

Penelope Hartland-Thunberg – Transcript

Interviewee: Penelope Hartland-Thunberg '40

Interviewer: Nancy L. Buc '65

Date: September 7, 1996

NLB: Today is Saturday, September 7. This is Nancy Buc and I'm interviewing Penelope Hartland-Thunberg for the Christine Dunlap Farnham Archive. This is our oral history. Why don't we just start with a few basic things, like where you were born?

PH-T: I got myself born in Fionia, Massachusetts because the hospital happened to be located there, and my parents were living in Boston.

NLB: Okay, and when? And who were your parents?

PH-T: June 17, 1918. Mariah Louisa (she hated the name Mariah and always used the name Marie) and William Hartland.

NLB: Did you go to school in Boston? Elementary school? High school?

PH-T: No, elementary. And then my parents moved to Cranston, and I went through high school in Cranston, and then had full tuition scholarships for both Radcliffe and Pembroke. I had a terrible time deciding between the two. My parents said I could go either place. I finally decided on Pembroke because I could live at home, and I wasn't sure I was ready to leave home.

NLB: So you were a local girl, as they said. And what year did you start at Pembroke? Your freshman year?

PH-T: The Fall of 1936. Graduated in 1940.

NLB: And what was your concentration?

PH-T: Economics.

NLB: And what else. What are the highlights of your memories while you were there? Did you live off campus the whole time? You lived at home?

PH-T: Yeah. Well, I was active in a number of things. I enjoyed very much the international relations club, I enjoyed very much the *Pembroke Record*; indeed I was editor. I participated in student government and was the president of student government.

NLB: You were? I didn't know that. I was too.

PH-T: Of course you were. I knew that. I couldn't be editor of the *Record* at the same time because you couldn't hold two major posts, and so forth. Oh! And one of my accomplishments as an undergraduate, of which I am most proud, I won a varsity letter. I

was captain of varsity archery.

NLB: Terrific! Did you do other athletics as well?

PH-T: No, not really.

NLB: Were you a good student?

PH-T: I was a very good student, yes. When I got to college I was going to major in math, because I liked math. I signed up for a major in my sophomore year because I was curious as to what it was all about, took a course in economics, fell in love with economics, changed my major, and - and have been delighted with the decision ever since.

NLB: Academic awards? Honors?

PH-T: Yes. Elisha Benjamin Andrews scholar.

NLB: Yes, indeed.

PH-T: Still go on? Good. Final highest honors, summa cum laude.

NLB: Phi Beta Kappa?

PH-T: Phi Beta Kappa, and so forth.

NLB: And how many women were majoring in economics. Was it a popular major for women, or an infrequent one?

PH-T: No, I think I was the only one. I'm sure I was the only one, yes.

NLB: And most of your classes then were you and the men? You and the boys.

PH-T: Yeah, yeah.

NLB: And how was the faculty? Were they accepting? Hostile? Friendly?

PH-T: They were very good. William Adams Brown, Jr., who taught money and banking and financing and so forth, was a person under whom I did honors work. He himself had two daughters enrolled in Radcliffe, or about to be enrolled in Radcliffe, and was very, very supportive. I enjoyed him very much. I didn't know it at the time, Nancy, but I was a very pretty girl. And that makes a difference. I notice as I have gotten old - I notice the difference in reactions.

NLB: What kind of difference?

PH-T: The old people blend into the scenery, they are not seen. Whereas a pretty young lady doesn't blend into any scenery. And you get ogled. I don't get ogled anymore.

NLB: Do you miss it?

PH-T: Only at times. They were all very good. Philip Taft was there. I didn't take any course in labor economics. Did you know him?

NLB: I did a little bit. I never took a course with him, but he was still there when I was a student.

PH-T: A great human being, just a wonderful human being. And during my honors exam I was completely relaxed, and we really had a good conversation. The whole department was there, and I can remember once finding myself seated with my head in my hand, the elbow of the hand resting on the arm of the chair, trying to remember the name of something, exchanged correspondence with someone or other, I forget totally now. And I said "the correspondence of so-and-so," and they all chimed in with the correct answer. So I knew I was pretty safe at that point. It was good.

NLB: What was the substance of economics like in the late 30's? Keynes had published? Did they take him seriously?

PH-T: The General Theory had come out in 1938. There joined the department as a teacher a young fresh Ph.D. from Harvard, who was full of Keynes and taught Keynes. It was very exciting. Graduate students sat in that course because of the excitement that General Theory brought with it. It was rather daunting to a junior or a senior, who the more she got into economics realized how much there was to learn and how little an undergraduate could learn.

NLB: What was the subject of your honors thesis? Do you remember?

PH-T: It was in finance, because it was under Willy Adams Brown. I forget.

NLB: Okay.

PH-T: It wasn't a major subject.

NLB: So you graduated from Brown, and...?

PH-T: And realizing I knew so little economics and decided I wanted to learn some more. And wanted to do graduate work. And I went to talk to Brown about this. He was delighted. He said: "The place for you to go is Radcliffe." He picked up the phone and dialed Bernice Brown Cronkite who was Dean of the graduate school at Radcliffe, right then and there. Made an appointment for me. He called and talked with her. I had a number of other places in mind, but he made up my mind for me. And I'm glad he did. Because as it turned out, when the war started there was a great exodus of top notch German, Austrian, French economists from Europe, and most of them wound up in Harvard. It was a great department.

NLB: When you say the Radcliffe graduate school, you were admitted through Radcliffe?

PH-T: One paid one's bills to Radcliffe, and one got a Radcliffe degree, in contrast to the Pembroke and Brown situation. Radcliffe had no faculty. The faculty always was the Harvard faculty. And the great distinction of a Radcliffe degree, Nancy, is that it's the only one in the world, college degree in the world, signed by two college presidents, the president of Radcliffe and then the president of Harvard, guaranteeing that it is the equivalent of a Harvard degree.

NLB: So in effect it's countersigned by the...

PH-T: Yeah. I didn't know this to be a fact until I presented myself before the Senate Finance Committee for confirmation. It happened at that point that the senator from Illinois Paul ..

NLB: Paul Douglas.

PH-T: Paul Douglas...

NLB: Who'd been in the Harvard economics department...

PH-T: Was chairing the Finance Committee. I was rather apprehensive about what they might ask and policy implications and so forth. And he looked at me over his glasses, and said "so-and-so." "Yes, Mr. Senator." "I note that you have a degree from Radcliffe College." "Yes, Mr. Senator." (With a perfectly straight face.) "Do you know why a degree from Radcliffe is unique in this world?" That was the last question I expected. [10:00] I took a deep breath and said, not even with a question mark at the end, "Because it's signed by two college presidents." Yes, he said and smiled broadly. I learned later that his wife had a Ph.D. from Radcliffe. Anyway...

NLB: So you started at Radcliffe then in the Fall, or at Harvard in the Fall of 1940?

PH-T: Right.

NLB: And did you always intend to get a Ph.D. or did you start...

PH-T: No, I intended to learn some more. Well, my parents were delighted. And Mrs. Cronkite wanted more women Ph.D.'s. She pushed all women graduate students toward a Ph.D. Saw that they took the courses necessary for the degree. Harvard always did downplay a master's degree, you just picked it up as you passed four courses with distinction. And she urged me on, and I enjoyed the work, so before I knew it, I was enrolled in a Ph.D. program.

NLB: Who paid?

PH-T: Well, I had won a fellowship from Pembroke, what was it... the Anne Crosby Emery fellowship, which gave me my tuition. And I got a fellowship from Radcliffe for room and board.

NLB: So this time you lived...

PH-T: I lived there, yes.

NLB: You lived there.

PHT: And by this time I was ready for it and loved it. There was a graduate dormitory. Bertram Hall, at that point was a graduate dormitory. And it was a wonderful place because for the first time in my life, I was sharing a roof with women of my own age, more or less, who had the same interests as I had.

NLB: All scholars.

PH-T: All scholars. And my dearest friend today, with whom I talked this morning and who is my executor with whom you will work, I met then. She was in anthropology. She became the outstanding anthropologist in the English language.

NLB: Who is that?

PH-T: Elizabeth Colson. Brown gave her an honorary degree some years ago. ____ there at that point.

NLB: Could be.

PH-T: Anyway, you'll enjoy working with her, she's quite _____. So, the dormitory life was great fun. A number of us who used to have meals together and who after dinner gathered in one of our suites to coffee and chat. And stayed in touch. And indeed we are having a reunion on Cape Cod in November.

NLB: Who else is in that group?

PH-T: Well, Beth, the anthropologist; Cybil Bindlose, now Cybil Bindlose Simm, who was in romance languages. She did not get a Ph.D. Ellen Fedder, who is now Ellen ____ who was in math, and she married a mathematician. Both she and her husband taught at Brown. Then Crayton (?) got a fine offer from Madison University of Wisconsin at Madison. There they spent most of their careers. Crayton is now retired. Then there was Ruth Kelso Griffin, who married Don Griffin, the guy who discovered how bats direct their flight... Ruth went backpacking with him in caves.

NLB: That's true love!

PH-T: Yes. And then there was Hilda. Hilda is died. She was in fine arts. And the group was very different from each other. Both stimulating and fun. And as I say, we've stayed in touch _____. Do you have any such experience that way running into old friends?

NLB: Oh yes. And I'm still in touch with my law school classmates, and some of my college classmates.

PH-T: Didn't you find graduate school very different from undergraduate school?

NLB: Oh, vastly. I mean you go... It's different anyway. But you go from, in my day, there were no more women in law than there were in your day, almost, in economics. And so you go from the supportive, happy place of Pembroke College and all of a sudden you're all by yourself.

PH-T: What year were you?

NLB: '65

PH-T: Oh boy. Yes, indeed.

NLB: It was no different, in law school.

PH-T: No.

NLB: Tell me about the academic side of your graduate work. Who was at Harvard, how was in the department, who came?

PH-T: Oh, Joseph L. Shumpeter for example. In relation to ____, the [15:00] fact that growth means decay, and so forth. A great thinker. A master pedagogue, who loved the lecture platform, and immaculately groomed European gentleman. I can't say enough positive things about him, but he was human, and there was one thing wrong with him. He gave all the women A's. He had a reason to.

NLB: Understandable.

PH-T: Then there was another great guy, another Austrian, Gottfried Vonhobala. He dropped the "Von" after a year or two. He ___ 6'4" ___ who couldn't put up with Hitler and left. A man who couldn't possibly know bigotry, a liberal in the original sense of the word. Just a ___ he wound up here in Washington at American Enterprise Institute and died only a couple of years ago.

NLB: And his field? Or his speciality?

PH-T: International economics. Seymour Harris was there – not a great economist, but a great publizer. He took over my thesis and gave me minor fame in the Boston area because I had written under Professor Leontieff who did win a Nobel laureate in economics. Quite an innovative... looking back I can see it was innovative. It was entitled *The Balance of Payments of New England*. It was an attempt to look at the inter-regional trade of one Federal Reserve District in this country. It was a case of applying the principles of international trade. So I constructed a balance of payments for the New England region. No one thought that could be done.

NLB: During what time-period? I mean, I know when you did, but what time-period were you looking at?

PH-T: '29 to '39. And I managed to find from the Interstate Commerce Commission, as a matter of fact, some good commodity flow data, and other data that permitted an

approach to a balance of debt. Seymour Harris, who was at that point having a running argument with an editor of the *Boston Herald*, latched onto my thesis, and on the editorial pages of the *Boston Herald* there were frequent references.

NLB: But your thesis advisor was Leontieff?

PH-T: Yeah.

NLB: Pretty distinguished mentor.

PH-T: He was great.

NLB: Was he young? A young Ph.D. then or was he already distinguished?

PH-T: He was already distinguished. His input/output technique _____. I don't know where he did his first matrix - whether it was in Harvard or before that, but it was accepted. I got to know him one summer when I took a job as a researching person on another input/output table that he was doing. And enjoyed working for him so much I asked if he would accept me as a graduate student, and he said yes _____. He seemed old but he couldn't have been too old because he's still active. He's always been sort of timeless. Still has the same thick accent, a Russian accent _____ a good bit of time in China and all around the world. So the thesis created something of a stir. Now I was registered at Radcliffe. I was not a Harvard student. There was at that point, and still is, a prize -- the David Wells prize for the best thesis done by a Harvard Ph.D. student. I've been told by several faculty members that if I had been registered at Harvard I would have won that. But of course I didn't. Moreover, while I had never thought about a job, as I finished up my thesis I began to think about employment.

NLB: When was your Ph.D.?

PH-T: It was awarded in February 1946 about, but I finished it up in November or December of 4'5. [20:00]

NLB: Can I back up for one second?

PH-T: Yes.

NLB: During that period, were there other women in the graduate department of Economics?

PH-T: Yes, yes. Not too many.

NLB: Were you friends with any of them?

PH-T: Yes, sure. There started out the first year a young woman on leave from Mt. Holyoke. She'd been teaching at Mt. Holyoke. She already had a Master's degree from Mt. Holyoke, she'd gone _____ and she came to Radcliffe to take more labor economics. Her name was Juliet Fisher. We became very good friends. She's here in Washington. I

still see her. Lucille Shepard, later Lucille Shepard Kize (?), married an architect. She was the daughter of Senator Shepard from Texas. Bright girl. She is here in Washington. Her husband is the Arthur Kize of the big architectural firm, Kize, Lethbridge, da-da-da... I don't see her. Our paths just went off. On occasion I've run into her and it's always very cordial. And there was a marvelous -- there were others, but these are the ones that I remember. A marvelous Chinese girl, by the name of ____ as all get out who stayed in this country, married another Chinese graduate student who was at Yale in linguistics. They both took jobs at the United Nations. They finally decided that they should go back to China. Yet, during the Cultural Revolution, they were both shipped off to the countryside because they were intellectuals. I heard that both of them was ____ and put on construction gangs. Her husband has since died. They had one child, a daughter, who finally came to this country for a college education. They're in Boston now. And I talk with Shu Shwan at least once a year, and sometimes more often. So yes, there were some wonderful people.

NLB: And one more question. This was during the war, so was the faculty at all affected by going off to war? And how about the students?

PH-T: Yeah. During the first couple of years, I met as fellow students, names that are now big names in economics who have won Nobel Laureates, Yale ... what's his name... anyway ... ____ Competition, vigorous competition. Then after December 1941, however, many of them either enlisted or came to Washington because there was a great expansion of government, especially where economists were ____.

NLB: They all went to work for Galbreathin OPA?

PH-T: One of the places, yeah, some of them went into...

NLB: Was he at Harvard when you got there?

PH-T: No. He was on leave...

NLB: Already?

PH-T: Already. I think he was at Fortune. Or maybe he went to Fortune after OPA. I forget. I never knew him because he was never there. Although he did an article for Fortune based on my thesis, as a matter of fact, a very clever article. Titled *When New England Secedes From the Union*.

MLB: Sounds like the most popularized and most quoted thesis of all time. It's fairly rare, isn't it, to have a thesis be...

PH-T: Yes, Looking back on it, I didn't realize that it was as good as it was. And it never occurred to me to seek any placement aid from the department. Radcliffe had a placement person I talked to _____. At this point, one of my dear friends from college who was a year ahead of me was Elizabeth Goodale, now Elizabeth Goodale Kenyon. As I say, Libby and I were good friends, and after she graduate stayed in touch, and after I left college, stayed in touch. I forget what she majored in, but she, after Pembroke, went to some

school [25:00] to be trained as an executive secretary, get a job in Worcester where she grew up, as an executive secretary. And we corresponded, had lunch together, and so on. ____ Then she got a very exciting job, we were both excited for her. She was going to be the research assistant for Henry Merritt Wriston, the President of Brown University.

NLB: I didn't know she had done that.

PH-T: Yeah. Well, she loved the job, of course. Brought her back to Providence and to Brown, and she's from an old Brown family, as you know, and we were both great admirers of Wriston. Wriston as you may recall, was known as a thinker ahead of his times, a great liberal, no bigotry or prejudice, marvelous speaker, and so forth. And a man with a sense of humor and a sharp [wit?]. She enjoyed working for him. He was writing - he was always writing a book. ____ And apparently all during this time, Wriston complained to Libby about the quality of the Pembroke product. The girls, the women all seemed to use Pembroke as a hunting ground for husbands. Some of them got turned off by...

NLB: Some possible confusion of cause and effect there, I think.

PH-T: By either scholarship or knowledge, and apparently he complained. Libby, in her own dear way, did try to point out to him that some Pembroke didn't seem to do this. _____. There were many exceptions to this rule and she named a few. _____. She keeps complaining about the "Pembroke Profit" (putting it in quotes). I wish you'd make an appointment with him. _____. And too, I had a brand new Ph.D. and she became quite urgent, so I let her make a date for me with Wriston.

NLB: You had a brand new Ph.D. and no job, I infer from this?

PH-T: That's right. Yeah. It was now the holiday season and I had some irons in the fire in Boston, I wasn't really sure what I wanted to do. I had taught for ____ semesters already, and ____ and it wasn't too bad.

NLB: At Radcliffe or Harvard or both?

PH-T: No. I took two years off trying to find - I was very idealistic about my Ph.D. thesis - and I was trying to find a good topic. My first year I taught at Wells in upstate New York. The second year at Mt. Holyoke, replacing Judy Pitney -- Judy Fisher who had gone to Puerto Rico for OPA. Then I hit on my thesis subject, asked Leontieff if he'd direct it, he said yes, and so I went back to Radcliffe. Having an appointment with Wriston I had to have something to talk about. So I thought, I'll ask him for a job. Why not? And I thought it would be interesting to see how he would react and squirm. Well, at this point there were a couple of women with a faculty rating, but they were not full-time people. It was someone in the English department to teach speech. Even Janice Van De Water was there teaching drama, but mainly _____. And there was one full-time faculty person in the Biology Department, Ms. Wilder. Was she there when you were?

NLB: No, I don't think so.

PH-T: Ah. Well, I remember the interview with Wriston very well. I had to wait a few minutes, not very long, standing up over there, and he said please sit down, I sat down. He came over, still standing, with some papers in his hand, and said "So you're an educated person." I said: "I've been exposed to a good amount of formal education, yes." He seemed to like that. It went on in this way, kind of sparring for a bit. Finally I said, [30:00] "I'm a Ph.D. and I have some teaching experience. I would like to return to teaching." Bald lies! But you had to say something. And I wonder if there was room on the Brown faculty for someone who wears a skirt." He reached for the phone. Before picking it up, he said: "I need to send you to someone who I think will find room, but I want you to know there is only one full-time woman and that's Professor Wilder in the Biology Department, who was appointed originally because it was thought indecent to have a man teach the Pembroke girls the facts of life." And I recall this course when I was an undergraduate. She was the only one.

NLB: What about ____ the woman at the Annmary Brown ____ John Carter Brown? Okay. So he picks up the phone?

PH-T: I don't recall Nancy, she was not at teaching. So he picked up the phone and phoned Professor Bosland, who was ____.

[End of Tape 1 Side 1]

NLB: Okay, so you're walking across the campus to see Chelsey Bosland.

PH-T: Yes. Well, I got hired on the spot.

NLB: What did he say? Was he used to having Mr. Wriston call him up and say hire this person?

PH-T: Of course not. Of course not.

NLB: Did he actually have a vacancy?

PH-T: Well, the war had ended. Veterans were coming back. There was going to be a huge influx -- yes, they needed people. Meanwhile, the graduate schools had not had many students. There were a lot of foreigners doing graduate work at Harvard. But, the women were available.

NLB: Was there a discussion of what you would teach, or who you would teach?

PH-T: No. He told me.

NLB: He just told you?

PH-T: He just told me.

NLB: At that point in history, would he have told a man the same thing, you'll teach this, this and this?

PH-T: Probably not. He also told me what my salary would be. It was _____. I knew that this was unusual for me to have a job teaching at Brown, and I was rather pleased, of course. The interview had gone well, and I knew what teaching was, and that was fine.

NLB: Did they make you an assistant professor? Or...?

PH-T: Oh no, I was an instructor.

NLB: You were an instructor?

PH-T: Right. That first semester I think I was the only new person. That summer they hired a number of people, two or three of my colleagues (male) from Harvard, and some more advanced people. All of the new Ph.D.'s were instructors.

NLB: So in that respect you were not treated differently as to your rank.

PH-T: No. But I learned early on that the other instructors, whose Ph.D.'s were even more recent than mine, who had no teaching experience, were getting at least 50% more than I was getting, and President Wriston in an address to the corporation, indicated that some of the young Ph.D.'s were getting less than the janitors. I'm sure that was me. Well, that made me rather unhappy. It was so grossly skewed. Meantime, a very interesting relationship developed between me and Chelsey Bosland. And between me and Wriston. I got married in February of that year.

NLB: February of '46.

PH-T: Yes.

NLB: Whom did you marry?

PH-T: A guy who went to Harvard who had been in the European theater and had just returned.

NLB: What was his name?

PH-T: (PH-T laughs) Howard Thunberg. I'm sorry. Class of '38 at Harvard. We decided to live in Cambridge and I would commute to Brown. The trains ran on time in those days, and there were lots of them. A big sign in Harvard Square over the subway said "Eight minutes to ____ and Park Street," and it was 6 only 2 or 3 minutes beyond Park Street to South Station. And the subways always ran on time. So it was really an easy commute. But, let's see. I had at least a 9:00 class, and sometimes an 8:00 class, which meant, to be sure to be there on time, I would get up at 5:00 and so forth. Shortly after classes started, a story by itself, but shortly after classes started, I think I must have been having lunch with Libby one day. I went to her office to pick her up or to leave her, when Wriston came in, smiled broadly, and said: "How are you?" I held up my ring and said I got married. The reaction was very strange. When he said it, but his eyes [5:00] did not smile, and he said, "You traitor." Well, I didn't quite know how to take that. The first day of class, in the next meeting of class he was standing in the back of the room. Word had

gotten around that there was a museum piece teaching in such-and- such a room at that hour.

NLB: What do you mean, a museum piece?

PH-T: Something very unusual - a woman.

NLB: A woman?

PH-T: Something very unusual, a woman! A woman.

NLB: Okay.

PH-T: An apparently not unattractive woman. They had rumors around about this. Fortunately I had prepared a good lecture for that day. I was all business. I put up with no nonsense. I did teach a special section of the introductory course given for veterans who hadn't been able to get into the regular college, and Brown set up special courses for them. However, they were horrible young men, who couldn't accept me as a professional. I walked in and there was something on the board that was sexy. I started my lecture and I always used the blackboard when I was lecturing, and I need ____ I continued, my lecture erased that, and there was snickering all around.

NLB: What were you thinking? What were you feeling?

PH-T: Fury. I was _____. I stopped the lecture early on and started to have a discussion and ask questions. I could tell who the ringleaders were and I called on them.

NLB: You're asking them questions about who had done it?

PH-T: Oh no, no, no! The substance of the lecture.

NLB: The substance of the lecture?

PH-T: Yes, there homework, and so forth.

NLB: Yes, I see. Okay.

PH-T: They couldn't answer. I slammed my hand on the table, and said I'm wasting my time here, and you're wasting yours. Go home and read your lessons. And don't come back unless you're serious about your studies, and I walked out of the room. I had no more trouble after that. I was walking down the hill after that to get a train, when one of them stopped and said could he give me a ride? I ____ that I'd done what I'd done.

NLB: Were there any women in the class?

PH-T: No, it was all men. It was unusual, very unusual.

NLB: Did your colleagues say anything about it? Surely everybody knew about it. Was

there any discussion of it, of the episode?

PH-T: I don't know. I didn't mention it. I was perfectly justified in walking out, and if anyone had tried to make any trouble for me, I would have certainly... But surely the others, particularly the junior faculty, must have heard about it. Probably, no one mentioned it. But nobody ever mentioned it?

PH-T: No. No. And in the course of my career at Brown, there were several students after the first day who came up to me and said with much embarrassment, that they were very sorry but they really couldn't study under a woman and to be transferred to another section. But mostly I didn't have any trouble after they got over the notion of one wearing a skirt.

NLB: What were you teaching? Introductory - 101?

PH-T: 101, 102 and then I was given the year theory course required of all majors. It happened at that point that ____ Soloway, who had - who was a graduate student in economics, was a coach of the football team. He had the whole football team majoring in economics, and they all had to take my course. During the football season, they were all very close to flunking. I gave them no quarter. I was about to become the most unpopular person on the campus.

NLB: I should think so.

PH-T: But they pulled up their grades to passing before... So things settled down after a bit. Also, there were a number of returned veterans at Brown, at least as old and probably older than I, some of whom were in my classes, and they _____. There arrived at Brown when I was teaching there a man who was well known at that point, George Stigler, who was well known as an economist. [10:00] George had close connections with the National Bureau of Economic Research -- at that point it did a lot of good, basic solid research in economics. Every year they appointed a couple of research associates. They would pay these people who came from universities the salary that they would have missed, and expenses, and the research associate would work on some problem of mutual interest to _____. George Stigler was influential in my getting such an offer. Moreover, George Stigler was influential in my interview by Carnegie Tech for a job, and they offered me a job at Carnegie Tech. I hated to do it but I used that offer to waive under Bosland's nose...

NLB: Classic play.

PH-T: And indicate that - oh, first, before this, when I discovered that my colleagues, with less experience than I, were getting more than I was getting, substantially more, I went into went into Bosland and said this is grossly unfair. He looked me in the eye and said "I don't have to pay you what I pay them. You have no bargaining position at all. I can get lots of men to do what you're doing." Well, I was hearing what I was hearing, so I crept away with my tail between my legs. But that made me all the more interested in getting a competing bid to prove that I did have a bargaining position. So, as a

consequence I was made an assistant professor, and my salary was at the bottom of the assistant professors, but at least it was better.

NLB: So you didn't have to move to Pittsburgh.

PH-T: And I didn't have to move Pittsburgh. That would have been difficult. As my husband had a job in Boston. Relations with Bosland were strange. The president every year, as I'm sure he still does, has a reception for the faculty. It's a formal reception, people get all dressed up for it. I remember one day, when they had night things at the university I stayed with my parents, and I was always pleased to have the opportunity to visit with them because I didn't have much chance to see them. One such party it was raining. My father offered to drive me to the college. I forget why I didn't drive myself. And, because it was raining, we picked up en route on? One of my colleagues from graduate school who was teacher Yves Marinnet. Yves and I had had a lot of fun going dinner dancing before...

NLB: Is the French Yves a male?

PH-T: Yes, Y-V-E-S.

NLB: Okay.

PH-T: Howard was in the army, and when Howard came back, Yves claimed to be mortally wounded because he didn't know I had -- I wasn't engaged... Anyway, Yves got a job at Brown, and we were good friends. He got over his _____. So, Dad and I stopped to pick up Yves, and Dad delivered us to the door. A lined stretched out of the door onto the sidewalk, and the Boslands were right there. As Yves and I approached, Bosland said to me, tossing up his chin in the direction of Yves, "Who's your boyfriend?" And he did it again, "Who's your boyfriend?" I turned around and said, "Oh, you mean my chauffeur - that was my father. He brought us over -- brought me over and we picked Yves up because of the rain." Then something happened and the subject changed. There were some other rather bizarre incidents with Bosland. I began to think that he might regret that I had been wished on him by Wriston. He probably didn't too much like having to have the only woman in his department.

NLB: You were still the only woman except for the woman in the biology department?

PH-T: Yes, as far as I know, as far as I can _____. Courtesy of George Stigler, I got an offer from the National Bureau to be a research associate for a year. Phil Taft had taken over as chairman of the department by this point. It was a great honor and I was delighted about the offer. I went to see Phil and tell him about it. He said very seriously, Penny, I'm delighted for you, because I've got to tell you this: "Wriston said to me, after your last promotion, or on some occasion, I wouldn't try to get any more promotions for her. And then he used the three words starting with K in German, meaning children, kitchen, church, indicating that he thought my role as a married woman _____. So, I will recommend a leave of absence for you, but I think you should probably for your own good not think _____. This fit in with that you traitor. And it was quite in contrast to

Wriston's reputation as a liberal. So I went off to the National Bureau. The subject I decided to work on was the role of International Capital and Canadian Economic Development.

NLB: Back up for one second, if I may. You mentioned that George Stigler had been helpful in connecting you up with National Bureau of Economic Research, and that he had been helpful in connecting you up with Carnegie Tech?

PH-T: Right.

NLB: He had joined the Brown faculty at that point?

PH-T: Yeah.

NLB: And had adopted you as a colleague?

PH-T: Well...

NLB: You have fairly distinguished patrons.

PH-T: This came about Nancy, I'm quite sure, because the Economics Department had a graduate seminar about once a month or so. Monday evenings, I remember, and one subject early on was poor dear Yves, who talked about his Ph.D. thesis, which was putting international trade theory on the basis of assumptions of monopolistic competition rather than pure competition. Yves started saying this is what he was going to do. George Stigler, a great free- marketer if there ever was, said he wasn't prepared to sit and listen to anything -- any such nonsense. And Yves floundered, and there was much commotion -- everyone talking at once. When finally I got a word in edgewise, and I said with some sarcasm in my voice, may I point out that whether or not his assumptions are worthwhile will depend on how he uses them in further analysis. I can remember Stigler looking at me after that with big eyes. He said yes, of course, and sat back in his chair, and so it proceeded. I think it was that. I made him an argument.

NLB: Um huh.

PH-T: And he couldn't have been nicer about it, recommending me to everyone.

NLB: And so at least one free-marketeer actually was one, and he didn't care about the gender of the...

PH-T: Right, right.

NLB: proponent of the idea.

PH-T: Right.

NLB: Good for him.

PH-T: Yep. Great guy. Brown gave him an honorary degree, I think.

NLB: I hope so. I use his works all the time because they are quite related to the work I do. I quote his article on...

PH-T: This is antitrust?

NLB: No. On the economics of advertising.

PH-T: Oh!

NLB: Because a lot of the work, a lot of what FDA does is to try to suppress all kinds of speech, and they have no appreciation at all for the notion that that speech is valuable to consumers, and they are also not too big on consumer autonomy. They think they should tell people what to do.

PH-T: Good for you. I didn't know you were doing that.

NLB: So I quote Stigler all the time on that subject. [20:00]

PH-T: Wonderful, wonderful guy.

NLB: All right, so we're are headed off to New York. Did you have to go to New York to do this work? Or did they just paid for it from New York?

PH-T: Well, as it happened, some of the documents I needed to do this work were only partially in New York. They were either in Ottawa, parliamentary papers... or in the Library of Congress. And as it happened, my husband had been...

NLB: (NLB Sneezes) Excuse me.

PH-T: Geshundheit!

NLB: Thank you. We'll edit the sneezes out of the tape.

PH-T: The GAO had been after my husband for some time. He was an accountant - trying to hire him. So we decided that we would move to Washington. He would try that out. I would work at the Library of Congress, and commute to New York at the Library of Congress, and commute to New York as much as I could, which is what we did. While I was...

NLB: This was in the late '40s? Early '50s? How long were you at Brown? From 46 until...

PH-T: This was fall of 1950.

NLB: Uh-huh. So you were at Brown for about three and a half years?

PH-T: Well, I started teaching in March 46...

NLB: So four, a little over four years, more likely.

PH-T: When you count the semesters, it's closer to five. While I was here, I got the offer of a job way at the bottom of the scale of this job at the Council of Economic Advisors, which was a Plum job for any young economist.

NLB: And relatively new.

PH-T: Employment Act of 1946, yes it was new. Oh, I accepted it with alacrity.

NLB: And who was the council at the time you...

PH-T: Leon Keyserling, a John Clark, an odd entity by the name of John Clark, a Roy uh ____.

NLB: All right, well we'll figure it out.

PH-T: I saw Roy a year ago, out at Collington, the retirement home where my friend Judy Fisher Pitney lives. And, by golly, he looked just the same. I was the second man of the two-man team on international economic problems. Walter Salon, do you know that name?

NLB: Um huh.

PH-T: [Salon] Was the chief. ____ working with Walter very much indeed. I stayed there. No one asked me what my politics were at the time I was hired.

NLB: This was at the end of the Truman administration? Or the Eisenhower?

PH-T: End of the Truman administration.

NLB: Okay.

PH-T: They were very interested in my command of economics but not interested at all in my politics. ____ Until the administration changed and then the Republicans who had taken control decided they were going to throw that gang of planners out. They had never gotten along with Leon Keyserling.

NLB: I should think.

PH-T: Who was not an economist of course, but...

NLB: A New Dealer, through and through I should think.

PH-T: Yes, very much a New Dealer. And so the funding, the appropriations, for the Council of Economic Advisors were cut off and there was no Council of Economic Advisors for about six months. There was the Office of Economic Advisor in the White

House and this was Arthur Burns who had been head of the National Bureau when I was there. I remember ____ I was fired. He had to tell everyone I was fired. ____ I was down in the dumps but I was in the in the course of writing up my Canadian balance stuff, so I retired to the Library of Congress again; finished up that and meantime did some job hunting. One of the guys who had been on the Staff of the Council of Economic Advisors, before the end of the Council, had left to go to the Board of National Estimates at CIA. He suggested that I might want to explore that. At the same time, [25:00] a businessman in town had gotten a contract to use input/output techniques and had signed Leontieff as an advisor setting up a new outfit. So I decided that I would try that out.

NLB: Who was the businessman? Do you remember? Remember the company?

PH-T: The name that was big in town was this place _____. He was horrible. I hadn't been there twenty-four hours when I knew I had made a mistake. CIA had offered me a job, and I turned them down. He wasn't interested in the work at all. He was interested _____, and that's not the kind of atmosphere I wanted. So I called CIA, and originally the guy had said he would hold the job open for me, and said, could I please change my mind. I stayed for a month and went to CIA. Well he did make a mint of money. He shouldn't have. He didn't deserve it. Leontieff himself, didn't stay very long because they used the output contract just to leverage themselves up. I went then to CIA where at first they didn't know what to make of me. I had some marvelous supervisors. They gave me increasing responsibility and the authority to go with it, and I was pushed up and up.

NLB: You started out as what? A GS-what? Remember? Or does the CIA have the standard government...

PH-T: Yeah, they follow the same.

NLB: So, a Ph.D. with some experience should have been what, an 11, a 12?

PH-T: Someplace I forget, Maybe a 12.

NLB: Um huh.

PH-T: The Federal Reserve, who had always been interested in my thesis, tried to hire me. Always offering me a grade below what the men were getting, and I never went.

NLB: You'd think an economics would know better, wouldn't you?

PH-T: Yes, but things were very different in those days.

NLB: Now why was the CIA different? There was nothing about the institution, nothing about the fact that they were out of...

PH-T: It wasn't institutional. I was in the research area, very different from the operations area, the dirty tricks area. Totally shut off. There is no communication between the two, or at least there wasn't in those days. Research was important. It was the Cold War. I was in, started out being in, something called Analysis, but then got offered a job as a section

chief in the International Trade branch. Which involved _____. The people that I worked with were great people. I was later promoted to Branch Chief, at a time when we kept getting requests for an evaluation of what a Naval blockade of East Germany might do, might accomplish. This was an emergency, hurry-up studies always came late Friday afternoon and they were due Monday morning.

NLB: I don't know why your clients in the CIA should be different from my clients in the practice of law.

PH-T: I remember well one Sunday afternoon when we had been working on that kind of problem. Leo Sweeney, who was my boss, he was _____, and Bob Joster, who was my Deputy. We were putting the final touches on, and said "You know, this is such fun we should pay the government for doing it." And we agreed! It was great fun. We respected each other, we had lots of arguments, but they were very friendly arguments on the merits of whatever the thing was. And in terms of the importance of the job, in the ability of the colleagues and their decency, one of the best jobs I've ever had. Leo made me then, later on, his deputy.

NLB: His deputy what?

PH-T: His division chief. Divisions are larger than branches, and branches are larger than sections. And then I was made division chief. And Leo put my name in for the Federal Women's Award, which existed at that point. But meantime... [30:00]

NLB: What time period are we talking about here? About '53 or so to...

PH-T: To '63.

NLB: Through the Eisenhower administration.

PH-T: Right.

NLB: Through the Kennedy administration?

PH-T: Then, somehow, and I've forgotten how it came about, I had an offer as the person in charge of international trade and aid, and so forth, and writing about this other stuff... Heller was in charge. I went in the summer of '63.

NLB: So you actually left the CIA.

PH-T: Yeah.

NLB: Went back to the CEA?

PH-T: Right. The summer of '63. In November of that year Kennedy was assassinated. Johnson took over. Apparently, Mary Keyserling, who was head of the Women's Bureau at this point...

NLB: I remember. I started work... I spent a year at the Labor Department in '65 and '66...

PH-T: Oh, for goodness sake!

NLB: As a very junior GS-7.

PH-T: Oh, for goodness sakes!

NLB: And she was the head of it.

PH-T: Yes.

[End of Tape 1 Side 2]

PH-T: Apparently at this point, I learned later on, Mary Keyserling was actively trying to get more women into high positions – presidentially appointed positions – in the government. And among other people, she phoned Walter Heller to ask if he had any recommendations, and Heller gave her my name. Shortly after that the Post came out with an article about women under Johnson, how he had made a big to-do when he took over about appointing more women to high positions and ____ was in there nagging him, and he had at first, but they had turned over, and there weren't as many women in...

NLB: I'm trying to think who any of them were.

PH-T: I forget, too. Shortly after that, I had a phone call on Saturday morning from the president's recruiter, who was also head of the Civil Service commission, John Macy. Once a month, branch chiefs at the CIA were on duty in case of an emergency. We just had to be available to the telephone on Saturday or Sunday – whatever. I was on duty this weekend.

NLB: At the CIA? Or CEA?

PH-T: No, CIA.

NLB: I thought you were at the Council...

PH-T: I hadn't gotten to...

NLB: Oh, okay.

PH-T: I hadn't gotten there yet.

NLB: Okay.

PH-T: The telephone rang about 9'oclock. I hadn't yet had my coffee, and before my coffee I'm not very coherent. I'm totally stupid. ____ White House calling. I said oh lord. I wondered if this were an emergency, trying to figure out where it might be. John Macy came on the phone. ____ "I have been authorized to inquire how you would respond if

the President saw fit to appoint you to be a member of the Tariff Commission.”

NLB: You were just sitting there, doing Branch Chief duty on a Saturday, and this is the first you hear about it?

PH-T: Yes! Totally! I was literally dumbfounded. I didn’t say a word, Nancy! There was a long pause, and finally, he said, “Perhaps you’d like to call me back?” I said, “Thank you very much,” and I took down his number. I went out into the kitchen and I gulped down some coffee. My husband was still in bed. I went up and woke him up and told him. He said, “Oh, Jesus, you’ve got to accept!” So I phoned back and apologized for my slow response, and said, “If the President should see fit to appoint me, I would be honored and delighted.” He said, “Thank you, I’ll get back to you.” Meanwhile, Saturday went by, Sunday went by, Monday went by – so it began to seem like a total dream. Nothing happened at all. I think it was Tuesday, maybe it was Wednesday. I was going over a paper on transportation in Vietnam with the Branch Chief who was in charge of transportation. We were deep in Vietnam when the phone rang, and it was John Macy. “The President wants you at his press conference which starts at 1 o’clock. Come and have lunch.” No it wasn’t John Macy – it was a guy who’s in charge of moving pictures in Washington now.

NLB: Jack Valenti.

PH-T: Jack Valenti. “Come and have lunch. I’ve arranged for you to be able to park in front of the State Department. We’ll pick you up there.” ____ And I was to have lunch with someone else.

NLB: What were you wearing?

PH-T: Exactly! (Laughter) By this point it was July. Before all this happened we’d been in Bermuda and I had a wonderful cotton dress with a skirt that was really – [5:00] you could hold it up in a perfect circle – it was wrinkled, and before I had it cleaned I thought I’ll wear it one more time. (Laughter) And I had an appointment with the hairdresser that I had postponed. So I was a mess.

NLB: Were you at least wearing stockings? Were you wearing stockings that day?

PH-T: Oh, I never wear stockings in the summer – it’s hot. No.

NLB: You showed up for a presidential appointment, and you weren’t wearing stockings?

PH-T: Well, this was just a press conference, announcing that he was sending my name to the Finance Committee.

NLB: Okay.

PH-T: And I was not wearing stockings. (Laughter) Too hot in Washington to wear stockings!

NLB: I agree.

PH-T: I went and we had a very nice lunch.

NLB: With whom?

PH-T: It was not...

NLB: The White House staff people?

PH-T: Yeah. A guy who's frequently on television doing a lot of cerebral shows.

NLB: Bill Moyers?

PH-T: Bill Moyers! Thank you, yes. Yes - a very pleasant guy.

NLB: Yes?

PH-T: Then we went into the Crystal Room where the press conference was to be. I was seated between Thurgood Marshall, whose appointment was being announced as Attorney General...

NLB: As Solicitor General?

PH-T: As Solicitor General, yes, and a guy who is high up at the Center now, whose appointment was being announced as head of USIA. Bah! It will come to me.

NLB: That would be the guy that must have succeeded Edward R. Murrow.

PH-T: Yeah. Well the President first introduced Thurgood Marshall, and he introduced Penelope [pronounced here as peh-neh-lope] Hartland-Thunberg. My name has four syllables in it, not three. I always correct anyone who uses three syllables, and I was sorely tempted on national television to correct the President, but decided that might be indiscreet. And he said "stand please," and I stood up and bowed, and sat down. And after it was all over I went up to the President, as the others knew him to be _____. He looked me in the eye (this was Johnson) like an enemy. It was though he kicked me in the solar plexus. Here was my President doing me this great honor, and I was very sincere in thanking him for the honor of serving him, when clearly he didn't like me at all. Some years afterwards, I got to know Horace Busby - wonderful guy. Have you ever met Horace?

NLB: No, but I...

PH-T: A great human being. He, too...

NLB: A major confidante of Lyndon Johnson.

PH-T: Yes. He, too, had associations with the Center, and once we came back from Europe together and had a chance to talk. He's got wonderful tales, of course, about the

LBJ days. And so I told him about this incident, and he said, he smiled understandingly and said, “Oh, you’re from New England. _____ Johnson is scared to death of the Kennedys and he thought you were a spy.”

NLB: Mmm.

PH-T: You see, I was an independent. Always have been an independent. And he thought I was a Republican in disguise. And as a Republican I could not have been named because there were already three Republicans on the Commission. So he hated me.

NLB: For the assumed Kennedy connection that you didn’t even...

PH-T: This is what Horace said...

NLB: Did you have a Kennedy connection?

PH-T: No! Never met the guy.

NLB: You have to admit you’re from New England.

PH-T: Sorry?

NLB: You have to admit you’re from New England.

PH-T: Oh yes. Exactly. And it was that. He was a very insecure man apparently, and scared to death of the Kennedys.

NLB: When was this?

PH-T: He was a very insecure man apparently, and scared to death of the Kennedys.

NLB: When was this?

PH-T: This was – well, this was...

NLB: Early ’64? Later ’64?

PH-T: It was ’65.

NLB: ’65. Let me check one thing. I’d thought you’d said that you had been at the CIA until ’63 and then gone over to the Council of Economic Advisors [10:00].

PH-T: Right.

NLB: Had you then gone back to the CIA?

PH-T: I’d gone back to the CIA.

NLB: After how long, about?

PH-T: I went back I remember, in the fall of '64.

NLB: Ok. So that's why you were back at the CIA.

PH-T: Yes.

NLB: Shall I tell you quickly my Lyndon B. Johnson story..?

PH-T: Oh yes!

NLB: All right, so they send your name up to the Senate Finance Committee?

PH-T: And, I was interviewed by... remind me name of the Chairman of the Finance Committee whose wife has a Radcliffe Ph.D.?

NLB: Paul Douglas.

PH-T: Paul Douglas. Thank you. I don't know why I'm repressing that. And, all of a sudden, I found myself at the Tariff Commission.

NLB: Was your hearing easy? I mean, was the nomination process smooth? Was there any opposition?

PH-T: Oh very easy, no. Not at all.

NLB: The Tariff Commission in those days was a sleepy little agency?

PH-T: A very sleepy little agency. And moreover, there were only I think 3 commissioners there out of a total roster of 6 at that point. So they were glad to have...

NLB: It was set up to have 6?

PH-T: Yes.

NLB: So that was guaranteed ties? Most of them have an odd number – most commissions have an odd number.

PH-T: Right. No, there could be ties.

NLB: Uh huh. But they were down – they were short handed? They only had half the statutory number of commissioners.

PH-T: Right. Which made it very difficult to operate.

NLB: Just briefly, what was the Tariff Commission supposed to do?

PH-T: It is set up to investigate whether industries or firms in the United States are injured because of import competition.

NLB: This is what's now the International Trade Commission.

PH-T: It is now the International Trade Commission. It along with most other independent commissions eventually got Hooverized. Do you remember the Hoover Commission? At this point, it had not been Hooverized, and so there were a lot of anomalies. They couldn't even buy paperclips until a fourth person arrived.

NLB: Who were your colleagues? At the start, do you remember?

PH-T: Glen Georgia... mostly politicians, Nancy.

NLB: Not Ph.D.'s...

PH-T: No, no.

NLB: Were you the only Ph.D. on the Commission?

PH-T: The only Ph.D. They'd had, I think, an economist on the commission once before. They had never had a woman before.

NLB: Were they traditionally fairly protectionist at that point?

PH-T: Yes. And they were traditionally very partisan with free traders on one side and protectionists on the other.

NLB: Were Republicans classically the free traders or...

PH-T: No.

NLB: ... the other way around?

PH-T: The Democrats, I think.

NLB: Yeah, okay like Cordell Hull and those guys who were free traders.

PH-T: Right. Whereas, the Republicans were protectionists. The Commission was so jealous of their prerogatives and so ignorant of the facts of international trade, they forbade the staff to use analysis at all in the staff reports to the commission about any given case. They couldn't even use supply and demand, because each commissioner was afraid that another commissioner would have influenced the staff in his direction.

NLB: Does that suggest that the staff was not overly qualified either?

PH-T: It suggests that the staff was very partisan, too. The staff was divided into various groups. The industry groups were very protectionist. The analysts, the analytic group, were free trade. The lawyers were protectionists ____ Pretty much in the pocket of the House Committee that has rights.

NLB: It's the senate. The Senate Finance and House Ways & Means, does that...

PH-T: Ways & Means, yeah, yes.

NLB: The early textile industry [15:00] for example whether...

PH-T: Very enforced, very enforced, right.

NLB: Uh huh.

PH-T: The Tariff Commission – I can't say celebrated – went through its 50th birthday, while I was there. Three commissioners among themselves had talked about a celebration of some sort. And by golly, they asked me to draw up a plan of seminars and discussions and so forth that would... I did spend a lot of time on it. Presented it to my colleagues at a commission meeting. ____ moved that we have no celebration, no acknowledgment at all of the 50th.

NLB: What had you done?

PH-T: I'd stolen his stuff. He wanted to do it.

NLB: Oh!

PH-T: And I came along and his colleagues asked me to do it, and he was very badly hurt.

NLB: So it wasn't the substance of what you had done.

PH-T: No. I would get to shine, and he wouldn't. The others voted to support that. So we had no recognition. Gradually, they came to accept me, and gradually, I got them to admit the words supply and demand into our reports. Very interesting. Did you know Stan Metzger, a lawyer from State; he was named Chairman of the Tariff Commission shortly after I got there. When Stan arrived, on one of our cases, after we voted, divided opinion, and Stan said, you write your opinion, so and so, you take care of another opinion. I'll write Penny's and my opinion. I had a few gentle words with Stan, pointed out that his reasoning was that of a lawyer, and mine would not be like his or another economist, and I would write my own opinion. I always wrote my own opinions after that. He was all set to take over. He would never have said that I'm sure, had I been a man.

NLB: I wonder if that is a very common way to assign opinions. That is how the Supreme Court assigns them, for example. They routinely write...

PH-T: Is that so?

NLB: You may be right, but I wondered. IT is not unusual for Supreme Court Justices, perhaps he clerked or perhaps he knew of it...

PH-T: It might be that.

NLB:... to write for each other.

PH-T: He was an experienced lawyer.

NLB: Excuse me. Okay, I'm just curious... I mean, so far, I have agreed with every instinct you've had about women's issues, but I just raised that possibility.

PH-T: This was the kind of intuitive reaction to him on my part. At this point, I'd had enough. I'd encountered often enough sex discrimination to... perhaps look for it when it wasn't there.

NLB: I doubt that in your case, but okay.

PH-T: In this case, I will point out something that happened later. I was serving sherry in my office, for one reason or another, in honor of someone's coming or going, and I asked the Commissioners to stop in between such and such time. They came, _____ nervous as a cat. He kept looking at his watch, and finally, said I have to get back to my office, and dashed off. I didn't really think much of it. He normally wasn't that tense, although he was a highly-strung individual. Well, some time later, his secretary, _____ Weatherspoon, who was his secretary, came to tell me the horrors of working for him. How he kept making advances on the pretty young women. She pointed out that on that very day, when he rushed out of my office looking at his watch, he had invited a dear little redhead who worked in the legal office, I think, to visit his office at such and such hour. She had _____ his disposition for the rest of the day, or something. [20:00] Well, I hadn't been aware of that at the time of our opinions, so he could have been even _____.

NLB: _____ in these circumstances, could be a Presidential appointee. Just like...

PH-T: Indeed.

NLB: Just like the other Presidential appointee...

PH-T: Indeed. It helps a great deal. Let's stop there because I want to say a few words about something that I think is in all those papers. I hope so, because it's very good. But something that happened while I was at the Tariff Commission and on the Board of Trustees at Brown. I'm trying to think... Probably more complaints that he wasn't doing enough for women with women.

NLB: President Johnson?

PH-T: Yes, President Johnson. The President asked John Macy to organize a group of women to advise him on women's issues. John Macy asked all of the holders of the Federal Women's Award to come to his office one day.

NLB: You mentioned that you had been put in for the Federal Women's Award, you didn't tell me that you won it.

PH-T: I won it.

NLB: Okay. Good.

PH-T: We all went and he said that ____ highly placed women to advise him on women's issues. He ____ us together to organize us into such a group. Then he said ____ words, but he hasn't given me any indication at all that this was coming. He named me chairman. Asked me to take the chair and proceed.

NLB: While you were at the Tariff Commission?

PH-T: Yep! So I took the chair and I proceeded. Well that was a fun group, as a matter of fact. I elected a smaller group, of course, because there were dozens of ____ to discuss what subjects we would recommend for presidential attention, and how we would do it and so forth. Great group of women. Did you ever know Ruth Van Cleave?

NLB: Nope.

PH-T: ... lawyer, who for many years ran our colonies. She was the Director of the Office of Territories in the Department of the Interior.

NLB: Uh huh.

PH-T: ____ and Guam....

NLB: Samoa.

PH-T: Samoa, and all those wonderful places.

NLB: My personal favorite, Kingman Reef.

PH-T: (Laughter) ... with you at most would be the only think people who know about it.

NLB: It's in one of the statutes. (Laughter)

PH-T: Ruth and I became dear friends as a consequence of this. Irene Parsons, who was head of personnel at the Veterans Bureau, ____ an economist ____ group of women to be chosen, who was at the Post Office at this point. We met in my office, and we decided that one of the most important things that we could recommend and that the President could do, was to amend executive order "blank blank blank blank" and to include among the prohibitions, sex.

NLB: This was before the Civil Rights act? This must have been before the Civil Rights Act.

PH-T: Yes, it must have been, because that was later '60's.

NLB: Yes, right, Okay.

PH-T: And this must have been... I don't know when this was. It was in there about the same time.

NLB: Right.

PH-T: But we worked very hard on this, and the report is in the files. Incidentally, there's a new book out, but it's about women in high positions... section in it. Ruth gave me this book ____ about women in government, and it mentions this report.

NLB: Ah, terrific!

PH-T: ____ Clearly had never seen it. I'm not sure how many copies there are around. But there's one copy in there. At this point at Brown, the students were getting a little active. They hadn't reached the heyday of their activity. We hadn't yet had to change the curriculum. But the students were getting active. [25:00] There was a church based group, I think in Connecticut, that was agitating for non-profit institutions like churches, and universities, and colleges, and so forth, to sign a promise that they would not discriminate in their employment on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin. ____ wanted Brown to sign, and wrote letters to all members of the Corporation urging this. When I got that letter it was a golden opportunity, and I wrote back immediately saying in no way could I support prejudice against women such as that recommendation.

NLB: It was the absence of listing women. Ok.

PH-T: I remember writing specifically, and I hope this letter is in there, about prejudice against women. It was due to this issue. A couple of months later, they started agitating to have more women on the faculty, more women's studies, and so forth. I felt that I had not lived in vain then, Nancy.

NLB: Uh huh.

PH-T: I was very pleased with that.

NLB: I should think so. You were on the Corporation by that time?

PH-T: Yes.

NLB: Shall we backtrack to cover some of that? Because we haven't gotten you there yet?

PH-T: Well, I started out my governance activities at Brown as a member of the Pembroke Committee.

NLB: Pembroke Advisory Committee.

PH-T: Pembroke Advisory Committee. This was under Barnaby Sweeney.

NLB: Keeney.

PH-T: Keeney. (Laughter) Thank you. Leo Sweeney and Barnaby Keeney.

NLB: And the dean, the first dean, you advised was Nancy Duke Lewis?

PH-T: Nancy Duke Lewis. Yes. And then, mostly it was Rosemary Posie.

NLB: Rosemary Pierrel, now Sorrentino.

PH-T: Yes. Barnaby could be very hard on Rosemary. Very hard! Cruelly hard! We met with them and talked about issues at Pembroke.

NLB: The Pembroke Advisory Council met with the Dean of Pembroke and the President of the University?

PH-T: Right.

NLB: And others at Pembroke?

PH-T: Yes.

NLB: How often did you meet – do you remember? A couple of times a year? Three times a year?

PH-T: More than that. At least once a quarter, possibly... Posie used to say she considered it her board of trustees.

NLB: Right.

PH-T: And Barnaby treated it as a necessary evil, I think. I remember once scolding him that ___ making light of it as he was doing. Anyway, after that Libby [Elizabeth Goodale Kenyon], who had been president of the Alumni Association, became, I think, the first female Alumnae Trustee.

NLB: Elected.

PH-T: Yes, elected Alumnae Trustee.

NLB: That's right.

PH-T: And she was the one who told me that Barnaby had said to her – I guess – I don't know how she heard it, that he wanted me on the Board of Trustees. And I was asked to run and I ran and I was elected. I was, I think, the third female elected.

NLB: When were you elected, do you remember?

PH-T: I forget. That list of Brown trustees...

NLB: Oh yes, right. I have it in my office – I assume in the early 60's or mid...

PH-T: Yes... No! Late 60's, I think. Cause it continued into the 70's [1966-1971]. I enjoyed the work very much. Oh, another interesting...

NLB: Who was the President when you were first elected? Barney or had he left?

PH-T: It was Barney.

NLB: Because he didn't leave until 1966.

PH-T: He left while I was there, and...

NLB: He announced his resignation at my commencement, and he left a year later.

PH-T: Yeah, I hated to see him go. But then he came to Washington.

NLB: Yes, he did.

PH-T: And I did see him here. I wondered when I was first named to the board, knowing that the board did its work through committees, how I, in Washington, [30:00] an economist, could be most useful. I looked over the committees, and said this would be one where I could be useful. So I went to Pat James, who was at that point Chairman of the Finance Committee, and said to him I thought his committee might be the _____. Pat's reaction was precious, Nancy! He looked at me. His eyes got wide. We were standing in front of the big table in the Corporation room. He slapped his forehead with his hand and laid back on the Corporation table, and said he'd been wanting a Washington-based economist on this committee for some time, and I'd be more than welcome. Well, clearly it had never dawned on him to think of me as a member, even though he knew I was an economist, and he knew I was Washington-based. But he was just as nice as he could be. He always treated me on my merits after that. (Laughter) His astonishment was that of an old-fashioned gentleman who just wouldn't think of a woman.

NLB: But he went ahead and did it.

PH-T: Oh yes, right away.

NLB: That's interesting.

PH-T: And it was very difficult for the professional investment advisors who managed the portfolio to have to confront once a month ____ which terrorized them.

NLB: Was this the Budget & Finance Committee?

PH-T: No, the Investment Committee. What did I say?

NLB: You said finance.

PH-T: I'm sorry.

NLB: So it was the Investment Committee.

PH-T: Yes.

[End of Tape 2 Side 1]

NLB: Well, tell me a few more stories now, and I have just a couple of questions to fix up things and then I'll let you go.

PH-T: But I think that's about all.

NLB: All right. Well, tell me just a couple more things about your service on the Corporation. They put you on the Investment Committee when you asked? What other committees did you serve on, do you remember?

PH-T: Oh, Advisory and Executive.

NLB: They put you on A & E?

PH-T: Oh yes, oh, and there's another story there.

NLB: You must have been the first woman on A&E.

PH-T: No, Doris.

NLB: Doris Reed?

PH-T: Right.

NLB: ... had preceded you on A&E.

PH-T: And I think she was still active at this point.

NLB: Was she a fellow by that time? Or was she still...

PH-T: No, she was a trustee. She moved across the aisle shortly after that. I'm quite sure she was still a trustee. Oh yes, this was a marvelous story.

NLB: Did you serve with her on A & E?

PH-T: I think so. Um huh.

NLB: At the same time.

PH-T: Um hum. They were getting really quite...

NLB: Really?

PH-T: A movement to get rid of Pembroke College had started.

NLB: Yes, yes. Let's talk about that.

PH-T: And it was very controversial, as you know. I was in favor of it. I have always

believed that there is indeed a rule for ____ not every young person, and I thought myself not wanting to go away from home when I was first in college. Not every young woman is ready to compete with men, but on the while, I thought it was much better for women to start competing with men at that point, and around ____ and Radcliffe and so forth were ____ faces to be combined. So I was in favor of getting rid of Pembroke College, although, sentimentally, I didn't much like the idea. Still, we would find ways to preserve the name and so forth. A & E was going to vote on it, and no one was at all sure how the vote would go. We had lunch, A & E, ahead of time. The meeting was to be that afternoon. As lunch was breaking up, there was still time before the meeting. ____ John Nicholas Brown, a wonderful man, asked me how I felt about Pembroke. I remember saying to him, following my services in the market ____ in the Korean War ____ I encountered personally, all kinds of discrimination. I guess that's why he sat down, he wanted to hear more. We talked at some length about my own personal experiences and why this leads me to think this way. He thanked me very much and we walked to the meeting together. It was a wonderful A & E set up Nancy. The President sat in the center. On one side was John Nicholas Brown. The exquisite, old school, gentleman, loyal to Brown. On the other side sat the Chancellor...

NLB: Who was...?

PH-T: Head of TWA, Charlie Tillinghast.

NLB: Was Charlie already Chancellor by then?

PH-T: Yep. Hard bitten competitor, good businessman, marvelous advice for the President to get. However, when the issue came up. John Nicholas Brown started the discussion speaking in favor, and after that I knew my side would win. ____ I played really an important rule in the merger.

NLB: Surely, Charlie was in favor of getting rid of Pembroke.

PH-T: I think so. But, if John Nicholas Brown had gone against it, this would have been very influential...

NLB: Indeed.

PH-T: In A & E. But with John Nicholas in favor, it did sail through. I forget whether it was unanimous or not. Probably not unanimous, I don't know. Then there was another story that I ____ Oh yes! ____ activism, our students were very well behaved on the whole. But every so often they kicked up their heels a little in the late 60's and early 70's. Some time in there, on our way to the A & E meeting, we were accosted by a group of students. They were opposed to absentee landlordism on the part of the Corporation. Here were all these people from all over the country [5:00] who knew nothing about what was going on at Brown, and yet, they were the ones to decide the policy at the University. The students thought this was dreadful, and they wanted representation on this and they thought we conserved our powers. I forget who our spokesman was, but one of us, very gently pointed out that why yes, we did come from all over the country. We were

constantly in touch with each other by telephone. Oh, and one of the students had said, you meet once every six months. How can you possibly run me? We met in primary session only once every six months, but the work was done in committees.

NLB: ____.

PH-T: ... we were going to Providence. Other committees met once a month in Providence. We were in constant touch with each other by telephone, and ____ happening. The students listened very respectfully, and after this, one of them said, you're picketing us, and they went away. Brown students, in other words, I thought were very educatable.

NLB: On the whole, that's proven to be true.

PH-T: Yes. So I think that's about it.

NLB: That's good. This is where the tape ends. Okay, we're starting again. If you're thinking you can stop transcribing here, you can't, because there is another story or two. Okay. One more Wriston story.

PH-T: The conclusion of my relationship with Wriston. He had retired, had been retired in fact for some years, when there was a special "do" to the University recognizing past presidents. Wriston was invited to attend. Barnaby Keeney I think had died at this point, and I forget whether any other past presidents were there or not. There was a big reception in one of the Pembroke dormitories and lunch. Wriston was duly honored. He stood up to acknowledge the honor. People finished lunch and then broke up. And a number of people went up to greet Wriston personally. I hadn't seen him since I had disassociated myself from the faculty at Brown. I thought, although I still remembered actually, the home, children, kitchen comment, he's been retired, for Pete's sake, the least I can do is go up and greet him, and wish him well. And so I did, and when I finally got my turn, I told him my name and said I used to work for you. He did not offer to shake hands. He said, without a smile on his face, interrupted me, "Yes I remember." Then turned his back to me to greet someone on the other side. At which point, I left and thought, he has not forgiven me. I told Libby this story afterwards. And her comment was, Wriston did not like to be proven wrong. You had been named to a higher position, had continued in your career, you proved him wrong, and he didn't like that. I think she was probably right. End of story.