



Notes on Pembroke Center's History: 1981–2011

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Introduction

I trust that a proper history of Brown University's Pembroke Center will be written one day. The Center's history is part of the story of the extraordinary intellectual and political transformations that took place between the late 1960s and 1990s that profoundly changed American universities and colleges. These transformations were due in part to an improbable convergence of two historical phenomena: on the one hand, the largely North American movements for social change—beginning in the US with the Civil Rights movement, the anti-war movement, and feminism—and, on the other, the European intellectual revolutions represented by structuralism and poststructuralism. Both represented deep challenges to traditional foundations of politics and knowledge, and both led to significant changes in US higher education.

The Pembroke Center's contributions to these changes—within Brown and well beyond—merit historical attention that these notes cannot provide. I am neither an historian nor do I have the objectivity that a serious history would require. Since my own work is thoroughly entangled with that of the Center, from its founding through my retirement as director in 2010, I hope to offer a particular perspective on the Center's formation and development that might be of interest to future historical assessments.¹

Institutional Context

There is no question in my mind but that the unique character and success of the Pembroke Center are connected to the uniqueness of Brown University. When the Center was founded in 1981, its way had been prepared in the preceding decade by the following factors in particular.

¹ Indeed, my academic life has been closely tied to Brown. I taught French language and literature as a graduate TA in the late 1960s and received my PhD in French Studies in 1973. After teaching for a time at Wheaton College, I returned to Brown as director of the Sarah Doyle Center in 1977. I was founding associate director of the Pembroke Center in 1981 and worked at the Center as associate director (as acting director on several occasions) and as director of the Women's Studies (later Gender Studies) concentration until 2000. I was director of the Center between 2000 and 2010. I regularly taught two courses a year as an adjunct faculty member, first in Women's/Gender Studies, later in Modern Culture and Media. In 1981, I was founding co-editor with Naomi Schor of *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, a journal published by Duke University Press that is housed at Brown and that I continue to co-edit with Ellen Rooney.

Brown's "New Curriculum"

Like many institutions in the late 1960s, Brown reformed its undergraduate curriculum in response to far-ranging concerns about the relationships of academic learning to questions of social justice, of democratic governance, of war and peace. Unlike that of most other institutions, Brown's reformed curriculum of 1969 was so well conceived, so smart in the structural mechanisms it provided for the fostering of liberal learning, that more than forty years later it remains the "New Curriculum" for undergraduate education.² The curricular changes brought dramatic results: Brown became highly competitive among undergraduates, and the institution became known as a place for exciting intellectual work. The University had embraced a powerful idea—the idea that guided the "Modes of Thought" courses so important to the New Curriculum: that *how* we know, *how* we think, is no less important than *what* we know.



Students using the Pembroke Library on the third floor of Pembroke Hall.

The Merger of Pembroke College

In 1971, Pembroke College, the coordinate women's college of Brown University, merged fully with the men's college. The first women were admitted to the Women's College in Brown University in 1891; in 1928, the name was changed to Pembroke College. Pembroke had its own buildings, administration, and admissions office, its own student governance and newspaper, its own yearbook and alumnae organization. With a smaller student body than the men's college, it was more selective and enjoyed a strong academic reputation. The merger with the men's college

gradually resulted in equity for women in terms of numbers, but this took time, and the decade of the 1970s, in particular, was a period of challenging transition. The Majority Report on the merger recommended the merging

² This success is thanks to successive generations of enlightened administrators, faculty, and students who knew how to adapt the original reforms to meet changing academic needs and interests. Karen Romer, longtime Associate Dean of the College, and Katherine Bergeron, current Dean of the College, stand out in this regard.

of all College offices, the increase of the number of women students to a one to one ratio with men, an increase in the number of women faculty, and the establishment of a women's center "to be charged with the development of special programs for women . . . [and to] act as a research center and data bank for the special problems of women in society." There was also a Minority Report signed by, among others, Rosemary Pierrel, dean of Pembroke College, and Sophie Blistein '41, president of the Pembroke Alumnae Association. The signatories of this report were wary of the University's commitment to women's interests and recommended further study. As time went on, those working to improve the situation for women were able to draw on both reports in order to achieve their goals.³

Post-Merger Feminist Activities

Administrators Karen Romer and Kay Hall, hired in 1972 and 1973 respectively, put together a group of faculty, administrators, and students under the name of the Working Group on the Status of Women. Thanks to this dynamic group of people, the Sarah Doyle Women's Center was established in 1975, named for Sarah Elizabeth Doyle, a Providence high school principal who chaired the committee that raised the funds to build Pembroke Hall, dedicated in 1897.⁴ The Center immediately became the focal point for women's concerns at the University.

The Group also worked to revive and fully fund the Nancy Duke Lewis Chair. Established with a small bequest left by Lewis, dean of Pembroke College (1950–61), the chair had been held by one faculty member, Rosalie Colie, chair of Comparative Literature, who died in 1972. The University first agreed to the Group's proposal to bring distinguished feminist scholars to occupy the chair on a visiting basis, and then, in 1979, agreed to conduct a search for a senior feminist scholar to occupy the chair on a full-

³ For further details, see *The Search for Equity: Women at Brown University, 1891-1991*, ed. Polly Welts Kaufman, Brown University Press, 1991. For the earlier years, see Grace E. Hawk, *Pembroke College in Brown University, the First Seventy-Five years, 1891-1966*, Brown University Press, 1967. The Kaufman book was initiated by the Center and funded by the University on the occasion of the one-hundredth anniversary of the admission of women to Brown. Polly Welts Kaufman '51 was a charter member of the Pembroke Center Associates and the Associates Council. All documents cited in these notes are also available in the Farnham Archives, which include the Pembroke Center's historical documents.

⁴ Pembroke Hall was named after Roger Williams's college at Cambridge University, Pembroke College, founded by Mary de St. Pol, Countess of Pembroke.



Nancy Duke Lewis

time basis in conjunction with a departmental appointment. In 1980, Joan Wallach Scott was appointed Nancy Duke Lewis professor and professor of History and a year later became the founding director of the Pembroke Center. Ruth Harris Wolf '41 led the committee charged with completing the endowment of the chair.

At the same time, there was growing interest in women's studies at Brown. Biologist Anne Fausto Sterling and anthropologist Louise Lamphere offered Brown's first women's studies courses in the early 1970s. As the number of feminist faculty and

courses grew, there were increasing numbers of independent undergraduate concentrations in women's studies, allowing for the establishment of the Women's Studies concentration in 1981.

The Consent Decree

Although the Majority Report on the merger recommended increasing the number of women on the Brown faculty, little was achieved until the settlement of a class action lawsuit that Louise Lamphere, joined by other women faculty, brought against the University.⁵ Denied tenure by the Anthropology department, Lamphere charged the University with systemic discrimination against women. In 1977, the suit was settled out of court by means of a consent decree that mandated percentages and timetables for the hiring and tenuring of women faculty.⁶

Theoretical Pioneers at Brown

Along with important advances in women's studies curricula, Brown launched one of the first programs in the US to reflect the radical developments that had been transforming intellectual life in Europe since the

⁵ In 1976, 2.5 percent of the tenured faculty and 8.5 percent of the untenured faculty were women (Kaufman, p. 184).

⁶ Lamphere provided remarkable closure to the historical lawsuit by her 2008 gift to Brown University of one million dollars to endow the Louise Lamphere Visiting Assistant Professorship, housed jointly in Anthropology and the Pembroke Center.

early 1960s. In 1966, Johns Hopkins University held an international symposium that served as the formal institutional introduction of new European thought to the US. Entitled "The Languages of Criticism and the Sciences of Man," the symposium brought together sociologist Lucian Goldmann, semiologist Roland Barthes, psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan, and philosopher Jacques Derrida, among others. Less than a decade later, in 1975, Brown inaugurated its program in Semiotics, bringing radical continental thought to the Brown campus. The new program contributed to Brown's growing reputation as an intellectually exciting institution and helped prepare the ground for the strong research agenda of the Pembroke Center.⁷

Howard Swearer's Initiatives

Howard Swearer, who became Brown's fifteenth president in 1976, had a creative vision for the University. Among his other accomplishments, he promoted the establishment of interdisciplinary academic centers such as the Center for Environmental Studies, the Center for Public Policy, and the Center for Policy Development (later to become the Watson Institute). Although Swearer's interest in the Pembroke Center was partly strategic (it kept the name of Pembroke College alive for disaffected alumnae and provided a women's research center at a time of dissatisfaction with Brown's treatment of women), his institutional support of interdisciplinary work was crucial to the new center's academic success. Indeed, the institutional atmosphere was one of strong encouragement. Maurice Glicksman, the provost and dean of the faculty during the Swearer administration, was exceptionally open and helpful with the development of the Pembroke Center. It was not until President Ruth Simmons that the Center was again to have such a strong supporter.

All these factors made 1977 a most interesting year for my arrival at Brown as director of the Sarah Doyle Center. The factions were numerous. Many at the University were furious about the Lamphere suit and about the consent decree that had just been agreed to. Many alumnae were still angry with the way the merger had been handled and the way

⁷ In 1995, the Semiotics program, along with the Literature and Society program, became the Department of Modern Culture and Media.

Pembroke College and its history seemed to have disappeared into the male dominated world of Brown. Still other people were impatient with the seemingly slow pace with which the University was dealing with questions of gender, race, sexual preference, and so on. Many were exasperated with the relative lack of women's studies courses in the curriculum and the related lack of women faculty in general. Notwithstanding my total lack of power, in my new position I heard complaints from all directions. However, the aura of intellectual excitement and political possibility was far stronger than that of dissatisfaction; it was, in short, a wonderful time to be at Brown.

Theoretical Challenges, Theoretical Successes

Just as I am convinced that the Pembroke Center could not have existed at another institution, I am certain that it would not have become the center it is had Joan Wallach Scott not been selected as the Nancy Duke Lewis professor. It probably would not have existed at all had Scott not been selected. The chair was designated for a senior scholar in any discipline with significant scholarly interest in women's studies; the hope was that the person would provide some kind of leadership for the development of women's studies, though that was just a hope and not a presumption. Not only did Joan Scott work to complete the endowment of her own chair—a project that took some three years of speeches and chicken dinners—but by the spring of 1981, less than a year after her arrival at Brown, she was responsible for the establishment of the Pembroke Center for Teaching and Research on Women, named “to honor Pembroke College and to indicate continuity with its long tradition of educational excellence for women.” Scott was also responsible for the funding of what turned out to be a six-year research project on “Cultural Constructions of the Female.” She raised approximately three-quarters of a million dollars for the project from the Ford Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities, with additional funds from the Rockefeller Foundation. In the fall of 1981, at the beginning of Scott's second academic year at Brown, the first postdoctoral and faculty fellows convened for the inaugural Pembroke Seminar. The Pembroke Center was established.

Like most prominent feminist research centers, the Pembroke Center owed much to the Ford Foundation's Mariam Chamberlain—an economist by training who understood that the production of feminist scholar-

ship was crucial both to the feminist movement and to the future of the academy—and to her colleague, historian Alison Bernstein, who went on to become a vice-president of the Foundation.⁸ The Pembroke Center was both in very good company as a Ford-funded center and very different from most other feminist research centers. The difference between the Pembroke Center's intellectual mission and those of other centers of the period can be encapsulated in the difference between thinking of women as the answer and *women as the question*.



Nancy L. Buc '65, LLD '94 hon. and
Joan Wallach Scott LHD '92 hon.

First, women as the answer. A fundamental part of feminist demands for equality was—and is—a demand for knowledge about women. In the early 1980s, knowledge across all fields was virtually blind to its blindness about women. From English literature to medical research, the human was taken to be male; when the female appeared, her function was either to complement the male (as in maternity) or to signal aberrance (as in irrationality). Feminists rightly maintained that without producing knowledge about women, equality would never be realized. Hence the emphasis on transforming higher education. Throughout the 1970s and 80s, feminist scholars across the disciplines worked to disclose what had been left out of canonical academic fields: history, literature, the arts, anthropology, philosophy, sociology, economics, political science, biology, and so on. By 1982, there was enough momentum in the academic feminist movement that Mariam Chamberlain formed the National Council for Research on Women, a consortium of feminist research centers funded by the Ford Foundation, of which the Pembroke Center was a charter member. It would take more time before the full impact of this generation of feminist scholars—mostly in their thirties and forties—would be felt in the academy, but change was inevitable.

⁸ As director of Ford's Education and Culture Program, Bernstein continued to support the Center's work in later years.

It was in this context that the Pembroke Center asserted its difference: it posed women as the question.⁹ In doing so, the Center drew on the insights of structuralist and poststructuralist theory, which was also beginning to have an impact on the US academy. Indeed, by the early 1980s, feminist scholarship and criticism had begun to form two camps, one anchored in empirical, analytic methodologies, the other in theories of discourse and symbolic formations. To the extent that it is possible to generalize, the former camp was dominated by historians and many social scientists and the latter by literary and film critics and by anthropologists. Scott was a notable exception. As a respected French labor historian whose work included the influential *Women, Work, and Family*, co-authored with Louise Tilly, she appreciated both the importance and the limits of the women-as-answer paradigm.

With my training in French literature and feminist theory, I was eager to find a way to give institutional heft to the work that saw woman as the question, but I lacked the strategic know-how to make it happen. In fact, the year before Scott came to Brown, I had presented Mariam Chamberlain with a proposal for a theoretically oriented center, which she politely turned down. For me, Joan Scott's arrival was not only the answer to the collective hopes of Brown feminists, but the beginning of an extraordinary intellectual collaboration that has continued as a lifelong friendship. Thanks to Scott's vision, theoretical intelligence, and generous willingness to take risks, the Center's research project on "Cultural Constructions of the Female" was launched.

With this project, the Center hoped to learn more about the intractability of women's subservience. How and why had the inferiority of women been reproduced throughout history and across cultures with the appearance of such numbing inevitability? How even to approach such a question, the generality of which seemed to elicit only mirror-like generalizations, such as "patriarchy"? Why across cultures did masculinity seem so dependent for its very meaning on femininity? How was the logic of this dependence manifested in cultural, social, and political registers? So-called poststructuralist theorists such as philosopher Jacques Derrida, philosopher-historian Michel Foucault, and psychoanalyst

⁹ Those feminist scholars concerned with issues of race, sexual preference, and class were also challenging some of the dominant feminist scholarship, though in different registers. More about that below.

Jacques Lacan, among others, offered some conceptual tools for feminist theorists who were exploring the ways the feminine works, particularly in Western thinking, in the service of masculine fantasies of origin and self-containment. With the feminine available to stand for *difference*, the masculine—and whatever it stands for—can be shored up. It is in this sense that feminist theorist Luce Irigaray argues that true sexual difference has never existed; that what we think of as the difference between the sexes is just the contained and domesticated difference of masculinity to itself, and not the radical difference that might exist if there were such a thing as “woman” outside the masculine symbolic order.

By now, such work has become so much a part of numerous fields of academic inquiry that one can have interesting theoretical discussions as to the ways sexual difference may or may not operate differently from racialized difference or ethnic and religious differences. One can have debates about the discursive productions of power and the ways discursive power may or may not be gendered; about the challenges of theorizing the relationships between the individual subject and the collective; or about the pros and cons of the very notion of identity politics. In the early 1980s, however, such conversations were by no means easy to have. For some—for theoretically minded feminists and fellow travelers—the Pembroke Center represented intellectual and political promise of the best sort. For others, it seemed to be on the wrong track. The latter position had in part to do with the “theory wars.” Throughout the 1980s, there were impassioned debates in the academy for and against theory, meaning predominantly poststructuralist theory. Within this sadly oversimplified frame of the argument, the imported foreign theory was seen by one side as a repudiation of empirical truth, evidence, rationality, and individual freedom; from the other side, the anti-theory position was seen as naïve, anti-intellectual, and politically conservative. To add to the problem, the theory in question was, indeed, “foreign,” grounded as it was in continental philosophy, Marxist formulations, structural linguistics, and Freudian theory, all of which were and are marginal in the US academy. However, for those of us engaged in the Pembroke Center’s work at that time, there was no question which side we took in the wars. We saw what we did as thoroughly consistent with Brown’s mission. Although there were Brown faculty partisans on both sides of the theory wars, to be sure, the Pembroke Seminar was in some ways a Modes of Thought course writ large: without knowing *how we think*, we asked, how could we know anything about what we think?

For those who took a hard-line anti-theory position with regard to the Center, there was little room for dialogue. But most of the questions that feminism raised with regard to theory were challenges that Pembroke scholars grappled with continuously. There was, for example, the thorny question of the *subject*. How is it that just when women in general, and women of color, and lesbians, and so forth, begin to assert their identities, their voices, the very notion of the subject is put into question? If one sees the human subject as something other than a rational, freely choosing, self-actualizing individual—if the subject is seen as produced through and in culture, as both knowing and not knowing its desires, as being both able and not able to exert rational choice—what are the implications for political change? And what about the question of *the body*? If the anatomically differentiated body does not in any simple way determine a person's sexuality or gender, does that mean the body is merely inert matter to be fashioned in any way the subject or collectivity wishes? And what does it mean to acknowledge that questions that preoccupied scholars in the 1980s can continue to challenge thinking today, that however productive answers may be, they don't stop the formation of new questions?

What is important about the Pembroke Center is that it has never shied away from hard questions, never settled into academic, political, or institutional complacency. It has remained uncompromising about its intellectual mission. As a result, Pembroke Center research that three decades ago was considered radically theoretical is now part of the intellectual life of much of the academy, not just in explicitly feminist fields but also in fields across the disciplines that are involved in critical, qualitative work. This is perhaps one reason why the Center has experienced none of the depletion that some women's studies centers and programs have faced with the waning of identity politics. Questions do keep multiplying in the academy, new problems exert pressure, new knowledge is produced. The trick—one that the Pembroke Center has mastered thus far—is to be driven by new questions while remaining skeptical of easy answers. A glance at the topics of the Pembroke Seminar over the years offers illustration. In 1994–95, when so many were endorsing legal theorist Catherine McKinnon's formulation of sexual intercourse as rape and women as victims, the Seminar looked critically at "The *Question of Violence*." The next year, at a time when the academy and the world at large had uncritically adopted the term "gender," the Seminar questioned "The Future of Gender." The following year, when all research worth doing seemed to be

interdisciplinary, the focus was “Disciplinary Difference.” Two years later, just before academic programs everywhere seemed to embrace “globalization,” the Seminar took a hard look at “The Culture of the Market.”

Nor has the Center's desire to unsettle academic doxa diminished with time. For several years, biologist Anne Fausto-Sterling and Brown colleagues have been engaged in a project on “The Emergence of Sexually Differentiated Behaviors in Infancy: A Dynamic Systems Approach.”¹⁰ The effort is to disrupt notions of nature and nurture that, although no longer accepted in most areas of biological development, still stubbornly dominate thinking about human sexuality and gender. In 2005–07, the Center sponsored a research project on “Gender and the Politics of ‘Traditional’ Muslim Practices” that asked if the international alarm about the treatment of Muslim women might have more to do with both local and geo-politics than with ancient “traditions” per se.

And Kay Warren's 2010–11 Seminar on “Markets and Bodies in Transnational Perspective” looked closely at the economic and political realities of so-called “sex-trafficking” and the “trafficking in women.”

PHOTO BY: HANK RANDALL



Kay Warren leading the 2010–11 Pembroke Seminar, “Markets and Bodies in Transnational Perspective.”

In line with its long tradition of embracing the *question*, the Center situates its current work under the general rubric of critique. Critique, in the words of Michel Foucault, is a critical practice that examines the conditions of possibility of a given knowledge. How is it that biological research, or sociological research, or historical inquiry produces its knowledge? What are the framing questions in each case; what are the unexamined assumptions, the blind spots of a given critical practice? In some quarters, critique is seen even today as suspiciously theoretical, while in others, paradoxically, it is viewed as no longer useful because *too* suspicious, irrelevant in a digital age when all is out there to be seen.¹¹ It seems to me and

¹⁰ This project received \$200,000 of support from the Ford Foundation

¹¹ See, for example, Eve Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity*. Duke UP, 2003, and Stephen Best and Sharon Marcus, “Reading ‘The Way We Read Now,’” *Representations* 108.1 (2009). See *differences* 21.3 (fall 2010) for another view.

to a number of other critical academics that at this historical time of the rapid transformation of knowledge and of ways of knowing, critique is an essential practice for guiding academic inquiry into the future. With critique, as with the future, one never knows in advance what the answers will be. And again, at Brown University, not assuming in advance *how one knows* what one knows is a time-honored institutional practice.

But there is something else that situates the Center's work and that is the "Women" in its name. It is still the Pembroke Center for Teaching and Research on Women. The origins of the name in 1981 are simple and evident: centers for research on women were the newest and most exciting arm of academic feminism, and this one was proudly chosen to honor Pembroke College's long tradition of excellence. It didn't take long, however, for the ironies of the second part of the name to become apparent. Here was a center for research on women devoted to questioning "women" and unsettling the complacency with which much of women's studies uncritically celebrated women as the answer. As time progressed and "gender" became the analytically correct word in feminist circles, "Women" seemed out of date, just the opposite of the cutting-edge center that Pembroke was. And for those who wanted to marginalize or even trivialize the Center—there were always a few—the "Women" in the name provided the perfect justification.

I won't deny that the name has been a problem, for all of these reasons. There were times when it would have been easier to work with the name Pembroke Center for Feminist Research and Teaching, though that would have been too politically provocative for many. But the name remains, and for good historical reasons. What is interesting is that the "good historical reasons" now include not only the celebration of Pembroke College but also the history of the Center itself. Indeed, the Pembroke Center still honors the College, beginning with the Women's College, which admitted two women for study in 1891, through the life of the distinguished Pembroke College, which maintained the highest academic standards even during decades when most people looked upon the education of women as an embellishment of maternal aptitude. And now, thirty years after the founding of the Pembroke Center for Teaching and Research on Women, the "Women" in the Center's name bears the trace not only of those Pembroke women but of the very conundrum at the heart of the Center's theoretical mission—that is to say, the trace of theoretical work, of intellectual politics itself.

Building a Center

Research Program

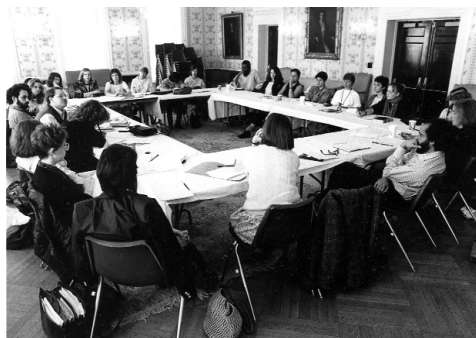
In the intellectually exciting years of the 1980s, Brown was the perfect institution in which to build a maverick feminist research center. Brown was increasingly a “hot” school, and numbers of young faculty were as energized by institution building as by their personal careers. This was the era in which faculty wrote books, taught classes, worked on departmental and institutional committees, *and* devoted overtime to teaching women’s studies courses and developing the Pembroke Center and the Women’s Studies concentration. Moreover, the Center enjoyed relative autonomy as an institutional entity. This was due in part to the fact that the University’s financial investment in the Center was

relatively small. Because the Center’s research program was externally funded for its first six years (Scott had obtained funding for the first three years, which was then renewed for another term); because there were no faculty lines in Women’s Studies (which turned out to be a mistake); because Joan Scott’s position (50% Pembroke di-

rector, 50% History department) was funded by the Nancy Duke Lewis chair; and because my position as associate director was folded into my job as director of the Sarah Doyle Center (a double position that I kept for a number of years), the new Center was able to develop at the beginning without drawing significant resources from the University. The original space for the Center—several offices in the basement of Alumnae Hall—was modest and entirely inadequate, and there was never enough staff support for all the new programs, but then, as throughout its history, the Center achieved an enormous amount with relatively little.

The Center’s research project on “Cultural Constructions of the Female,” which had a different focus each year, brought four postdoctoral fellows to campus for an academic year in residence. They were joined in a

PHOTO BY: HANK RANDALL



The Pembroke Seminar has long been a cornerstone of the Pembroke Center’s research program.

weekly research seminar by two Brown faculty fellows who received release time for a semester, by selected students, and by other invited participants. Although the seminar was modeled on the standard research seminar, there was nothing standard about it. Rather than being organized around participants' presentations—which in an interdisciplinary context can be particularly unproductive—the seminar was structured around common readings. Moreover, there were no experts—just research questions pointing to uncharted territory. As a result, seminar discussions could be difficult and heated. Although the framing questions of the project were informed in part by poststructuralist theory, participants came from diverse theoretical backgrounds. Everyone did qualitative, interpretive work, but the differences among historians, anthropologists, literary critics, political theorists, and so forth, could be vast. And yet, however animated the arguments, the challenge of the project and the shared sense of breaking new ground invariably produced an intellectual esprit de corps. Within a short time, the Pembroke Seminar came to have a distinctive reputation well beyond Brown. And within Brown, the Center quickly became a major focal point for intellectual life. The lecture series and annual research roundtable associated with the Seminar brought exciting and distinguished scholars to campus—including two memorable visits by Jacques Derrida. By 1985, the Center had a far-ranging reputation that was consolidated by its hosting of a major international conference on “Feminism/Theory/Politics,” the proceedings of which were published in a volume that still yields royalties.

Nineteen eighty-five was also the year Joan Scott left Brown to join the faculty of the Institute for Advanced Study. Although her departure was an enormous loss, she left the Center strong and with funding for another research cycle. However, it was much more difficult to find a director to replace Scott than anyone had imagined. Even in the remarkable 1980s, it was not easy to find an outstanding scholar who also had a gift for institution building. After a national search (I was acting director in 1985–86), anthropologist Barbara Babcock served as director in 1986–87. Although Babcock brought interesting new dimensions to the Center's work, she decided for personal reasons to return after one year to her previous position. At that point, the administration and the Center leadership determined that the pool of talent at Brown was such that it made sense to appoint an internal faculty member as director. Indeed, there was an exceptional group of feminist scholars on the faculty at the time: Naomi

Schor, Anne Fausto-Sterling, Mary Ann Doane, Ellen Rooney, Karen Newman, Louise Lamphere, Coppelia Kahn, and Mari Jo Buhle. Karen Newman (English and Comparative Literature) was appointed director in 1987 and served until 1993; Ellen Rooney (English and Modern Culture and Media) then served from 1993 to 2000. I served as acting director (during sabbatical breaks) in 1992–93 and 1996–97, and then as director from 2000 to 2010 (Rey Chow was acting director during my leave in 2004–05).



Martim Avillez and Karen Newman at the Pembroke Center's roundtable, "Cultural Literacy and Popular Culture" in 1991.

During Newman's, Rooney's, and my terms, the Center continued to thrive intellectually. Although we were all humanists, the research topics remained diverse and the postdoctoral fellows continued to be well balanced, equally representing the humanities and social sciences, and increasingly including people in science studies. As academic interests began to change at the end of the 1990s, with renewed interest in disciplinary work and with new sets of questions emerging through those interests, the Center made the decision to invite Brown faculty to propose topics for the Pembroke Seminar and to direct the Seminar for an academic year with course relief of two courses. The Seminar was to remain interdisciplinary in its content and its participants, but it would be led by a changing group of faculty. For faculty members it was—and is—an exceptional opportunity to assemble a research group of colleagues, visiting scholars, postdocs, and selected students, along with a group of invited distinguished lecturers, to explore a research topic of their own interest. The faculty leader frames the initial set of questions and then works with the seminar participants to develop a syllabus and, in the process, a gradually more refined set of questions. Since it is a genuine research group and not a seminar that faculty are expected to teach, it is a unique opportunity for all involved. After the 2000–01 Seminar, which I led, faculty leaders have been, in this order, Mary Ann Doane (MCM), Anne Fausto-Sterling (Biology and Medicine), David Konstan (Classics), Rey Chow (Comparative Literature), Carolyn Dean (History), Lynne Joyrich (MCM), Bernard Reginster (Philosophy), Leslie Bostrom (Visual Arts), and Kay Warren (Anthropology). In 2010–11, the Seminar was led by David Kennedy, visiting from Harvard Law School, while

PHOTO BY: CATHERINE KARNOW



Anne Fausto-Sterling

Suzanne Stewart-Steinberg (Comparative Literature and Italian Studies) served as acting director of the Center. In 2011–12, Stewart - Steinberg will lead the Seminar.

Also during my term as director, the Center added as part of its research agenda a program of Research Initiatives that provides seed money for faculty to pursue projects that in one way or another push academic boundaries and challenge accepted ways of thinking. The first of the three projects launched during my term was “Gender and the Politics of ‘Traditional’ Muslim Practices,” led by two former postdoctoral fellows, anthropologist Rogaia Abusharaf (who held a visiting faculty position at the Pembroke Center and Africana Studies) and sociologist of law Dicle Kogacioglu. Two ongoing projects are Anne Fausto-Sterling’s “The Emergence of Sexually Differentiated Behaviors in Infancy,” a project conducted with Cynthia Garcia-Coll, Professor of Education, Psychology, and Pediatrics; and the Nanjing-Brown Joint Program in Gender Studies and the Humanities. This latter project is a collaborative venture with the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities and Social Science at Nanjing University and has as its director at Brown Lingzhen Wang of East Asian Studies. All of these Research Initiatives have entailed conferences and publications, and in the case of the Nanjing-Brown project, exchange visits by groups of Brown and Nanjing faculty.

As I prepared to step down as director and to leave my long association with the Center, there were two external searches for a new director. Once again, as with the searches in the 1980s, though for different reasons, it proved difficult to make an appointment. However, once again the administration turned inside to the Brown faculty and appointed as director Kay Warren, Charles C. Tillinghast, Jr. Professor in International Studies and Professor of Anthropology. There is a great sense of anticipation as Warren takes over the directorship of the Center. With long experience in feminist institution building and a distinguished scholarly career, Warren will bring new and pressing questions to bear on the Center’s research agenda. As times change and the academy moves in different directions, there is more need than ever for a research center that asks hard questions about the production of knowledge.

Nancy Duke Lewis Chair

When Joan Scott left Brown, the Nancy Duke Lewis Chair was awarded to Naomi Schor, Professor of French Studies. At Schor's departure, there was a national search to fill the chair, which resulted in the appointment of Nancy Armstrong. Between 1992 and 2008, Armstrong was the Nancy Duke Lewis Professor and Professor of Comparative Literature, English, Modern Culture and



(R – L): Ruth Harris Wolf '41, LLD'81 hon., P'68, P'75 led the fundraising drive for the Nancy Duke Lewis Chair. Nancy Armstrong held the Nancy Duke Lewis Chair from 1992 to 2009. Ellen Rooney served as Pembroke Center Director from 1993 to 2000.

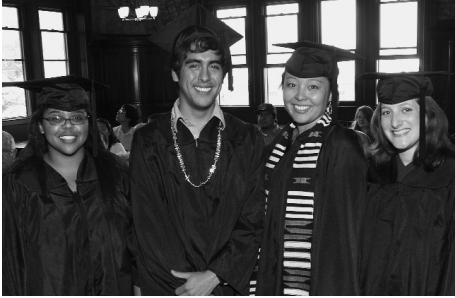
Media, and Gender Studies. At Armstrong's departure, Professor of Biology and Gender Studies Anne Fausto-Sterling was appointed to the chair. Since 1980, then, this important chair has been designated for a distinguished feminist scholar who, though housed in an academic department, contributes to the research and continued institutional development of the Pembroke Center. Each of the holders of the chair has done that in countless ways, each crucial to its success.

Undergraduate Concentration

The undergraduate concentration, which has evolved along with its name—from Women's Studies to Gender Studies to the current Gender and Sexuality Studies—also merits its own history, and a history not submerged in the Pembroke Center's. I include it here, of course, because it was started at the same time as the Center in 1981 and has always been housed within it. I believe there is a consensus among the Gender and Sexuality Studies leadership that it has been both an advantage and a problem for the concentration to be so closely associated with the Center. On the positive side, the concentration has benefited from the intellectual work of the Center, and the Center from the range of the undergraduate program and the energy and varied interests of the students. While undergraduate and graduate students have been involved with the Pembroke Seminar and other Center activities over the years, the concentration and

its courses—designated and cross-listed—offer students the opportunity to explore in depth questions regarding gender, sexuality, and other feminist-inflected topics. Faithful to Brown's philosophy of education, the concentration is independently designed within a set of guidelines and requirements. That is, topics may range from politics to medicine to art, but the individual student is required to develop a set of questions to structure her or his own particular focus. In other words, the Gender and Sexuality Studies concentrator, like the participant in the Pembroke Seminar, learns a good deal about what it means to produce knowledge. In this regard, the concentration is a wonderful undergraduate arm of the Center's larger research agenda.

PHOTO BY: HANK RANDALL



2010 Gender and Sexuality Studies concentrators celebrate their graduation in Pembroke Hall

The problem for the concentration has been its inability over the years to obtain any secure faculty lines or half lines that could guarantee the integrity of its course offerings. In spite of dedicated faculty leadership over decades, Brown's Gender and Sexuality Studies program remains far behind those of comparable institutions in terms of institu-

tional support. Had there been no Pembroke Center, things might have been different and there might have been more institutional resources allocated to the program. In any case, the Center has maintained the concentration to the best of its ability, funding adjunct faculty whenever possible to teach core courses and providing all of its administrative support. For two decades, I directed the concentration in addition to my other responsibilities at the Center, and for a number of years it was a relatively large and very strong concentration in spite of staffing and other limitations. But as the times changed and students looked for more continuity in courses, it became more and more difficult to provide a program of high quality.

When I stopped directing the program, Tamar Katz (English) generously took it on with some course relief and oversaw the merging of Gender Studies and the concentration in Sexuality and Society. When the Dean of

the Faculty office granted a stipend for a faculty director, Suzanne Stewart-Steinberg (Comparative Literature and Italian Studies) took on the job and succeeded in rebuilding the program with vision and imagination. The current concentration director, Deborah Weinstein '93, is continuing that work. Weinstein, a visiting lecturer in Gender and Sexuality Studies, has strong Brown connections. A Brown graduate who did an independent concentration with Anne Fausto-Sterling, she went on to receive a PhD in the History of Science from Harvard University before returning to Brown as a Pembroke postdoctoral fellow in 2003–04, and then as a visiting lecturer in 2010. Perhaps it is Weinstein's experience as a Brown independent concentrator that shaped her talent for institution building. Whatever the explanation, the concentration is in good hands.

differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies

The period after Joan Scott's departure was a time of some uncertainty. Although the research project was secured for several years, and although there was a campaign underway to endow the Center, there was no guarantee that the early successes could be maintained. As someone without a tenured faculty position at Brown, there were limits to what I could do. And because the kind of theoretical inquiry the Center promoted was still considered suspect in many quarters, I was eager to find another way to secure its dissemination. With a sense of indomitability that now seems very particular to that historical period, I began conversations with my close friend and colleague Naomi Schor about starting an academic journal. The conversations worked, as did our proposals to various presses, and in 1989, the first issue of *differences* appeared, published by Indiana University Press.

The following, drawn from the journal's mission statement, describes both the original conception of *differences* and its realization in subsequent years:

“*differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* first appeared in 1989 at the moment of a critical encounter—a head-on collision, one might say—of theories of difference (primarily continental) and the politics of diversity (primarily American). In the ensuing years, the journal has established a critical forum where the problematic of differences is explored in texts ranging from the literary and the visual to the political and social. *differences* highlights theoretical debates across the disciplines that address

the ways concepts and categories of difference—notably but not exclusively gender—operate within culture. Located at the Pembroke Center for Teaching and Research on Women at Brown University, the journal is published three times a year.”



Founding editors of *differences*, Elizabeth Weed and Naomi Schor celebrate the first issue of the journal.

It was Naomi Schor who proposed the brilliant title of *differences*. The final “s,” in a different typeface, is the letter that separates the theorization of “difference,” so central to poststructuralist theory, and the politics of “differences,” so fundamental to movements for social justice. As the blurb says, in 1989, the two seemed incommensurable. The work of the journal has shown that thinking the one has been crucial to thinking the other.

In two decades, the journal, along with its book series, has gained international respect. An editorial board member has commented that when traveling in Eastern Europe the first question she is asked invariably has to do with *differences*. The journal maintains its success because as a juried scholarly publication it selects essays of the highest quality. But I also think people turn to *differences* because the journal and its book series avoid jumping on academic bandwagons—or if they do, they try to raise questions that might open up critical discourse. In that regard, *differences* resembles the Pembroke Center, and the two have, indeed, been mutually enriching.

In 1997, Ellen Rooney joined Schor and me as a third editor. Four years later, Naomi Schor died unexpectedly, leaving *differences* and the academy without her splendidly original mind. Today, Rooney and I continue as co-editors and are extremely fortunate to have as managing editor Denise Davis PhD’11, whose professional judgment, exacting standards, and academic training make her an invaluable colleague. In 2003, we moved the journal to Duke University Press in order to benefit from its innovative strategies for marketing and sustaining print journals, a move that thus far has proven to be a wise one.

Archives

When Joan Scott arrived at Brown and found herself raising money for the Nancy Duke Lewis Chair, she began doing research on Dean Lewis and Pembroke College. As an historian, she was disturbed to discover that there had been inadequate attention given to the preservation of Pembroke papers at the time of the merger. Accordingly, with the founding of the Pembroke Center and the Pembroke Center Associates organization a year later, the Pembroke Archives project was established. The goals of the project were “first, to preserve and transmit the history of this important institution [Pembroke College] for women’s higher education, and second, to involve Brown undergraduates, particularly women, in the process of uncovering and understanding a hidden aspect of their institution’s history.” The project began in September 1982 and involved students in the collecting of oral histories of Pembroke alumnae. There were plans also to catalogue archival materials, to publish a guide to the archives for researchers and other interested parties, and to write and publish a new history of Pembroke College.



Kim Brookes, former Farnham Archivist, and Hetty Startup, Exhibit Coordinator, with alumnae as they view the centennial exhibition, *A Matter of Simple Justice*.

In 1984, Christine Dunlap Farnham '48—the alumna whose idea it was to start the Pembroke Center Associates (see below)—was killed in an automobile accident. A group of her friends and her husband, Joseph Farnham, established a committee to raise the funds that would establish what had been the Pembroke Archives as a memorial to Farnham, for whom the archives was a primary goal. By the day of the formal dedication of the Christine Dunlap Farnham Archives in October 1986, \$75,000 had been raised. With substantial help from Martha Joukowsky '58, '72 MA, '78 PhD, and Artemis Joukowsky '55, an archivist, Karen Lamoree, was hired. Lamoree began the challenging job of finding material relating to women throughout the special collections at the John Hay and Annmary Brown libraries. She spent two years cataloguing



Archival Assistant Derria Byrd '96 transcribing an oral history.

materials already on hand; she then devoted another year to adding to the existing collection and compiling a 500-page guide to the Farnham Archives. When Lamoree left in 1989, Kim Brookes continued the work for two years, primarily processing materials that had long been in the John Hay. Anyone who has read the guide, explored the Archives, or simply seen one of the numerous exhibits of materials from it knows what an extraordinary resource the Archives is. Focusing thus far on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Brown and Rhode Island women and their organizations, the Farnham

Archives demonstrates the wide-ranging contributions of women to the University, to the local community, and beyond. In the years since the initial development of the Farnham Archives, the Center has continued to solicit materials and to support the Archives with special programs such as the Black Oral History Project, which brought together a team of faculty, alumnae, and students to interview African American alumnae, and the recent digitization of *The Pembroke Record*, Pembroke College's student newspaper.¹²

A second project sponsored by the Center is the Feminist Theory Archives, begun with the donation of Naomi Schor's papers. At the time of her death, Schor was the Benjamin F. Barge Professor of French at Yale, having previously taught, after Brown, at Duke and Harvard universities. As Schor's *New York Times* obituary wrote, "Her 5 books and 50 articles made her the sort of star that prestigious universities compete to recruit." In spite of Schor's varied institutional affiliations, her family knew that she would have wanted her papers to go to Brown, where she had been Nancy Duke Lewis professor, where she had contributed to the building

¹² Among the numerous exhibits of Farnham Archives materials was the exhibit mounted for the one-hundredth anniversary of the admission of women to Brown. With a grant from the Rhode Island Council for the Humanities, the Center and the Library presented an exhibit, a lecture series, and a dramatic review under the title "A Matter of Simple Justice: One Hundred Years of Women's Higher Education in Rhode Island, 1892-1992."

of the Pembroke Center, and where *differences* was housed. When the papers arrived, Denise Davis, who knew Schor well and was an astute student of her work, processed the materials and mounted an exhibit for a dedicatory gathering at the John Hay Library.

When several other prominent theorists died in the years following Schor's death, the Center, in partnership with the Brown Library, inaugurated the Feminist Theory Archives to be housed at Brown's John Hay Library. Thanks to the leadership of Joan Scott, a group of scholars outside of Brown who had warm associations with the Center contributed seed money that funded the first part-time archivist, Amy Greer.¹³ Greer served as archivist from 2008 to 2011, to be followed in August 2011 by Wendy Korwin. By the time of the formal dedication of the Feminist Theory Archives in the fall of 2009, some one hundred scholars were represented, most pledging their papers for future donation.

The collection continues to grow and represents a unique resource for historians and scholars from all fields. In collecting the papers of scholars and critics who have transformed their disciplines as well as the field of feminist theory, the Pembroke Center is preserving a crucial body of work that changed the intellectual landscape of universities in the US and internationally. It is particularly fitting that this archives be a project of the premier feminist theory center and that the great majority of those who have contributed or pledged papers are scholars with connections to the Center.

Pembroke Associates Partnership

Another factor without which there would be no Pembroke Center is the Pembroke Center Associates organization. The Associates—composed mostly of alumnae/i but also of parents, students, faculty, and community members—are crucial to the Center for at least three reasons. First, since the mid-1980s, they have provided most of the endowment monies that fund the Center's programs. Second, they represent the Center to the administration, through their numbers and also through their distinction: a significant number among the leadership of the Associates Council have

¹³ Because a capital campaign was underway, solicitations were limited to scholars outside of Brown. I was particularly honored that Scott and the other contributors made their gifts in appreciation of my work at the Center.

PHOTO BY: HANK RANDALL



Former chairs of the Pembroke Center Associates Council Eileen Rudden '72, P'03, P'07, P'11 and Anita Spivey '74, P'09

served as members of the Corporation—including three current members—and as Brown Alumni Association leaders. And third, the relationship between the Center and the Associates has been truly that of a partnership. There are many accomplished people among the Associates who have lent their talents in countless ways: in developing fund-raising strategies and in identifying approaches for

outreach and communication; as mentors for students; and as participants in numerous Associates programs, such as the annual commencement forum jointly sponsored with the Center.

The Pembroke Center Associates organization is almost as old as the Center. Shortly after the founding of the Center in the spring of 1981, Christine Dunlap Farnham invited Joan Scott and me to lunch at her summer house in Watch Hill. By the end of a lovely afternoon, Farnham had convinced her guests that the Pembroke Center needed an active alumnae organization. Its purpose would be twofold: to develop programs by and for alumnae that would complement the academic mission of the Center and to secure the new Center's future. Although the Center had just received generous funding from outside sources, it was understood that that funding was seed money. In order for the Center to grow and endure, it would need strong institutional support. The Pembroke Center Associates, as the alumnae/i component came to be called, was to help ensure that support.

The plan was an excellent one. The only problem was how such an organization was to be run. At the time, the Center had a director, an associate director, a few small offices in Alumnae Hall, and one staff support person. It was not at all clear how it was going to administer its research program and the new undergraduate concentration, let alone an alumnae/i organization. But Chris Farnham was persuasive and the work began. By December 1981, letters from Nancy L. Buc '65 and the Development Office were in the mail to prospective Associates. In February 1982, Buc

agreed to co-chair the newly formed Pembroke Associates project, together with Susan Davis '63, and the first meeting was held in March. By the fall of 1982, the Pembroke Center Associates, no longer a project, was a formal organization chaired by Chris Farnham, and by 1983, enough supporters of the Center had joined the Associates to warrant the establishment of an advisory board, the Associates Council, which was to coordinate the activities of the Associates, help publicize the work of the Pembroke Center, and expand the base of the Center's support. At this time, Barbara Anton was hired to be a part-time director of Alumnae Affairs with a job description that grew dramatically as the Associates grew under her apt guidance.

In 1986, the Associates initiated a major project: a campaign to begin an endowment for the Center with an initial goal of \$3 million. The Associates undertook the work of the campaign, forming focus groups, drafting proposals, establishing committees, and planning events and publications. Chaired by Marie J. Langlois '63, the Endowment Committee was charged with raising support for the Center's administration and operation, for postdoctoral fellowships, research seminars, lecture series, publications, and the Farnham Archives.

In 1999, the Center celebrated the completion of the first endowment campaign. Although just a beginning, the completion of this first endowment goal represented an enormous expression of support for the Center and a determination that the Pembroke Center would endure into the future. Among the early gifts to the Center are those named gifts that support the annual work of the prestigious Pembroke Seminar: the Nancy L. Buc Postdoctoral Fellowship, the Carol G. Lederer Postdoctoral Fellowship, the Artemis A.W. and Martha Joukowsky Postdoctoral Fellowship; the Chesler-Mallow Senior Faculty Research Fellowship for the Seminar director; and the Edith Goldthwaite Miller Faculty Fellowship and the Edwin and Shirley Seave Faculty Fellowship.

Under the Associates Council leadership of Elizabeth Munves Sherman '77, P'06, P'09, the Associates work to complete the Center's part in Brown's Campaign for Academic Enrichment. Since its inclusion in 2006, the Center has raised \$4.5 million in gifts, pledges, and documented bequest intentions. The endowment's current market value—and of course the market fluctuates—is approximately \$8.9 million. Happily,

since 2005, the Center has had the good fortune to have on its staff Christy Law Blanchard, director of Program Outreach and Development. Thanks to Blanchard's exceptional talents, and thanks to the fine work of Martha Hamblett, coordinator of Programs and Stewardship, the Center's future becomes ever more secure. The many generous gifts to the Center, both annual and endowment gifts, are recorded in the Center archives and publications. However, no lists, no matter how impressive the material support, can convey the generosity of spirit of the Center's extraordinary friends and supporters.

Pembroke Hall

In 2008, the main offices of the Pembroke Center moved into Pembroke Hall. The 1897 building, renovated by the architect Toshiko Mori P'05, brings together in a stunningly visual way the richness of the past—built as it was to house women students at Brown—and the light of the future. Because the Center shares the building with the Cogut Humanities Center, space is still tight, even with the office suite the Center retains in Alumnae Hall. But these are small problems. For all those who value the Center's deep institutional connections, the move of the Pembroke Center into a newly glorious Pembroke Hall represents an enormously meaningful historical meeting.

Collaborative Work, Collaborative Successes

In spite of early complaints on the part of some that the Pembroke Center was not feminist enough because of its "improper" intellectual leanings, it has turned out to be in many ways a utopian dream of feminist collective enterprise. At every step of the way, the Center has been built through the work of countless Brown faculty and students, participating scholars from other institutions, administrators, staff, and alumnae/i. There have been so many who have guided the Center's various programs: the Center's faculty boards, the board of the concentration, the editorial and advisory boards of *differences*, the Associates Council; the members of other advisory groups and search committees, ad hoc committees, and fundraising committees. What I find truly remarkable is that in my decades of involvement with the Center, I have been surrounded by people with minimal patience for unnecessary bureaucracy and maximum energy for creative institution building. As a result, working for the Center has been—with few exceptions—pure pleasure. And I believe that one of the

reasons so many people have worked so hard to build and support the Center is that the pay-off has been real intellectual excitement, the excitement that sustains learning and teaching.

Names of those who have worked for the Center and participated in its programs can be found in the Center's extensive archives. I just want to add here the names of several crucial people. Elizabeth Barboza was the manager of the Pembroke Center from 1989 through 2006; she oversaw the building of working systems and welcomed generations of participants to the Center's programs. Donna Goodnow took over as manager in 2006 and in five short years has overseen not only numerous changes in University systems but also much growth in the Center's programs. With her expertise, her standards of perfection, and her many talents, she is the linchpin of the Center's operations. I also add special mention of the Pembroke Center's Faculty Board, which provided me with such smart guidance during my term as director: Leslie Bostrom, Carolyn Dean, Mary Ann Doane, Anne Fausto-Sterling, Lynne Joyrich, David Konstan, Bernard Reginster, Ellen Rooney, Suzanne Stewart-Steinberg, Nancy Armstrong (now at Duke University), and Rey Chow (also now at Duke); special mention goes to 2010–11 acting director Suzanne Stewart-Steinberg, who, with equal measures of equanimity and creativity, guided the Center in its transition between my departure and Kay Warren's directorship.

PHOTO BY: HANK RANDALL



Former postdoctoral fellows Lori Allen and Sharika Thiranagama

Legacy Thus Far

The Pembroke Center represents an institutional legacy for students, for scholars, for alumnae/i, for all those concerned with the knotty questions the Center explores. Perhaps one can say that the Center offers a number of legacies, expressed in different ways. There is the connection with the history of

women in higher education and at Brown. There are the many ways the Center has contributed to the University: the intellectual opportunities it has afforded three decades of students and faculty, the honors theses and

dissertations it has helped shape, the faculty publications it has influenced; the central role it has played in the academic life of the University; the faculty and students it has attracted to Brown, and the ways it has become a part of Brown's reputation for excellence. The Center's legacy beyond Brown is far-reaching. The fact that so many of the contributors to the Feminist Theory Archives have been in one way or another associated with the Center speaks to the range of the Center's influence. Consider the ninety-one women and men to date who have spent a year in residence at the Center as postdoctoral fellows and who have gone on to academic careers that bear the mark of their Pembroke experience; the faculty from neighboring institutions who have regularly been affiliated scholars with the Center; the visiting graduate students from other institutions; and the affiliated and visiting scholars from the US and abroad. There are the lecture series, the research roundtables, the research initiatives, and the numerous conferences and symposia that have brought distinguished scholars to Brown, and the many channels for dissemination of all this work. And there is, of course, *differences*, which has had, like the Pembroke Center, a far-ranging influence on critical thinking. This is perhaps the greatest pleasure about building such a legacy—that there is no end to it.

Elizabeth Weed
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