, you do.

Paula Fass:

The departments are very powerful. I mean, we do have an ad hoc committee and deans, but the departments are very powerful. And so, department by department, there could be tremendous variations in the experience that some of these first women had. Immense variations. And I lived in that department I'd say for about 20 years... and then I decided I needed other things besides the department. That's when I discovered this interdisciplinary group on family and children, with Philip Cowen and Mary Ann Mason, David Kirp, and Steven Sugarman, even Janet Yellen was in it at first. So they're in the law school, the social welfare school, the public policy school, the Psychology Department, business. This then became another home for me. Berkeley's an enormously rich place. And a lot of that then helped me in the new research that I did and in defining the topics that I wanted to research. One of the questions we ask in our interviews is, did my research change over time? And I've been thinking about that and it's certainly the case that when I first came, it did not influence my research at all. I proceeded to do a second book, I think to my regret, on a topic that I had brought in with me, that I had brought in my head with me. It was a topic, as I said, on minorities and schooling. It was a very complicated, difficult project. Took me a while to realize also, that at the University of California at Berkeley, education is not highly regarded. Studying education is not highly regarded

Christina Maslach:

Yeah. Okay. I see what you're saying.

Paula Fass:

Now, I regarded it highly and it was one of the great influences in my own life, but... And after I had been promoted to full professor, and after I got involved in the Berkeley Family Forum, which is what it was called, and we wrote articles for collective books we did together, I then began to realize that what I really wanted to work on was the history of childhood, and I would not have really done that I think if I hadn't had this other group as well and if Berkeley were not the kind of place that lets you innovate. And I became one of the first historians to emphasize childhood as a new specialty in history and I helped to found a new society and a journal in this area. I was the one of the first presidents of the Society for the History of Children and Youth and they now have an article prize named for me. My foundational work in children's history has also brought me a lot of attention in Europe, where I was awarded an Honorary Doctor of Philosophy in Sweden. I was also Department of State Lecturer in Italy and lectured widely there. Because this field has become identified with me and the work I have done (editing an encyclopedia on children and childhood and several books that look at the field as a whole), I have received lots of invitations to lecture outside of history to psychiatrists and social welfare professionals and law groups, and I have been widely interviewed in the press, on television and on the radio. Because the history of childhood didn't exist, and in a sense it took people like me, who were coming from this very interdisciplinary perspective to begin to say, "Why doesn't it exist? What can't we do in history? We've done the history of women. Why can't we do the history of children?" And, I'm sure that eyebrows were raised. What in the world does she think she's doing? In fact, my best evidence for that and I think that'll be the last thing that I say, I know that Carl Degler was a very important influence in Mary Ann Mason's life. He was there for her at Vassar, and he was there when she came here and he was at Stanford. I got to know Carl Degler too, because he had worked on family history.

Christina Maslach:

Oh, interesting. Okay.

Paula Fass:

And so I had gotten to know him. When I told him that I was going to write a history of child kidnapping in the United States, because it was an important contemporary issue and I myself was caught up in the fears about child abduction in the 1980s, and I thought there was an important story about how we think about children there. Where did the fear come from? Are there other stories of kidnapping and how are they connected? He said to me, "That's not history." So, on the one hand, he could be very supportive and on the other hand, like others he could be intolerant of new directions in historical work. I did it anyway (the book is *Kidnapped: Child Abduction in America*). It is certainly an unusual kind of history, but it speaks to real issues and real people and reaches out to a larger public than the secluded historians in academia. It is far from the history of citizenship and the history of the Civil War, but it is deeply part of the experiences of ordinary people and it needs to be understood in the context of important modern phenomena like the media, parenting, policing, etc. To this day there are younger colleagues in my department who still don't think that social history matters.

Christina Maslach:
Oh my gosh.

Paula Fass:
Natalie understood this, she talked about it in her interview, that movement away from traditional diplomatic, political, economic history has taken a half century and, you know, while it's become in some ways the dominant thing, some still scoff at it in the profession, and yet it's still a battle that needs to be fought again and again.

Christina Maslach:
I think it's going to be a theme that characterizes that cohort because you just think of a number of other people, like Meg Conkey in Anthropology and the work that she's doing, not about the men in the caves, but outside of it, and all the things that were going on. So, I mean, I'm hearing what you're saying. And I think there are parallels actually, that will emerge from some of the others, which really says this last half century, and the women who were coming in at the beginning of it, are in different ways, bringing in those pieces to really say, "Let's rethink how we look at life and human beings and what they do." So I love it. I love it.

Paula Fass:
What's worth learning, and what's worth teaching? See, I think that on some level, African American history has had a much easier time being incorporated and now it's become highly important. This was, in fact a battle that Richard Hofstadter and Kenneth Stampp had to fight. These were very early, early pioneers in that, that was then carried forward by people like Leon Litwack and Larry Levine. They have had an easier time being legitimated than women's history, or children's history. It is interesting that, somehow, the things that women have done in the past (or the present) are not worthy of note, they are of lesser value.

Christina Maslach:
It's just amazing. Oh my gosh. Wow. Okay. Thinking of a lot of things we've got to write about this and all, after all these interviews.

Paula Fass:
Yes, well this is a good rehearsal.

Christina Maslach:
But your examples, and your own experience on this are really important and telling, I think... Okay. This is good. You have pretty much covered all our topics. I can't think of anything that is missing in some sense, but are there any other particular moments or events or experiences that you'd want to talk about or add to this?

Paula Fass:
It's interesting that, since I talked a lot about a lot of intimate things -- my mother, my pregnancies and my husband -- I am not sure that I have anything more to say. I will say this -- when I came in, the university cohort of new young hires would decline, radically. I mean, we can trace hirings over time. And we've done that. I do think that that small cohort that came in, of which women were a substantial number, I think created certain kinds of resentments. Not

among the senior colleagues, but potentially among the men in our own cohort and later. The sense that, somehow these women were taking jobs away from men. Okay, now, if there had been expanded hiring, I think it wouldn't have been as much of a problem. But it was because there was a shrinking number of hires that had taken place. This was...I came in, in '74. Between '74 and '80, it was difficult times at the university. The first incarnation of Jerry Brown, as governor. He really turned his back on the university and the university was getting less and less money and having more and more difficult times. And hiring fewer and fewer people. And after a while there were hiring freezes. So, because women were prioritized for hiring at this difficult time of shrinking resources, I think there were certain resentments that were created.

Christina Maslach:

Some of that right there. That's interesting, yeah.

Paula Fass:

Okay. That, here we are, we don't have all that many opportunities. And here come these women and they're taking our places.

Christina Maslach:

It's like Arlie's [Hochschild] point about people feeling like you're not taking your turn. You're getting ahead in the line. You're cutting in, getting your ticket to the movie first because somebody... kind of thing.

Paula Fass:

That's it. So, I think, if I had anything to comment, I think it's that. And I think that has had lingering consequences. Well, I think those men, still... Those men and those men who were hired, subsequently, often still feel some resentment against women.

Christina Maslach:

Oh. Interesting. I hadn't thought about that so...

Paula Fass:

In a sense, I have had the inverse experience. Where the older men, not the old, old men, but the older men in the department, were very welcoming. And when you showed your bona fides and that you could carry your weight, they were absolutely there as your colleagues. But sometimes some of the younger people imagine that you got in there because you went to the head of the line and you got in only because you were a woman. Instead of understanding how hard we had it, how much more we had to prove, and how difficult it was to show that we could have babies, and we could have lives, and we could be scholars and teachers and administrators. I don't think they... I'm not sure that's appreciated, is what I'm going to say.

Christina Maslach:

Well, thank you. Thank you. I think you've done a great interview.

Paula Fass:

Can I say one more thing, actually? I just looked at the list.

Commented [PFI]: Keep what follows

Christina Maslach:
Okay. What did we not...?

Paula Fass:
I have to say, that my presence in the department made a very large difference to female graduate students. I really do, honestly.

Christina Maslach:
Do talk about that.

Paula Fass:
I had both male and female graduate students, lots of both (more than many of my colleagues), but I had a lot of female graduate students. And I think they knew they could come to me and that I would understand what they were going through, and that they could confide in me. And in some ways I gave them permission to do things in their lives beyond scholarship, and I had several students who were subsequently very successful scholars and academics, but also had permission to go ahead and have babies.

Christina Maslach:
Yeah, yeah.

Paula Fass:
And continue their professional movement. And they've done exactly that. Whereas I think before, before our cohort was there, before I had children, before I served in that capacity, many of those women graduate students who decided to have children, would have fallen away. They would've dropped out. And so, I do think that it's made a difference and this is related, even to Mary Ann's work about how having children matters, and a lot of those graduate students would have dropped out. And it circles back to Richard Hofstadter's conversation, after my orals—how can women have satisfying and important roles both in research and teaching at the university and in their private lives. I'll just put it this way...what did talented, ambitious women do? Do they set aside everything else in their lives to pursue their talents and their ambitions? In a sense, he didn't put it that way, but that is what he was asking. And he understood it, as my graduate students understand it. And having us there, having people like us there has made a huge difference to those women. My undergraduate students understood that too. In the 1990s, I was often invited to sororities to talk about just this thing—how can women make it and also have families. That's the note I want to end on.

END.