A HISTORY OF THE CONFERENCES OF DEANS OF WOMEN, 1903-1922

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A Dissertation

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ABSTRACT

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As women entered higher education, positions were created to address their specific needs. In the 1890s, the position of dean of women proliferated, and in 1903 groups began to meet regularly in professional associations they called conferences of deans of women. This study examines how and why early deans of women formed these professional groups, how those groups can be characterized, and who comprised the conferences. It also explores the degree of continuity between the conferences and a later organization, the National Association of Deans of Women (NADW).

Using evidence from archival sources, the known meetings are listed and described chronologically. Seven different conferences are identified: those intended for deans of women (a) Of the Middle West, (b) In State Universities, (c) With the Religious Education Association, (d) In Private Institutions, (e) With the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, (f) With the Southern Association of College Women, and (g) With the National Education Association (also known as the NADW). Each of the conferences is analyzed using seven organizational variables: membership, organizational structure, public relations, fiscal policies, services and publications, ethical standards, and affiliations. Individual profiles of each of 130 attendees are provided, and as a group they can be described as professional women who were both administrators and scholars, highly-educated in a variety of disciplines, predominantly unmarried, and active in social and political causes of the era.

The primary conclusions are: There was little continuity between the conferences and the NADW; the nature of the professional groups and the profiles of the deans of women suggest that the profession underwent a change around 1920; and the careers and lives of the early deans of women were filled with important accomplishments, and are worthy of study. A deeper understanding of the early deans of women and their professional activities can inform research on the history of student affairs and the roles of women in higher education. Finally, the stories of
these remarkable women can provide inspiration and illumination for those who continue the work with students in higher education.
Near the end of a long life, Thomas Jefferson readied himself for the call of mortality. “The wish to stay here is thus gradually extinguished; but not so easily that of returning once in a while to see how things have gone on” (Mayo, 1942, p. 320). He wondered if, in the hereafter, he might be allowed a view of what was passing in his absence. I believe that wish was granted, in some way. If the 130 deans of women whom I have come to know had similar feelings, perhaps they too have been afforded such an opportunity. Perhaps they have been nearby as I have read their words, perhaps they have lingered as I gazed at their images, and perhaps they have been with me as I strolled the campuses of the colleges and universities in which they invested so much of their time here on earth. This dissertation is dedicated to them. I hope they are pleased.
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Once upon a time there was a little girl who did not want to get on the school bus. It was her first day of first grade, and she was in tears. She was afraid that her teacher would be mean, that she wouldn’t like her new classmates, and that first grade wouldn’t be as wonderful as kindergarten had been. Her wise mother told her that if she just went to school, she would like it when she got there. Her mother was right. The little girl would fall in love with learning and people who learn, and more than thirty years later she would still love school and the people she met there. But on that first day of first grade, the mother still had to go outside in her robe and slippers and carry the little girl to the school bus, sighing heavily at the little girl’s wails of protest.

This page and the next two pages provide the rare but precious opportunity to publicly acknowledge the people who have contributed to my long journey to the doctor of philosophy. Although there is not enough time or space to list everyone by name, I hope they each know that they have made a difference for me, whether I graciously thanked them for their efforts, was remiss in noting my appreciation at the time, or accepted help only after being metaphorically carried onto the bus.

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higher education scholars and downright good people. I would like to especially recognize the wisdom and encouragement of Drs. Carolyn Palmer, Bob DeBard, and Maureen Wilson.

It is difficult to overstate the importance of the community of students that welcomed me, sustained me, occasionally carried me, and ultimately celebrated my accomplishments as belonging to us all. Stepping out of a successful career to study is both an adventure and an ordeal, but buoyed by the circle of students past and present, all things are possible. I want to note special appreciation for my entering cohort of 1999, particularly Gretchen Lohman, Vicki Williams, Renee Clark, Chase Wilson, and Paul White. Rena Murphy and Kevin Konecny were constant companions through some really rough spots and some really fun times. Mary Ann Begley’s complete competence makes it hard to argue with her when she has confidence in your abilities. Most of these names should be prefaced with the title of doctor, and the others will have it soon. I am so thankful for the lifelong friends I met in Bowling Green, Ohio, and the students, faculty, and alumni of BGSU HESA to whom I will always be connected.

This dissertation was completed while in the employ of Kent State University, and no small degree of recognition is due to my colleagues who had enough faith to ask me to join them as a work in progress. Dr. Mark Kretovics, Dr. Stephen Thomas, and my other EDAD colleagues have been nothing but supportive at every step of the way. Dr. Marty Lash has been my dissertation completion buddy. The students of the Higher Education Administration and Student Personnel program have been an enthusiastic cheering section. Kent State is a special place and I am proud to be a part of it.

Although the completion of a doctorate was an important result of my move back to Ohio, the best thing has been the opportunity to spend more time with my family. My nephews Jordan and Josh were born during this process, and it has been amazing to accompany these small persons as they grow up. I have been a doctoral student for their entire lives, but my rate of progress has been completely irrelevant to them and their joy in our time together. Their parents, Jeff and Ronda, have made sure that Aunt Janice gets to see the world from a child’s perspective on a regular basis. Unconditional love was a lesson I learned from Jordan and Josh, but also from my furry
companions. My beautiful Red was my constant friend for nine years, seeing me though my move to Kent before going over the Rainbow Bridge, and Saraya and Rebecca provided company and lots of purring as I typed away late into the night. My grandmother, Lois, made brown bread for me and shared the stories of her life, allowing me to feel connected to generations of family I was born too late to know. Finally, there are no words to adequately acknowledge the role my parents, Jerry and Joyce, have played in my doctoral work, let alone my life in the larger sense. They have listened when I was full of words, encouraged me when I was hesitant, worried when I struggled, smiled when I was content, and applauded when I was successful. They have always been there when I needed support of any kind. I hope that saying “thank you and I love you” will suffice for now as a token of my appreciation. To them, and to all who have led me to and through a love of education, thank you.
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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The 1903 meeting of a group of deans of women has been cited as the first organized activity of what was to become the profession of student affairs (Schwartz, 1997), as the beginning of what would be called the National Association of Deans of Women (NADW; Sayre, 1950), and as an important milestone in the entry of women into the administration of higher education in the United States (Nidiffer & Bashaw, 2001). The meeting was the first of many such conferences, sponsored by groups of women calling themselves conferences of deans of women. Recent scholarship has provided illuminating biographies of selected women active in these early twentieth century organizations (Nidiffer, 2000), and descriptions of the early deans of women’s accomplishments as groundbreaking (Schwartz, 2003). However, little has been written about the groups themselves. This study provides a description of the groups from the first general meeting in 1903 to the last conference’s assignment as a subcommittee of the National Association of Deans of Women in 1922, using maturation variables of the Maturation Model for Professional Associations (MMPA; Johnson, 1983; Johnson & Stamatakos, 1991). It also includes an examination of the period surrounding the foundation of the NADW to better describe the nature of the historical relationship between the groups and the NADW. Finally, it provides a list of known participants in the organization and biographical profiles of each. The resulting study builds upon past research to provide detail and clarify our knowledge of the early history of the profession of student affairs.

This first chapter will provide a basis for the rest of the study by orienting the reader to the existing literature that triggered questions about the conferences of deans of women. Writings from both the history of student affairs and the history of deans of women will be reviewed, and the resulting questions outlined. Then, those questions will be converted to research questions, which were used to guide the study. Finally, some terms and definitions will be advanced, to set some consistency in language and guide the reader in the chapters that follow.
Description of the Problem

This section includes a discussion of gaps in the literature regarding the early history of the profession of student affairs and, specifically, the groups known as the conferences of deans of women. Contradictions and gaps in the literature as a whole implied a need for additional research, leading to the set of research questions utilized in this study.

The History of Student Affairs in the Literature

Most scholars who have written about the history of student affairs agree that the field reaches back at least to the end of the 19th century. However, relatively little has been written about the early years of the profession. As early as 1949, student personnel proponent W. H. Cowley observed that "professional historians do not discuss student personnel work. More than that, they neglect educational history in general" (Cowley, 1949, p. 12). C. Gilbert Wrenn did not include a history of the field in his 1951 Student Personnel Work in College, perhaps because he believed that the field had "not yet come of age . . . it is still a lusty and bumbling adolescent with evidences of steady growth clearly apparent" (Wrenn, 1951, p. iii). In 1961, Frederick Rudolph used the preface to the classic The American College and University: A History to lament the paucity of writing about the larger scope of the history of education: "For some time now the general reader and the professional historian have had greater access to the history of almost any skirmish of the Civil War than they have had to the history of education in the United States" (Rudolph, 1962/1990, p. vi). Rudolph's work, along with that of Brubacher and Rudy (1958/1997) and Veysey (1965) created a base for higher education history that is still oft-cited in the student affairs literature. However, their foci were the larger topics of American higher education, and student affairs work was still only briefly or obliquely mentioned. Brubacher and Rudy devoted several pages to "Student Personnel Services" with no connecting link to earlier student deans, and Veysey consolidated deans of all varieties into the larger category of administrators who presided over "the lowest (save for janitorial) layer of the academic community" - undergraduate students (Veysey, 1965, p. 268). Both of Veysey’s references to early dean of women Marion Talbot were partial quotations contained in brief footnotes. The brevity of attention and an index entry for Talbot seem
to indicate Veysey's interpretation of the deans of women's contribution to the era: "Talbot, Marion: authoritarianism of, 329 n.; paternalism of, 374" (p. 500).

In 1978, Appleton, Briggs, and Rhatigan devoted a chapter of their book *Pieces of Eight: The Rites, Roles and Styles of the Dean by Eight Who Have Been There* to the history of the profession. They noted that "only a handful of people [have] an understanding of our history" and that perhaps we were guilty of "failing to appreciate the value of historical writing to our field" (Appleton, Briggs, & Rhatigan, 1978, p. 9). They sounded a clear call for an examination of the profession's history. "*We must understand that, in substantial ways, professional identity is rooted in the past* [italics in original]. We cannot afford to continue a legacy of indifference" (p. 9).

In 1989, Fenske noted that E. A. Leonard's 1956 *Origins of Personnel Services* "is still the only source that focuses on the profession's development in the nineteenth century" (Fenske, 1989, p. 22). However, E. A. Leonard chose to define the profession as all those activities, services, and functions that ultimately became the work of the profession, and thus ended her description of history in the late 1800s, prior to the development of any signs of an organized profession. While complimenting a compilation of collections of student affairs historical documents (see Saddlemire & Rentz, 1986), Fenske also noted a disappointment that "with the exception of an article published in 1919 . . . none of the articles discusses the profession's history prior to the early 1930s" (1989, p. 51). There was still a dearth of information about the period between the appointment of the first deans whose primary responsibility was students, and the onset of the Student Personnel Movement after the First World War.

In a 1997 article in the *Journal of Higher Education*, Robert Schwartz provided what he called a brief history of the importance of deans of women, and argued that the women had been neglected in written sources of history.

In the modern histories of student affairs and higher education, life begins in 1937 with the development and publication of the ACE [American Council on Education] monograph, *The Student Personnel Point of View*. . . . Little or no mention of the leadership and dedication
of the early deans or their successors in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s has been retained.
(Schwartz, 1997, pp. 517-518)

He continued, arguing that deans of women’s contributions are generally omitted but were foundational to even the later Student Personnel documents and practices.

The publication in 1998 of the book *To Mark the Beginning: A Social History of College Student Affairs* implied that a more complete history of the profession, particularly the early years, was about to enter the literature. Its author, Richard B. Caple, summed up the history-to-date by noting that although there have been several good efforts at tracing the history of education and the history of higher education, only a very limited amount has been written about the history of college student personnel or college student affairs . . . not much has been set down about the history of this profession. The purpose of this writing is to provide a more complete history of college student affairs and place it in a social, political, and economic context.
(Caple, 1998, p. viii)

Unfortunately, the emphasis of the book was on the context of the history, and contrary to the title, on the events that occurred after 1937. Although Caple provided a detailed description of the larger events and culture of the United States in the formative years around the turn of the twentieth century, little description and no analysis of the history of student affairs was provided for the period between 1890 and 1937. Although he cited Brubacher and Rudy (1958/1997) to establish the appointment dates of early deans of men, no other information was offered. Caple (1998) asserted that "student personnel work originated as a part of a reform movement [italics in original]" (p. 15) as the sole analysis of the beginnings of the profession, and then proceeded to later eras. The timeline presented was exemplified in the summary of Chapter Two, which stated that "student residence living and the disciplinary process were the major stones upon which College Student Personnel built its foundation. It was not until 1937 . . . that it created a rationale for itself" (p. 47). Caple moved quickly from foundational concepts to the 1930s. In a review of the book, Miller (1999) noted the over-reliance on secondary sources and found the missing early
history regrettable, because "a comprehensive, well-synthesized history of a field of endeavor is an essential characteristic of a profession" (p. 474). Although Caple contributed a volume useful for its juxtaposition of milestone dates in mid-twentieth century student affairs history and U.S. social history, the void in the early history of the profession remained.

With little written of the early history of student affairs, what do writers use to introduce works about the profession? A writer with a goal of describing the field or analyzing its development might want to provide readers with some sort of historical overview. Some have simply omitted historical perspective. In a review of a recently published student affairs textbook, Nuss (2002) noted that the work omitted any overview of the history of higher education or student affairs. Although the work was intended as a foundational text for graduate students, it did not attempt to provide an explanation of the evolution of the student affairs administrator.

Other authors have relied heavily on the classic secondary sources for factual statements of the dates of first appointments for various titles. Oft cited are the aforementioned Rudolph (1962/1990), Brubacher and Rudy (1958/1997), Veysey (1965), and various printed speeches of W. H. Cowley (see Cowley, 1937, 1940, 1949, 1964/1983). While these men were esteemed sources, they were all writing from the mid-twentieth century, a time preceding the movement to recognize the value of neglected voices in history, particularly those of women. Regrettably, of those works that cite these secondary sources, some have been published with errors that are likely to only compound the confusion about student affairs history. The prolific Cowley has had his name misprinted in at least two modern journal articles (Eddy, Chin, & Ball, 1988; Evans & Reason, 2001). The former article contained a misprint that attributed to Cowley a 1940 statement that "Harvard appointed the first dean of students in this nation in 1970" (p. 4).

Still other writers have chosen to address student affairs history by emphasizing continuity rather than change, implicitly and perhaps unintentionally de-emphasizing the need for study of earlier eras. For example, one researcher reported interviewing five current practitioners and concluded that a 1937 Student Personnel statement was as sound in 1981 as it had been almost a half-century before (Conard, 1981), despite a shift in the profession’s literature base and a very
different political and historical context. In another case, although prefacing their discussion with the assertion that understanding the roots of students affairs is essential to understanding student affairs practice, Evans and Reason (2001) described the 1937 Student Personnel Point of View without discussing the Student Personnel Movement or its roots in the scientific management of business and the military, or its relation to the earlier dean positions and their assumptions about the work. Although statements of continuity are useful, they necessarily omit the context of the times and are therefore prone to projecting modern meanings onto historic concepts. Another disadvantage of an emphasis on continuity is that it might erroneously lead a reader to conclude that there is little need to look closely at historical documents since they are so similar to modern documents.

Today’s writers seeking sources about student affairs history are fortunate to have access to some recent research on the early deans, although that research is not always framed as history of student affairs. The past few years have witnessed the publication of a few rich resources that examine student deans in the period from 1890 to 1920. Jana Nidiffer and Carolyn Terry Bashaw have generated multiple publications (Bashaw, 1999; Nidiffer, 2000; Nidiffer & Bashaw, 2001) focusing on the early deans of women. Their approach in their books has been to use biography as a way to examine the role of women in higher education administration. They each interpreted limited connection to modern student affairs, but their work is crucial to understanding the earliest period of student affairs history. Nidiffer promoted wider recognition for the story of early deans of women by publishing an article based on her book in the scholarly magazine About Campus (Nidiffer, 2002). A recent issue of The Review of Higher Education included an article by Robert Schwartz (2003) entitled The Rise and Demise of Deans of Men, which is a continuation of his writing about student affairs professionals from this era. The resources are becoming more plentiful and more interesting.

And yet these are just a beginning. There are still varying interpretations of the place in history for deans of women. Nidiffer (2002) discussed the legacies of the deans of women as being primarily to professionals other than those in student affairs, specifically those in campus women's
centers and women's studies departments. Bashaw (1999) considered the profession of the early deans of women to be dead and played devil’s advocate to her own study by asking the question, “Why study the lives and careers of members of a profession that no longer exists?” (p. 13). To the contrary, Schwartz (1992) claimed the deans for student affairs, and noted that by early in the twentieth century the deans of women had already “organized the first professional student affairs organizations (1903), collected and published research (1910), and written the first book in student affairs . . . (1915)” (p. 59). Like the work of Schwartz, this study was conducted with the assumption that the legacy of the deans of women traces directly to the modern profession of student affairs.

The Conferences of Deans of Women in the Literature

There is relatively little written about the history of student affairs in general, and less yet that focuses on the deans of women and their collective professional activity prior to the 1920s. Schwartz (1990, 1997, 2003) has written about the role of deans of women in the profession of student affairs prior to the 1940s, and contrasted them with the deans of men; Nidiffer (2002) has provided illuminating biographies of four early deans of women and, through the biographies, some view of their work collectively; and over the course of the lifetime of NAWE, several writers have included references to the early conferences of deans of women in larger histories of the NAWE (e.g., Catton, 1986; Heath, 1986; Sayre, 1950). However, none of these authors has focused study on the conferences of deans of women themselves, and none of the works include a detailed description of the groups. With the exception of key leaders, little has been written about the members or about the membership as a whole. And, there are conflicting descriptions of the degree of continuity between the early conferences of deans of women and the NADW.

Much of what has been written about the conferences of deans of women has been written in the context of the history of the NADW. The records of the conferences are contained in the archives of the NADW in the National Student Affairs Archives, and some NADW histories begin with at least a cursory overview of the conferences of deans of women. One source that provided great detail but little explanation was a report on the history of the conferences of deans of women
to 1917, compiled by the NADW committee on history led by Mary Ross Potter in 1926 (Potter, 1926). Potter provided a chronological description of the records of conferences of deans of women, apparently collecting those records herself and depositing them with the other NADW records, such that they comprise the items in the current archives collection. The chapter in this study that details the chronological order of the conference meetings echoes her work, with additional details and descriptions. Although Potter provided rich detail, she did not attempt to explain the relationship of the conferences to one another or an opinion as to their role in relation to the NADW. That a NADW history committee collected the information and created a report suggests some continuity, but the article immediately following the report, written in part by NADW founder Kathryn Sisson McLean (Phillips, 1926), described no connection to the early deans’ conferences.

Other references to the early history of the NADW include those who participated in the conferences of deans of women as well as those who only later became involved in the NADW. For example, in the article “Our Heritage Speaks,” Heath (1986) described deans of women throughout the history of the NADW, beginning with Marion Talbot as “one of the early intrepid deans of women in our heritage” (p. 15) and included references to the first conference of deans of women. Catton (1986), in “Our Association in Review” described Marion Talbot under the heading of The Pioneers, but explicitly noted that neither the Association of Collegiate Alumnae nor the conferences of deans of women “led directly to the formation of the permanent organization as we now know it, [but rather] they were straws in the wind” (p. 22). Still, the organization history, written by archives staff and placed at the front of the finding aid for the collection in the National Student Affairs Archive, notes that NADW “was officially founded in 1916 . . . following a series of meetings first initiated by Marion Talbot” (National Association of Women in Education, 2003, p. 2), implying that the latter led to the former.

Other histories of the NADW make no mention of the conferences of deans of women and instead begin with the organizational activities of the official founding of NADW in 1916. The founding date of the NADW is usually listed as 1916 and the founder as Kathryn Sisson McLean,
the first president in that year. For example, the article entitled “Beginnings,” written by the founder herself (Phillips, 1953) began with the idea of NADW in 1915. Indeed, many of her recollections contain few or no references to earlier meetings of deans (Phillips, 1963; 1964). In 1986, the organization then called the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors published a special issue of the journal, reprinting earlier articles about the history of the association (Rueckel & Harris, 1986). Three of the seven articles did not address the early deans of women. In these versions of NADW history, the conferences of deans of women are not visible.

Research Questions

This divergence begets larger questions about the nature of the early meetings and the place in history occupied by them. In various sources, the early conferences are mentioned or not mentioned, considered as precursors or separate from the NADW, and described as one or more organizations, informal groups, or meetings. Some sources hint at leaders and even provide short attendance lists, but none provide a description of the individual conferences’ (or even the collective) membership to help to understand who participated. To resolve contradictions and provide more detail in the description of the conferences of deans of women, the following research questions were posed to guide the study:

1. How and why were the conferences of deans of women organized?
2. What characterized the organizations?
3. What degree of continuity was there between the conferences of deans of women and the later organization, the NADW?
4. Who were the women who made up the conferences of deans of women?

To answer these questions, this study utilized primary source documents in the archives of the NADW and elsewhere to focus upon the period 1903 to 1922. These were the years in which entities called conferences of deans of women left records. To guide the review of the documents and provide a framework for describing the characteristics of the conferences, variables from the Maturation Model for Professional Associations (MMPA) (Johnson, 1983, Johnson &
Stamatakos, 1991) were employed. This theoretical model, developed specifically to examine a student affairs professional organization, uses six maturation variables by which an organization can be described and evaluated. The variables are organizational structure, ethics and standards, membership, public relations, fiscal policies, and services and publications. To these were added the additional variable affiliations to illuminate the groups’ relationships to other organizations. The variables and their development will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

The NADW archives were insufficient to answer the question about the identity of the participating deans of women. Conference records, especially the earliest ones, provided very little information about the participants. The 1903 attendees were listed only by their social title (Miss or Mrs.) and last name. Sources external to the NADW archives were sought to identify for each woman a minimum of her full name, position title, and institution during the time period, as well as her educational background. Other pertinent characteristics were incorporated in the profiles as available.

The resulting dissertation provides a descriptive study of early professional organizations for deans of women in higher education. A better understanding of their professional activities is important for several reasons. First, the conferences of deans of women were the first organized groups of what was to become the profession of student affairs. As such, they are key to understanding the history of a vibrant contemporary profession. Second, the successor organization of the NADW, the National Association of Women in Education (NAWE) disbanded in 2000 and no longer exists to promote its history and the history of early deans of women. Third, the roles of women in the history of higher education have been omitted or only briefly mentioned in most accounts until recent decades, and there is still much to learn about the role of deans of women and other early women administrators. Fourth, an understanding of the first student affairs organizations might help to illuminate modern challenges of more mature student affairs professional organizations and the culture of the profession as it has evolved. Finally, although previous studies have covered deans of women in this time period, none have focused on this group
of women as a subject. This study builds upon what is known and provides a window to the early deans of women.

Terms and Definitions

Already in this work, the early deans of women have been referred to as student affairs professionals. The field of student affairs has been called by many names over time. Terms such as student affairs, student services, student development, student personnel, and perhaps others have been used to describe the field (Dannells, 1988). For the purposes of this study, the modern profession will be referred to as that of student affairs. It is defined as the group of professional educators who work to achieve the mission of a college or university primarily through the intentional enhancement of co-curricular learning and development of students in higher education. Using this definition, the early deans of women were what we would now call student affairs professionals.

During the period of study, there was ambiguity about the title of Dean of Women. As might be expected, early titles were far from standardized. There were those who performed the duties of student deans but never received the title, and those who held dean titles with few or no recognizable educational responsibilities. Lois Mathews in her 1915 The Dean of Women argued that a degree of professionalization and academic preparation distinguished a Dean of Women from a lady principal, warden, or preceptress. Because the first meetings of deans of women included those who represented the function of dean of women but did not hold the title, I will use the lower case dean of women to refer to a person who attended a conference of deans of women as a representative whether or not she held the actual title. The upper case title, Dean of Women, will be used to denote a title conferred by a college or university.

The organizations or groups being studied will be referred to as conferences of deans of women. Although the groups used different names over the course of the period of study, for simplicity the term conferences of deans of women will be used to refer to the groups throughout. The word conference was used by the deans of women to refer to both the meetings and the organizations themselves. The various uses of the name and changes in the title of the group and the
conference were documented and analyzed, and appear in the chapters describing the chronology of
the meetings and the different conferences. Although effort was made to describe the degree of
formality and intended permanence among the conferences, the terms *group* and *organization* are
not meant to imply different stages of development, and will be used interchangeably.

The successor organization to the conferences of deans of women also went by different
names over the course of the twentieth century. It was called the National Association of Deans of
Women (NADW), the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors (NAWDC), the
National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors (NAWDAC) (Sheeley,
1983) and the National Association of Women in Education (NAWE). For its existence within the
period of study, from 1916 to 1922, the organization was named NADW, and so that title will
primarily be used to refer to the organization. Likewise although today’s American Association of
University Women (AAUW) was a key player in the period, it was called the Association of
Collegiate Alumnae (ACA) during the period of study and hereafter will be referred to as the ACA.

Where deans of women are mentioned by name, there are sometimes multiple names from
which to choose. For the women who married one or more times, their last names are different in
different years. In general, women’s last names as they were during the period of study are used.
Married names, with years of use, are included in the profiles of individual women.

Summary

This chapter introduced the conferences of deans of women. A review of the historiography
of the early history of student affairs and of the conferences and deans themselves revealed some
inconsistencies and omissions, and led to questions about what is currently written about the
conferences of deans of women and the early deans of women. This led to a series of questions,
reformed as research questions, and some definitions of terms, to lead to a closer review of the
study.

The remainder of this dissertation will provide a detailed review of the effort to answer these
questions and add another layer of understanding to the current literature. Chapter 2 provides
historical context for the conferences of deans of women by briefly outlining women’s entry into
higher education, the development of dean positions in higher education, and the development of the position of dean of women.

Chapter 3 includes the methodology of the study, using a discussion of the tradition of historical inquiry in general and in the field of education, and an outline of the specific methods and procedures used in this study. Chapter 4 includes the findings of a search for all meetings of conferences of deans of women in the period. External and internal criticism of the documents is discussed to provide rationale for the resulting list of meetings.

Chapter 5 outlines a hypothesis that the conferences can be described as seven distinct organizations: six early conferences of deans of women and the NADW. Each of the conferences is analyzed using the framework of organization variables. Chapter 6 provides an overview of the collective characteristics of the attendees of the conferences of deans of women, based upon the individual profiles of the women. Chapter 7 includes a summary and review of the project, a review of the research questions, and conclusions about the results of the study. Additionally, a retrospective assessment of methodological and analytical issues is included. Finally, implications of the study and suggestions for further research are offered.
CHAPTER 2. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In order to begin to understand the events surrounding the conferences of deans of women and the people who comprised them, it is necessary to have some background information about the history that shaped their world and their professional lives. This chapter will provide introductory information about nineteenth and early twentieth century events that affected the early deans of women. To narrow the scope of such an introduction, the discussion will be framed with three separate but related topics. In relation to the dean of women’s status as and focus on women, a discussion of women in higher education will be provided. In relation to the dean of women’s focus on deaning, a discussion of the early history of the position of dean will be provided. Finally, a sketch of the development of the position of dean of women will place the conferences in context of the development of the work.

A Brief Review of the History of Women in Higher Education

The concept of education for women in Colonial America was not widely controversial. It was generally accepted that women were intellectually weak and not capable of the cultivation of the mind. Their gifts were not intellectual but domestic, and the definition of the sphere of women as the home further advanced the notion that education was not appropriate for women. Girls prepared for their roles by apprenticeship to their mothers, and whatever education was necessary was targeted to imparting skills of homemaking. Although there were some voices of dissent to this view, they were neither numerous enough nor loud enough to effect change in this period (Woody, 1929a). There were no institutions of higher education for women in the Colonial period (Kerber, 1988).

The Revolution and the establishment of a nation marked the beginning of a new era in the concept of education for women. Thomas Jefferson promoted a new national philosophy about education, arguing that education was absolutely essential if this new democratic experiment was to work. Although Jefferson did not address the need for women’s education in a democratic society (see Mayo, 1942), the larger idea of the importance of an educated citizenry and an emphasis on political self-determination spurred a reconsideration of women’s abilities. Abigail Adams wrote to
her husband that “if we mean to have Heroes, Statesmen and Philosophers, we should have learned women” (as cited in Solomon, 1985, p. 8). In 1792, the Englishwoman Mary Wollstonecraft wrote *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, in which she used the philosophies of John Locke to advocate education for women as rational creatures. Commenting on current events in Europe, she advocated a French education system open equally to both boys and girls, and entry of women into positions in government and medicine (Smith, 2002; Solomon, 1985). Although her ideas might not have been widely accepted or implemented, they sparked “an explosion of feminist consciousness in the English-speaking world” (Solomon, 1985, p. 11). In the new United States of America, female literacy rose, some schools opened to girls, and the early national period culminated in the opening of Oberlin College to women in 1833 (Kerber, 1988).

Oberlin College was founded as an institution open to both men and women, and marked the beginning of coeducational higher education in the United States. Its first women students were only enrolled in the preparatory courses, but soon moved to the collegiate department. In 1841, the first bachelor’s degrees awarded to women on the same terms as men were granted. However, this trend was limited, and only a small number of colleges advocated (and even fewer actually practiced) coeducation before the Civil War (Micheletti, 2002). At the same time, some all-women’s colleges and seminaries were founded in the East, with varying levels of instruction. By 1860, about 100 institutions existed in the United States, about half of them providing collegiate-level education to women (Wolf-Wendel, 2002).

Solomon (1985) described the period from the onset of the Civil War to 1900 as one of widening access for women to higher education, a time of increasingly diverse educational options and opportunities. Although the oldest and most prestigious of men’s colleges remained closed, and women were not always fully welcomed in the institutions to which they were admitted, the increase in access was staggering. By 1920, women would comprise 47 percent of the students in colleges and universities (Solomon, 1985, p. 63; Wolf-Wendel, 2002, p. 64).

Solomon (1985) attributed this increase to women’s persistence, but also to three critical forces. First, a general trend of favoring public education affected both males and females. Second,
the Civil War and its aftermath created such a need for workers that the sex of the workers became fairly irrelevant. Women took roles as nurses, doctors, farmers, and laborers during the war. They managed family farms and led charitable organizations. They entered many skilled and unskilled fields to replace absent workers during the war, and dead and disabled workers after the war. Their contributions changed views of women’s roles and opened space in both education and vocation. Third, a general expansion of university education increased opportunities for women. The 1862 Morrill Land Grant Act provided strength to public education with both political and financial support. The second Morrill Act, in 1890, opened the way for separate institutions for African Americans, and affirmed the expansion of public higher education clientele (pp. 43-44). Micheletti (2002) added to these reasons the increased need for teachers, the post-war increase in the number of women who were widowed or could not find husbands and therefore needed to support themselves, the push of women’s rights advocates who used the abolition of slavery as a metaphor for their own struggle, and the simple reality of finances. Colleges and universities that were struggling to remain solvent often could not afford to turn away tuition-paying women students, no matter what their stances on higher education for women.

For these and other reasons, increasing numbers of women in the latter half of the nineteenth century had access to either women’s colleges or coeducational colleges. They also had a third option. In what Woody (1929b) called “a compromise, midway between coeducation and the separate college” (p. 304), institutions that opposed coeducation but were increasingly forced to recognize women students created what was called a coordinate college. By creating separate-but-linked women’s colleges, university leaders could enjoy the benefits of female tuition and access without actually integrating classrooms or conferring degrees bearing the name of the university. For example, under the leadership of those advocating access for women, in 1879 Harvard created The Annex, which in 1893 became Radcliffe College (Rudolph, 1962/1990). Although Radcliffe students were taught by Harvard faculty and took Harvard exams, they were awarded Radcliffe degrees (Howells, 1978). Although many coordinate colleges were created in this way, other coordinate colleges were simply a linked arrangement between two pre-existing single-sex
institutions before they combined into a larger university, taking the name of the formerly all-male institution (Chessman, 1957).

Added to these colleges and universities were an assortment of private and public schools that offered training and education that was postsecondary but did not lead to a bachelor’s degree. Normal schools provided a course of study typically leading to a diploma, and by 1892 there were at least 135 public and 43 private normal schools (Woody, 1929a, p. 482). A proliferation of colleges of various kinds increased options, but also provided concerns about quality and standards of higher education (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931).

Perhaps predictably, such progress was resisted, and the steady increase in access for women was accompanied by regular opposition punctuated by occasional reverses in progress. One of the most famous attacks was the 1873 book by Edward Clarke, *Sex in Education*. Clarke, a retired Harvard medical professor concerned with the influx of women students seeking admission, studied seven Vassar women and concluded that, in females, mental work sapped physical energy, and higher education for women jeopardized women’s bodies and sanity. He suggested that thinking quite literally deformed women’s reproductive organs. Although he was ridiculed by many and rebutted by many others, his book went through seventeen printings and was widely discussed. It triggered a movement among advocates of women’s higher education to attend to the physical and reproductive health of female students, and to study their health as a defense against such attacks (Micheletti, 2002; Solomon, 1985).

Other resistance was encountered in the form of concern about the impact of large percentages of women students. Some critics worried that critical masses of women students scared away male students, especially in subjects in which women were quickly becoming the majority. When Stanford University women became too numerous, the university limited female enrollment beginning in 1899 (Micheletti, 2002). When women won the majority of Phi Beta Kappa awards at the University of Chicago in 1902, the former pioneer in coeducation reversed course, and William Rainey Harper led a push to segregate classrooms (Solomon, 1985, p. 58). Concern about the negative influence of women students on male students caused Western Reserve University to halt
coeducation altogether and split its undergraduate student body into coordinate colleges (Cramer, 1976). Enrollment of women at some institutions fluctuated (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931), but the general trend was that of increase.

It was in the midst of this era in the higher education of women that educated women began to organize. One constant source of advocacy for women’s higher education and response to its critics was the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA). A woman who would later figure prominently as a dean of women, Marion Talbot, was one of the founders of the ACA. In the summer of 1880, Talbot completed her Bachelor of Arts from Boston University. However, once home, she found herself alone, with little in common with her girlhood friends, and with limited job prospects. She had "a life of comparative leisure to which she was entirely unaccustomed" and found that her friends' goals of marriage and activities revolving around Junior League and sewing circle made her a social outcast (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931, p. 5). Her mother urged Marion to seek out other women in similar circumstances and arranged for her to meet with college friends of the family who were also young women with college degrees. According to Rosenberry years later, Mrs. Talbot had a vision of "constantly increasing numbers of young women, with similar training and congenial tastes, drawn together in a great body for the advancement of human folk" (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931, pp. 8-9.) With this vision, Mrs. Talbot assisted Marion and Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor, Ellen H. Richards, in organizing the first meeting of the ACA in 1881. The requirement for membership for a woman was a college degree from a member college or university.

The association grew and spread rapidly, with a membership of women from 22 approved colleges and universities in as many branches across the nation by 1900. In 1899, they recommended associate membership for alumnae of Yale, London, Zurich, the Sorbonne, and "all the German universities which gave the Ph.D. degree to women" (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931, p. 73). By the fiftieth anniversary in 1931, the association claimed over 35,000 women as members (p. 92). One early new member said "I felt as if I had been flung out into space, and the notices of these meetings were the only threads that connected me with the things I had known" (Talbot &
Rosenberry, 1931, p. 14). The ACA refused to add any institution to its approved list unless it met certain criteria that ensured programs and policies beneficial to women students. In this way, it was instrumental in advocating for the systematic inclusion of women in higher education and, later, the proliferation of the position of Dean of Women (Findlay, 1938; Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931).

A Brief Review of the Development of Deans in Higher Education

The decades following the Civil War saw a great increase in the number and diversity of students. Although student bodies were not diverse by today's standards, the change in society and the stress of war, Reconstruction, recovery, industry, and immigration challenged old societal standards and provided opportunities for students from different socioeconomic classes, genders, ethnicities, races, and professions. Even without considering diversity, the sheer numbers of new students forced a complete reconceptualization of the ways that colleges and universities could function on a daily basis (Schwartz, 2003; Veysey, 1965).

Prior to the Civil War, U.S. colleges had followed a model of college-student interaction inherited from English colleges, in which the institution was concerned with all aspects of a student’s life, especially his moral life. With the advent of a more impersonal, intellectualistic approach imported from Europe, American colleges had adopted a stance of distance from all areas of a student’s life save the intellectual. Brubacher and Rudy (1958/1997) credited the melding of these two philosophies, English and German, with the impetus for the creation of what they called student personnel officers. As American campuses increasingly exhibited both an active social culture and an emphasis on intellectual goals, individuals were needed who could specialize in integrating the two so that the social aspects did not overgrow the academic mission.

In addition to new kinds of students and new philosophies of relating to students, the sheer number of students influenced patterns of administration. Early in the nineteenth century, a president, a treasurer, a part-time librarian, and a small group of faculty members were sufficient to maintain an institution (Rudolph, 1962/1990). But as student enrollments reached hundreds or thousands, managing the institution required more coordination, more specialization, and more resources than had been imagined a few decades earlier. Administrative positions increased in
number and specialization to meet the needs of the institution (Brubacher & Rudy, 1958/1997). All of these factors combined to slowly grow a necessary list of officers: “first a secretary of the faculty, then a registrar, and then in succession a vice-president, a dean, a dean of women, a chief business officer, an assistant dean, a dean of men, [and] a director of admissions” (Rudolph, 1962/1990, pp. 434-435). This generalization probably overestimates the number of titles at small or new institutions, but the order of appearance of titles seems valid.

Brubacher and Rudy (1958/1997) chose Harvard to illustrate this process of developing specialized officials. In 1869, Harvard's new president, Charles Eliot, took an abiding interest in the detailed workings of the professional schools. He had studied for two years in Europe, and wanted to preside over the meetings of the Harvard faculties. It was too difficult for him to be closely involved in management and still attend to all the duties of leading the undergraduate college. In 1870 Eliot asked the Harvard Corporation to appoint another professional to help with such management, a dean of the college. Ephraim Gurney, professor of history, had eleven responsibilities: three related to instruction, five regarding what would now be under the purview of the registrar, and three focused upon the guidance and tracking of students. While he was a dean in both title and duties, in modern higher education he would be called some combination of a provost and a student affairs officer (Cowley, 1937).

By 1890, Harvard's popular elective system contributed to its becoming the largest college and the largest university in the country. It had mushroomed in size in just 20 years. Still president, Eliot decided to split the deanship into two positions, to attempt to again divide the workload. Presumably to facilitate efficient division of labor, he delegated different responsibilities to each of the two new positions. Charles F. Dunbar became the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences and LeBaron Russell Briggs became the Dean of Harvard College. One was to focus upon the faculty and instructional activities, and the other upon students and student life (Cowley, 1937).

Although Cowley (1937) considered Briggs to be the first student dean (and because Harvard was male, a student dean of men), it should be noted that in general, deans of women predated deans of men. Findlay (1938) credited Thomas Arkle Clark and the University of Illinois
with the earliest origin of the work of dean of men, although Clark did not receive the actual title until 1909 (Findlay, 1938). By contrast, the first individuals with the title of Dean of Women were appointed a decade earlier, at approximately the same time as Briggs. Beyond first occurrences of the title, the general trend was for deans of women positions to be established first. A national study indicated that the median year of establishment of the office of dean of women was 1905, and for the office of dean of men 1911 (Brubacher & Rudy, 1958/1997, p. 519). Indeed, in at least 19 institutions, the dean of men was appointed as a direct result of the work of the dean of women (Findlay, 1938, p. 28).

More importantly, the early deans of women were the first to initiate collective professional activity, meeting in 1903 (Schwartz, 1997, 2003). By doing so, they were the first student affairs officers to participate in collective professional activity. Other student affairs organizations founded early in the twentieth century include the American Association of Collegiate Registrars in 1910, the Association of College Unions in 1911, the National Vocational Guidance Association in 1913, the NADW in 1916, the National Association of Deans and Advisers of Men in 1918 (later the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, or NASPA), and the National Association of Appointment Secretaries in 1924 (later the American College Personnel Association, or ACPA).

A Brief Review of the Development of the Position of Dean of Women

Before there were deans of women, there were other women in positions responsible for attending to the welfare of women students. With the advent of coeducation in higher education, Oberlin appointed a Lady Principal, Marianne Parker Dascomb. Her role was to “correct their habits and mould the female character” (Kehr, as cited in Nidiffer, 2000, p. 16). Positions of this nature were sometimes also titled matron or preceptress, and proliferated, as did the practice of coeducation in residential colleges. In 1858, when the University of Michigan was being pressed to admit women, the board sent inquiries to presidents of coeducational colleges for their opinions. Horace Mann of Antioch College wrote that both the advantages and dangers were great, given the potential for unsupervised mixing of the sexes. The president of Oberlin was also a proponent, but
warned that such success was only possible with the work of “a wise and pious matron with such lady assistants as to keep up sufficient supervision” (as cited in Holmes, 1939, pp. 6-7). From this quotation, Nidiffer (2000) crafted the subtitle of her book about deans of women, *More Than Wise and Pious Matrons*. It captures the defining characteristics of the early deans of women as opposed to the earlier matrons. The difference between deans of women and their predecessors was the latter’s lack of academic credentials or responsibilities (Martin, 1911), and that “her formal duties were limited to supervision of housing and living arrangements and the moral guardianship of the women students” (Nidiffer, 2000, p. 16). However, this might not have been true of all pre-1890 preceptresses and lady principals. For example, Martha Foote Crow held a PhD and taught while Lady Principal at Iowa College in 1881 (Kramer, 1996; Wall, 1997).

Alice Freeman Palmer is widely credited with the first appointment as Dean of Women in 1892, bringing with her to the University of Chicago an assistant in Marion Talbot. However, others (see Drum, 1993) credit Elizabeth Powell Bond, who was appointed dean of women at Swarthmore in 1890. And if duties rather than title are the measure, then there are perhaps dozens of lady principals and preceptresses who might qualify before 1890. In a 1910 speech, Gertrude Martin of Cornell University remarked upon the University of Chicago influence: “I am sure that it was the University of Chicago that really made it fashionable, though her dean of women was by no means the first” (Martin, 1911, p. 66). Whoever was first, it cannot be denied that the University of Chicago’s appointment of the dean of women influenced many, many other universities to consider the position essential.

Because Marion Talbot was a founder of the ACA and because of her role at the University of Chicago, her life has received much attention in the literature (Bretschneider, 1998; Dierenfield, 2001; Nidiffer, 2000; Solomon, 1985; Talbot, 1936; Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931). To better understand deans of women, it is important to understand her story and the story of the University of Chicago.

About the same time that Briggs’ position was created at Harvard, William Rainey Harper set out from Yale to build a new university in Chicago, beyond the established and conservative East
coast. With the financial generosity of John D. Rockefeller, land donated by department store magnate Marshall Field, and the enthusiasm of a young and gifted president, the new university was to be a shining example of all of the potential of the new American university model. Rudolph (1962/1990) called the founding "one of those events in American history that brought into focus the spirit of an age" (p. 349). Harper's own interpretation at the time was no less grand, and he corralled millions of dollars, the nation's top scholars, and national publicity for his venture.

Although Harper was himself not a personal advocate of coeducation, the charter called for it and he made plans accordingly (Nidiffer, 2000). For the 1892 opening of the University of Chicago, he needed someone to attend to the needs of the women students. But a university of this stature could not settle for a mere chaperone, and the old-fashioned lady principal was a feature of the college of the past, not a university of the future. The new officer must be competent enough to be a part of the new team, a scholar and an academic in addition to being a woman of class and breeding. Harper ultimately chose Alice Freeman Palmer as the dean of women (Nidiffer, 2000).

Palmer held a doctorate in history and already had a career as a professor and president of a woman's college. Becoming a dean of women would be a lateral move if not a step down in professional status. Additionally, she was reluctant to leave her husband, Harvard professor George Herbert Palmer, who would not leave Massachusetts. But she sensed that the position of dean of women would be crucial to the development of opportunity for women in higher education, and it was rare for a woman to be offered a professorship in a coeducational institution. She agreed to join the team on the conditions that she only need be in Chicago for 12 weeks each year, and that she be granted funds to hire a deputy in the form of Marion Talbot. By then, Talbot held a doctorate and had taught at Wellesley under Palmer's leadership. Talbot was almost as skeptical as Palmer of the location of the outpost upstart, but decided to go. Although Palmer was to remain as the official dean of women for the university until 1899, Talbot played the role for all University of Chicago women from the start (Nidiffer, 2000).

Over the next decades, Talbot would use the ACA and her visibility at the University of Chicago to promote the position of dean of women. In 1937, Talbot remembered that "when the
ACA began to formulate standards for the admission of institutions, it was agreed that a 'Dean of Women' should be essential" (Marion Talbot, as cited in Findlay, 1938, p. 28). With her leadership, the ACA "refused to recognize and recommend an institution which did not have a dean of women who qualified under the Association standards" (Iva L. Peters, as cited in Findlay, 1938, p. 28). By 1915, Lois Mathews was able to state that "there is in almost every coeducational institution in the United States an official whose chief duty is usually vaguely stated to be 'the care and supervision of women students'" (Mathews, 1915, p. 1).

In 1902, Talbot sought to professionalize deans of women by collective activity, as she did through the formation of the ACA. She was among a group of women who discussed planning a formal meeting (the others were Martha Foote Crow of Northwestern, Myra Jordan of the University of Michigan, Evans of Carleton College, and possibly a fifth woman) (Nidiffer, 2000, p. 72). Together, they planned a two-day conference, to be held on November 3 and 4, 1903 at the University of Chicago and Northwestern University. Eighteen women attended the Conference of Deans of Women of the Middle West.

The conferences continued, and the women initiated research and articles published in the ACA journal as well as other academic journals of the day. In 1911, Gertrude Martin gave a speech at the ACA in which she described a national study she had done of the position of the dean of women. Lois Mathews began attending the meetings, and contributed to the ongoing professionalization by publishing her 1915 book, *The Dean of Women*. In 1921, the conferences ended with a vote to become a part of the National Association of Deans of Women (NADW), and the ACA became the American Association of University Women (AAUW). Many of the early deans of women remained active in the AAUW (Nidiffer, 2000).

A review of the development of the position of dean of women to this point (from the first appointments around 1890 to the early 1920s) was recently offered by Nidiffer (2000). She studied four women, who represented the position from the appearance of a dean among matrons to the end of the meetings of the conferences. To structure her four biographies of early deans of women, she outlined a progression of phases in the development of the profession of dean of women. The first
phase was historical backdrop, 1833 to 1892. The other four phases were aligned with the four women she used in her collective biography: Marion Talbot representing Pre-Professionalization from 1892 to 1901; Mary Bidwell Breed representing Collective Activity from 1901 to 1906; Ada Louise Comstock representing Becoming an Expert from 1906 to 1911; and Lois Kimball Mathews representing Attributes of a Profession from 1911-1918 (p. 13). Her model summarized the development of the position to 1918, bringing the review of the history to the point of the appearance of the NADW.

The founding of the NADW in 1916 was a major event in the development of the position of dean of women. The NADW can trace its official beginnings to a group of students at Teachers College of Columbia University. In 1914, Teachers College began offering a professional diploma entitled "Dean of Women in Colleges and Normal Schools." It could be earned in the summers in conjunction with a master's degree. One of the summer 1915 participants, Kathryn Sisson McLean, organized some informal lectures and discussions with four other participants and a professor. The resulting interaction was so helpful that the women planned to find other ways to provide a forum for interaction between deans of women (Nidiffer, 2000).

Nidiffer (2000) noted that McLean’s work was done to fill a void in the support of deans of women, and thereby inferred that McLean must have never met with other deans of women through the ACA or the Conference of Deans meetings occurring from 1903. She attributed this to geographical and institutional biases of the earlier deans of women, which would have excluded McLean. Her biographies of four of the early deans of women do seem to show a pattern of women who came from wealthy, well educated, and prominent families and who attended academically rigorous institutions and gained appointments at prestigious Midwestern universities. Bashaw (1999) noted later issues of differentiation by region and institution type among deans of women, but collected her supporting evidence from the period 1916-1938, focusing mostly on data from the period after 1920.

McLean planned to gather some deans of women when she returned to New York for the summer of 1916 sessions. Coincidentally, the National Education Association (NEA) was to hold
its annual conference in New York in the summer of 1916. McLean made some inquiries and was allowed to convene a group of Deans of Women during the NEA conference. In July 1916, a group of 200 women met and voted to begin the National Association of Deans of Women, with McLean as the first president (Nidiffer, 2000).

Although the founding date of the NADW is clearly identified as 1916 in a number of sources, narratives of the deans of women often begin with the 1903 meeting and imply that there is continuity between the early deans of women and the NADW deans of women. For example, Mildred Bunce Sayre’s 1950 dissertation entitled *Half a Century: An Historical Analysis of the National Association of Deans of Women 1900-1950* clearly indicated that the early deans of women were foundational to the NADW. However, Nidiffer (2000) made it clear that both groups (the conferences of deans of women and NADW) were meeting separately from 1917 to 1921 (p. 129). She noted that "it was not clear what overlaps in membership occurred between the two groups, but there must have been some. The records indicate, for example, that Comstock, Martin, and Talbot at least were speakers at NADW meetings" (pp. 129-130).

By 1920, a new philosophy of student work began to affect deans of women and others who worked with students in colleges and universities. Known as Student Personnel, it was based upon psychological studies in business and the military, and was imported to higher education when military officers returning from World War I applied military personnel theories to their work with students (Brubacher & Rudy, 1958/1997). Walter Dill Scott (1912; Scott & Clothier, 1923) at first applied personnel ideas in other arenas, but transferred it to higher education as a university president. Yoakum (1919/1986) explicitly advocated a Student Personnel approach for those who worked with students in colleges and universities. The deans of women of the 1920s, who had begun an orientation to education as a professional base through their association with John Dewey and Teacher’s College in the nineteen-teens, were attracted to Student Personnel and its emphasis on scientific knowledge and rational methods. Soon, the ways of the early deans began to be seen as “sentimentalized intuition” (Brubacher & Rudy, 1958/1997, p. 335). In 1937, W. H. Cowley gave a speech entitled “The Disappearing Deans of Men” in which he asserted that resistance was
futile, and anyone still clinging to pre-1920 ideas of working with students would soon be left behind. By mid-century, Student Personnel had become a movement, and authors used the term to refer to all activities and professionals throughout history who worked with students in colleges and universities (see Leonard, 1956; Rudolph, 1962/1990).

Unfortunately for the position of dean of women, Student Personnel’s emphasis on efficiency soon raised questions about the need for both a dean of women and a dean of men. Its emphasis on scientific specialization reduced the attractiveness of generalist deans in general. Organizational charts were streamlined by combining deans of women and dean of men positions, creating a position of dean of students, which was usually then filled by a man. By the 1970s, there were few deans of women at public universities, and by the end of the century the position had all but passed into memory (Nidiffer, 1998; Schwartz 1990, 1995, 2003; Tuttle, 1996).

Summary

This chapter provided historical context for the deans of women and their work. A brief review of the history of women in higher education in the United States outlined the entry of women in the years preceding the lives of the deans of women, the era of their youth and their own education, and the decades of their work on college and university campuses. A brief review of the development of the position of deans in higher education provided information about the rationale and timeline of appointment of such officers in higher education, and revealed that deans of women were among the first administrators to be utilized as that role in higher education expanded and became specialized. Finally, a review of the position of the dean of women highlighted the major events in the development of the work from its inception near the end of the nineteenth century to its decline in the middle of the twentieth century.
CHAPTER 3. PROCEDURES OF THE STUDY

This section will explicate the methodology and methods for the study. It will begin with a discussion of the tradition of inquiry and related assumptions about this type of research at the broadest level, and lead to description of historical research within the realm of educational research. The methods for collecting and recording sources of data, and for summarizing and evaluating sources, will follow. A framework for considering and describing organizational characteristics will be explained. Finally, a description of the process of analysis will be provided.

Tradition of Inquiry

Modern historiography has been heavily influenced by empiricism. Green and Troup (1999) pointed out that empiricism can be both an epistemology and a method of historical inquiry, and that the latter is rarely controversial among historians. However, as a theory of knowledge, empiricism has been challenged in such ways as to produce changes in the approach to historical writing ranging from competing schools of thought to a softer interpretation of empirical principles.

Core tenets of empirical historical method by the turn of the twentieth century were rigorous examination of verifiable evidence, impartial research, and an inductive method of reasoning. Corresponding epistemological assumptions were that the past exists independently of the researcher, history is both observable and verifiable, and an investigator is able to represent the past objectively and accurately. In this way, the goal of the historian was to search for and communicate an objective truth (Green & Troup, 1999). Although these descriptions may better represent a historical positivism than current historical thought, they are not far from some contemporary definitions of history. For example, Berg (2001) described historical research as “a process that examines events or combinations of events in order to uncover accounts of what happened in the past” (p. 211).

However, the practice of historical methods implicitly provides some challenges to traditional criteria for empiricism. First, records and artifacts are always incomplete and partial, and it is beyond the practical means of any historian to examine all existing archival source material. By necessity a researcher must use some judgment to come to conclusions beyond those explicitly
provided from the data available. Second, purely inductive reasoning and objectivity on the part of
the historian are impossible because the decisions involved in collecting, sifting, and arranging the
data involve inherent subjectivity and assumptions on the part of the researcher. Two historians
using the same set of data for the same topic might come to very different conclusions. These and
other concerns with the strict definition of empiricism were raised by various writers throughout the
twentieth century, but gained reinforcement with the influence of postmodernism (Green & Troup,
1999).

Still, the rejection of objectivism in total leads to a precarious relativism in which there is no
basis by which to judge competing interpretations. For example, Green and Troup noted that
without some faith in verifiable evidence, one could not challenge those who refute the historical fact
of the holocaust. One way to strike a balance was advanced by Karl Popper, who advocated the use
of a hypothesis or conjecture that is provisional and allows for an acknowledgment of the
researcher’s subjectivity while requiring evidence to support or refute the hypothesis (Green &
Troup, 1999). With acknowledgment of subjectivity in the epistemology, the methods still rely on
the rigor of empiricism. Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996) noted that “historical research tends to be
postpositivist . . . that is, historians acknowledge fallibility and bias in human observation, but
nonetheless believe that it is possible through careful analysis and multiple sources of evidence to
discover” what happened in the past for a particular phenomenon (p. 644). Shafer (1974) noted
that subjectivity is "an inescapable human quality. It cannot be willed or wished away" (p. 169). As
such, it should be accepted and used to create empathy and understanding of historical events
through data that would otherwise be sterile and unconnected.

Because the researcher’s own cultural context will become a part of the historical analysis
(Shafer, 1974), some self-reflection in this study is appropriate. My experience is that of a White
middle-class Midwestern woman in academe. Additionally, my professional experience as a
residence hall director, assistant dean of students, and faculty member in the profession of student
affairs will provide parallel experiences from which to recognize and interpret the activities of the
early deans. It is likely these experiences drew me to the topic in the first place, especially the
differing accounts of the legacy of the deans of women. My experience led me to assume that the deans of women were professional ancestors of student affairs before reading other interpretations. Examining the deans of women and their conferences in more detail has only reinforced that subjective identification, and contributes to one of the major assumptions underlying this study.

This professional identification might also be a liability if it leads to over-identification and a tendency to see commonality where it does not exist. But perhaps it is this practical experience as a student affairs practitioner that makes reflective empiricism attractive. In student affairs practice, it is my experience that it is advantageous to listen to individual students and form conclusions from the information they provide. Although it might be that knowledge of theory and experiences with similar students affects practice, it is also important to resist approaching a student with a static, preformed lens or system of interpretation. For this reason, empiricism is congruent with my professional orientation.

A common rationale for studying history is illustrated by the popular quotation of Harvard philosopher George Santayana, who declared that "when experience is not retained . . . infancy is perpetual. Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it" (Santayana, 1905/1998, p. 82). On a literal level, this is, of course, hyperbole. No one in higher education today is likely to find herself repeating the challenges of higher education in the 1890s. However, in a less literal sense, a professional who does not understand the history of her profession might be impaired in her ability to interpret a professional culture, and thereby be impaired in her work. In the world of higher education administration, so much depends upon accurately reading the subtle signs of people and relationships and systems, and anticipating the chaotic flow of colleges and universities. Events sensed but not seen seem curious or frustrating, menacing, or reassuringly irrelevant. But with the realization of what has come before, she might be able to see the recurring themes, interpret them in the context of the present, and meet them with eyes wide open. From a very practical perspective, historical understanding is a daily survival tool, for "only by studying and applying underlying premises and deeply held assumptions can a practitioner of student affairs hope to bring insight to a novel problem, a 'different' student, a new situation" (Carpenter, 1991, p. 8).
The belief that studying history can help us understand our world and ourselves is a common motive of historians. Gilderhus (1987) wrote that "most historians regard the study of history as a way for human beings to acquire self-knowledge. . . . Transcendence over the past could come about only through knowledge" (p. 2). British historian Robin G. Collingwood (as cited in Gilderhus, 1987) also suggested that humans have no nature, merely history. This is the point at which historical methods and the student affairs foundation of developmental theory intersect. History allows us to investigate “the identity of people, both individually and collectively. In some ways, this function of history parallels psychiatry, in that both fields endeavor to clarify human behavior in the present by making knowledge of the past both conscious and explicit” (Gilderhus, 1987, p. 6). Like the stage and task theories of individual psychological development so heavily used by the profession of student affairs since the 1960s (McEwen, 2001), there is an assumption that the degree of success in one stage of development inevitably affects one's ability to meet the challenges of the future.

**Historical Inquiry in Education**

Gilderhus (1987) summed up the goal of historical methods: "On the basis of fragmentary and imperfect evidence, historians make retroactive predictions about what probably happened in the past and, in so doing, they seek to define cause-and-effect relationships in order to make the flow of events understandable" (p. 5). Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996) defined historical research in the context of educational research as “a process of systematically searching for data to answer questions about a past phenomenon for the purpose of gaining a better understanding of present institutions, practices, trends, and issues in education” (p. 644). They categorized historical research as a particular variation of the qualitative research tradition while acknowledging that at times quantitative methods are used. C. H. Edson (as cited in Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996, p. 644) described four similarities between historical research in education and other kinds of qualitative research methodologies: “(1) emphasis on the study of context, (2) the study of behavior in natural rather than in contrived or theoretical settings, (3) appreciation for the wholeness of experience, and (4) the centrality of interpretation in the research process.”
The focus on context and the centrality of interpretation suggest a conceptual tie to a hermeneutic approach. Hermeneutics asserts that to “make sense of and interpret a text, it is important to know what the author wanted to communicate, to understand intended meanings, and to place documents in a historical and cultural context” (Patton, 2002, p. 114). An emphasis on context in this study is expressed in the background information about educational and social events in the period of study, and references to terminology particular to the era. For example, people in the early twentieth century (and perhaps much later) would have used the term chairman to mean someone who leads a meeting, regardless of the sex of the leader. Although today’s preferred term might omit a masculine suffix, the deans of women made reference to their women chairmen, and the term is used in this work in part to acknowledge their reality. Additionally, the hermeneutic emphasis on interpretation has implications for both those who produced the text (the deans of women in their era) and those who interpret the text (the modern researcher in her own era). The author’s self-disclosures, above and in the author’s vitae, are attempts to acknowledge the subjective nature of this interpretation.

This study may be further classified as an educational case study. A case study is used to “make a close study, either descriptive or historical, of a particular person, group, produce, or process” (Charles, 1998, p. 255). Case studies are usually completed to provide vivid description, provide explanation, or provide evaluations (Charles, 1998). This study focuses on description and explanation. Both the conferences themselves and the attendees are treated as case studies in this project. Especially in the use of profiles of attendees, this study utilizes the concepts of narratology. By arranging events chronologically and weaving them into identifiable plot lines, it “honors people’s stories as data that can stand on their own as pure description of experience, worthy as narrative documentary of experience. . . or analyzed for connections between the psychological, sociological, cultural, political, and dramatic dimensions of human experience” (Patton, 2002, pp. 115-116).

Given the importance of context to historical study in general, it might be useful to go beyond the definition of historical inquiry in education, and provide some history of historical
inquiry in education. For the purposes of this study, that context can be narrowed to the study of
the history of higher education. Smart (1998) noted that higher education as a field of study is only
several decades old, and that it came about as a research field when scholars from a wide variety of
other disciplines began to use their skills and lenses to examine post-secondary education.
Researchers in psychology, sociology, economics, philosophy, business, anthropology, and others
have all contributed to the study of higher education. History, too, has been used to explore
questions about higher education.

Thelin (1985) traced the study of the history of higher education from the middle of the
twentieth century to the 1980s. Prior to that time, the history of higher education had been largely
limited to “house histories” (p. 351), works that chronicled the events of a single institution in a
predictable pattern of progress and with little critique. With the appearance of what Thelin termed
the extension manifesto in the 1950s and 1960s, works began to appear that took a cross-sectional
view of higher education and extended the story across the boundaries of individual universities
(see Brubacher & Rudy, 1958/1997; Rudolph, 1962/1990). A broader, more analytic treatment by
historians was so important to the progression of the study of higher education that some of those
works are still used (perhaps, Thelin implied, to the exclusion of more recent and innovative
perspectives) to describe the development of higher education.

Eisenmann (2004) characterized Thelin’s description of the early contributors as
“historians first and higher education specialists only incidentally” (p. 8). She updated the
description of the use of history in the study of higher education to include the decades since
Thelin’s review, and suggested that more recent scholarship evidences two other kinds of writers of
higher education history. First, “non-historians in higher education have used historical
perspectives to clarify their own work” (Eisenmann, 2004, p. 10). Practitioners with an appreciation
of history have used the lens to challenge assumptions about current realities. Scholars who are not
historians have included historical analysis to explore contemporary issues. Eisenmann saw this
evidence of “use of historical analysis by non-historians as a sign of the field’s maturity” (p. 11).
Second, historians of higher education have emerged as a group, and have provided what she called
“building blocks’ for the field, sometimes examining specific issues, other times redefining a scholarly understanding” (p. 10). The studies of the deans of women by Bashaw (1999), Nidiffer (2000), and Schwartz (1997) were provided as examples that change “our understanding of the place of student affairs within the wider postsecondary enterprise” (Eisenmann, 2004, p. 12). In each of these ways, historical inquiry is an essential although somewhat underutilized tool for understanding higher education.

Methods

The steps of historical inquiry in education are similar to those of other types of qualitative educational research. A problem or concern is identified, questions or hypotheses are posed, data are collected and processed in some systematic way, findings are developed, and interpretations are made to relate back to the original problem and questions (Charles, 1998). Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996) suggested four steps to structure a historical study: “define the problem or question to be investigated, search for sources of historical data, summarize and evaluate the historical sources, and report the data within an interpretive framework” (p. 649). Although this outline might oversimplify a process that is highly subjective and iterative, it provides a definition from which to work.

There is no standard format for reports of historical research. One approach is to use the organization of generic educational research – problem, hypothesis/questions, design, data collection, data analysis, findings, and conclusions (Charles, 1998). Other approaches include chronological ordering, clustering by topic or theme, or some combination of chronological and thematic ordering (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996). The format will be determined by the questions asked, the nature of the information discovered, and the interpretation of the researcher. Whatever the format, the research must be presented in a logical and lucid way (Shafer, 1974). In their text on educational research, Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996) offered recommendations specifically for those writing a historical research dissertation. They suggested that the majority of the dissertation consist of the researcher’s interpretations of data obtained through a search of preliminary, secondary, and primary sources. They also indicated that the researcher might wish to include other historian’s interpretations of the same or similar phenomena. Finally, they suggested that a separate chapter
might be included to describe the methodology, especially if the historical resources posed unusual problems or challenges. This study includes the standard organization elements of educational research, following Gall, Borg, and Gall’s recommendations for dissertation writers.

A search should include preliminary, secondary, and primary sources. A preliminary source is an index to secondary and primary sources (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996). Preliminary sources that were utilized included standard academic search engines such as ERIC (Educational Resource Information Center), Education Abstracts, and Digital Dissertation Abstracts. Also, online catalogues of libraries provide information about holdings in the forms of books, journals, electronic texts, and in some cases archival materials. In some library systems, archives have their own separate database system or online content lists, called finding aids. In any case, archival holdings might list only the titles of manuscript collections or may provide detailed descriptions of very specific documents and records.

A secondary source is a document in which “an individual gives an account of an event, but was not present at the event” (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996, p. 652). Useful secondary sources utilized for this project included books, dissertations, articles, letters, and speeches. A primary source is a record “that was generated by people who personally witnessed or participated in the historical event of interest” (p. 653). Primary sources for this research included those generated during the period of study, 1903-1922, as well as some that were generated by participants at a later time. The official archives of NADW are located in the National Student Affairs Archives, Center for Archival Collections, Bowling Green State University. The minutes of many of the conferences, as well as other documents such as invitations and attendance lists, are included. For the period between 1916 and 1922, there are records of meetings of the conferences as well the NADW. Because the period in question is the earliest period of collection and it has been a century since the first events were recorded, it can be assumed that not all records have survived. An inventory of documents dating from the first meeting of the conferences of deans of women in 1903 to the year it was subsumed by the NADW (1922) was done and the resulting list of meetings is represented in Appendix A.
Beyond archival sources, some published documents were written during the period, such as Lois Mathews' 1915 book *Dean of Women*, as well as some studies and correspondence.

To identify and briefly profile each of the participants, other sources were sought. On-site research was done at the archives of Indiana University; the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; Illinois College; the University of Iowa; Carleton College; the University of Wisconsin–Madison; Beloit College; Case Western Reserve University; and Denison University. The first seven sites were selected because their archives included materials about 1903 conference attendees, and they were on the route of a spring 2003 trip that included both data collection and attendance at national conferences. The other two sites were supplemental, added when travel for other purposes allowed for the proximity and the time to do additional data collection. Other collections were accessed online or through contact with archivists. Some primary sources were available through inter-library loan programs, as published or unpublished sources. For example, Marion Talbot (1936) and Kathryn Sisson McLean Phillips (1964) each published autobiographies, and many of the writings of the deans of women can be found on the shelves of university libraries or in periodicals.

Many texts on historical method devote considerable attention to the process of bibliographic work and note taking (see Gray, 1964; Marius, 1999; Shafer, 1974). They provide diagrams and samples of ways to use index cards to record, sort, and cross-reference potential and discarded sources as well as different types of notes for reading. Using suggestions from the texts, the software program Claris FileMaker Pro (FileMaker, 1996) was used to develop two databases, one containing sources of data for the project and another containing information and sources about the individual deans of women. The use of a database is more flexible than index cards because it allows nearly instantaneous searching and reordering of sources. For example, searches and sorts can be conducted by title of source, year of publication, type of source, or location of source. For the deans of women database, the records were sorted by each of the fields (e.g., name, college or university, academic degree, year of birth, marital status, study abroad, hobbies). Text-based fields were included, allowing storage and word searches of quotations from sources and narrative
summaries of data found. These tools provided for the storage and management of large amounts of information, with retrieval and sorting occurring in a fraction of the time that it would have taken with standard paper-based index cards or files.

Evaluation of Sources

This study used document analysis as a primary form of data analysis. In document analysis, it is important to consider the validity of documents before and as part of interpreting them. The process of analysis is emergent and iterative (Charles, 1998; Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996).

External criticism is the method by which evidence is judged as to its authenticity. It attempts to verify characteristics such as the authorship and date of documents (Shafer, 1974). Because much of what was examined was in the official records of the NADW, it was generally assumed that NADW members were authors or caretakers of the documents. However, the researcher must be conscious of contradictions that suggest complications of what seems forthright. For example, it is likely that there were instances in which notes were added at a later date but incorporated into a certain set of documents. Handwritten comments and notes in the margins of typed documents were carefully evaluated. Also, minutes of meetings were sometimes inaccurate or nonspecific in the attribution of comments or opinions. Where there was confusion about the authenticity of documents, clues were carefully considered and a judgment made by the researcher. Comments on the process of external criticism of documents were included in this report.

Internal criticism is the "determination of meaning and value, or credibility, of evidence" (Shafer, 1974, p. 26). Although a document might be authentic, its author might have intentionally or unintentionally distorted testimony of the event. For example, a secretary might have omitted or diluted a particularly contentious debate when finalizing the minutes. Official and published sources, such as minutes, journal articles, and books, become permanent and public records, and therefore an author might be self-conscious in editing or softening unpopular stances. Another consideration is the intentionality of the evidence (Shafer, 1974). In this study, most of the records were created with the intention of leaving a record. For each meeting, a person was designated to record the minutes of the meeting, sometimes holding an official position to which she was elected.
Because minutes were distributed, it could be surmised that participants had the opportunity to review and amend any gross misrepresentations. Minutes were sometimes officially accepted by vote, and in the case of NADW meetings, were printed as a pamphlet or in a bound volume. Some of the minutes contain a set of voted-upon resolutions expressing the collective opinions of the group; some contain quotations or presentations that appear to be near-verbatim representations of the speakers' words. For these reasons, there were a number of processes by which minutes could have been corrected to become more accurate, and are likely very good representations of the proceedings.

Additionally, a researcher needs to be attuned to what is not said as well as what is said. Omissions were also considered for meaning, taking into account a hermeneutic attention to context and original purpose. Finally, it was important to consider the circumstances of the communications, and understand the professional, political, and personal contexts as thoroughly as possible in order to interpret the documents. Language and customs have changed, and with them meanings have changed. Where terminology or decisions stood out as curious, additional sources were sought to provide a context. For example, using the context of multiple documents, both related and unrelated to the study of deans of women, the term *social dissipation* emerged as a period term for a students' tendency to over-commit to extracurricular activities. The deans of women’s resistance to intercollegiate athletics for women is more understandable with a wider reading of the literature about the abuses of athletes and athletics at the turn of the twentieth century, even though such a review might not have direct bearing on the conferences themselves. The example of the use of the term chairman was discussed above.

In order to faithfully critique the documents, the researcher must approach sources with an attitude of questioning. Some questions a researcher must keep in mind include but are not limited to the following: Is the real meaning different from the literal meaning? Were these words used in the same ways then as they are today? Was the statement meant to be ironic or sarcastic? Does the speaker have background on this topic? Was she or he present for the event described? Might she or he have been intimidated into (or out of) saying something? What was the intent? When was it
said, and in what temporal relation to key events? What was the intention of saying this? To whom was it directed? What overt and implicit clues to veracity did the speaker include? Understanding the context, do the statements and explanations seem reasonable? Are there internal contradictions? How are my own preconceived expectations influencing my reading of the document? (Shafer, 1974, pp. 157-158)

Framework for Review of Sources

To explore the history of organizations, those in the fields of sociology, history, and business have utilized the concept of progressive development. Because the focus of this study was the nature of organizations, the literature was reviewed for models that might be of use in structuring a study of organizations. A framework for review of the data would direct attention to omitted themes or topics as well as those that were obvious, allowing for interpretation of omissions.

A model for the development of organizations was located that was specific not only to the profession of student affairs but also to professional associations within student affairs. Johnson (1983) developed the Maturation Model for Professional Associations (MMPA; Johnson, 1983; Johnson & Stamatakos, 1991) from three other theoretical models. The MMPA has as its basis a business model. The 1967 Lippitt and Schmidt theoretical model was an attempt to provide a framework for conceptualizing and influencing the growth of a business organization. They proposed that past methods of using financial crises, size, or age to assess business organizations were insufficient. They suggested that, as humans do, businesses progress through cumulative stages by successfully coping with predictable crises. On this basis, they proposed three stages: birth, youth, and maturity. Within each of these stages, they proposed two critical concerns to yield a total of six progressive critical concerns. In the birth stage, the critical concerns were to create a new organization, and to survive as a viable system. In the youth stage, the critical concerns were to gain stability and to gain reputation and develop pride. In the maturity stage, the critical concerns were to achieve uniqueness and adaptability and to contribute to society. For each critical concern, they proposed corresponding key issues, consequences if the concern was not met, and needed
knowledge, skills, and attitudes. They offered the model as a tool for managers to use in asking questions about their businesses in order to strengthen their leadership in a developing organization (Lippitt & Schmidt, 1967).

In 1978, Zannini adapted the Lippitt and Schmidt model for use in residence halls in universities. He reviewed other theories of organizational development that were based upon the concepts of stage development, and found them sufficiently similar to select among them. He then applied areas of growth to create a second dimension to the Lippitt and Schmidt model. Zannini contended that although the Lippitt and Schmidt model provided a useful continuum of growth, as it stood it was not specific enough to have practical use for measurement. He saw his primary task as “selecting appropriate maturation variables and then defining those variables” (Zannini, 1978, p. 16). With Lippitt and Schmidt’s development stages on the vertical axis and maturation variables on the horizontal access, Zannini created a grid and then further honed the model by creating a rating system within each block.

Zannini identified sixteen maturation variables. He asserted that the task of selecting universal maturation variables could be easily accomplished by utilizing any reputable introductory text on organizational behavior; however, he believed that the selection of specific maturation variables was more complex and required a specific knowledge of the type of organization (Zannini, 1978, p. 16). Therefore, he identified nine universal maturation variables from the literature, and seven specific variables based on his own experience and familiarity with university residence hall maintenance organizations. The sixteen variables were structure, planning, leadership, labor productivity, labor practices, scheduling, training, performance data, cost data, preventive maintenance, material control, student relationship, intra-departmental relationship, inter-departmental relationship, technology, and engineering (pp. 22-23). To this he added a third dimension of physical growth, including number of buildings, financial resources, total area, and size of staff. Zannini used his expanded model to assess three residence hall maintenance organizations and determine their stages of maturity.
Although Zannini added considerably to the Lippitt and Schmidt model, not all of those adaptations were carried through to the MMPA. The primary legacy from Zannini was the concept of adding maturational variables in order to provide structure for describing and predicting development in different dimensions of an organization.

Another study that eventually formed a part of the MMPA was that of Price (1965) who performed a historical analysis of the American College Personnel Association (ACPA) for his doctoral work at Indiana University. The ACPA was and is one of two national generalist student affairs professional organizations. In his study, he examined the primary documents in the organization’s archives to develop a descriptive history of the ACPA. This report was organized by themes or topics, generated from his analysis of the organization’s historical records. Price’s themes were programs, alliances, formal structure, membership, publicity and publications, research activities, and ethical standards and codes. He described the programs as a “centralized core of activities” (Price, 1965, p. 6). Alliances included formal and informal ties to members of other similar organizations. Formal structure was reviewed as reflected in the constitutional, by-law, policy and procedural acts and revisions. Membership description was considered a key factor, and Price related the “numerical growth, inclusive interests and the organizational activities” (p. 76) of members. Publicity and publications were acknowledged to have many forms, but the primary media of official publications (annual reports, news letters, journals, and monographs) were analyzed. Research was discussed as “the research activities that have been sponsored by the association and performed by individual members of the organization” (p. 126). Finally, ethical standards and codes were noted to be “more appropriately identified with specialized categories within the membership than with the organization as a whole” (p. 137), but Price traced their appearance as they led to generalized codes that served as operational guides to members. Within each topic, major milestones in the history of the organization were organized chronologically. In summary, Price reviewed the trends of each topic and concluded that the organization was increasingly moving away from specialization as it grew. He offered the work as a descriptive
history and suggested that other research might attempt to provide evaluation and prediction for use in shaping the future of the organization.

Johnson (1983) used a combination of the previous studies to develop the MMPA for use with student affairs professional organizations. She used the basic theoretical model of Lippitt and Schmidt (1967), borrowed the concept of a maturation variable dimension from Zannini (1978), and adapted Price’s (1965) topical areas to create new maturation variables. Although the maturation variables of the MMPA are very similar to the topics used by Price, Johnson changed the maturation variables to further refine the model. Formal structure was changed to organizational structure, and the topics of programs, publicity, and publications were combined into a single maturation variable of services and publications. Because the original Lippitt and Schmidt model placed heavy emphasis on financial health, Johnson added the maturation variable of fiscal policies (Johnson, 1983, p. 42). This yielded six maturation variables for the MMPA; organizational structure, ethics and standards, membership, public relations, fiscal policies, and services and publications.

Johnson (1983) defined the six maturation variables as follows.

1. Organizational structure: The organizational chart and reporting relationship, as well as the kind of leadership and delegation of authority are included in this definition. How do the members work? What is the mechanism for decision-making?

2. Ethics and standards: The standards of conduct for the profession as a whole and including the statement of ethical standards for the profession, minimum operational standards within the profession, and accreditation of graduate professional preparation programs.

3. Membership: The kinds and categories of membership found within an association and method of solicitation.

4. Public relations: The image of the organization as it relates to both the general public and its own members.
5. Fiscal policies: The financial health of the organization as well as its fiscal policies and management as part of the maturation variable.

6. Services and publications: Membership services, all publications, professional development activities, placement activities, and any other services to members or to society. (pp. 18-19)

Johnson argued that the MMPA was particularly suited for use with student affairs professional organizations for three reasons. First, it was “theoretically congruent with the goals of the profession because the model [was] rooted in human development theory” (Johnson & Stamatakos, 1991, p. 525). It was based upon a model proposed by Lippitt and Schmidt (1967), which was informed by human development theory. Second, the Lippitt and Schmidt model had been successfully tested in a residence hall setting (Zannini, 1978), lending it credibility in the realm of higher education in general and student affairs in particular. Third, Johnson refined the model to the form of the MMPA using concepts from a historical study of the American College Personnel Association (Price, 1965), further linking it to the specific area of student affairs. Additionally, Johnson tested the MMPA using the method of a consensus of experts. The panel used was made up of professionals from student affairs. The experts provided substantial agreement that the variables and stages were logical and provided an adequate model (Johnson & Stamatakos, 1991).

The MMPA was purported to be useful for understanding, evaluating, and predicting behavior within a professional association. Because this study focused on description and because the historical nature of the organization precludes a need to predict behavior, the model was used only for its utility in providing categories for description and subsequent analysis. The MMPA’s six maturation variables (organizational structure, ethics and standards, membership, public relations, fiscal policies, and service and publication) were selected for use in the review of the documents of the conferences of deans of women.

The research questions of this study were directed toward a description of the conferences of deans of women, rather than the end of evaluating, predicting, or managing an organization’s maturation. For this reason, only the descriptive dimension of the MMPA, not the growth
dimension of the MMPA, was utilized. As such, this study closely resembled the study by Price, which was designed to be “a history rather than a critique, a record rather than an evaluation” (Price, 1965, p. 5). The variables were used to guide organization of the data and reflection on the meaning of the data.

In Johnson’s study, the panel of six experts was unanimous in their endorsement of the maturation variables as useful for examining a student affairs professional organization (Johnson, 1983). However, in this study, the variables were not considered sacrosanct, and as the iterative process of sorting occurred, were revisited for appropriateness. Early in the analysis, it became clear that the six variables did not encompass an important characteristic of the conferences, that of relationships to other groups. After a re-examination of the development of the MMPA, the discarded variable of affiliations was reclaimed from the Price (1965) study. The resulting framework utilized seven variables: organizational structure, ethics and standards, membership, public relations, fiscal policies, service and publication, and affiliations.

The Process of Analysis

Because historical research is not linear, some preliminary analysis of the data was conducted in the process of seeking, identifying, locating, and collecting data. Sources were considered for their relevance to the research questions, and sometimes led to additional sources. This process continued throughout the study.

However, the physical collection of documents did eventually reach a point when additions became much less frequent, and the researcher was satisfied that most of the critical documents had been obtained or sufficiently sought. A more intense process of analysis followed. Because this study used two primary sets of data, one for the conferences themselves and one for the individual deans of women, the process of analysis for each will be described separately.

First, the papers documenting the conferences of deans of women were collected, ordered chronologically, and placed in a large binder. An initial reading allowed the researcher to familiarize herself with the meetings, and note any references or clues that indicated mis-filing. Also, initial notes were made about references between meetings, and patterns in tone and format. Then, the
documents were revisited in more detail. Sections, sentences, or phrases related to the organizations (as opposed the topics of the discussions) were flagged. Then, the highlighted sections were re-reviewed and entered into a database according to the source and the variable implied in the data. The database was constructed so that each record described a source, and there were fields for each of the six MMPA variables. Some phrases were entered as related to more than one variable. However, it was at this point that it became clear that important data in the documents describing the nature of the organization were not adequately encompassed by the six variables, and a review of the model led to the addition of the variable of affiliations. Also, all instances of the use of the word conference were entered in a separate field, to help examine the ways in which the women used and understood the word to refer to their groups and their meetings. Finally, a field for the entry of data referring to the relationship between conferences and the NADW was added to capture evidence for use in answering the third research question.

Once the data were entered, the researcher was able to sort the records by variable, and analyze for similarities and differences across the meetings. This yielded a working hypothesis that there were seven different conferences. A re-sort of the records by conference and then by variables allowed the analysis of the conferences reflected in Chapter 5. Finally, a sort of the records by reference to the relationship with the NADW provided a cross-source view of statements about that relationship. For each variable, data lifted from the primary sources were supplemented with data noted in secondary and preliminary sources, already entered into the database.

The analysis of the data regarding the individual deans of women was conducted using a different database. A record was created for each attendee, and was initially structured to accept data in fields representing basic biographical characteristics. As data collection and entry continued, and preliminary sorting and analysis was done, fields were added. For example, at the onset of data collection, there was no reason to anticipate that evidence of involvement in the question of suffrage would be relevant or even evident from the data available. However, as sources of data were discovered, references to suffrage activity and opinions became more numerous, and a field for suffrage data was added. From that point, any additional data regarding suffrage was entered in that
field, and previous data entered into a general information field was copied and added to the specific field. This process of data organization was repeated for qualitative fields such as field of study, dissertation title, sorority membership, study abroad, and religious affiliation; it was also used for quantitative fields, such as year of birth, age at death, and age at marriage. Sorting, in the format of tables, allowed for side-by-side comparison analysis or counting of cases.

The use of databases and formative development of database fields allowed for analysis of data directly related to the research questions. Continued resorting of the data and creation of new fields also implied future research questions, especially when using the database of attendees. Implications for future research are discussed in Chapter 7.

Summary

This study utilized historical methods to describe professional groups of the early deans of women. Preliminary, primary, and secondary sources were used, and documents were closely considered for their external and internal validity. A set of variables was developed using previous research on student affairs organizations, and was used as a framework in the analysis of the conference documents. A reiterative process of surveying, unitizing, entering, sorting, and reviewing the data allowed for analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data in two separate databases.
CHAPTER 4. CHRONOLOGY OF THE CONFERENCES

To clarify the nature of the conferences of deans of women, it might make the most sense to begin at the beginning. How do we know there were conferences of deans of women, and what records have been used to create the accounts that are currently in the literature? Among them, which are the earliest, and which the latest? This chapter includes the results of a search for evidence of conferences of deans of women during and at the edges of the period of study. A chronological description of the events of the conferences is provided.

A list of meetings, dates, locations, and some pertinent facts was compiled by the Committee on the History of the NADW in February 1926 and published in 1927. It can be found in the Proceedings of the Fourteenth Regular Meeting of the National Association of Deans of Women, currently located in the NADW archives. Mary Ross Potter organized the description from materials provided by Marion Talbot, Eva Johnston, the Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, and her own records. To her report have been added supplementary details gleaned from other sources, external and internal criticism of the sources, and additional sources as noted. For a listing of the meetings, see Appendix A.

Meetings of Conferences of Deans of Women

1902 – (Planning Meeting)

Dates: Unknown.

Location: The University of Chicago.

Attendance: 5 (four known, one unknown)

The first activity among the deans of women was an informal gathering of five women. Potter (1926) described the evidence for this earliest assembly:

Mrs. [Myra Beach] Jordan, in a letter received recently, refers to a meeting held at the University of Chicago in 1902 . . . which five deans attended, Miss [Marion] Talbot, Mrs. [Myra Beach] Jordan, Miss [Margaret J.] Evans, Mrs. [Martha Foote] Crowe, and one other from either Wisconsin or Minnesota. No record of this meeting has been found. (p. 3)
A review of the NADW archives yielded no other record of this meeting deposited since Mary Ross Potter’s 1926 search. Additionally, there is no mention of the 1902 gathering in Marion Talbot’s autobiography, *More than Lore: Reminiscences of Marian Talbot, Dean of Women, the University of Chicago, 1892-1925* (Talbot, 1936). Although the University of Michigan’s Bentley Library contains a well-indexed collection with quite a number of documents related to Myra Beach Jordan, none appear to reference this 1902 meeting. However, the collection does contain Jordan’s handwritten acceptance letter, indicating that “unless you [President Angell] think I would better be in Ann Arbor earlier, I am planning to get there about September 15” and that in July she would be in Hot Sulphur Springs, Middle Park, Colorado (Jordan, 1902, July 1). These dates might help to estimate the date of the Chicago meeting as perhaps in September, on her way east to Michigan. In 1902, Margaret Evans was well established at Carleton College, having served the women students there since 1874. Although her file at the Carleton College archives contains handwritten letters from 1874 offering her a position at Carleton College and announcing her departure from Lawrence University, no other personal correspondence is included. The various tributes and papers about her life emphasize her role in starting and leading other organizations, but not a conference of deans of women. In the fall of 1902, Martha Foote Crow was beginning her third year as dean of women at Northwestern University in Evanston (Kramer, 1996) and would have been in a good position to attend because of both the convenience of location and her ties to the University of Chicago as a former assistant professor of English there. During her time at Chicago, she was one of six women on the faculty, one of the others being Marion Talbot (Kramer, 1996, p. 207).

The unknown fifth dean was referenced by Jordan as hailing from Wisconsin or Minnesota. At the University of Wisconsin in 1902, Abby Shaw Mayhew was mistress of the women’s residence hall and an assistant professor in physical culture (University of Wisconsin Archives, 1912). The Dean of Women, Annie Crosby Emery, had left in 1901 to become the dean at the women’s college at Brown University (Nidiffer, 2000) and Mayhew fulfilled some of the roles of the dean of women while the position remained vacant, including attending the Conferences in 1903 and 1905. However, Mayhew’s primary professional affiliation was with physical education,
and she never took a dean of women’s position, even after the office was reinstated at Wisconsin. It is possible that the fifth dean was Mayhew, but it seems that a more likely candidate would be a more professionally immersed dean.

In 1902, the University of Minnesota had no dean of women, and would not have a dean of women until Ada Louise Comstock was appointed in 1907. Comstock was teaching at the university in 1902 and was an advocate of women students (Nidiffer, 2000), but in this time period she was likely not yet involved in organizing for women students. She was engaged to be married, but her father disapproved and arranged for her study at the Sorbonne in 1903-1904 (Solomon, 1985). It was after her return to Minnesota that she lobbied donors and the president for a women’s building and, ultimately, the position of dean of women (Nidiffer, 2000). It seems unlikely that the fifth dean was Ada Louise Comstock because she was not yet a dean of women and, more importantly, she was in France around the time the gathering occurred.

Another possibility is that Jordan’s memory of a dean from Minnesota or Wisconsin meant a college or university other than the University of Minnesota or the University of Wisconsin. The only other relevant institutions represented at the 1903 or 1905 meetings were Carleton College (Margaret J. Evans) and Lawrence University (Caroline Elizabeth DeGreene.) Evans was already identified as an attendee. DeGreene is a possibility. She had just completed her master’s degree at the University of Michigan. Since Evans was an alumna and former preceptress of Lawrence University and had strong loyalties to her alma mater, she might have contacted DeGreene and invited along the new person with responsibilities for her former charges. It is also possible that Jordan was simply mistaken, recalling that someone was from Minnesota but having already listed Evans.

Another clue to the 1902 meeting was found in the stenographic record of the 1922 business meeting of the NADW. In the meeting, the officers were debating an appropriate name for the section for deans of women from state universities. After some discussion about whether the word “state” excluded some deans, Marion Talbot spoke up. She provided some history for the discussion:
May I add a word of personal explanation, because I have appreciated very much . . . the courtesy of the invitations I have received, but my mind goes back to the first gathering of deans of universities which was called at the request of the Dean of the University of Oklahoma more than twenty years ago. That led to the formation or informal organization of the group of deans of women of some colleges and universities.” (National Association of Deans of Women [NADW], 1922c, p. 36)

With this comment, Talbot suggested another possibility for the unidentified fifth dean. However, this does not appear to be a promising possibility. There was no dean of women at the University of Oklahoma until 1908 (D. W. Levy, personal communication, September 12, 2003; Gittinger, 1942).

Whomever the fifth dean was, the content and flavor of the discussions among these five women appears to be lost to history. It must have been useful and pleasant enough to encourage them to invite others to join the conversations. With the completion of their time together, they must have agreed to formalize the meeting and arrange for proper invitations, facilities, hosting, and record keeping. The first official meeting would bring together more women, with more resources and wisdom to share.

1903 – Conference of Deans of Women of the Middle West

Dates: Tuesday, November 3 and Wednesday, November 4
Location: The University of Chicago and Northwestern University
Attendance: 18

Although only five women gathered in 1902 for the planning meeting, there was apparently quite a buzz among women deans about the upcoming 1903 meeting. In order to make it easier for deans to attend, the conference was scheduled for the two days preceding the Association of Collegiate Alumnae annual meeting in Milwaukee. On October 20, 1903, only two weeks before the Conference, Violet DeLille Jayne at the University of Illinois wrote a longhand memo to President A. S. Draper to arrange for her travel to both meetings. Her letter gives insight to the eagerness with which the deans must have viewed this opportunity.
The annual meeting of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae takes place in Milwaukee November 5th, 6th, and 7th; and I should be glad to attend if no objections to my doing so occur to you. Those dates come on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of that week. I shall of course go at my own expense. There is further to be a congress of women deans in Evanston and Chicago, on the two preceding days, i.e. November 3rd and 4th, that date having been set with special reference to the meeting of the A.C.A., so that the deans need not take the time and expense of an extra trip for that congress. This last is a plan concerning which there was much correspondence and discussion last year, and which seemed to meet with hearty response from almost all the deans of the Middle West. I should like very much to attend that also, if it does not seem to you to take too much time from my work here. I could arrange, for once, to have my Tuesday class work on Monday afternoon, and thus miss only three days from my classes. These will probably be the only cases during the year of conventions in term-time, that I shall care to attend. I write at this early date as those who have charge of these meetings are urging early replies from those who expect to attend. Very sincerely yours, Violet D. Jayne, University Hall, October 20, 1903. (Jayne, 1903, October 20)

Invitations went out to deans of women in the Middle West in a random fashion, with contacts being made to the best of their knowledge (Jayne, 1903; Potter, 1926). There would later be calls for a directory of deans, but at this early date the deans must have been known only by personal knowledge of other deans and colleagues. Many of the deans must have known each other from academic work at the University of Michigan, Wellesley College, or other institutions educating women in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The call for the meeting included a list of topics to be discussed (Minutes of the Conference, 1903) but no copy of the original invitation is available in the NADW archives or in the archives consulted for this project. Eighteen women heeded the call and arrived in Chicago for the first meeting. They hailed from colleges and universities in 11 states, all in the Midwest save New York (Laura Drake Gill, Dean of Barnard College, made the trip as well). Margaret J. Evans was chosen as presiding officer, and Mary
Bidwell Breed secretary (Minutes of the Conference, 1903). Attendees of this conference are included in the Alphabetical List of Attendees (see Appendix B).

The 1903 conference itself is well documented. In format, the minutes include a list of attendees and third person reporting of individual members’ contributions. The secretary’s account was typed, double-spaced, virtually without typographical errors, and 18 pages in length. A single-spaced typewritten report of the Resolutions Committee accompanies it. Both are signed by the respective officer, with Mary Bidwell Breed and Alice Young verifying, respectively. Copies of both the minutes and the resolutions are available in the NADW archives.

1905 – Intended Second Conference of Deans of Women of the Middle West

Dates: Did Not Occur
Location: None
Attendance: 0

One of the actions taken during the 1903 meeting was to decide if and when another meeting of deans of women of the Middle West should be held. “The Committee on Organization asked for an expression of opinion on the date of the next Conference. The Autumn of 1905 met with general approval” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 17). There is no record or indication that this meeting ever materialized (Potter, 1926), at least not with this title and configuration.

However, a very similar conference was held in December, only a few weeks after the intended conference. This one was different in that it was for deans and advisors of women “in State Universities” and the reference to the Middle West was omitted. The opening sentence of the record of this similar meeting referred to the group’s “first meeting” (Minutes of the Conference, 1905, p. 2).

Why did the women choose to exclude those deans of women working at private institutions and public colleges? Again, Marion Talbot’s 1922 comments shed some light:

Then the next step was the breaking away of the deans of women of State universities, because they said their problems were distinct and characteristic, and they wished to form a separate organization. I, of course, could not go with them [being employed by a private
institution] nor could the deans of the colleges here. I held some informal meetings with my friends in this new organization . . . I do wonder whether the object those women had in those days of having an opportunity to discuss their very particular problems could be met as well. (NADW, 1922c, pp. 36-37)

So, something about the 1903 conference or the events of the ensuing two years caused the deans of women at the state universities to feel that their issues were unique, and that led them to organize separately. They must have seen themselves as different enough to warrant a new organization and new type of meeting, calling it their “first.” They met in December.

1905 – Conference of Deans and Advisors of Women in State Universities

Dates: Tuesday, December 19 and Wednesday, December 20
Location: The Stratford Hotel, Chicago, Illinois
Attendance: 14

Deans of women at state universities were notified by a circular call for the meeting. The announcement included a slate of topics to be discussed (Minutes of the Conference, 1905, p. 1). The circular is not present in the NADW archives.

The meeting commenced with roll call. Fourteen women were present, representing 14 state universities. Although “Middle West” had been dropped from the title of the conference, only three of the 14 states represented are best described as in other regions (California, Mississippi, and Pennsylvania). Five deans (Mary Bidwell Breed, Eugénie Galloo, Myra Beach Jordan, Abby Shaw Mayhew, and Minnie A. Stoner) were returners, having been present at the 1903 meeting. Attendees of this conference are included in the Alphabetical List of Attendees (see Appendix B).

One item on the list of attendees in the minutes should be noted. Miss M. A. Stoner is recorded as being from the University of Stoner. This is certainly a typographical error, substituting her last name for her university. Potter (1926) changed the listing to University of Ohio in the 1926 history; however, it should be Ohio State University. In 1905, Minnie A. Stoner was a professor and head of the department of domestic science at Ohio State University (Ashcraft, 1970; Scott, 1978).
As with the 1903 conference, a leader and a secretary were selected as an early order of business. “Miss Breed was elected chairman [sic] of the Conference and Miss Lewis, secretary”. One of their duties was to act as gatekeeper, with “information for publication be given out only by the chairman or secretary” (Minutes of the Conference, 1905, p. 1).

The 1905 conference is also well documented. In format, the minutes include a list of attendees and in sections relate the comments of the deans of women in the first-person. Both the length and the first-person recording suggest that notes might have been taken in stenographic form. The secretary’s account was typed, single-spaced, and is 41 pages in length. The version available in the NADW archives appears to have been a retyped version from an earlier copy or handwritten notes. This is suggested by the fact that the typist included notations of omission, such as “(page 21 of the original minutes was missing)” (p. 27) and “(Evidently the last page is missing as there are no final adjournment proceedings)” (p. 41). As a result, the reader should carefully examine it to judge internal validity. A point for strength of internal validity is that the typist is so careful to note omissions and presumably indecipherable words, that one might place greater confidence in her record of the other sections. No resolutions are contained in the minutes nor are they housed elsewhere in the NADW collection. However, a 1966 convention report of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, a successor to NADW, listed the topics discussed at various past meetings and included a summary and snippets of quotations from five resolutions from a 1905 meeting (National Association of Women Deans, 1966), suggesting that at one time resolutions were available. The minutes contain reported comments that to a great degree reflect the conditions at the constituent institutions, and would be a rich source of information about women students’ lives at individual universities in 1905. The minutes are available in the NADW archives.

1906 – Second Conference of the Deans and Advisors of Women in State Universities

Dates: Unknown

Location: Ann Arbor, Michigan

Attendance: Unknown
No record of this meeting exists in the NADW archives, but it can be assumed that it occurred. Several items in the 1905 and 1907 minutes support this claim. First, at the 1905 meeting, the chair of the conference, Mary Bidwell Breed expressed that she would like to meet again in 1906, saying she hoped the conference would be “an annual thing” (Minutes of the Conference, 1905, p. 29). Second, two locations were considered for the 1906 meeting and a decision made. Mary Bidwell Breed “read a letter from President Houston of the University of Texas inviting the conference of Deans to meet there next year. An invitation from Ann Arbor had been received. This was accepted, the location being more central” (p. 29). Third, the 1905 meeting’s motion for adjournment included instructions to Myra Beach Jordan to host a meeting in Ann Arbor. It should be noted that the version of the minutes currently in the NADW archives are missing the final page or pages, so the record of this charge is in Mary Ross Potter’s history (Potter, 1926, p. 7). Potter must have had access to a more complete version of the minutes. Finally, the occurrence of a 1906 meeting is supported by the record of the 1907 meeting, which was titled “Third Conference of the Deans and Advisors of Women in the State Universities” (Third Conference, 1907, p. 1).

1907 – Third Conference of the Deans and Advisors of Women in the State Universities

Dates: Thursday, December 19 and Friday, December 20
Location: Chicago, Illinois
Attendance: 12

The 1907 Conference was opened by Mary Bidwell Breed, Acting Chairman, and presumably the presiding officer of the 1906 conference. After roll, Myra Beach Jordan was “unanimously elected chairman for said meeting. Miss Ada Comstock [was] elected as Honorary Chairman. [A] list of subjects [was] selected for discussion and submitted by Mrs. Jordan and Miss Breed” (Third Conference, 1907, p. 1). Attendees of this conference are included in the Alphabetical List of Attendees (see Appendix B).

The record of the 1907 conference is long and detailed. It is 34 pages long, single-spaced, with very narrow margins on the top, bottom, and right. Comments are attributed to attendees and written in the first-person. Again, both the length and the first-person recording suggest that notes
might have been taken in stenographic form, and the detailed descriptions of individual institutions could be very valuable to historians of those universities. There are no indications of omissions, either overt by their notation or implied by discontinuities in the content (as are found in the 1905 minutes contained in the NADW archives.). Potter (1926) wrote that Ada Comstock was secretary, but the minutes indicated she was elected as Honorary Chairman (Third Conference, 1907, p. 1). The report is not signed, and no indication of a secretary appears in the content, so the person responsible for the report is not clear.

The minutes include seven resolutions in the body of the minutes. In a section titled Appendix, two documents are typed into the minutes. They are the Rules Concerning Social Functions from Indiana University (passed by the faculty there in May 1907) and Rules Adopted by Pan-Hellenic Association of the University of Minnesota. The final item regards a Sorority Hand Book by Mrs. Wm. H. Martin, with the suggestion that some addresses in it might be useful to the deans and advisers of women.

Provisions were again made for another meeting.

Motion made, seconded, and unanimously carried that Mrs. [Cora Stranahan] Woodward, Adviser of Women at Wisconsin, be appointed a committee to take charge of calling the next meeting of this Conference, in two years. It was also voted that Chicago be the place of the next meeting. (Third Conference, 1907, p. 32)

1909 – Informal Conference of Deans of Women in Conjunction with the Religious Education Association

Date: Saturday, February 13
Location: Chicago, Illinois
Attendance: 12

This informal conference was the first of three meetings of deans of women in the year 1909. Because of the splitting off of the deans of women at state universities in 1905, deans at private universities and colleges were not enjoying the benefits of the conferences. In retrospect, Marion Talbot noted of the split, “I, of course, could not go with them, nor could the deans of the
colleges here” (NADW, 1922c, pp. 36-37). However, Talbot was well respected, and was invited to remain in contact with the deans. She reported that she “held some informal meetings with my friends in this new organization” (p. 37). Talbot took advantage of two opportunities in 1909 to gather deans without the restriction of state affiliation.

The first of these meetings was organized in conjunction with the Religious Education Association (REA). The REA was founded in 1903 by William Rainey Harper of the University of Chicago (Schmidt, 1983). No doubt Marion Talbot’s connections to both Harper and the University of Chicago are related to her attendance at the REA convention in 1909. Potter (1926) wrote that the REA meeting was to address topics of interest to women, and that Talbot saw an opportunity to advance education for women. Mary Bidwell Breed, then Dean of Women at Missouri, had been invited to the REA convention to present a paper (Breed, 1909, January 16). Printed invitations were sent on letterhead from the Office of the Dean of Women, University of Chicago:

In connection with the general convention of the Religious Education Association, an informal conference of deans of women, to which you are cordially invited, will be held at the Chicago Woman’s Club, Fine Arts Building, 203 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, on Saturday, February 13, 1909, at 9:30 a.m. If you can be present, please send your name in advance to Miss Marion Talbot, The University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. (Invitation, 1909)

A copy of one of these invitations, with the handwritten notation “Miss Talbot” in the upper right hand corner, is available in the NADW archives. It is unknown to whom the invitations were sent; however, a handwritten list of state and private institutions, by state and with some names noted, has been filed with the materials related to this meeting in the NADW archives. It appears to be in Marion Talbot’s handwriting and is written on the back of a printed piece of her stationary. Thirty-three states appear on the list, suggesting that at least some attempt was made to reach women from a broader geographical as well as institutional audience. After the conference, Marion Talbot wrote a letter to her president to inform him that the “Conference of Deans of Women from
different universities and colleges was extremely successful” (Talbot, 1909, February 16) and listed 12 institutional representatives. No report of the content of the meeting was found. Attendees of this conference came from both private and public universities and colleges, and are included in the Alphabetical List of Attendees (see Appendix B).

1909 – Fourth Conference of Deans and Advisors of Women in State Universities

Date: December 20-22
Location: Chicago, Illinois
Attendance: unknown

There is very little documentation available regarding this meeting. The only record of it in the NADW archives is a copy of the printed resolutions generated as a result of the conference. Potter (1926) referred to this record as having “attained the dignity of a printed document” (p. 9) and it might be supposed that the resolutions were distributed to both attendees and other interested publics. The resolutions (Fourth Conference, 1909) contain few clues to the meeting or the conference itself. It is stated that “the Conference reaffirmed the resolutions of the preceding conference and in addition” (p. 1) agreed to new resolutions. The concluding notation is “Chicago, Dec. 20-21-22, 1909” (p. 2). The resolutions document lists the position of the conference on various topics such as residence halls, employing a physician, and academic recognition for deans, but provides no clues to the people who led or participated in the meeting. Therefore, attendees of this conference are included on the Alphabetical List of Attendees (see Appendix B) only if they attended another meeting for which a roster was located.

Another document in the NADW archives might also shed light on this meeting. It is a single sheet of paper, typed, and is titled Suggested Programme (1909). It appears to be an informal list of six topics with two to four sub topics or questions below each. The typed content is neither dated nor attributed to a particular meeting; however, there are handwritten notes on it that help to associate it. The title is followed by the notation, “for State women deans Dec. 1909” and “Miss Talbot” is written in the upper right hand corner. Although the notations seem likely to have been made later, perhaps when organizing or archiving the materials, they seem to be credible. The
content and order of the topics listed closely parallel the printed resolution announcement (Fourth Conference, 1909).

1909 – Conference of Deans of Women of Private Institutions

Date: December 21-22

Location: Chicago College Club, Chicago, Illinois

Attendance: 11

This was the second of two gatherings called by Marion Talbot in 1909 that allowed women who were not employed at state universities to confer. The other deans were invited to come to Chicago for the latter days of the state deans’ conference, and a joint session was held (Potter, 1926). Alberta Linton Corbin of the University of Kansas attended the state deans’ discussion, but lost track of time and missed meeting with the rest of the deans. She sent a letter of apology to Marion Talbot two days later, in which she expressed regret for her absence and a wish for interaction with a broader range of deans:

I should have been happy to meet with your division of deans. It seems to me that an occasional union meeting might be helpful now and then – Or perhaps an Inter-collegiate (national) meeting that would also include the women’s colleges. This say once in three or five years. (Corbin, 1909, December 24, pp. 2-3)

Lucile Dora, of the University of Oklahoma, also used the joint private-public meeting to voice “the need for closer contact with other women” working as deans (Potter, 1926, p. 10).

No minutes or resolutions related to this gathering are contained in the NADW archives. However, Mary Ross Potter (1926) provided a list of attendees (p. 9). Potter did not cite her source for the list, so it is unclear how she knew of the attendees or if this was a complete list or only those who attended in addition to the state university deans. Attendees of this meeting are included in the Alphabetical List of Attendees (see Appendix B).
1910 – Conference of Deans of Women

Date: October 24

Location: Beemis Hall, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado

Attendance: 13

The year 1910 saw the beginnings of formal linkages between the conferences of deans of women and the Association of Collegiate Alumnae. Since its inception in 1881, the ACA had in its membership women who would become deans of women. It had encouraged the creation of dean of women positions in its member institutions since 1908 (Potter, 1926). In fact, the early ACA records and membership contain quite a number of names that can be found in the Alphabetical List of Attendees in Appendix B. As was noted above, the first 1903 gathering was scheduled so as to make travel easy for those women who were planning to attend the 1903 annual meeting of the ACA.

In 1910, a group of deans of women again planned to participate in the ACA meeting. The Twenty-ninth Annual Convention of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae was held October 19-22 in Denver, Colorado. Gertrude Shorb Martin of Cornell University had been invited to present her paper, “The Position of Dean of Women” (Martin, 1911) to be followed by a discussion of the question, “Shall Deans Teach?” (Potter, 1926). Mary Ross Potter, who was present for the paper and discussion, later wrote that “it was an illuminating and inspiring afternoon, and a goodly body of deans were in attendance” (Potter, 1926, p. 12).

The excitement about the program must have been great enough to yield discussion among travelers on their way to the convention. “On the train, en route to Denver, a group of deans, in quite impromptu fashion, arranged to hold a Conference of Deans in connection with this convention, and planned a program” (Potter, 1926, p. 12). They must have jotted down a list of agenda items while on the train, and someone must have later located a typewriter and typed it up in preparation for the conference. A half-sheet of paper titled Topics for Discussion appears in the archives, and it includes handwritten additions and reordering of the topics (Topics for Discussion,
1910). The corrections appear to have been made for the meeting, as the minutes of the meeting reflect that order (Minutes of the Conference, 1910).

They met two days after the close of the ACA convention, at Beemis Hall of Colorado College in Colorado Springs. Mary Ross Potter presided and Lucy Sprague was secretary. Thirteen women are listed in the minutes, each with her title, institution, and year of appointment noted. Among them, there were both newcomers and those who had attended at least one other gathering of deans of women. Because attendance at the ACA convention required membership in ACA, this conference would have excluded all non-members of ACA and any who had not already planned to attend the ACA convention. Attendees of this conference are included in the Alphabetical List of Attendees (see Appendix B).

Minutes of the 1910 conference are available in the NADW archives. The document is 11 pages long, typed and single-spaced. It is likely a retyping of the original, since the final page includes an indication that Lucy Sprague signed the original. Under each topic, institutional representatives’ responses are listed with short sentences or phrases regarding the disposition of the issues at that campus. For example, for the State University of Iowa, the reply to the question of the relations of deans to self-government was “No self-government” (Minutes of the Conference, 1910, p. 2). Again, this document could be very useful to those investigating individual institutional history. No discussion of organization or the group itself is reflected in the minutes. No resolutions were generated or voted upon, and the minutes were distributed only to those who were in attendance (Potter, 1926, p. 12).

No record of the gathering of the deans of women appeared in the Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, with the exception of the inclusion of Gertrude Shorb Martin’s paper, which was part of the formal agenda for the ACA convention. However, the response among the membership of the ACA was very positive, and the president of the ACA, Laura Drake Gill, Dean of Barnard College, invited the deans to meet in connection with the next ACA convention (Potter, 1926). Gill’s enthusiasm and support of the group is not surprising, since she attended the first conference of deans of women in 1903 (Minutes of the Conference, 1903).
When the Executive Committee of the ACA met in May 1911 to plan its next convention, the success of the deans of women’s meeting was remembered. The ACA Executive Committee voted to “invite the deans of women to attend the annual meeting of 1911 and to offer them the privilege of the floor in discussions” (Potter, 1926, p. 12). In this way, deans of women were included whether their alma maters were members of the ACA or not. This gesture was especially generous, because the ACA had historically used its exclusivity as a tool for change in non-member institutions (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931). That all women deans were welcome is a testament to the importance the ACA placed on the work of deans of women. Additionally, since this meeting was an extension of ACA members’ organizing, the conference was open to deans of women in both private and public institutions.

Mary Ross Potter presided again, as she had done in 1910. There exist two references to the conference written by Potter: a report published in the *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae*, and inclusion in the 1926 history written for the NADW. In the former, Potter reports 25 deans of women in attendance (Potter, 1912) and in the latter, eighteen (Potter, 1926). No list of attendees appears in either source, nor is one present in the archives of the NADW. Four attendees are known because of their inclusion as presenters in the report of the meeting: Potter (Northwestern University), Lucy Sprague (University of California), Ada Comstock (University of Minnesota), and Eleanor Louise Lord (Goucher College). A fifth attendee was Carrie L. DeNise, as reported by the Indiana University student newspaper and official expense reports for the dean of women (Rothenberger, 1942). All of these women are included in the Alphabetical List of Attendees (see Appendix B).

Two documents were found that shed light on the content of the 1911 conference in conjunction with the ACA annual convention. The first is the report by Mary Ross Potter cited
above and published in the *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae*. The article lists four topics of discussion and lists three resolutions that emerged as a result (Potter, 1912). The other is a typed version of the three resolutions, dated October 23, 1911, and located in the Indiana University Archives (Resolutions Passed, 1911). It was a part of the Trustee Report submitted by the Dean of Women for 1911, and is filed with the records of President Bryan. Indiana University dean of women Carrie L. DeNise attended the conference and must have felt that the resolutions were useful to share with her president and trustees. No record was found of the minutes or other detailed recording of the conference meeting itself.

1911 – *Fifth Biennial Conference of Deans and Advisers of Women in State Universities*

*Date:* December 18, 19, and 20  
*Location:* Hotel Blackstone, Chicago, Illinois  
*Attendance:* Unknown

As the conferences of deans of women continued to be held in conjunction with the ACA, the conference of deans of women at state universities also continued to meet regularly. However, the details of the December 1911 meeting held in Chicago are not well known. All that remains of it in the NADW archives is the printed program for the conference (Fifth Biennial, 1911). It reveals little about the nature of the organization, other than to include sessions for business and unfinished business. No record of any resolutions is included, although the program does reserve time for the Report of the Committee on Resolutions and the Nominating Committee.

No list of attendees is included, and Mary Ross Potter did not mention attendance in the 1926 history (Potter, 1926, p. 13), and so it is unlikely that an attendance list was available to her in 1926. Partial attendance can be surmised from the program’s listing of discussion leaders, being Mary Bidwell Breed (University of Missouri), Isabella Austin (University of Washington), Alice B. Ensign (University of Nebraska), Lois K. Mathews (University of Wisconsin), Myra B. Jordan (University of Michigan), and Lucy Sprague (University of California). Because the program was the intended activity and not a record of the conference as it occurred, it is not assumed that these
women attended the conference. However, all but one (Ensign) attended at least one other conference and so they are included in the Alphabetical List of Attendees (see Appendix B).

1912 – Conference of Deans of Women

Date: Monday, November 11
Location: Home of Myra B. Jordan, Ann Arbor, Michigan
Attendance: At least 43

When the thirty-first annual conference of the ACA was held in 1911, the deans of women again met. There is no record of the minutes of the conference available in the NADW archives, but a printed copy of the resolutions gives evidence of the conference having taken place (Resolutions, 1912). No list of attendees was found, although the resolutions document includes a statement that “deans from forty-three colleges and universities were present and all joined in informal discussions” (Resolutions, 1912, p. 1). Potter (1926) provided the detail that a “recommendation was presented to the Council of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae by Dean [Florence M.] Fitch, of Oberlin, President of the Ann Arbor Conference” (p. 13). Fitch is included in the Alphabetical List of Attendees (see Appendix B). It is interesting to note that this conference was held at the home of a dean of women, Myra Beach Jordan, and was the largest gathering to date.

1913 – Sixth Biennial Conference of Deans and Advisers of Women in State Universities

Date: December 16, 17, and 18
Location: Hotel La Salle, Chicago, Illinois
Attendance: 18 and four guests

The deans of women in state universities met again for their biennial conference in Chicago, Illinois, and Gertrude S. Martin of Cornell University served as the chair (Potter, 1926). Four deans of women were listed separately from the attendees as “guests,” specifically Elizabeth Hamilton (Miami University), Mary R. Potter (Northwestern University), Marion Talbot (University of Chicago), and Irma Elizabeth Voigt (Ohio University). Presumably, they received this alternative designation because they did not represent a state university, or the primary state university of their states, as the other women did. The minutes of the conference include a notation that the “Chairman
announced that she had asked [them] to be our guests . . . Miss Hamilton was a regular member of the conference before we made our new ruling about membership” (Sixth Biennial, 1913a, p. 6). However, the new ruling was not explicated, and the fifth biennial conference minutes were not located. All listed attendees and guests are included in the Alphabetical List of Attendees (see Appendix B).

Two documents were located that illuminated the 1913 conference. A printed program with a schedule and list of topics is located in the NADW archives (Sixth Biennial, 1913b). Additionally, a thirty-six-page printed booklet “of no mean dimensions” (Potter, 1926, p. 15) includes the schedule and detailed minutes of the contributions of each of the deans in the discussions (Sixth Biennial, 1913a). It is not extant in the NADW archives, but is available in the Special Collections library of the Education, Human Ecology, Psychology and Social Work Library, Ohio State University.

1914 – Conference of Deans

Date: Tuesday, April 14
Location: Home of Marion Reilly, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania
Attendance: 52 and two students

Since the ACA did not have a national convention in 1913, the deans of women did not meet in conjunction with the ACA meeting until 1914. The thirty-second convention of the ACA met in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania from April 13 to April 17, and the deans of women met on April 14 in nearby Bryn Mawr, at Pen-y-groes, the home of Marion Reilly, the Dean of Bryn Mawr College (Conference of Deans, 1914; Potter, 1926). Myra Beach Jordan was the chairman of the conference, and the flyer announcing the meeting also listed an executive committee: Ada Comstock, Lida Shaw King, Eleanor L. Lord, and Henrietta Josephine Meeteer (Conference of Deans, 1914).

In attendance were 52 deans and two Columbia students who were there as guests (Deans of Women, 1914). Mary Ross Potter (1926) wrote that 53 deans were present, but one dean, Winona Hughes of Wooster, Ohio, was listed twice (with slightly different spellings of her name)
on the roster that is extant in the NADW archives (Deans of Women at the Meeting, 1914). Indeed, research on the individual deans of women on the roster led to the conclusion that there were many spelling and even whole-name errors (such as Grace Bury rather than Grace Berry, and Mary L. Burton rather than Mary L. Benton). The list is typed, and the errors suggest mis-transcription, perhaps in typing up a sign in sheet. Errors have been corrected on the lists that appear in the appendices. It should also be noted that the hostess, Marion Reilly, was not on the attendance list. This could be an error, or a reflection of her absence, so she is not assumed to have attended. Attendees of this meeting are included in the Alphabetical List of Attendees (see Appendix B).

There are a number of documents that serve as a record of the conference. The NADW archives contain four items. A printed one-page invitation to the conference with description of the meeting and program schedule is titled Conference of Deans 1914 with a heading from the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (Conference of Deans, 1914). It includes questions for discussion as well as train schedules and luncheon, tea, and supper times. A typed Report of the Conference of Deans of Women has as its content the resolutions passed at the conference and a few motions for minutes, planning of an August 1915 conference, and a closing gesture of gratitude to the hostess. According to the motion and the handwriting on the document, it was prepared by Mary Ross Potter (Report of the Conference, 1914b). Unlike some of the earlier reports, it does not contain descriptions of the discussions of the deans, only the outcomes. A professionally printed version of the report on a single sheet of paper is also in the NADW archives, suggesting that the report and its resolutions was distributed beyond the membership (Report of the Conference, 1914a).

The typed report includes at its end a handwritten note, presumably in Mary Ross Potter’s handwriting, to “add list of Deans present” (Report of the Conference of Deans, 1914b). The list is indeed filed with the report. It lists 55 women in two unlabeled columns, name and, presumably, university or city of residence. The final two women’s names (Anne D. Blitz and Jane A. Cochrane) were prefaced by the title of students, and their affiliations are each “Student at Columbia.” It should be noted that the date of the meeting, April 1914, falls during the first
academic year that the diploma program for the dean of women was offered at Teachers College, Columbia University (Gilroy, 1987).

There are two other documents relating to this meeting that were located for this project. The archives of the ACA contain a day-by-day schedule of the ACA annual convention, including the Conference of Deans (ACA, 1914). The schedule closely resembles that of the printed invitation to the conference of deans (Conference of Deans, 1914) but includes some additional details such as the names of presenters and the women involved in round table discussions. The ACA archives are not available in the National Student Affairs Archives, but have been microfilmed in full and are available at a number of major university libraries. Finally, a report of the conference was published in the *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae* (Jordan, 1914). It reproduced the wording of both the typed report (Report of the Conference, 1914b) and the printed flyer (Report of the Conference, 1914a) that featured primarily the resolutions and plans for the following meeting.

1914 and 1915 – Conference of Deans (Conference of Southern Deans) of Women

*Date: 1914, and Thursday, April 22, 1915*

*Location: Louisville, Kentucky and Atlanta, Georgia*

*Attendance: unknown*

There is some evidence that some variety of conference of deans of women convened in the South in 1914 and 1915, although the NADW archives do not contain much documentation of them. It is unclear whether or how these conferences were related to the conferences held in the Midwest for deans from the Midwest, Northeast, and West.

There are two documents in the NADW archives from which inferences may be drawn. The first is a typed letter from Eleanor Lord of Goucher College in Baltimore, Maryland, to Laura Gill of Trinity College in Durham, North Carolina (Lord, 1915, March 4). The initial purpose of the letter appears to have been a response to Gill’s recommendation of a woman for a faculty position (it appears that Gill recommended a Miss Corwin for a faculty position at Goucher College, but Lord replied that the position required a different type of training, and also Lord did not have
official involvement in academic appointments.) However, Lord then took the opportunity to seek Gill’s advice about an upcoming meeting. She requested

any good suggestions for topics to be discussed at the Conference of Deans to be held in connection with the S.A.C.W. [Southern Association of College Women] meeting in Atlanta, in April. I consented to take the chairmanship of the Conference in spite of some doubt of my being able to go to Atlanta at all. It now looks as if I might hope to be there and in any case I am going ahead with preliminary arrangements. (Lord, 1915, March 4, pp. 1-2)

She continued, indicating that there had been a “somewhat experimental” (Lord, 1915, March 4, p. 2) conference of deans the year before when the SACW had met in Louisville.

The SACW was an organization for college women similar to the ACA. However, given the state of higher education in the South in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, it did not hold the strict membership requirements for membership that the ACA did. This lower standard was a concern for Lord: “As I understand it . . . a good many persons were included who are not college graduates or deans of colleges on the S.A.C.W. list . . . what is your view?” (Lord, 1915, March 4, p. 2) Both Lord and Gill were members of the ACA (Gill a life member) and both had attended previous conferences of deans held in the Midwest and Northeast (Deans of Women, 1914; Minutes of the Conference, 1903) so it is likely that they felt at least somewhat beholden to stricter membership standards. Whatever their views, Lord continued her organizational efforts and distributed a printed invitation to a conference of deans (with enclosed proposed topics) to be held Thursday, April 22, 1915. A copy of the invitation is located in the NADW archives (Lord, 1915).

Because no attendance list is available and the sponsoring organization was the SACW, it is difficult to make a judgment as to how this Southern conference should be considered in relation to the other conferences of deans of women. Both Lord and Gill were active in the ACA and participated in the more northern conferences, and so there are likely other connections to the other conferences. Additionally, the SACW eventually went on to merge with the ACA when it became the American Association of University Women in 1921 (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931). On the other hand, the letters indicating that the Southern meetings occurred suggest a unique mission to
serve Southern deans of women, so the conference appears to be different from earlier conferences. Further research into the history of the SACW and the unique conditions of the position of the dean of women in the American South during this period might help to clarify the relationship between the groups and the meetings.

1915 – Conference of Deans or Conference of Women Deans

Date: August 15 (Mathews, 1916) or 18 (“An Open Program,” 1915)
Location: San Francisco, CA and Mills College
Attendance: Unknown

In 1915, the deans of women met in conjunction with the regular national ACA meeting, as they had been doing since 1910. The thirty-third general meeting of the ACA was held in San Francisco, California and for the first time the deans of women advertised an “open program” as a general program of the convention (“An Open Program,” 1915, p. 100; Potter, 1926). The notice appeared as a short item on the last page of an issue of the Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae. In it, four papers were announced, three with deans as presenters and a fourth speaker to be announced later (“An Open Program,” 1915). The planners apparently found a speaker for the final topic “The Problem of Raising the Standards of Intellectual Life” in Lois K. Mathews, Dean of Women at the University of Wisconsin. Her lengthy paper must have been well received, as it was later printed in the May 1916 Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (Mathews, 1916).

Other than the announcement of the open program and the reprinted paper by Lois Mathews, no record of the specifics of the meeting appears in either the NADW archives or the Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae. An unsigned letter to Bertha Boody (presumed to have been written by Eleanor Lord) was written in January 1917 and enclosed, “as I promised, the list of deans who were present at the Conferences at Bryn Mawr College and Mills College” (Lord, 1917, January 9, p. 1). However, the enclosed list did not persist as an attachment in the NADW archives.
Some sense of the agenda can be surmised from the announcement of the open program, although all of the topics must be taken as intended rather than completed with the exception of Lois Mathews’ paper on standards of intellectual life. At least some of the attendance list can be recreated from the announced speakers, Dean Lucy Ward Stebbins of the University of California, Dean Isabelle Austin of the University of Washington, and Dean Winifred J. Robinson of the Women’s College of Delaware, Newark (“An Open Program,” 1915) and from those appointed at the end of the 1914 meeting as officers for the next conference (Dean Mathews of Wisconsin, chairman, and Dean Allen of Leland Stanford Jr. University, vice-chairman) (Jordan, 1914). However, these sources also only provide evidence of intended attendance, not actual attendance. Therefore, only those deans already known to have attended another of the conferences (Austin, Mathews, Allen, and Robinson) are included in the Alphabetical List of Attendees (see Appendix B) and the other (Stebbins) is not.

1915 – (Intended) Seventh Biennial Conference of Deans and Advisors of Women in State Universities

Date: Probably Intended for December 1915
Location: Unknown
Attendance: Unknown

The minutes show that, at the Sixth Biennial Conference of Deans and Advisors of Women in State Universities in 1913, a set of officers was elected to convene and lead the next regular conference. Specifically, “the question of holding the next conference in San Francisco in the summer of 1915 was left in the hands of the nominating committee and exact time for the conference is to be decided by the new officers” (Sixth Biennial, 1913a, p. 6). However, there is no record in the NADW archives that this meeting occurred, and no record of any other meetings after 1913 with a title indicating either a seventh biennial or other conference exclusively for deans of women in state universities. Potter, in 1926, also found no record: “Unfortunately, no record of this meeting or of future meetings of this group is in the hands of the Committee on History” (Potter, 1926, p. 15). It is unclear how many times and in what form the deans of women from the state
universities met formally between 1913 and 1922, when a subcommittee for deans of women from state universities was incorporated into the structure of the NADW (Wells, 1925). Potter (1926) was of the opinion that this group continued to be active, stating

there were future meetings, certainly; some held independently, as previously, some held at the time of conventions of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, though quite independently of it and in addition to the other conferences of deans held in connection with these conventions. (Potter, 1926, p. 15)

And some continuity of formal leadership must have existed to prompt Agnes Wells to write, in 1925, “I was the last President, in 1922, of the National Association of State University Deans of Women. That organization then became part of the University Section of this association [NADW]” (Wells, 1925, p. 1).

It seems likely that some organization and activity among the state university deans of women occurred between 1913 and 1922. Perhaps they did gather together at some of the other conferences of deans of women in 1914, 1915, 1917, or the early meetings of the NADW. Perhaps they did meet independently. However, no record of these meetings was found. It is apparent that the women who had previously been active in the group reserved for state deans also participated in other conferences of deans during that period and into the period of the founding and growth of the NADW.


Date: July 6 and 7, 1916
Location: New York, New York
Attendance: “Over two hundred” (Phillips, Kerr, & Wells, 1927, p. 18)

This historic meeting is the one that is commonly cited in histories of NADW as the founding meeting for the organization of deans of women. In a retrospective report compiled in 1926 by founder Kathryn Sisson Phillips and two other leaders, the story was told:
Deans of women, a newer group, were feeling their way and looking about for guidance and direction. . . . In 1915 a group [was] studying [at Teachers College] and meeting once a week for informal discussion . . . they were all comparatively new at the work. . . . Towards the end of the summer, we . . . [were] bold to suggest a dinner with Dr. and Mrs. Paul Monroe. . . . Miss Pierce . . . said “Dr. Monroe, why should we feel our own way, do everything for ourselves when we need counsel and distinct training?” I do not recall Dr. Monroe’s answer to Miss Pierce but he must have given the matter thought for the next summer, 1916, Teachers College offered its course of study for deans and advisers of women. Knowing this group would return the next summer to Columbia, for all were working toward higher degrees, it was decided that we try to have a meeting at the time of the National Education Association . . . In July, 1916, in the Horace Mann Auditorium of Teachers College we held our first meeting. To our astonishment an audience of over two hundred gathered, everyone pronouncing the afternoon most worth while and a prophecy of greater things to come. (Phillips, Kerr, & Wells, 1927, pp. 17-18)

The event was announced in the *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae* (“Conferences and Conventions,” 1917), and a copy of the program for the meeting is available in the NADW archives (National Education Association, 1916).

This is the point in the timeline of collective professional activity by deans of women at which many histories begin. Although earlier efforts are sometimes acknowledged, the 1916 founding date of NADW has sometimes been used to place the beginnings of student affairs professional organizations.

*1917 – Second National Convention of Deans of Women in Conjunction with The Department of Superintendents (NEA)*

*Date: February 26 to 28*

*Location: Kansas City, Kansas*

*Attendance: Unknown*
By the second meeting of the NADW, the title of the meeting had been changed to *convention*, perhaps to distinguish it from the conferences of deans of women. As with the first meeting, this one was held at the same time and place as the meeting of superintendents of schools in the National Education Association, and had as its president Kathryn Sisson McLean. The two-page printed program booklet for the event is available in the NADW archives (Second National Convention, 1917).

1917 – *Sixth Conference of Deans, and Joint Conference of Trustees, Deans and Professors*

*Date*: April 11 and 12

*Location*: Goucher College, Baltimore, MD and Trinity College, Washington, DC

*Attendance*: 37 Registered Deans

At the 34th Biennial Meeting of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, there were two meetings that were relevant to deans of women. First, the Conference of Deans met as usual, noted as the sixth meeting, with Bertha M. Boody of Radcliffe College presiding (Boody, 1917; Potter, 1926) and Eleanor L. Lord of Goucher College as secretary (Sixth Conference, 1917). There are typed minutes of the Conference of Deans meeting in the NADW archives, with a handwritten notation of “corrected copy” (Sixth Conference, 1917); also, Boody submitted a report and it was printed in the *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae* along with reports of the other meetings. In it she briefly outlined the main topics of the meeting. It was noted that “thirty-seven deans registered at the two sessions [at Goucher College on April 11 and Trinity College on April 12] of the Conference” (Boody, 1917, p. 698).

The gathering on the campus of the small Catholic women’s college was excitement enough to be recorded in the history of the institution. An anonymous Sister of Notre Dame de Namur, apparently an eyewitness, wrote:

> During Easter Week of 1917 the Association of Collegiate Alumnae held their annual convention in Washington, for the first time, and as Trinity is a member of the Association permission was asked and readily granted to have their Conference Day at the College. College Presidents, Deans, and professors therefore, to the number of two hundred and
fifty, representing all the women’s colleges of first grade in the country, met at Trinity on April 12. Of necessity, classes were omitted for the day, but assignments of reading were given, and the seniors formed a reception committee and made themselves generally useful to our guests, checking coats, serving at luncheon, etc., an important factor in the perfect arrangements for order. Our dean and several of the teachers attended various conferences and were called on to express their opinions on topics under discussion. The Conference of Deans was said to be the largest seen for many years. The meetings were finished in time for an inspection of the College and a visit to the Catholic University, where all were charmed by Bishop Shahan’s gracious hospitality. The Bishop met the Association again that evening, for he represented Trinity at the banquet held in one of the chief hotels of the city, was given the place of honor at the table, and responded in faultless manner to the toast, “Trinity College.” (A Sister of Notre Dame, 1925, pp. 91-92)

The minutes in the NADW archives comprise three pages for each of the sessions, providing somewhat more detail than the published ACA report. At the conclusion of the minutes of the two sessions a list of “Deans Present at the Meetings at Goucher College and Trinity College” was included as well as a list of 12 visitors. The attendance list is notable because it includes the president of the newly formed NADW, Kathryn S. McLean of Ohio Wesleyan University. This is the only evidence that McLean participated in any of the deans of women meetings other than those of NADW, the organization she founded. Indeed, the attendance list for this meeting includes both deans of women from the early conferences, such as Myra B. Jordan and Lois K. Mathews, as well as those who were or would be among the earliest leaders of the NADW, such as McLean, Anne Dudley Blitz, and Anna M. Klingenhagen, Those listed as attendees are included in the Alphabetical List of Attendees (see Appendix B).

A second and new variety of meeting was held at the 1917 ACA that was of interest to at least some of the deans of women. It was titled the Joint Conference of Trustees, Deans and Professors and was chaired by M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr (Thomas, 1917). The group considered topics such as participation in trustees’ meetings, the proportion of women in
academic positions, quality of teaching, and tenure. Although there was no record of attendance, several deans of women were mentioned in the report: “What is the matter with the teaching in our colleges? Dean Comstock, Dean Mathews, Dean King . . . Dean Lord . . . were among those who took part in the discussion” (Thomas, 1917, p. 702).

Only Dean King (presumably Lida Shaw King of Brown University) was mentioned in the report of both meetings, although it seems likely that the other deans present at the second meeting were also present at the deans of women meeting. Because so many of the early deans of women also held academic appointments, the second meeting might have been tailored for them.

The Conference of Deans at the 1917 ACA appears to be the last of its kind. After 1917, there are no records of any meetings held specifically for deans of women at the ACA, and there are no records of other conferences of deans meeting independently. Although there continued to be sessions at the ACA meetings that might be of relevance to deans of women, after 1917 the only group dedicated to deans of women was the NADW.

1918 – Third National Conference of Deans of Women Meeting with Department of Superintendents of the National Education Association

Date: February 25th to 28th

Location: Atlantic City, New Jersey

Attendance: Recorded as NADW Membership

For the third meeting of the NADW, the title of the meeting had been changed back to conference. This might have been due to the discontinuation of other conferences of deans of women, or simply a reflection of a process of settling upon commonly accepted terms early in an organization’s existence. As with the first and second meetings, this one was held at the same time and place as the meeting of superintendents of schools in the National Education Association, and had as its president Kathryn Sisson McLean. The two-page printed program booklet for the event is available in the NADW archives (Third National Conference, 1918).
1918 – Fourth National Conference of Deans of Women Meeting with National Education Association

Date: July 1, 2, and 3

Location: Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Attendance: Recorded as NADW membership

Although the NADW had only had its first meeting in 1916, it had its fourth meeting in 1918 because it was meeting more than once each year. As with the first through third meetings, this one was held at the same time and place as the meeting of the National Education Association, and had as its president Kathryn Sisson McLean. The two-page printed program booklet for the event is available in the NADW archives (Fourth National Conference, 1918) as well as a two-page typed document recording the minutes of the business meeting (NADW, 1918a) and a two-page handwritten document recording the resolutions of the meeting (Resolutions, 1918b). Also, a publicity committee was formed at the meeting (Kerr, 1919), which submitted for publication a brief report in the Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (“Conference,” 1919) and the School Journal.

1919 – Joint Conference of Deans and College Professors, and Joint Conference of Trustees, Deans, and Professors

Date: April 1

Location: St. Louis, Missouri

Attendance: Unknown

As in the past, deans of women found outlets for their participation in the ACA meeting. In 1919, as in 1917, a Joint Conference of Trustees, Deans and Professors convened. However, there was no Conference of Deans. Instead, there was a Joint Conference of Deans and Professors. The records of the 35th ACA meeting appeared in the February 1920 Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae. It was “regretted that [a] lack of space forbids the publication at present of the excellent papers and addresses presented at the open meetings of the convention” (“Editorial,” 1920, p. 1) but reports were printed for each of the two joint conferences.
The Joint Conference of Deans and Professors was presided over by Professor Anna A. Cutler of Smith College, and was opened by Dean Eva Johnston of the University of Missouri. F. Louise Nardin, Dean of Women at the University of Wisconsin, was the secretary. They discussed grading scales, the value of liberal arts courses, what a student has a right to expect of her college, whether it is possible to stimulate intellectual curiosity, and what constitutes good college teaching. No attendance list was provided. When speakers were identified in the text, they were referred to by either the title “Professor” or “Dean.” The deans reflected in the report were Eva Johnston of the University of Missouri, M. Anstice Harris of Elmira College, Lucinda de Leftwich Templin of Lindenwood College, and F. Louise Nardin of the University of Wisconsin (Nardin, 1920). Although discussion leader Lois K. M. Rosenberry of Wisconsin was designated as a professor, we know that she was also the former dean of women and had been an attendee of the conferences of deans of women. Those deans mentioned in the report are included in the Alphabetical List of Attendees (see Appendix B).

The Joint Conference of Trustees, Deans, and Professors was presided over by Ellen F. Pendleton, the President of Wellesley. Eva Johnston, Dean of Women at the University of Missouri, was the acting secretary. They discussed war service of faculty members, applied research as opposed to pure research, the salaries of faculty members, pre-medical course work, pre-professional work in social economy, and the drive for a salary endowment of one hundred million dollars to enhance the salaries of faculty at women’s colleges. The only dean reflected in the minutes was Gildersleeve of Barnard (Johnston, 1920). However, since this meeting seemed to be more oriented to the issues of faculty rather than deans of women, she has not been included in the Alphabetical List of Attendees (see Appendix B).
1919 – Fifth National Conference of Deans of Women Meeting with Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association

Date: February 25, 26, and 27
Location: Chicago, Illinois
Attendance: About 125 Deans of Women ("Fifth National Conference of Deans of Women," 1919)

As with the first through fourth meetings, this one was held at the same time and place as the meeting of the National Education Association, and had as its president Kathryn Sisson McLean. The general subject for the meeting was the “readjustment of education after the war as affecting women” (Fifth National Conference of Deans of Women Meeting, 1919, p. 2) and Marion Talbot delivered the address of welcome. The two-page printed program booklet for the event is available in the NADW archives (Fifth National Conference of Deans of Women Meeting, 1919) as well as a typed, uncorrected draft of the program (Program, 1919). Additionally, a two-page report of the meeting was published in the Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae ("Fifth National Conference of Deans of Women," 1919).

1919 – National Conference of Deans of Women Meeting with the National Education Association

Date: June 30 to July 2
Location: Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Attendance: Unknown

As with the first through fifth meetings, this one was held at the same time and place as the meeting of the National Education Association, and had as its president Kathryn Sisson McLean. The printed program for the meeting is not included in the NADW archives; however, there are several documents that provide description of the meeting. An invitation, dated June 5, 1919, and printed on letterhead of the National Conference of Deans of Women, included a reminder of the dates, a sketch of the program as planned, and details about housing and food arrangements. It was sent from Kathryn Sisson McLean and Anne Dudley Blitz, president and secretary, respectively (McLean & Blitz, 1919, January 25). The Secretary’s Minutes is a two-page typewritten document
that varies from the program primarily in that it is in the past tense and that it reports that the group proposed an amendment to the NEA constitution to “accept that the Department of Deans of Women may hold their annual meeting at the time of the meeting of the Department of Superintendence” (McLean & Kerr, 1919, p. 2). Although the secretary’s minutes refer to the group as the conference, it is entitled the “Department of Deans of Women” (McLean & Kerr, 1919, p. 1). Finally, the NADW archives include a two-page typewritten document in which the program was described in paragraph form and in the past tense (Fifth National Conference of Deans of Women, n.d.). It is likely a report or press release for submission to the Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae and other educational publications. It should be noted that it erroneously refers to the conference as the fifth (the fifth conference had taken place the preceding February in Chicago, so the title should refer to the sixth conference).

1920 – Seventh Annual Meeting of the National Association of Deans of Women

Date: February 24-25

Location: Cleveland, Ohio

Attendance: “one hundred or more” (Blitz, 1920, p. 2)

As with the first through sixth meetings, this one was held at the same time and place as the meeting of the National Education Association. At the business meeting, Kathryn Sisson Phillips retired as president and Mina Kerr, of Milwaukee-Downer College, was elected. The printed program for the meeting is not included in the NADW archives; however, the secretary’s report is. It is titled Report of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the National Association of Deans of Women, and comprises a cover page and two typewritten, single-spaced pages of minutes. It gives the titles of papers presented and the names of the presenters, as well as the locations of the meetings and the slate of new officers (Blitz, 1920). It is notable that the title for the group was the National Association of Deans of Women (NADW) and that the word conference was not used. Also, the word annual was included. This might be confusing, in that it is the first of their once-yearly meetings (up to this point, the group had met twice-yearly since forming.)
1921 – Eighth Annual Meeting of the National Association of Deans of Women

**Date:** February 25 and 26  
**Location:** Atlantic City, New Jersey  
**Attendance:** Unknown

As with the first through seventh meetings, this one was held at the same time and place as the meeting of the National Education Association. The printed program for the meeting is not included in the NADW archives; however, the secretary’s report is. It is titled *Minutes of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the National Association of Deans of Women*, and comprises a cover page and five typewritten, single-spaced pages of minutes. It gives the titles of papers presented and the names of the presenters, as well as reports from each of the committees. Among other things, they heard speakers present on the topics of the positive health implications of the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. Carrie Chapman Catt spoke about new responsibilities for women with suffrage (Alvord, 1921). As a reflection of the times or of the secretary, the report is the first of those of deans of women to use the title Dr. as opposed to Miss or Mrs. for women with doctorates or medical degrees. The NADW archives also include the invitation to the meeting, sent in December 1920 by President Mina Kerr and Secretary Katharine Sprague Alvord (Kerr & Alvord, 1920).

1922 – Ninth Annual Meeting of the National Association of Deans of Women

**Date:** February 23-25  
**Location:** Chicago, Illinois  
**Attendance:** Unknown

As with the first through eighth meetings, this one was held at the same time and place as the meeting of the National Education Association. The printed program for the meeting is not included in the NADW archives; however, several documents provide a view of the meeting. An invitation to deans and advisers of women, printed on NADW stationary, was sent out in December 1921 from President Mina Kerr and Secretary Katharine S. Alvord (Kerr & Alvord, 1921). It included information about logistics and a tentative program. The NADW stationary of past
invitations had included the officers’ names and institutions, but this letterhead also included “sectional chairmen” for the four sections, with Agnes E. Wells of Indiana University as leader of the Universities sectional (the other sectionals were Colleges, Normal Schools, and High Schools) (Kerr & Alvord, 1921, p. 1). Another method of solicitation of attendees was an announcement of the upcoming meeting in the January 1922 *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae*. It provided a more detailed plan of the meeting, covering two pages of the journal. The sectional conferences were announced, with the university sectional labeled as the conference for “deans of women in state universities” (“National Association,” 1922b, p. 49) and the others labeled in the same way as reflected on the letterhead. The article included a long list of speakers, both members and from outside NADW, including Lois K. Mathews Rosenberry on the position of deans of women in state universities to date (another speaker was to cover deans of women of the future) and Marion Talbot on the subject of graduate work among university women (“National Association,” 1922b).

The NADW archives do not include either a program or minutes for the meeting in general, but contain a fascinating record of the business meeting of the association, which took place on Saturday, February 25. Perhaps reflecting how far the group had come in terms of professionalization, outside help was hired to keep the minutes of the business meeting. The lengthy report is typed on standard forms with the left margin containing a vertical letterhead for Frederick H. Gurtler, Court and Convention Reporter, Chicago, Illinois (NADW, 1922c). As a result, the record is verbatim or near verbatim, and is formatted, as a script would be, with each speaker’s name and the sentences, as she would have said them. There is some irony that in this way, the record of the meetings of deans of women come full circle, with the 1922 business meeting reading in a format very similar to that of the 1903 first meeting of the conference of deans of women.

It was at this meeting that the group of deans of women at state universities that had been meeting since 1905 ceased to exist as a separate group. Agnes E. Wells, who was in 1922 listed as the chair of the State Universities sectional, later became president of NADW. In her presidential
report for 1923-1924 and 1924-1925, she mentioned the merging. “I was the President, in 1922, of the National Association of State University Deans of Women. That organization then became part of the University Section of this association, which adopted that year the four-section plan” (Wells, 1925).

Summary

The history of NADW, later renamed NAWE, is well documented, and the early meetings of the organization are easily identified. If Kathryn Sisson McLean Phillips was the founder and NADW was born and grew under the auspices of the National Educational Association, then those meeting documents and records left by Phillips characterize the NADW meetings. Additionally, although the early organizers of NADW did not at first settle on a consistent name, they numbered the meetings in the titles such that by 1922 they held the ninth annual meeting.

But in this study, evidence was found for at least 20 non-NADW meetings of deans of women. These meetings, and the groups of women who planned, led, participated in, and recorded them, suggest a more complex and less linear story of the development of early deans of women organizations than has previously been reported.
CHAPTER 5. MULTIPLE CONFERENCES

One of the research questions was prompted by conflicting accounts in the literature as to whether the deans of women professional organizations prior to 1922 were a single, maturing organization or two, distinct but overlapping groups. However, it may be that there were neither one nor two organizations, but many. Perhaps this should not be surprising: if history is rarely so orderly as a single time line, then perhaps it is no less odd that it is not so orderly as two time lines.

In this chapter, a schema for categorizing similar meetings (and therefore, similar groups) is proposed. Then, variables are used to view the characteristics of the groups as evidenced from the documents they left. Differences in the variables from conference to conference might indicate qualitatively different organizations. An analysis of these differences will provide evidence from which conclusions can be drawn about the relationships between deans of women groups in this time period. These observations will be used to assess the degree of continuity between the early conferences of deans of women and the NADW.

The six maturation variables proposed by Johnson (1983) were organizational structure, ethics and standards, membership, public relations, fiscal policies, and services and publications. Because of the recurrent ties to other organizations, the variable of affiliations has been reintroduced from the work of Price (1965). These seven variables have been reordered to better reflect the nature of these early groups, and will be discussed, in order, as membership, organizational structure, public relations, fiscal policies, services and publications, ethics and standards, and affiliations. In this chapter, membership will be viewed in terms of characteristics of the group; in the next chapter, membership will be more fully examined using characteristics of individual people.

A cursory review of the meeting titles might lead one to believe that only one group met in the first decades of the twentieth century. Almost all of the meeting titles include the descriptor conference of deans of women or conference of deans. By reconsidering the chronological list of meetings and sorting them into similar events and similar groups, some patterns emerge. Some of the titles include modifiers that imply a subset of deans of women (such as of State Universities). Others differ in that either the title or other records show that the meeting took place in conjunction
with or under the auspices of another organization. Using these two distinctions, specialization and affiliation, seven different varieties of meetings were identified. Those meetings with specialized attendances included deans of women of the Middle West, of state universities, of private institutions, and of the South. Those meetings with an affiliation to another, larger organization and its convention were those held with the Religious Education Association (REA), the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA), and the National Education Association (NEA). A few conferences were limited in attendance and also held during another organization’s larger meeting, such as the ACA conferences of deans, trustees, and professors, and deans and professors. Because they were official committees of the ACA, they have been included in the larger category of meetings in conjunction with the ACA.

In all, the seven conferences, in approximate order of their appearance, are: (a) Of the Middle West (differentiated by specialization), (b) In State Universities (differentiated by specialization), (c) With the Religious Education Association (differentiated by affiliation), (d) In Private Institutions (differentiated by specialization), (e) With the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (differentiated primarily by affiliation), (f) With the Southern Association of College Women (differentiated primarily by affiliation), and (g) With the National Education Association, or the NADW (differentiated by affiliation). Some of these categories include only one meeting, while others show a progression of meetings indicating a more identifiable group or organization. For a list of the conferences and the meetings of each conference, see Appendix C. To view the duration of the conferences and their relation to one another in time, see Appendix D.

This chapter will include a deeper analysis of this reconsideration of the chronological list of meetings. To clarify the boundaries and test the assumption of different conferences, each of the conferences will be viewed with regard to each of the variables. Following is a discussion of what the primary sources suggest about each of the seven different conferences as considered using each of the seven variables.
The Seven Conferences

Of the Middle West

“Mrs. Wallace attended a meeting of Deans at Northwestern university this week.” - The Beloit College Round Table (student newspaper), November 6, 1903 (“Local,” 1903, November 6, p. 53).

It appears that the very first meeting of deans of women was primarily intended for deans from the Middle West. The records of only one meeting (the 1903 meeting in Chicago) were located, although there are references to a planning meeting in 1902 and an intended second meeting in 1905.

Membership

At the 1903 conference, the women referred to themselves members as opposed to simply attendees. The minutes reflect that “the Conference then decided to have the secretary’s minutes typewritten and a copy sent to each member” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 12).

As the title of the primary meeting in this category implies, the membership of the group was primarily women from the Middle West. The Oxford English Dictionary (2004) traces the term to a 1949 quotation: “The Middle West region is oddly named, because the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri, which make it up, are really neither middle nor west” (¶ 1). As already discussed, there were five women at the planning meeting. They were Marion Talbot of the University of Chicago, Myra Beach Jordan of the University of Michigan, Margaret J. Evans of Carleton College, Martha Foote Crow of Northwestern University, and a fifth woman who is unknown but might have been from Wisconsin, Minnesota, or Oklahoma. Using the definition provided in the Oxford English Dictionary, the original planners were indeed all of the Middle West, unless the unknown fifth was from Oklahoma. At the 1903 meeting, the following states were represented: Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Ohio, and Wisconsin. Of these, Colorado and New York seem better described as Western and Eastern, respectively. The rest comprise a solid list of Middle Western states. New York was represented by Laura Drake Gill of Barnard, who was not a dean of
women but a dean of the college, and an influential advocate of women’s education, and might have been invited for her role more than her geographic home. So, even at this early meeting and perhaps the planning meeting, the boundaries of membership were stretched in practice, albeit not very much. For a list of attendees of this conference, see Appendix E.

There is no record from the 1902 planning meeting detailing the decision of who should be invited to future meetings. All we know from the 1903 meeting is that “the secretary then called the roll and found the following women present at the Conference” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 1). There is a reference to a call for the meeting, so some sort of announcement must have been sent, but no guide has yet been found to indicate which deans might have received (and not received) that call. One attendee, Violet DeLille Jayne of the University of Illinois, implied that some discussion of it might have occurred at a meeting of the ACA. In a handwritten letter to her president requesting that she be able to attend both the ACA and deans’ meetings, she wrote:

The annual meeting of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae takes place in Milwaukee November 5th, 6th, and 7th; and I should be glad to attend if no objections to my doing so occur to you . . . There is further to be a congress of women deans in Evanston and Chicago, on the two preceding days, i.e. November 3rd and 4th, that date having been set with special reference to the meeting of the A.C.A., so that the deans need not take the time and expense of an extra trip for that congress. This last is a plan concerning which there was much correspondence and discussion last year, and which seemed to meet with hearty response from almost all the deans of the Middle West. I should like very much to attend that also, if it does not seem to you to take too much time from my work here . . . I write at this early date as those who have charge of these meetings are urging early replies from those who expect to attend. (Jayne, 1903, October 20, p. 1)

As for invitations for future conferences, the minutes of the 1903 meeting provide an indication that the women might have been open to including a larger number of women henceforth. Without mentioning a geographic limitation, “Mrs. Crow, in the interests of a future meeting,
requested that names of institutions having women Deans and Executives, be given the committee [on organization]” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 12).

Organizational Structure

After welcoming addresses from Martha Foote Crow and Marion Talbot, who were each hosting events on their campuses and had been members of the 1902 planning meeting, the very first order of business for the first conference of deans of women was selecting officers. “Miss Evans was chosen presiding officer of the Conference and Miss Breed as secretary” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 1). No other kinds of offices were created. The meeting was led using formal procedures, with decisions being made by way of motions and votes, although discussion was fluid and only guided by the chairman. Thank yous were voted upon and included in the formal resolutions.

The primary organizational tool was the committee. Four different committees were appointed during the course of the meeting: committees on permanent organization, systematic information gathering, resolutions, and constitution. The Committee on Permanent Organization was created almost immediately when “on motion of Mrs. [Martha Foote] Crow, a committee was appointed to present names of those who should plan a permanent organization. Miss [Laura Drake] Gill (Chairman), Miss [Marion] Talbot and Miss [Louisa Holman] Richardson were appointed” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 1). After sharing individual circumstances, it quickly became clear that research was needed on the state of professional practices on a broader scale. “At this point in the discussion it was decided to appoint a committee to arrange for getting systematic information from the deans present on such matters as their official duties, their teaching or not teaching, &c, &c. Committee: Miss [Louisa Holman] Richardson (Chairman), Miss [Eugénie] Galloo, Mrs. [Myra Beach] Jordan” (p. 5). Their committee’s work is unknown, as it is only recorded that they presented an informal report before the meeting adjourned to lunch. To express the thoughts of the conference, it was “moved and carried that the Conference express its sentiment formally on various subjects when that sentiment was sufficiently general. Moved and carried that a Committee on Resolutions be appointed by the chair: Committee: Miss [Alice] Young
(Chairman), Miss [Minnie] Stoner, Mrs. [Myra Beach] Jordan” (p. 7). To support the Committee on Permanent Organization, there was a one-person Committee on Constitution.

The Committee on Permanent Organization is the most interesting for viewing the organizational structure of this group and the hopes for future organization. After being formed on the first day, day two opened and

the chairman called for a report from the committee on Permanent Organization. Miss [Alice Hanson] Luce, as sub-committee on Constitution, asked whether a formal constitution was desired. Several women expressed the opinion that a secretary only was needed, who should be empowered to call another meeting. Miss [Marion] Talbot then moved that the Committee on Organization be empowered to take the interests of the Conference in hand and call another meeting when they see fit. The motion was carried. Miss [Mary Bidwell] Breed being unable to serve on the committee, Miss [Marion] Talbot was selected as third member, the committee being thus: Miss [Margaret] Evans, Chairman, Mrs. [Martha Foote] Crow, Miss [Marion] Talbot. Miss [Alice Hanson] Luce then reported that the Committee on Constitution would waive their question. (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, pp. 11-12)

So, it appears that at least some of the deans of women were interested enough in a formal, permanent organization to create such a committee. However, after a day and night together, most of the deans of women decided that they did not need something quite that formal and organized. They opted for simplicity. The committee became the Committee on Organization (the word permanent was dropped) and its last action was to ask for “an expression of opinion on the date of the next Conference. The Autumn of 1905 met with general approval” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 17).

Public Relations

Two items suggest the deans’ concern with how they might be perceived outside of their group. First, one of the earliest orders of business was to record that “it was decided: 1st. That no newspaper reporters be admitted to any of the sessions; 2nd. That no guests be admitted to the
meetings, with the exception of the session on Wednesday evening [a social event]” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 1). Additionally, the act of creating and recording resolutions as a “Conference [to] express its sentiment formally on various subjects” (p. 7) not only recorded the meeting but allowed carefully crafted and agreed upon principles to be shared with outside stakeholders. An individual dean of women might have had success with expressing her own professional opinion on her own campus, but imagine the added power of pointing out that a whole conference of deans of women from such prestigious institutions have the same view.

_Fiscal Policies_

Very little information about the financial arrangements of the conference is reflected in the minutes. It appears that the newly formed group had little funding as an entity, and that the planners relied upon costs being absorbed by attendees and hosts. For example, the “Conference then decided to have the secretary’s minutes typewritten and a copy sent to each member, and that the expense should be divided equally among the members” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 12). Facilities were provided by the University of Chicago and Northwestern University, and since the president of each institution attended at least one social event, it might be that university funds were used to host meals as well. In her letter mentioned above, Violet DeLille Jayne pointed out that the deans’ conference was scheduled so that those traveling would not have to pay twice, indicating that individuals were funding themselves. She was. She reassured her employer by noting that “I shall of course go at my own expense” (Jayne, 1903, October 20, p. 1).

_Services and Publications_

The primary service was the meeting itself, and the typed minutes and resolutions were early written products for the use of the attendees and possibly others. As previously noted, plans were made for what would have been the first research study of the young profession, with a committee of three women “getting systematic information from the deans present on such matters as their official duties, their teaching or not teaching, &c, &c” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 5). If the survey was done, the results have not survived in the NADW archives.
The conversational form of the minutes allows us to hear and empathize with the questions, concerns, victories, and opinions of the women as they eagerly offered and requested of each other ideas and methods. The “Conference then proceeded to discuss the subjects announced in the call for the meeting” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 2). Each dean of women offered a report of what was happening on her own campus with regard to the topic. Margaret Evans of Carleton College went a step further to report that in California (which was not represented at the meeting) “it is customary for men and women to live in the same houses, and for men to be received in bedrooms” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 4). No reaction to that was noted, although surely there was one before Louisa Richardson went on to describe the occupancy of the hall at Ohio Wesleyan. They found dormitories to be very important (not all used the term dormitories; some referred to students “in hall” and others to the cottage system.) They found dormitory life “useful to unify and generalize social life,” good for “democratization” and giving “social polish and developing a spirit of enthusiasm in college matters,” and “less trying on the nerves rather than more” (p. 2). They were concerned about local women who “take lodgers solely for pecuniary profit” (p. 3) and concluded that the dean of women should monitor any student houses in town. They saw allies in the Women’s League and sororities in maintaining a standard for women’s housing, and thought having students in hall might provide them with “food better adapted to women doing brain work” (p. 3). They liked smaller (30 to 50) rather than larger halls (no more than 100). Margaret Evans thought that town houses should be overseen by the dean and have dormitory standards, although she endeavored “to keep the rules few” (p. 6). Jane Sherzer of Illinois College made sure to get in the last word of the discussion, saying that she would urge “the necessity of making halls attractive and beautiful” (p. 6). In all, they spent their whole first morning discussing residence life, and continued their conversation over lunch.

The afternoon and evening sessions were fully devoted to the topic of Self Government (versus Direct Government). Abby Shaw Mayhew reported that Wisconsin had a formal and highly organized Self Government Association to which all women students belonged. “Names of delinquents are brought to the Executive Board, or on appeal to the Faculty,” a system which
promoted development of responsibility, especially for officers (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 8). Most deans worked to put the locus of control for behavior in the community of women itself, although at Carleton “the young women do not wish self-government” (p. 8). That principle established, they moved on to how well students were able to self govern on issues such as parties. Violet DeLille Jayne said that at the University of Illinois, students “finding it difficult to keep their own regulations limiting the dances” (p. 9) had requested a rule be made for them. In accordance with public opinion, their dances ended at twelve on Fridays and Saturdays. The ending time of such events were one o’clock at Chicago, and two o’clock for the Junior Prom at Michigan.

After tea, President William Rainey Harper escorted them to dinner. By 8:00 p.m., they were again discussing student government. “Miss [Louisa Holman] Richardson inquired what discipline could be used short of suspension. Miss [Margaret] Evans recommended a letter to the student’s parents. Miss [Alice Hanson] Luce [of Oberlin] would put on probation” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 10). They decided that driving with men (presumably, in buggies) “should be regulated only in conformity to local usage and conventions, but that it was often a source of danger” (p. 11). Using language of her day, Margaret Evans was “heartily in favor of free daytime intercourse between men and women” (p. 11) but Marion Talbot sent home any young woman who became engaged.

The second day opened with a morning session devoted to ways to “influence young women” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 12). They had such ideas as “a miniature home in the dormitory” (p. 12), “meals and refreshments – food in any way” (p. 13), large receptions, afternoon teas, and calling on ill students. Margaret Evans had every girl at Carleton to a meal the year before, but Abby Shaw Mayhew of Wisconsin cautioned that she “thought it possible to get too intimate with a few students, which was a danger” (p. 14). The conversation again drifted back to parties, and they compared notes on the habits of fraternities and the military hops.

The afternoon session opened with concern about what they called social dissipation, or what today might be called over-commitment. Student activities, such as the Christian Associations, were deemed both good and bad, providing opportunities but sometimes becoming too social. Abby
Shaw Mayhew, who was not a dean, but rather an assistant professor of physical culture (in 1903 Wisconsin was between deans), wanted to discuss women’s health. “She advocated the employment of a trained nurse” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 17).

With little apparent discussion, they were quite united in their opposition to intercollegiate athletics for women. With so little explanation in the minutes or resolutions, the reasons must have been obvious to them. They were also concerned about men attending campus athletic events, and advocated limits to the number and location of male spectators, or even limiting viewers to fathers and brothers of women students. At Michigan, Myra Beach Jordan reported that a comparatively large number of men were admitted to “basket-ball” games, although “the games were more undignified than a set exhibition” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 18).

With this, they reviewed the topics for which they had common opinions, and voted on them. Alice Young of the University of Iowa, as the Chairman on Resolutions, prepared the formal resolutions as they had agreed. They had planned a late final session, but at lunch “an informal vote was taken to omit the session on Wednesday evening and accept an invitation to attend a concert at Northwestern University” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 16).

**Ethics and Standards**

Johnson (1983) defined an organization’s ethics and standards as the greater concept of setting standards of conduct for the profession as a whole as well as the documents and processes that might operationalize such standards. She gave the examples of a statement of ethical standards, minimum operational standards, and accreditation of graduate preparation programs. At this very early point, none of these formal professional tools existed. However, the beginnings of the standardization of professional practices can be inferred. The content of the meeting was that of asking each other questions about practice and rationale and sharing best practices. The resolutions were crafted so that “the Conference [can] express its sentiments formally on various subjects when that sentiment was sufficiently general” (Minutes of the Conference, 1903, p. 7). By doing so, the deans of women were putting the force of collective wisdom behind certain professional practices. Beyond the conclusions of their discussion, they planned to “arrange for getting
systematic information from the Deans present on such matters as their official duties, their
teaching or not teaching, &c, &c.” (p. 5).

Although a number of opinions were expressed as to what practices deans should undertake, there is very little evidence that the group was considering any sort of declaration of appropriate or ethical behavior for the dean herself. However, some behaviors were recommended. For example, in the discussion of the role of the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA), it seems that the deans of women found both advantages and disadvantages to working with the organizations. Marion Talbot believed that the YWCA “should confine themselves more within evangelical lines” and the conference was of the “general opinion . . . that Deans should take no initiative in the Association affairs” (p. 16). This might be an indication of a recognition of boundaries for deans. However, this is not to say that the deans of women were distancing themselves from religion. Indeed, after the meeting’s welcome and the selection of a presiding officer and secretary, the first act of the conference was a prayer.

Affiliations

The 1903 conference does not appear to have been held under the auspices of or in conjunction with any other organization. There is no mention of representatives or guests from other organizations. However, the letter from Violet DeLille Jayne to her president (see above) does suggest that the gathering was at least discussed at an ACA meeting, and that its timing was planned to maximize convenience for ACA members. Indeed, 12 of the 18 women can be found on the published membership lists of the ACA (“List of members,” 1907; 1912; 1916). However, the fact that the deans of women’s conference was held in Chicago rather than in the ACA convention city of Milwaukee suggests an intentional separation of the groups.

In State Universities

“I, of course, could not go with them.” – Marion Talbot (NADW, 1922c, p. 36)

From 1905 to 1915, a distinct group of deans of women met at least five times, and perhaps as many as seven or more times. They consistently used the title of Conference of Deans and Advisors of Women in State Universities, and all of the meetings for which there are records were
held in Chicago, Illinois. The minutes of their conferences are titled with numbers beginning in 1907 with the “Third Conference” and adding the modifier “biennial” after the group decided to meet every other year. These characteristics suggest a conscious effort to differentiate from other conferences of deans of women. Indeed, in 1913 the group agreed that “this conference . . . shall not merge with the Association of Collegiate Alumnae or any other organization” (Sixth Biennial, 1913a, p. 6). Despite the definitiveness of that statement, the organization of state deans of women did eventually merge with another organization, the NADW, which in 1913 did not yet exist. The last president of the state deans’ organization was Agnes E. Wells of Indiana University, who in 1923 became the president of NADW. In her president’s report, she wrote that the state university deans of women “organization then became part of the University Section of this association, which adopted that year [1922] the four-section plan” (Wells, 1925, p. 1).

Membership

In contrast to the 1903 conference, this group specialized to only include as members deans of women representing state universities. This is a curious turn given that 10 of the 18 institutions represented at the 1903 conference were private colleges and universities. There is no discussion recorded in the minutes of the 1903 or the 1905 meetings regarding a decision to constitute a conference only for deans of women at state universities. We do know that, at some point, a decision was made to exclude private institution deans. Although only state deans are represented as attending and presenting at the 1905, 1907, and 1911 meetings, for the 1913 meeting the attendance list includes a section of guests. The minutes of the meeting explained their presence:

The Chairman [Gertrude Shorb Martin of Cornell] announced that she had asked Miss Mary R. Potter of Northwestern University and Miss Marion Talbot of Chicago University to be our guests, also Miss Voigt of Ohio University and Miss Hamilton of Miama [sic] University, Oxford, Ohio. Miss Hamilton was a regular member of the conference before we made our new ruling about membership. (Sixth Biennial, 1913a, p. 6)
Interestingly, although Northwestern and Chicago were private institutions, both Ohio University and Miami University were public institutions. Apparently, the referenced ruling required something more than simply state university employment.

So, while there was an overt reference to a ruling about membership, there is no record of such a ruling in the records available. What is additionally confusing about this notation in the 1913 minutes is the statement that Anna J. Hamilton was a regular member of other, earlier conferences. Her name does not appear on any of the attendance lists of any of the conferences of deans except the 1913 meeting at which she was a guest. It is possible that she attended meetings for which we have no attendance lists, or that the speaker or secretary was mistaken in recording this fact. However, both Marion Talbot and Mary Ross Potter had attended and taken leadership roles in previous conferences of deans of women.

The best clue we have to an explanation for the establishment of this distinct organization comes from Marion Talbot in 1922. Talbot might not have been privy to the discussion about the ruling because she was employed by a private university and therefore was one of those omitted by the ruling. However, she was active in other conferences of deans of women and presumably had discussions about the meetings with deans of women from various types of institutions.

Talbot’s account comes from a stenographic record of the business meeting of the 1922 NADW annual meeting. In it, the officers of NADW are recorded as discussing the nomenclature of the four sub-committees of the NADW, known as sectionals. The sectionals provided for deans and advisors at state universities, colleges, normal schools, and high schools. A subcommittee raised the issue that this structure omitted deans and advisors from private universities and proposed that the word “state” be removed from the sectional title. To strengthen the argument, it was noted that the current system omitted Marion Talbot, and “we always try to get Dean Talbot to come to us, and Dean Talbot has always been one of our chief speakers” (NADW, 1922c, p. 33). After some debate, Talbot spoke up:

May I add a word of personal explanation, because I have appreciated very much . . . the courtesy of the invitations I have received, but my mind goes back to the first gathering of
deans of universities which was called . . . more than twenty years ago. That led to the formation or informal organization of the group of deans of women of some colleges and universities. Then the next step was the breaking away of the deans of women of State universities, because they said their problems were distinct and characteristic, and they wished to form a separate organization. I, of course, could not go with them, nor could the deans of the colleges here. I held some informal meetings with my friends in this new organization. Now if the word “State” is to be omitted, it gives me perfectly good standing in the organization. At the same time I do wonder whether the object those women had in those days of having an opportunity to discuss their very particular problems could be met as well. I just raise the point. (NADW, 1922c, pp. 36-37)

So, at least from the perspective of Marion Talbot, the deans of women at the state universities believed that their challenges and environments were unique enough from other types of colleges and universities to justify limiting membership.

At least two modern scholars (Bashaw, 1999; Nidiffer, 2000) credited Marion Talbot with initiating or playing a key role in the Conference of Deans and Advisors in State Universities. However, Marion Talbot is not listed on any of the attendance lists, save the 1913 as a guest, and she of course was not employed by a public institution. Potter (1926) noted that Marion Talbot hosted a session of the 1905 meeting, but there is no record of her participation reflected in the highly detailed minutes of the business sessions. Additionally, as previously noted, she later described a separate group “breaking away . . . because they said their problems were distinct and characteristic, and they wished to form a separate organization. I, of course, could not go with them” (NADW, 1922c, p. 36). It seems more likely that the primary organizational effort for the State University conference of deans was spearheaded by Mary Bidwell Breed of Indiana University, who was its first chairman. When she submitted her biography for a 1914 directory of notable women, she devoted some of her limited space to the self-description, “initiator of the Conference of Deans of Women in State Universities, which meets every two years in Chicago” (Leonard, 1914, p. 124). Talbot’s role was more likely that of honored invitee and sage pioneer,
given her prestige as a founder of the ACA, a leader at the University of Chicago, and an organizer of the 1903 conference. Nidiffer (2000) justifiably emphasized her leadership role in the professionalization of deans of women and the respect she commanded among deans, but the implication of agency in the State University conference was not supported by the findings in the present study.

Although only eight of the 18 institutions represented at the 1903 conference were state universities, seven of the eight were then represented at the 1905 Conference of Deans and Advisors of Women in State Universities. Five women (Mary Bidwell Breed, Eugénie Galloo, Myra Beach Jordan, Minnie Stoner, and Abby Shaw Mayhew) attended both meetings, and likely provided continuity between the earliest meeting of deans and the State University organization. For a list of attendees of this conference, see Appendix E.

Organizational Structure

The State University deans utilized a chairman and secretary, with committees designated for organizational purposes such as resolutions, nominations, and planning for the next conference meeting. In this way, the structure was very similar to that of the Middle West conference in 1903. In contrast to the 1903 meeting, the State University deans formed fewer committees, keeping only those that met the two goals of generating resolutions and perpetuating the conferences. There were no committees on constitution, permanent organization, or research. By the 1913 conference, there was some evidence that committees were used for a few other purposes: “Miss [Eva] Johnston and Miss [Anna] Klingenhagen were elected a committee to prepare reports for the local press” (Sixth Biennial, 1913a, p. 6) and “at the last meeting Miss [Lucy] Sprague and Mrs. [Mary E. Chandler] Faucett [sic] of Illinois were appointed a committee on uniform scholarship cards” (p. 7).

The officers of the organization were at first elected at the beginning of the meetings they would serve, but by the later meetings, the officers were elected at the end of the meeting before their service. Officers served as follows: In 1905, the chairman was Mary Bidwell Breed and the secretary was Mary E. Lewis; in 1907, the chairman was Myra B. Jordan, with Ada Comstock elected as Honorary Chairman, with no name indicated for the secretary; for 1909 and 1911, the
officers were not indicated in the documents of record that remain; in 1913, the chairman was Gertrude Shorb Martin but the secretary was mentioned only in that “the same plan for taking minutes agreed upon at the last conference was adopted for this one, -members of the conference to furnish abstracts of papers presented and the secretary to add outlines of discussions following the papers” (Sixth Biennial, 1913a, p. 6); at the end of the 1913 conference, “the committee on nomination of officers for the next conference reported as follows: Chairman, Miss [Anna] Klingenhagen, Iowa, Vice-Chairman, Miss [Isabella] Austin, Washington (Seattle), Secretary, Miss [Carrie] Denise [sic], Indiana. The report of this committee was accepted, and the election declared unanimous” (p. 35).

As additional evidence that the group of women considered themselves a functioning organization with some permanence, they began to think about recording their own history in 1911. At the 1913 meeting, it was reported that Miss [Mary Bidwell] Breed and Mrs. [Myra Beach] Jordan were asked at the last conference to write an historical sketch. Mrs. Jordan reported that nothing had been done. Mrs. [Gertrude Shorb] Martin has no record of the third conference, but has all the other material from Miss Breed. Miss [Ella] Fulton offered to provide material for the third one (1907). (Sixth Biennial, 1913a, p. 7)

Perhaps Ella Fulton followed through on that, since the lengthy 1907 minutes are indeed included in the NADW archives today.

Public Relations

Following the precedent established by the first meeting of deans in 1903, the State University deans were protective of their proceedings when it came to the general public. In 1905, at their first meeting of State University deans, “it was moved and seconded that no newspaper reporter be admitted to any of the sessions and that information for publication be given out only by the chairman or secretary” (Minutes of the Conference, 1905, p. 1). This degree of protectiveness was not lost on the press, and in 1909 a Chicago newspaper reporter creatively titled his account of a closed conference, “How to Court a Coed.” Was it spite or an attempt to catch reader attention?
Gertrude Shorb Martin said that she had “wondered ever since whether that reporter’s revenge was intentional or merely fortuitous” (Martin, 1911, p. 67).

However, once the meetings had occurred and the records of them could be crafted and edited, the deans of women saw fit to use them to broadcast their discussions and opinions in the form of both resolutions and minutes. As might be expected, those with most need for the minutes were the deans themselves, and in 1907 it was “unanimously agreed that several hundred copies be printed for distribution among members of conference, and that the matter of distributing the resolutions should be left to the discretion of the Secretary and the members of the conference” (Third Conference, 1907, p. 32) and “resolutions . . . should be later printed, and that twenty to twenty-five copies be sent to each delegate” (p. 8) for distribution as each dean saw fit. As time went on, the distribution of news of their activities was formalized. By 1913 “it was also decided that the minutes should be printed and circulated as before among Presidents and Deans of Women in State Universities” (Sixth Biennial, 1913a, p. 6). If both the dean of women and the president had copies, reports could be made to the trustees, thereby providing the primary policy-makers on campuses with access to the collective wisdom of the deans of women. For example, at Indiana University, the 1911 conference resolutions were simply attached to the dean of women’s annual report to the board of trustees (Trustee Report, n.d.). A few years later, Carrie DeNise, in the body of her 1913-1914 report to the trustees of Indiana University, used the conference and a sense of competition to provide rationale for a residence hall:

At the last Deans’ Biennial Conference it was shown that all other state universities realize the importance of proper housing facilities for their women and plan a future policy to care for the larger percent of students. Most universities now have at least one dormitory or residence hall under the direct supervision of the dean of women. (DeNise, 1914, p. 2)

In response, the Indiana trustees formed a committee to collect data on the subject.

Either in an attempt to proactively promote themselves or in response to past interest by reporters, in 1913 they “elected a committee to prepare reports for the local press during the
conference” (Sixth Biennial, 1913a, p. 6). This task was completed thoroughly, as the minutes of the meeting exist today in the form of a professionally printed booklet.

Despite strict guidelines for the sharing of information and a prohibition of the press, confidentiality was not guaranteed. One hapless dean of women lost her deanship as a result of comments made at a conference of deans of women. Lucile Dora of the University of Oklahoma made the long trip to Chicago, but found that some of her comments about her students found their way back to Norman. George Lynn Cross (1981) told the story in his book, Professors, Presidents, and Politicians: Civil Rights and the University of Oklahoma, 1890-1968:

During the second year of her tenure [December 1909] she attended a national meeting of deans and counselors of women in Chicago. Word got back to the university that during the meeting she had boasted about how she had been able to tame the wild young women of the University of Oklahoma. She reportedly became specific in describing her disciplinary adventures: she mentioned the name of one of her problem children, the daughter of a prominent Oklahoma family. The resulting furor caused President Evans to recommend to the regents that she be relieved of the deanship in the spring of 1910. (Cross, 1981, p. 29)

Cross went on to note that the board, somewhat fond of Dora, held this action against the president, causing tension even years later, and that Dora continued as a popular if not eccentric teacher of French until her retirement in 1943 as professor emeritus.

The meetings must have enjoyed some degree of visibility among many of the presidents of the universities through a number of channels. Perhaps a dean of women in Texas sought her president’s support and he consented to hosting. At the 1905 meeting, Mary Bidwell Breed of Indiana “read a letter from President Houston of the University of Texas inviting the conference of Deans to meet there next year” (Minutes of the Conference, 1905, p. 29). This is particularly interesting given that there is no record of any dean of women from Texas attending the 1903 meeting or any other up to that time. Probably to the chagrin of the Southerners, the Conference opted to go to Ann Arbor, Michigan instead, “the location being more central” (p. 29). For
whatever reasons, Southern deans of women would not find a conference in their region, and would later organize meetings for themselves.

**Fiscal Policies**

The records of the Deans of Women in State Universities conference that were found for this project contain no mention of the financial arrangements for the conference, the meetings, or the deans who attended them. This is somewhat surprising because, of the various conference groups, this one had the longest tenure and used the most formal organizational structures and processes (referring to the deans as members, electing officers to terms that spanned the meetings, and publishing records). The level of detail in minutes was such that it seems likely that if dues were collected, it would have been recorded. So, although this conference was more organized than some of the others, it was probably not so formal as to have its own centralized operating funds. If the deans from this group followed suit from the 1903 meeting and other meetings, it is likely that the host institution provided meeting locations and perhaps some meals, and the individual deans paid their own way or negotiated some sort of financial support from their home institutions. For example, about a month before the 1913 meeting, Myra Beach Jordan wrote her president that she wished to “call your attention to the fact that the usual biennial meeting of the Deans of Women of State University will be held [next month] . . . I trust that as usual my traveling and hotel expenses will be paid” (Jordan, 1913, November 13, p. 1).

**Ethics and Standards**

Consistent with Johnson’s (1983) assertion that the development of ethical standards is a high-level task and likely only in a mature organization, the state university deans of women did not create (or even discuss) minimum professional ethical standards for themselves. Indeed, the major student affairs professional organizations of the twentieth century (ACPA, NASPA, and NAWE) did not codify minimum professional standards until late in the century. The state university deans of women devoted the majority of their discussion time to the needs and behavior of their students and universities, not themselves.
Still, they did allot some time to self-reflection and the ideal state of their own work. The most notable example for this group appears in the 1913 minutes. As one of a number of general topics introduced by a written paper and then followed by discussion, the deans considered “The Deanship of Women.” Miss Margaret Sweeney of the University of Minnesota was designated with the title of Leader for the Thursday morning session. Sweeney stated that “it is urged that the duties of the dean of women be threefold: academic, administrative, and social” (Sixth Biennial, 1913a, p. 30). Under each category were listed several items beginning with she should and a few beginning with the less stringent she may. These were less guidelines for professional behavior and more akin to a generic job description for deans of women. For example, “she should teach, in order that she should meet colleagues on the ground of academic equality” and “it is desirable that the dean of women . . . should encourage research, and, if possible, contribute to it” (p. 30) and “she should be a court of appeal in matters of discipline” (p. 31). Ensuing discussion again focused on what to do rather than how to do it, with the exception of the report that Caroline Breyfogle of Ohio State “says that the work of a dean of women must be connected with some great principle; says that we must displace the goal of popularity by a better one” (p. 32).

Services and Publications

As with the Middle West group, the primary service of this group was its meetings and the primary printed output was the records of the meetings and resultant resolutions. There were seven meetings for which there is some reference, five of which have extant records uncovered in this study. Some sense of the content of the meetings can be built from the lists of intended topics, programs, minutes, and resolutions.

The topics of discussion for the 1905 meeting are strikingly similar to the discussion of the 1903 Middle West meeting. Although the new group of public university women considered their issues unique, the topics did not vary much. They again, and in great detail, discussed self government and the unification of the student body; meeting and getting to know their charges; the nature and control of parties; supervision of private lodgings; sororities; athletics; students who marry, spoon, and drive with men; health issues; and the role of the YWCA. The sorority question
was discussed in conference, with Mary Bidwell Breed calling the sororities a “very well-built piece of machinery which can be used either for good or ill” (Minutes, 1905, p. 18). Then the formal meeting was adjourned so the group could host guests from the National Panhellenic Conference to talk more. In addition, the group spent time talking about academics. They compared notes on promoting standards of scholarship, debated the value and placement of domestic science in the curriculum, and added to their resolutions (for public consumption) their strong feelings opposing segregation in the classroom.

Although the discussion clearly showed that the problems were similar between universities and colleges, sometimes the nature of the problems was different. For example, the State University deans of women also discussed dormitories, but felt a special need to advocate for them only “where there would not be too many [residents], -- not 300, such as they sometimes have” (Minutes of the Conference, 1905, p. 41). When discussing self government and the unification of women students, Lucy Sprague of the University of California described her challenge of scale: “I find it is impossible to try to entertain 1100 girls during the year, and they have so much among themselves that I don’t try to do it” (Minutes of the Conference, 1905, p. 7). The private colleges such as Beloit and Ohio Wesleyan did not have total enrollments of that magnitude, and some colleges still do not even today.

Beyond the business of deanining, the more detailed minutes of the State University deans of women also reveal more of the support function of the group. “I wish to tell my troubles and not give suggestions,” said Mary Donovan. “I am from North Dakota and our University is out on the prairie. It is two miles away from everywhere [and the faculty live in town]. . . . There is nobody out there where we have about 150 girls and 100 boys in dormitories. There is no one to take any interest or do anything to advance the social interest but me” (Minutes of the Conference, 1905, p. 8). Susan Moore of West Virginia also came to receive. “I am here more for inspiration than information” (p. 9). At home campuses, their pioneer positions could make them feel potent and energized, but also sometimes lonely.
The 1907 meeting looked very much like the 1905 meeting in terms of topics, with discussion of the announced topics and an afternoon speaking with representatives of sororities. The familiar planned topics were housing, scholarship, social life, activities, YWCA, and sororities (listed in that order, with some subtopics to explicate). Also announced was a philosophical question: “Is there a change in the attitude of (1) students, (2) faculty, (3) general public, toward co-education and coeds? If so can we direct it toward the ultimate higher education of women?” (Third Conference, 1907, p. 1)

In practice, they spent much of the early part of the conference discussing physical activity for women students. Almost all advocated it as a requirement although there was continued concern about spectators and the effects of serious exertion. Minnie Stoner, who by 1907 had left Ohio State and given up her primary affiliation with domestic science to become the first Dean of Women at the University of Wyoming, was not happy with what she saw. “At these public games yelling goes on just as if men were on the floor. Girls are called by their last names. I consider it very demoralizing . . . after every one of the games we had girls go into genuine hysterics” (Third Conference, 1907, p. 3). Noting concern for health, Myra Beach Jordan sounded like she knew the answer but asked anyway: “You would not allow a girl on the floor who had her menstrual periods at that time, would you?” Stoner replied, “No, I would not, but I have found that the girls prevaricate about that. Suppose a girl is a good center and the date interferes . . . sometimes the girls will not tell me the truth” (p. 3). Apparently, the women students found a way to have their basketball when they wanted it. The deans also discussed the activities they offered, and provided great detail about how they were managed. At Michigan, Myra Beach Jordan reported, “Nothing has added more to our enthusiasm than the swimming tank [pool]” (p. 5). She went on to say that women students were required to wear “a certain kind of suit, a one-piece suit, something like children’s rompers, and made of mohair or denim. It is loose and does not cover the arms and legs” (p. 5). Lily Kollock told all that at Illinois they not only had a pool, but “out-door games, golf links, tennis, hockey and basket-ball. We also have plans for a very large athletic field, including a running track and also a bowling green” (p. 7).
The other topic that varied from the stated agenda was a long conversation on Thursday afternoon about the position of dean or advisor of women itself. The specifics must have been enlightening to them and used as bargaining chips when they got home, and stand as an valuable source of data about early professional positions for us today. They compared salaries, living allowances and residences, entertainment funds, office hours, disciplinary responsibilities, seats on important committees, and teaching loads. All 12 university positions represented (Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Wisconsin, Wyoming, and Arkansas) were meticulously described, giving us a fascinating sampling of diverse state universities. For example, Mary Bidwell Breed, who was lured away from Indiana by a better compensation package at Missouri, reported that she received “$1500 clear money and all my living in dormitory for nine months. . . . I have a down stairs parlor, three rooms upstairs, a maid, who does everything for me, a horse and phaeton and driver. All my entertaining is paid for” (Third Conference, 1907, p. 11). Most had an annual salary of $1200 to $1500 per year. Cora Stranahan Woodward made $2000, but paid $600 in rent for an apartment she designed herself in the new woman’s building, that was to have the modern convenience of a telephone. Although the Nebraska president and board told Edna Barkley to “name a salary, I have never felt like doing so. . . . I didn’t want to be at the [beck] and call of every one on account of my strength, and also I wanted to establish the office along the lines that I deemed best. . . . I give my time absolutely to the university” (p. 12). Most appeared to serve on key faculty or dean committees, although Ella Fulton at North Dakota was “not a member of the University Council, and I think it is a mistake. Many of the men think so too, and it is to be remedied” (p. 11). These and other glimpses into the professional lives of the deans of women are a study in and of themselves.

The meeting continued with discussion of the list of topics, and an afternoon was spent with women from each of 10 different sororities. Jobelle Holcomb switched metaphorical hats and shifted from her perspective as dean of women at Arkansas to representative of Chi Omega, of which she was a founder in her undergraduate days.
There is less information about the 1909 and 1911 meetings, as no minutes were found. However, the program topics are again familiar: scholarship, organizations and associations, student residences, physical training and health, social life, and self-government associations.

The 1913 conference is exhaustively documented by a program and a thirty-six-page printed record. For the first time, general topics each had a discussion leader, some of whom presented a paper before leading responses to pre-announced, provocative questions or prompts. Although the organization and the methods of analysis had become more sophisticated, the topics persisted: housing of women students, cooperative lodging and boarding houses, student government, extra curriculum activities, sororities, the social life of the student, the deanship of women, and educational questions affecting women students (Sixth Biennial, 1913a). As an indication of more preparation and professionalism, written papers were prepared and entered into the minutes for the topics of student government (for example, Carrie DeNise of Indiana reported the results of an extensive national survey of self government at colleges and universities.) Mary Stuart of Montana was unable to attend, but her paper on extra curriculum activities was read in her absence.

The paper on the deanship of women sketched in outline form the general responsibilities of a dean of women, with liberal use of the word “should”. As previously noted, Margaret Sweeney of the University of Minnesota urged that the duties “be threefold: academic, administrative, and social (Sixth Biennial, 1913a, p. 30). Interestingly, she advocated for “such training as would entitle her to the rank of professor, or at least of assistant professor” (p. 30) and to support if not produce research. This supported Lois Mathews contention that “it is an enormous asset to a woman to be able occasionally to put into the post-boxes of the men of the faculty a bit of productive scholarship in the shape of a pamphlet inscribed, ‘With the compliments of the author!’” (p. 21). She also challenged, “Is their [deans of women] position based on personality, tact, adaptability, and ability to efface themselves rather than on administrative and intellectual power?” (p. 21) As a group, they identified the institutions with dean and advisor titles, and it was noted that the University of
Wisconsin had “an Associate Dean in the different colleges affecting men as well as women, or a Dean of Students” (p. 32).

Lois Mathews’ paper on educational questions affecting women students also raised some larger philosophical questions about women and higher education. She saw women as playing a crucial social role, as they “apparently [are] to be the conservers of culture in our country till present era of rapid industrial and commercial expansion is over” (Sixth Biennial, 1913a, p. 19). She also began to question the strategy of women finding equality simply by accessing what was available to men, noting that the “last word [has not been] said on womens’ [sic] education when it duplicates a man’s . . . . Are courses to continue to be conducted along a man’s standard, and women to conform if they can?” (p. 19)

As in the past, a limited number of guest speakers were included. The conference again invited representatives of the National Panhellenic Conference to join them for discussion of sororities. The NPC women shared the content of their recent national congress, also held in Chicago. Although some mention had been made in the previous meeting of vocational questions, this meeting was the first at which the topic was considered at length. It did not appear on the program, but the minutes indicate that the conference requested a presentation by Gertrude Shorb Martin about vocational guidance at Cornell, and an invitation to Helen Bennett, Manager of the Chicago Collegiate Bureau of Occupations. She outlined the services and goals of the Bureau, and made a plea for the deans’ help in guiding college women to consider what they will do when they graduate, and prepare for the needs of employers. She bemoaned the situation of graduates with broad educations and experience but no preference for a type of work. She commended in particular the graduates of Smith College as having “a clearer view of what they want to do than applicants from any other college” (Sixth Biennial, 1913a, p. 33). She attributed this to the work of Elizabeth Kemper Adams, who held the title of Appointment Secretary at Smith and was also the Chairman of the Vocational Committee of the ACA.

In summary, the meetings of the State University conference of deans of women closely mirrored in subject and form that of the early Middle West meeting, but became increasingly more
formal, organized, and well-documented. To some extent they tailored their sessions to the unique problems of universities, but in general the concerns would be familiar to all deans of women at the time and most student affairs professionals today.

**Affiliations**

In terms of a relationship with a sponsoring or hosting organization, the State University conference was wholly autonomous. The meetings were independent of any other organization’s meetings. More so than any of the other conferences, the State Universities group was self-sufficient in scheduling meeting dates, arranging for meeting facilities, and regulating membership. The only other conference that appeared to be completely independent of a larger, national organization was the conference of deans of women from Private Institutions, and it met only once.

This is not to say that the State University group was isolated. The organization did have contact with other associations, but not for the purpose of seeking support. Instead, it provided resources, inviting representatives of other groups to enjoy the benefit of the collective wisdom of the deans of women.

For example, as previously mentioned, a regular feature of the State University meetings was a joint session with representatives of the National Panhellenic Conference (NPC), an organization of national sororities operating at both the national and campus levels. The deans of women prepared for the session by discussing questions among themselves, and then later including NPC representatives. At the 1905 State Universities meeting, Chair Mary Bidwell Breed reconvened the deans after lunch by noting that “the subject before the meeting this afternoon is the sorority question” (Minutes of the Conference, 1905, p. 18). They spent the afternoon weighing the benefits and liabilities of the sororities, and comparing the situations at the various universities. They were concerned about the length and timing of rush and its impact on academics, the overlap between the roles of the dean of women and the campus sorority council, and the control exercised by the NPC at the national level. After discussing these things among themselves, they invited in four delegates from NPC, Mrs. Morton, Miss Thompson, Miss Telling, and Miss Olgen (Minutes of the Conference, 1905, p. 22).
Although the ensuing conversation was recorded as congenial and professional, there were hints of deference by the NPC delegates to the deans of women. The NPC representatives requested that the chair “or some of the deans formulate a set of questions for discussion” for the NPC to use at its next national meeting. Mary Bidwell Breed, apparently uncomfortable with taking such an active role in the affairs of another organization, replied, “I had not thought particularly of doing that. I thought perhaps you might formulate the questions yourselves” (Minutes of the Conference, 1905, p. 29). Undaunted, the NPC representative pressed that “it ought to come in an official way – that [it is] the request of the deans that these things be discussed.” The minutes record the whole conference as replying that “I think it would be better to have it formulated by your conference rather than ours” (Minutes of the Conference, 1905, p. 29).

In thanking the guests for their attendance, Mary Bidwell Breed indicated that the discussion was fruitful. “If our Dean’s Conference is an annual thing, I hope also that this joint conference will be an annual thing, for it has been a great pleasure and help” (Minutes of the Conference, 1905, p. 29). Indeed, the conference became a regular gathering, and records show that representatives of the national sorority organization were in attendance in 1907, 1909, and 1913. Programs and resolutions make clear that each conference of deans of State Universities included time for a discussion of sororities.

The State Universities conference met at least seven times (and probably more) over the course of 17 years. In 1922, the State University conference ceased to be a separate entity and affiliated with the NADW by becoming one of four subunits, or sectionals, of the larger organization. In a later report, Agnes E. Wells of Indiana University declared that “I was the last President, in 1922, of the National Association of State University Deans of Women” (Wells, 1925, p. 1).

With the Religious Education Association

“. . . an informal conference of deans of women, to which you are cordially invited.”

Printed invitation (Invitation, 1909, p. 1)
One conference of deans of women was a singular event, spurred by convenience and designed to take advantage of an already-arranged assembly of educators. By 1909, there had only been one conference of deans of women that was open to those whose work was at a private college or university. This must have been of some disappointment to those deans of women who were so excited by the 1903 meeting but had no outlet since. They must have been ready to see each other again.

In late 1908 and early 1909, educators in Chicago were readying themselves to host the sixth general convention of the Religious Education Association (REA). William Rainey Harper, president of the University of Chicago and by 1909 deceased, had been a founder of the REA, and so Marion Talbot and other University of Chicago colleagues must have been particularly busy and preoccupied with hosting arrangements. Talbot must have seen the names of those attending and the topics focused on college students and recognized an opportunity to gather deans of women for their own discussions. She printed and distributed invitations for what was deliberately termed an informal conference, and planned for a day at the Chicago Woman’s Club on the last day of the REA general convention (Invitation, 1909).

Membership

Because the meeting was attached to the larger REA convention, some or all of the women might have pledged membership to the REA. The cost of REA membership was three dollars per year, and in 1909 the REA had two thousand members. Although Harper had died by 1909, his reputation and the participation of other national leaders of higher education made the organization very prominent. Other attendees at the 1909 convention included President Eliot of Harvard, President Judson of the University of Chicago, President Northrup of Minnesota, President King of Oberlin, President Thwing of Western Reserve, well-known faculty, and the social reformer Jane Addams (“Sixth General Convention,” 1909).

For the gathering of deans itself, Talbot apparently sent invitations far and wide. A handwritten list of institutions, ordered by state and with some names of deans noted, includes 33 states and 94 colleges and universities of both private and public affiliation. In a report to her
president after the fact, Talbot noted that representatives of 11 of the invited institutions attended, with one additional person “by request.” Although teacher training institutions were shunned by many (notably, the ACA) as not academic enough to be classified with colleges and universities, Talbot apparently honored the request and welcomed Martina C. Erickson from Indiana Normal School (now Indiana State University). Including the University of Chicago, there were five private and eight public institutions represented, from seven states (Illinois, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado) (Talbot, 1909, February 16). For a list of attendees of this conference, see Appendix E.

Organizational Structure

As the meeting was billed as an informal conference, it is unlikely that there was much structure to the meeting or the group. Talbot, in the invitation, requested that “if you can be present, please send your name in advance to Miss Marion Talbot” (Invitation, 1909), so she probably coordinated the day. Talbot reported to her president that there were valuable discussions, and so the structure of the day likely resembled earlier conferences of deans of women in that there was some collective brainstorming of topics and a progression of sharing of current practice and tips.

Public Relations

Although other conferences of deans of women developed some sort of formal record of the meetings and disseminated outcomes, there is no record in the NADW archives of minutes, resolutions, or other uses of this meeting for public consumption. The group might have formatted the meeting as a roundtable, or might have generated minutes and resolutions that are now housed outside the NADW archives or are lost.

Fiscal Policies

As an informal group meeting and not an organization, there was no organizational budget or policies. However, the last line of Marion Talbot’s report to President Judson of the University of Chicago was the matter-of-fact “I enclose a memorandum of the expenses incurred” (Talbot, 1909, February 16, p. 1), implying that the meeting had the financial support of the university and the president.
The only service of the group was the meeting itself. Although no minutes of the meeting were found, Marion Talbot told President Judson that the conference “was extremely successful” and that “many suggestions of practical interest were discussed and suggestions were exchanged which I am sure will prove of value” (Talbot, 1909, February 16, p. 1).

In addition to the deans’ meeting, participants may have taken part in the larger REA convention (and, if members, they would have received the REA journal, *Religious Education*). There was plenty of relevant discussion for them at the REA meeting, among the 40 separate meetings and 118 addresses and papers (“Sixth General Convention,” 1909). Three women who attended the conference of deans of women also presented papers at the REA convention that were later published in *Religious Education*. Mary Bidwell Breed of the University of Missouri wrote in January to her successor at Indiana University, Louise Goodbody, and asked for information about boarding houses, noting that it was for “a paper I have been asked to write for a meeting of the Religious Education Association in Chicago next month” (Breed, 1909, January 16, p. 1). That paper, in final form, was entitled “The Private Boarding House for College Women” (Breed, 1909). Cora Stranahan Woodward (1909) of the University of Wisconsin presented “The College Sorority as a Substitute for the Woman’s Dormitory.” Marion Talbot (1909) presented her paper, “Dormitory Life for College Women,” as paired with “Dormitory Life for College Men” by Charles Franklin Thwing (1909), president of Western Reserve University.

If these presentations and papers by deans of women did not satisfy a dean’s appetite for reflection upon student life, others were available as well. Related papers included: “Factors in the Dormitory Problem” by the president of Ripon College, Richard Cecil Hughes (1909); “The Private Dormitory” by the president of Harvard University, Charles W. Eliot (1909); “Preparation of the College Student for Social Service” by Professor John M. Gillette (1909) of the University of North Dakota; “Agencies for Deepening the Spiritual Life of the College” by Professor Edwin D. Starbuck (1909) of the University of Iowa; “The Young Woman’s Christian Association and the Problem of Religious Influence in Colleges” by the national secretary of the YWCA, Theresa
M. Wilbur (1909); and “The Pedagogy of Morality and Religion as Related to the Periods of Development” by William C. Bagley (1909). Indeed, most of the papers published in the next several issues of the journal were relevant then (and would be today) to those who are invested in student affairs in colleges and universities.

Ethical Standards

The paucity of information about the meeting itself precludes much discussion of ethical standards of the group. The broad constituency of the invitation list suggests openness to various types of deans of women, and the inclusion of a normal college with notation suggests a willingness (if with reluctance) to include some in less academically prestigious institutions. Given that the larger organization of the REA was focused on questions of religion in education, one might expect to see religious or moral statements about student life. However, surprisingly, the papers of the REA conference most directly related to the duties of deans have a very secular tone. Those dealing with college housing arrangements have few if any references to religion or spirituality.

Affiliations

As an informal addendum to the REA convention, the primary affiliation of this conference of deans of women was the REA itself. The Religious Education Association first met in 1903 in Chicago (as did the conferences of deans of women). It was powered in its infancy by the zeal of University of Chicago president, William Rainey Harper. He brought to his worldview his Baptist affiliation and education as a scholar of Hebrew, and a progressive conception of education. Harper saw no incompatibility between science and religion. On the contrary, he saw the two as inextricably interwoven, with all kinds of scientific investigation as tools for creating a more righteous society and individual faith built upon and strengthened by the illuminations of the new sciences. Although Harper died in 1906, his enthusiasm and that of other REA leaders struck a chord with the most prominent leaders in higher education at the time (Schmidt, 1983). Although it might seem odd to modern readers that there was such high participation and interest by those in public institutions, the marrying of scholarship and moral growth was at the heart of many public institutions.
In his history of the REA, Schmidt (1983) concluded that women were missing and “simply not significant” to the REA in its early years (p. 46). He noted that the REA journal contained “only a dozen articles that relate at all to women during the first twenty-year period, none significant” (p. 46). In this larger perspective, the presentations and journal articles by deans of women such as Mary Bidwell Breed, Marion Talbot, and Cora Stranahan Woodward are that much more noteworthy for their rarity.

In 1909, REA president George A. Coe of Northwestern University told those congregated that there was still work to be done to help people understand that the REA “seeks to impregnate all educational agencies with a religious aim and spirit, and to bring home to organized religion a sense of the importance of a rational cultivation of the moral and spiritual life” (“Sixth General Convention,” 1909, p. 125). That a group of deans of women would find an affiliation with the REA attractive makes sense, given their unique roles that emphasized fostering both academic excellence and mature personal behavior. Additionally, the abundance of university presidents and other nationally renowned educational leaders made the REA conference the home for anyone who was anyone in higher education, and must have provided excellent opportunities for networking and career advancement.

In Private Institutions

Because no minutes or program were retained in the NADW archives for this meeting (either now or in 1926 when Mary Ross Potter and her committee compiled their history of the conference of deans of women), it is difficult to consider the group or meeting in relation to the variables. This is unfortunate, because there was only one conference of deans of women for those in private institutions, and it could shed a great deal of light on the evolving groups of deans of women and their choices to organize with different membership criteria. Attendance at this conference is known because Mary Ross Potter (1926) listed the attendees (see Appendix E). With the available information, there are more questions than answers. Why did Marion Talbot convene this group so soon after the REA conference of deans of women? Of the 12 attendees, three had attended the informal meeting in Chicago only 10 months earlier. What topics did they discuss that
they found unique and different from what would be discussed among women of state universities? Why did the group not meet again? Since Mary Ross Potter was an attendee, why did she not share some of the content of the meeting in her 1926 history? Until and unless additional source materials are found regarding this conference of deans of women, these questions will remain unanswered.

*With the Association of Collegiate Alumnae*

*May the Providence that watches over the welfare of nations send us more of such women!*

– Gertrude Shorb Martin (Martin, 1911, p. 76)

The deans of women who belonged to the Association of Collegiate Alumnae saw the meeting of their national organization as a prime opportunity to focus on the issues of deans of women. Like the informal meeting at the REA convention, the first conference of deans of women at the ACA annual conventions was spurred by the convenience of needing to only travel once to attend two meetings. Unlike the REA informal meeting, the first conference of the deans of women attached to the ACA annual convention was quite on the spot and not planned far in advance. It was literally arranged on a train on the way there.

The ACA was well established by 1910 and the convention in Denver was to be its twenty-ninth. The ACA journal announced the upcoming convention features in order to attract attendees. Advertised as an afternoon session, there was to be a paper entitled “The Position of Dean of Women” by Gertrude S. Martin of Cornell University, followed by a discussion entitled “Shall Deans Teach?” This must have caught the attention of more than a few ACA members whose primary responsibility at home was deaning. As they traveled by train to Denver, several deans discovered their mutual interest and agreed to fashion a meeting for themselves in which they could focus on issues of deans of women. They scheduled it for October 24, two days after the end of the ACA meeting. Dean of Women Ruth Loomis hosted in Beemis Hall of Colorado College (Minutes of the Conference, 1910; Potter, 1926). The meeting was useful and pleasant enough that some form of gathering of deans continued to occur at each ACA convention for almost a decade.

What is interesting about this group is not that they formed, but that they did not form earlier. It is clear that there were deans of women in the ACA before 1910, and that they may have
discussed their jobs while at the ACA convention. As previously noted, Violet DeLille Jayne of the University of Illinois recorded that the very first conference of deans of women at Chicago in 1903 was planned to take place just before the 1903 ACA convention in Milwaukee. But neither the 1903 meeting nor any others until 1910 were organized in conjunction with an ACA meeting. Potter (1926) described the 1910 gathering as somewhat of an innovation. It might be that those deans of women who planned the earliest conferences either felt the deans’ meetings should remain separate or simply did not think to attach them to the ACA. Whatever their rationale, by 1910 there had been turnover in dean positions and some new deans had new ideas for how to meet their professional needs.

**Membership**

One of the reasons that an ACA conference of deans of women seemed like a new idea in 1910 was that the women on the train comprised a completely new group of deans of women. There is no overlap between the attendance list of the original 1903 meeting and the 1910 first ACA meeting, although four of the same institutions were represented. Many of the 1903 deans had moved up or moved on in those seven years. However, four of the 1910 women had been present at an earlier State University or Private Institution conference of deans of women, and so were able to bring their experience with those to the ACA convention. A list of attendees by conference can be found in Appendix E.

The primary limitation on membership in the ACA conference of deans of women was membership in the larger organization of the ACA, for both the individual women and the institutions they represented. In their 1931 history of the AAUW, Marion Talbot and Lois Mathews Rosenberry defined the group as “a conference of deans in colleges and universities on the Association’s list of members” (p. 201). Unlike the REA, where membership was granted upon payment of three dollars, membership in the ACA was more strictly screened. A dean of women could only become a member of the ACA if she was an alumna of an approved institution. Institutions were only admitted to the ACA after they had been carefully scrutinized. They were required to have high academic standards, policies and procedures that benefited women students,
and (after 1908) an active and legitimate dean of women position (Potter, 1926). As a result, there were many, perhaps hundreds of deans and advisors of women and girls who might have had interest in the group, but would have been ineligible. For example, women holding only degrees from normal schools, women whose alma maters did not employ deans of women, or women with extensive teaching experience but without college degrees would not have attended ACA annual conventions.

Fully aware of this limitation but still recognizing the value of a professional organization for all deans of women, the leadership of the ACA encouraged the group of deans to reconvene at the 1911 ACA convention. Laura Drake Gill, an attendee of the original 1903 conference of deans of women and by 1911 the president of the ACA, invited the deans back and led the Executive Committee in extending the invitation to all deans of women, whether eligible for corporate membership or not (Potter, 1926). However, by 1914 the brochure announcing the conference of deans of women noted that “business meetings are open only to those Deans who are also members of the Association” (Conference of Deans, 1914, p. 4). If the question of whether non-members were welcome or not seems unclear today, it was no less murky to organizers in 1917. Eleanor Lord, when sending along to chairman Bertha Boody the list of deans present at the 1917 Bryn Mawr ACA-linked meeting, noted a concern that “the list contains the names of several people who are not deans, and a few who are deans of colleges not in the Association of Collegiate Alumnae list, I think” (Lord, 1917, January 9, p. 1). Should they all be included? The typed list that survived in the NADW archives has the handwritten notation of “corrected copy” and is separated into “Deans Present” and “Visitors” (Sixth Conference, 1917, pp. 6-7). As to whether non-members should be invited to future conferences, Lord offered her understanding: “I do not know whether there is any constitutional restriction or not, but my impression is that invitations to attend the Conference are sent only to the deans of institutions on the A.C.A. list but that other deans are welcome as visitors” (Lord, 1917, January 9, p. 1). Therefore, to be invited you had to both graduate from and work for an approved institution.
As a result, although non-members of ACA were allowed to attend by 1911, informal barriers remained. Communication about upcoming deans’ meetings was still located primarily in ACA member publications, and the invitation list remained exclusive. Members of ACA and deans at member institutions were actively encouraged to participate, but all others would have to discover the conference on their own.

By 1914, the meetings were announced in the ACA annual convention program as the Conferences of Deans. Although the intended audience of the meetings had been those serving as deans of women, the conference of deans of women in various forms had also attracted women who were deans (academic deans) in women’s colleges. Because of the emphasis on the dean as scholar, to the ACA “it was evident both of these groups [professors and deans] as well as the conference of women trustees had common interests” (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931, p. 201). At the 1917 ACA meeting, there was additionally a Joint Conference of Trustees, Deans and Professors. This group attracted at least one college president, and was likely a gathering for any woman with administrative or academic authority in an ACA-approved college or university. In 1919, the joint conference narrowed back to deans and professors and the deans did not meet separately. In general, though, the trend at the ACA conventions was to broaden, not narrow the scope of attendees to those women with interests in leading colleges and universities. This broadening trend was also true for the ACA itself, as it underwent a name change in 1921 and became the American Association of University Women.

Organizational Structure

According to the short summaries published in the Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, the ACA conferences of deans of women followed the familiar format of a chairman presiding over two to three sessions structured by a list of topics phrased as provocative questions, and some formal papers presented by fellow deans of women. The 1912 conference issued a printed set of five resolutions, and the 1914 conference listed in addition to the Chairman of the Conference an Executive Committee of four people (Ada Comstock, Lida Shaw King, Eleanor L. Lord, and Henrietta Josephine Meeteer). Other leaders were the individual women who led each
topic, whether by orally presenting a response to the topic or question, or by presenting a formal paper. By 1919, the joint conferences appear to be thoroughly inculcated as meetings of a larger organization, and the meeting leaders were no longer referred to as chairmen but as the “presiding officer” or simply “presiding” (Johnston, 1920; Nardin, 1920).

Public Relations

As Mary Ross Potter (1926) noted, the first ACA-linked conference of deans of women was “not reported in the Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, being in no sense a part of the convention” (p. 12). However, subsequent meetings were shared with the larger membership of the ACA through small articles in the journal. After the 1911 conference, Mary Ross Potter submitted to the journal the four topics of discussion and the resulting three resolutions (Potter, 1912). In 1912, the conference was summarized by topic, with five topics listed and a brief (one- to three-paragraph) summary of each of the conclusions or recommendations (Resolutions, 1912).

The 1914 conference of deans was the most thoroughly documented of the ACA-linked meetings, with a printed brochure announcing the meeting and its intended program, a typed two-page summary of the meeting with a list of attendees, and a printed half-page version of the report, apparently for distribution to deans and others. The same report was submitted and appeared in the Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae in the May 1914 issue (Jordan, 1914).

From this point, less information was released, as evidenced by what remains in the NADW archives and what was reported in the journal. As the deans of women conferences became more commonly a part of the ACA annual convention, akin to all the other committees and subgroups of the ACA, their activities were reported in the journal in shorter and more perfunctory ways. The 1915 conference of deans was promoted in a short announcement listing four presentations. The announcement was only slightly longer and appeared just before an announcement by the Committee on Housing for the convention about hotel rooms in San Francisco (“An open program,” 1915). One of the papers, “Raising the Standards of Intellectual Life” by Lois K. Mathews (1916), was printed in the next issue of the journal with the notation that it had been a part of the conference of deans. In 1917, a report of the conference of deans appeared in the June issue,
with more print space than the Conference of School Principals but less than the Joint Conference of Trustees, Deans and Professors (see Boody, 1917; Thomas, 1917). By 1919, the conference of deans had disappeared, and the two joint conferences’ (of deans and professors, and of trustees, deans and professors) reports were largely focused on academic and faculty issues (see Johnston, 1920; Nardin, 1920).

In summary, the ACA conferences of deans of women promoted themselves, but primarily to themselves and others within the ACA organization. By the end of the period of study, the promotion took the form of official reports of meetings in the same format as any of the many other committees of the ACA.

Fiscal Policies

No mention of the financial matters of the conference appears in the reports of the ACA conference of deans of women. However, as the group became an official subgroup of ACA, it is possible that they were supported financially in some way by the ACA.

Services and Publications

As with the previous conferences of deans of women, the primary services were the meetings themselves, and the primary publications were the content of those meetings and the papers presented at them. For this conference, dissemination was truly in the form of publication, with papers and meeting reports appearing in the *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae*. Through this vehicle, the content of meetings had a potentially wide readership, achieved the respectability of a place in an established and well-regarded periodical, and secured increased permanence in that the journal has survived in many major libraries and can be accessed by even casual researchers. Although the reports of the meetings printed in the journal were often brief and embedded among many other similar reports, the publication of papers presented at the conferences or about topics central to the role of dean of women were given prominent billing and a great deal of copy space. Examples include “The Position of Dean of Women” by Gertrude S. Martin (1911), which was one of two articles that made up the March 1911 issue. Two issues later, “The Personal Element in College Work” by Mina Kerr (1911) (who was then Dean of Women at Milwaukee-
Downer College) comprised the entire May 1911 issue. The May 1916 issue contained “Raising the Standards of Intellectual Life” by Lois K. Mathews (1916), and was expressly designated as a part of the Conference of Deans, August 15, 1915.

The first meeting, in 1910, was to open with the question, “Shall deans teach?” Since that had been thoroughly discussed in reaction to Gertrude Shorb Martin’s paper during the regular conference, they proceeded to the other topics proposed on the train: the relation of deans to self-government; the dean’s attitude toward excessive social life; how shall social life be brought to the non-sorority girl?; how far shall sex hygiene be taught?; the place of home economics in academic courses; and intercollegiate athletics (Topics, 1910). These topics were consistent with almost all previous (and many later) conferences, but since many of this group were too young to have attended the Middle West conference and not eligible for membership in the State University conference, it must have been a relief and a breath of fresh air to discuss these things.

The 1911 conference added support for a for-credit personal hygiene and sex education course, an endorsement of the development of good manners through existing organizations, and yet another statement against segregation. “Resolved, that in social and administrative affairs of the students, unity of interests and cooperation are desirable unless segregation is needed in order to give the students of both sexes equal opportunity to develop individually” (Resolutions, 1911, p. 1).

The 1912 resolutions were titled with five categories: scholarship and extra-curriculum activities, the relation of the dean to student social life, vocational training, residence halls, and care of freshmen. The first and presumably most important resolution affirmed that “the college exists for scholarship and must constantly emphasize that all other interests are subordinate” (Resolutions, 1912, p. 1). They also recognized a surge in interest in vocational work and guidance, and called for committees to monitor such at both the campus level and within the ACA. Finally, they introduced a new topic, that of the care of freshmen, recommending that “each Freshman should receive individual attention in this line during the first eight weeks of the college year” and that “much use should be made of upper-class students as advisers” (p. 1).
The 1914 and 1915 meetings continued in a similar vein, posing provocative questions and encouraging papers to discuss implications. Still focusing on scholarship, they additionally considered self-supporting students, the role of recreation, and whether students followed standards in their communities after graduation. Most topics related in some way to academics. The topics of housing, social standards, and sororities were missing from both gatherings.

The 1917 ACA convention was the last to include a conference exclusively for deans. They found the keenest interest in a discussion of shifting social standards in American society and whether the deans might devise a uniform response for social regulation. They again discussed the dean’s responsibility for the scholarship of students (finding deans to indeed have responsibilities to improve systems) and the assimilation of freshmen. In addition to a description of a Brown University cooperative house, they explored “The Management of the Collegiate Appointments Bureau” (Sixth Conference, 1917, p. 4).

The joint meeting of trustees, deans and professors had a tone decidedly different from all previous deans of women meetings. Although there were several deans of women in attendance and participating, the focus was not students. They reviewed issues of university governance and trustees, the proportion of women appointed to academic positions, and professional tenure for faculty (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931; Thomas, 1917). They bemoaned the state of faculty, stating that “relief is needed from the lecture system which improves the lecturer more than the lecturee,” and an overemphasis on reward for publishing led one women to state that “anyone who publishes without due cause should pay a penalty” (Thomas, 1917, p. 702).

By 1919, the deans met only in conference with professors and trustees. They discussed grading systems, the value of a liberal arts education, expectations of a degree, the usefulness of literature and drama, good teaching, the utility of academics in war, research, and salaries of tenured professors. In response to the latter, they began a campaign for a million dollar endowment to supplement salaries of women professors at private institutions. The focus on students and student affairs had disappeared.
Ethical Standards

Of all the conferences of deans of women, the one associated with the ACA comes the closest to setting minimum standards for what a dean of women should be. Although there was no written set of standards by which individual women were measured, one could not have helped but hear the strong messages about the requirements of a legitimate dean of women. As one of the criteria for approving coeducational institutions, the ACA in 1908 looked for “a dean or adviser of women, above the rank of instructor, giving instruction, and counted a regular member of the faculty” (Potter, 1926, p. 11). All others, apparently, did not meet minimum standards of a dean of women.

In the paper “The Position of Dean of Women,” the paper that generated the initial interest of the deans in 1910, Gertrude Shorb Martin strongly advocated for the academic role of the dean of women. She acknowledged the roles of guide, philosopher, and friend, but cited others’ opinions and added her own that scholarship and disciplinary expertise were required to be a dean of women. She noted that some institutions (notably those of lesser caliber, not “first rank”) limited the dean of women to social and personal advising duties:

So be it. If this is the only function that the governing board of her institution wishes or will permit her to perform, or if it is the only one she is capable of performing, by all means call her not a dean [italics in original]; call her a proctor, or an adviser, or a housemother, or what-not. (Martin, 1911, p. 74)

She did acknowledge, “housing and feeding her charges comfortably and . . . safeguarding their health and morals” as key components of the position: “Do not misunderstand me. These services are . . . necessary and important” (p. 74). But “if she stops here she stops short of the performance of her primary function . . . why call her a dean at all unless her function is at least comparable with that of other officers bearing the same title?” (pp. 74-75) Martin made it clear that deans of women should be full colleagues with academic deans of colleges in order to legitimately hold the title.
Potter (1926) noted that in 1913 the item “giving instruction” was stricken from the ACA accreditation requirement for deans and advisers of women. She mused that such a move might reflect changing attitudes of the deans of women themselves about the necessity of teaching. Of course, she advanced this hypothesis from the vantage point of an active member of the NADW, an organization that did not place the faculty role as centrally as the ACA. As Potter herself noted, the ACA “tried in all things to move at a pace which was not beyond the potential speed of the colleges” (p. 11). It might have been that the ACA realized that using teaching as a limiting factor would disqualify many institutions at which the dean of women’s responsibilities had expanded to such a degree that teaching became difficult or was not welcomed by the rest of the faculty. In any case, the fact that the deans’ conference was merged into the conferences for professors suggests that the ACA and the participating deans of women saw the dean position as an academic officer late into the decade.

The authentic dean of women proposed by Gertrude Shorb Martin and others in the ACA sounds like a superwoman, able to publish scholarly papers, administrate housing complexes, and tutor on the use of the correct fork, all before teatime. Indeed, many of the deans of women researched for this study were extraordinary, achieving in highly disparate areas, if not all at the same time. Gertrude Shorb Martin (1911) also knew of real-life examples of such a true dean of women:

She is no mere dream-woman, this ideal dean whom I have been describing. Here and there in the academic world she is quietly at work, sounding no trumpets before her, calmly certain that her powers are adequate to her task, and never fretting at the barriers which ignorance or deep-rooted prejudice throw in her way and which she gently removes or quietly goes around. May the Providence that watches over the welfare of nations send us more of such women! (p. 76)

Affiliations

Beginning in 1910 “in conjunction” (Potter, 1926, p. 12) with the ACA, this conference evolved to become a part of the larger organization of the ACA. The beginnings of the ACA were
outlined in Chapter 2. By 1910, the ACA was almost 30 years old and was a mature and established organization. It had outgrown many of its earlier structures and procedures, and in 1910 a committee was formed to consider present and future organizational needs. Gertrude Shorb Martin was one of 10 women who participated. The resulting reorganization established a strong governing council, expanded and clarified membership categories, divided the country into ten sections with sectional vice-presidents, and provided for salaried central officers. Beginning in 1912, the official structure of the ACA allowed for “conferences held in connection with council meetings and conventions, as follows: Women trustees (directors) of A.C.A. colleges, presidents and deans (advisers of women students), college professors, head mistresses of private schools, school teachers, social workers, presidents of alumnae associations” (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931, p. 35).

The ACA saw another major period of change in the years from 1919 to 1921. At a time when there was increased focus on international relationships, the ACA was approached by the president of the British Federation of University Women about the possibility of closer collaboration. With then-president of the ACA Lois Mathews Rosenberry at the helm, the creation of the International Federation of University Women was planned. As the new organization allowed for only one representative organization for each participating country, the ACA invited the Southern Association of College women to join forces and in 1921 they became the American Association of University Women (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931). Thus, the conference of deans of women began and ended its association with the ACA at times of reorganization in the larger organization.

*With the Southern Association of College Women*

*What is your view as to the inclusion of deans of colleges not on our list, deans of normal schools, men who are deans in colleges for women, etc.? – Eleanor Lord to Laura Drake Gill (Lord, 1915, March 4, p. 2)*

With only three documents in the NADW archives relating to the Southern conference of deans of women, indicating evidence of only two meetings, it is difficult to generalize the nature of this group. Additional materials will need to be found and analyzed to do justice to this group of
women. The study of Southern education and, indeed, the history of the South as a region are healthy areas of study currently, and so the Southern deans might be viewed under other auspices. However, the evidence present in the NADW archives provides some basis for discussion.

The conference of deans in the South was linked to the Southern Association of College Women (SACW), a counterpart of the ACA that later merged with the ACA when it became the AAUW in 1921. More information about the SACW will be provided below in the discussion of affiliations.

Membership

The issue of membership was the central question of Eleanor Lord’s letter regarding organizing the next meeting of Southern deans of women. Who shall be invited? In much the same way that the ACA conferences struggled with whether to include women who lacked membership in ACA or who worked at unapproved colleges, the Southern deans also contemplated minimum standards for invitation. Like the ACA, there was concern that involving less-educated women or less-rigorous institutions would somehow condone them and weaken the struggle to improve women’s education. Firmly holding the line and shunning inferior institutions until they improved had been a very successful strategy for the ACA for decades.

On the other hand, “institutional developments took longer in the South” (Solomon, 1985, p. 49) than in the Northeast and Middle West, and there were other factors to recommend a more open membership. First, from a purely practical perspective, strict screening would reduce a group that was “naturally a small one because of geographical distance and the fact that there [were] not many deans represented in [the SACW] constituency” (Lord, 1917, January 9, p. 2). There were fewer Southern colleges and universities that met the strict standards of the ACA or the SACW. In 1918, of 375 Southern institutions with legal authority to confer bachelor’s and higher degrees, only 42 met minimum SACW standards (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931). Even accounting for those who attained degrees elsewhere, there was a relative dearth of women educational leaders who had degrees from approved institutions. Indeed, many of the educational leaders of women’s higher education in the South had little or no college education. They came by their education creatively,
and turned the disadvantages of working in a region under reconstruction into opportunities for leadership (Reynolds & Schramm, 2002). The relative lack of tradition-bound institutions and standards allowed for women to craft their own institutions in ways that would not have been possible in the Northeast or Middle West. Although the lack of rigid rules and standards in the South was a boon to the creativity and initiative of women leaders (Reynolds & Schramm, 2002), the limited number of so-called first-rate institutions would make the pool of deans of women by the strict definition relatively small. No doubt regional pride might also have played a part in resistance to definitions of adequate and exemplary models of educational practice from cooler climes.

A second reason to relax membership standards for the Southern conferences of deans of women was more beneficent, that of aiding a group of women who needed the guidance and support of their peers in the profession as much or more than those deans of women in other regions of the country. The early experimental meeting in 1914 in Louisville was intended to gauge that need, to see “how many would feel that general discussion of common problems would be helpful” (Lord, 1917, January 9, p. 2). It was not officially under the auspices of the SACW, only met in conjunction with it, and “a good many persons were included who are not college graduates or deans of colleges on the S.A.C.W. list” (p. 2).

It must have been helpful enough to Southern deans for Eleanor Lord to be invited to chair the next meeting, to be held in Atlanta in 1915. Although the NADW archives do not include attendance lists for the Southern conferences of deans of women, the two letters therein show that two women who were otherwise connected to the other conferences of deans of women were involved. Eleanor Lord sounded like a somewhat reluctant leader, accepting the 1915 chairmanship “in spite of some doubt of my being able to go to Atlanta at all. It now looks as if I might hope to be there and in any case I am going ahead with preliminary arrangements” (Lord, 1915, pp. 1-2). Lord qualified geographically only in that she was the dean of Goucher College in the border state of Maryland. She was born and raised in Salem, Massachusetts and attended Smith for her undergraduate and Bryn Mawr for her graduate degrees (Lord, 1938). She faithfully fulfilled her
duties as chair of the Atlanta conference of deans of women, sending out printed invitations and a call for topics (Lord, 1915, p. 1), but ultimately devoted her professional organization energies further north. She was a long-time member of ACA and by 1917 was active again in the ACA-linked conferences. In her 1917 letter about the ACA activities, she referred to the Southern deans’ group and “their list” (Lord, 1917, January 9, p. 1). Still, she brought her experience with her and suggested that the ACA conference of deans of women might include their Southern sisters. “It has occurred to me to wonder whether . . . it might not be courteous and pleasant to invite the deans of institutions in their [S.A.C.W.] list to attend this Conference” (Lord, 1917, January 9, p. 1).

The other dean who was familiar with both Southern and Middle West deans was Laura Drake Gill. She was the recipient of Eleanor Lord’s letter asking for advice in chairing the Atlanta meeting, and Lord solicited “the benefit of your wisdom and experience in regard to topics, and also any suggestions as to persons who should be included in the invitation to attend” (Lord, 1915, March 5, p. 2). At the time, Gill was at the College for Women of Trinity College at Durham, North Carolina, and although her bachelor’s and master’s degrees were from Smith, her doctorate was from The University of the South (“Life members,” 1907). But in 1903 she had been the Dean of Barnard College, and had been in Chicago for the first conference of deans of women.

Organizational Structure

From Eleanor Lord’s letter (Lord, 1915, March 4) it appears that the group had the same basic structure as other conferences of deans of women. A chairman was appointed or elected, a list of deans was compiled and invitations sent, and a formal call for suggestions for topics went out. At the meeting, the chairman led the discussion but allowed for “any deviation from these topics which is deemed expedient . . . at the discretion of the presiding chairman” (Lord, 1915, p. 1). If the Southern deans followed the pattern of the other conferences, there may have been a secretary who took and distributed minutes, and perhaps a resolutions committee and printed resolutions.

Public Relations
With the limited records of this group, there is no evidence with which to characterize the public face of this group. As a conference attached to the larger SACW, it may have participated in strategies for brokering changes in women’s education in the South.

Fiscal Policies

Again, there are limited records and no references to financial matters for the Southern deans. Only three years passed from the first Southern conference of deans of women to the joint meeting with the ACA, and so it might be that the affiliation with the ACA addressed both membership numbers and financial challenges.

Services and Publications

As with the other conferences of deans, the primary service of the group was the opportunity to congregate and share wisdom. If the conference recorded minutes and resolutions, these might have served as publications for use with outside constituencies. In her 1915 letter to Laura Drake Gill, Eleanor Lord alluded that the previous year’s program “had altogether too many topics . . . for a very satisfactory or constructive discussion” (Lord, 1915, March 4, p. 2). Perhaps as a result, her suggested program that went out with the invitations contained a more focused proposal, with topics linked together. In format, the use of a general topic and subquestions by then was similar to both State University and ACA-affiliated meetings. The outline:

General topic:- The Promotion of Efficiency in the Individual Student and in the Student Body.

I. The Efficient Student

How can the Dean help the student to

a. A definite intellectual aim?

b. Independent, systematic habits of study?

c. Proper balance between intellectual acquisition and capacity for self-realization through broad culture?

I. The Efficient College Citizen
a. The extent to which extra-curriculum activities may be encouraged without danger of over-emphasis.
b. The limitation of self-government
c. The value of athletics in the development of self-direction.
d. Means of developing spiritual poise and power. (Lord, 1915, p. 2)

Although Lord was aiming for having fewer topics, upon closer examination a familiar list of topics emerges: scholarship, dangers of specialization, social dissipation, self-government, and athletics. The housing of students was notably missing. The addition of “developing spiritual poise and power” (p. 2) is interesting and not present in a similar form at other meetings. It seems unlikely that the suggestion came from a particular personal religious fervor, given that Eleanor Lord did not emphasize her religious or spiritual views in her autobiography, *Stars Over the Schoolhouse* (Lord, 1938). Her academic foci, publications, and organizational memberships were legion but none overtly religious. Perhaps there were other forces suggesting an examination of spiritual development, or perhaps it was meant in a more general, philosophical way.

The other interesting characteristic of this meeting agenda is the repeated use of the term **efficient**. This word was absent from the topics of previous conferences. By the mid-nineteen-teens, the concept of efficiency was coming into use in the arenas of business and public health, but was only beginning its appearance in education. Although a historian by training, Eleanor Lord, in her 1915 entry in *Women’s Who’s Who of America*, listed social hygiene as an interest and membership in the Society for Social Hygiene (Leonard, 1914, pp. 499-500). Perhaps she brought the concept of efficiency from the social hygiene goals of bringing a scientific rationalism to public health. Efficiency as a factor in hiring and supervision was then taking hold in industry, as described in *Increasing Human Efficiency in Business: A Contribution to the Psychology of Business* (W. D. Scott, 1912) which led to the 1923 *Personnel Management: Principles, Practices, and Point of View* (Scott & Clothier, 1923). Efficiency and its promoters would later play key roles in the philosophy of the Student Personnel Movement, which itself was foundational to the profession of student affairs in the middle of the twentieth century. Credit for the propagation of
student personnel ideas is usually given to deans of men after 1919, who learned of it from their experience with military personnel during the war (Saddlemire & Rentz, 1986). But in 1915, Eleanor Lord and the Southern deans may have been the first deans to discuss among colleagues the concepts of student personnel as a professional strategy.

Ethical Standards

That there were questions about eligibility for membership in the SACW might have raised more professional ethics issues for the Southern deans than in other conferences. As will be discussed in the next section, the leaders of the SACW were very concerned about weak schools masquerading as legitimate colleges, and perhaps by extension, deans who participated in such schools. The unique Southern situation of a great variability in the quality of institutions might have made the deans more aware of the qualifications of deans of women than the other conferences. However, this is conjecture based on context. Additional primary sources would need to be located and reviewed before assumptions could be made about the standards of the Southern conference of deans of women.

Affiliations

The Southern conferences of deans of women were held at first in conjunction with and later under the more formal auspices of the Southern Association of College Women (SACW). The SACW no longer exists as a separate organization, having merged with the ACA in 1921 to form the AAUW. So, the SACW’s history and aims had much in common with the ACA.

The SACW was formed in 1903. At the 1903 ACA annual convention in Milwaukee (the same conference around which the 1903 first conference of deans was planned), the president of the ACA announced that a small group of alumnae in the Southern states had formed the SACW at their summer meeting in Knoxville, Tennessee. That July, a small group of women attending the University of Tennessee Summer School had gathered on the porch of a professor’s home. Three women had arranged the gathering: Emilie Watts McVea, a member of the English faculty; Lilian Wyckoff Johnson, assistant professor of history, and Celestia W. Parrish, of Athens, Georgia (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931). McVea would later enter administration and become the dean of
women at the University of Cincinnati and, after that, the president of Sweet Briar College in Virginia. She is included among the attendees of the conferences of deans of women because she was present at the 1909 meeting of deans of private institutions and the 1917 ACA-linked meeting.

Seventeen women organized the SACW, among them “Southern women graduates of Northern colleges, Northern graduates of Northern colleges resident in the South, and Southern graduates of Southern Colleges” (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931, p. 47). They were well aware of and, for some, still active in the then-21-year-old ACA, but believed that “an organization at closer range, devoting all its energies to Southern educational problems, would accomplish more in the South than the national organization with its wider field of interest and service” (E. A. Colton, as cited in Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931, p. 48). The goals of the organization as outlined in the constitution were

First, to unite college women in the South for the higher education of women; second, to raise the standard of education for women; third, to develop preparatory schools and to define the line of demarcation between preparatory schools and colleges. (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931, p. 48)

The SACW and the ACA kept in communication and endeavored to work in cooperation rather than to compete. In 1908 the two presidents (Emma Garrett Boyd for SACW and Laura Drake Gill for ACA) agreed to designate Baltimore as the geographical dividing line between the two, with Washington, DC remaining with the ACA. The SACW started branch chapters, met yearly or more often, developed a library of papers presented by members on the topic of higher education for women in the South, and lobbied legislators for more regulation of institutions. They were not antagonistic to the proliferation of schools, but wanted to eliminate situations where “schools of high school grade and ‘finishing’ schools of no grade at all masked themselves under the name of college and conferred degrees whose worthlessness their recipients were at the time too ignorant to know” (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931, p. 49).

The conferences of Southern deans of women were held at the 1914 and 1915 meetings of the larger SACW, and might have also met in conjunction with or as part of the 1916, 1917, and
1919 meetings. The 1921 meeting was held in Washington, DC with the ACA, at the end of which the two groups became the AAUW. The marriage was in part because of common mission and efforts and in part because an international organization had formed, the International Federation of University Women, and part of its charter limited each nation to just one participating group. Emilie Watts McVea, one of the creators of the SACW and by 1921 the president of Sweet Briar College, asked for the honor of making the motion by which the SACW accepted the invitation of the ACA to come together (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931). A former member expressed the legacy of the SACW as the standardization of schools and colleges for the benefit of women and girls, “which was their greatest achievement and that for which the organization should be remembered” (p. 62).

With the National Education Association (the NADW)

Why should we feel our own way, do everything for ourselves when we need counsel and distinct training? – Kathryn Sisson McLean Phillips, quoting Anna Pierce in 1915 (Phillips, Kerr, & Wells, 1926, p. 17)

When announced in the Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, the 1916 first meeting of the NADW was titled The National Conference of Deans of Women of Higher Learning (“Conferences and Conventions,” 1917, p. 360). Despite the core moniker of conference of deans of women, the character of this organization and its activities were more different from all early conferences of deans of women than any of the previous conferences were from each other. The focus of this study is the predecessor groups to the NADW and not the NADW itself; however, to explore the degree of continuity between the earlier conferences of deans of women and the NADW, the early NADW was considered a seventh conference.

The origins of the NADW were described in Chapter 2, but are reviewed here. The NADW was begun by Kathryn Sisson McLean (later, after remarriage, Phillips), who as a dean of women at Chadron State Teachers College (Nebraska) had begun taking summer courses at Columbia Teachers College. With a few other women in similar positions, she urged the faculty to design a course of study specific to deans of women and organized the first meeting of the conference of deans of women to coincide with the convention of the National Education Association in the
summer of 1916 in New York City (Phillips, 1953; 1963; 1964; Phillips, Kerr, & Wells, 1926). She later remembered, “shortly after the meeting we met in executive session, elected officers, and named ourselves National Association of Deans of Women” (Phillips, 1964, p. 68). In practice, the early documents of the organization used both National Conference of Deans of Women and National Association of Deans of Women in self-reference, with the NADW name eventually being used exclusively. The shift seems to have occurred somewhere around 1920, as a June 1919 letterhead indicated the National Conference of Deans of Women and a December 1920 letterhead proclaimed The National Association of Deans of Women.

Membership

The first item regarding membership in the NADW is that the conference was an event and the association was the organization. Therefore, membership was not synonymous with conference attendance. Dues were required for membership, and the meetings were open to many who were not members. In 1919, 125 deans were members, but about 250 attended meetings (“Fifth national conference,” 1919). In 1921 membership had risen to 139 (Alvord, 1921), and by 1925 it had over 500 members (NADW, 1925).

Membership criteria for the new organization were far more liberal than earlier conferences of deans of women. In announcing the second meeting in the ACA journal, “the attendance of all deans of women [was] cordially urged” (“Conferences and Conventions,” 1917, p. 360), and the 1922 by-laws clarified that women who were not deans or advisors could become subscribing members and attend meetings and receive publications (NADW, 1922a). There was no geographic limitation or focus, as evidenced by the use of the term “national” from the earliest records. Attendees and members did not need to be members of the sponsoring organization, the NEA, although deans of women were informed that “by joining the N.E.A. the members of this Association may get the N.E.A. railroad rates in connection with the meeting” (Kerr & Alvord, 1921, p. 2).

There was no limitation on type of employer of deans of women either, such as private, state, or university designation. Significantly, there was no test of academic level or legitimacy for the
institutions, either literally in the form of accreditation or informally in the sense of group judgments about the quality of institutions. In all the previous conferences of deans, only two attendees had been deans of women from normal institutions: Grace Fuller of the Michigan State Normal College attended an ACA-linked conference, and Martina Erickson of Indiana State Normal School attended the 1909 REA conference, but only after petitioning Marion Talbot for an invitation. In the NADW, deans from normal colleges were featured prominently in articles and announcements and, later, NADW publications.

That normal colleges were welcome in the new organization is not surprising given that Kathryn Sisson McLean was herself employed by one. Although she has been sometimes characterized as a student while organizing the founding of the NADW, she was what would today be called a nontraditional student. A thirty-seven-year-old widow with a young daughter, she had recently begun a third career direction and was pursuing her degree in a program designed for summer attendance. Her full-time job at the time was with Chadron State Teachers College (Phillips, 1964).

This is not to say that Kathryn Sisson McLean was not concerned with institutional prestige. Indeed, great personal and financial sacrifices were made for what she saw as her only real choice for graduate work, “because Teachers College was the pioneer in the field of education for women. Second best didn’t interest me” (Phillips, 1964, p. 66). But because she saw advanced degrees in the study of education (as opposed to advanced degrees in the study of an academic discipline) as of the best use in the work of deaning, her definition of an excellent institution varied from what might have been concluded at earlier conferences.

Another category of members missing from earlier conferences of deans was that of deans of girls. That the NADW served a constituency beyond higher education was reinforced officially in 1918 when a dean of girls, Janet M. Purdue of New Haven High School, presented “Deaning in the Public High School” on the official program (Fourth National Conference, 1918, p. 2). The high school deans would form one of four sectionals when the NADW reorganized in 1922. This breadth of membership ensured that, for the rest of its existence, the NADW would have a broader
mission focus. Whereas the earlier conferences of deans of women were concerned with the higher education of women and sometimes simply higher education, the NADW would champion the broader education of women and girls.

Another new group of people appeared at the NADW conferences of deans of women that was until then not a part of the conferences. Although they were not members, men were present as speakers from the very first NADW meeting. The inclusion of men as experts was a huge departure from the tone and composition of the earlier conferences. To that point, the only appearance of men had been as part of the ritual of hospitality, with the presidents of the University of Chicago and Northwestern University hosting dinners or escorting the women guests to their campus meeting rooms. The role of men in the early NADW conferences will be explored further under the Services and Publications variable.

Despite all the new faces, there were some deans of women involved who had been active in one of the earlier conferences of deans of women. Gertrude Shorb Martin spoke at the 1916 inaugural meeting, albeit in her new role as Executive Secretary of Collegiate Alumnae of Ithaca, NY (National Education Association, 1916, p. 95). Florence Fitch of Oberlin, who had been at the 1914 and 1917 meetings with the ACA, presented at the Third National Conference as the chairman of the Committee on Social Standards (Third National Conference, 1918, p. 4). Mary Bidwell Breed and Marion Talbot, both members of the very first 1903 conference, were invited to give addresses of welcome to open the fourth and fifth conferences, respectively. The conferences were being held in their home cities and they had invited the group to their campuses for social activities (Fifth National Conference of Deans of Women Meeting, 1919; Fourth National Conference, 1918). Although few of the major leaders of the early NADW had attended the earlier conferences of deans of women meetings, some of the earlier conference attendees did appear as presenters and committee members on NADW programs.

Organizational Structure

Immediately after the addresses and discussions of the first conference, the group voted to become an association and elected officers. The initial officer positions were president, vice-
president, and secretary-treasurer (Second National Convention, 1917). In 1918 there was also an assistant secretary, and in 1919 the secretary and treasurer positions were separated (Fifth National Conference of Deans of Women Meeting, 1919; Fourth National Conference, 1918). By December of 1921 the NADW letterhead included the executive officers and the chairmen of four sections (Kerr & Alvord, 1921). So, in the span of about 5 years, the NADW developed a full executive board, as compared to early conferences of deans of women, which over the course of fifteen years used only a chairman and a secretary.

Like earlier conferences, the NADW used committees to get work done. Committees represented on programs and minutes from 1918 to 1922 included both committees to focus on student issues and internal functional committees. Those concerned with student issues were the Committee on Social Standards and the Committee on the Foundation of Health. Those that dealt with the business of the organization were the Nominating Committee, the Constitution Committee and the Committee on Revision of the Constitution, the Committee on Resolutions, the Press/Publicity Committee, the Committee on Publications, the Committee on Relations to Other Organizations later the Committee on Standing Relations, the Committee on Auditing, and the Committee on Relationship to State Organizations of Deans of Women. A constitution codifying organizational identity and structure was adopted at the February 1918 conference (Phillips, Kerr, & Wells, 1926).

The Committee on Relationship to State Organizations of Deans of Women indicated that other groups of deans of women were organizing in this period on the state level. The NADW archival materials include the program for the first meeting of the Illinois group on April 22, 1921. Three women on the program (Ruby E. C. Mason of the University of Illinois, Mary Ross Potter of Northwestern University, and Grace A. Stayt of Knox College) had been in attendance at pre-NADW conferences of deans of women (First Annual Meeting, 1921). And, as early as 1918, there was reference in the business meeting minutes to a conference of deans of women from the Pacific Northwest (Lytton, 1918).
At the July 1918 business meeting, a motion was made and carried that “a Press Committee be appointed by the chair that more careful consideration may be given to those reports from the conference which should be given publication” (Lytton, 1918, p. 1). It is not clear whether they had a bad experience with past publication or if they just wished to have more exposure. Whatever the case may have been, the chairman of the committee, Mina Kerr, submitted her report the next February stating that they had prepared a report of the Pittsburgh meeting, which was published in the Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae and the School Journal. In December a preliminary notice of the February meeting was sent to sixteen educational publications in different parts of the country. Last week a full announcement of the subjects and speakers on the program of the conference was forwarded to the four largest Chicago newspapers for publication in their Sunday issue (Kerr, 1919, p. 1).

The NADW did employ a Committee on Resolutions, but this was apparently used in a way different from the use of resolutions among earlier conferences of deans of women. No list of commonly-agreed upon statements or resolutions about crucial issues in deanng appears in any of the early records of the NADW. This is perhaps not surprising, since the large attendance and diversity of duties would make the task of consensus more difficult than with earlier groups. One set of resolutions does appear to have been generated by the July 1918 meeting. However, they are purely ceremonial, thanking various speakers and hostesses for graciousness and hospitality (Carpenter & Lytton, 1918). There was one instance on record of a resolution being used in a way similar to the older conferences. At the 1921 annual meeting, the Committee on the Foundation of Health, led by Agnes Wells of Indiana, proposed a statement of belief about the support of health education and hygiene for all students. The NADW accepted the report of the committee, “the resolution to be sent to all deans and presidents” (Alvord, 1921, p. 4).

Without resolutions as statements of collective opinion about practices, how did the NADW effect change when they returned to their campuses? Although printed resolutions were not used in
the way they were for earlier conferences of deans of women, some record of the proceedings might still have been shared with presidents and trustees. Also, by 1925, the NADW proposed funding for a “Committee in charge of the Movement to induce school authorities to employ deans, and advisers” (Prospectus, 1925, p. 3). The proposal totaled $2850 and included line items for stationary, postage, stenographic help, printing of leaflets, field representatives and travel expenses. There would be no mere hoping that information and a sense of competition would change minds. The NADW would take the direct route.

Fiscal Policies

That the NADW designated an individual to monitor finances upon its founding and established an audit committee soon after is an indication that the NADW founders had a more formal, organized view of its fiscal situation than earlier conferences of deans of women. Indeed, there is no record of a treasurer or dues for earlier conferences. Dues for the NADW were one dollar per year (McLean & Blitz, 1919, January 25). In February 1920, the deans at the business meeting voted to pay the portion of travel expenses not covered by home institutions for the president and the secretary, and authorized the president to appoint a committee to determine the future proportion of coverage (Blitz, 1920). Detailed expense reports can be found in the NADW archives beginning with Katharine Sprague Alvord’s Report of the Secretary for 1920-21 and continuing through the period and beyond.

Services and Publications

As with all the conferences of deans of women, the primary services and publications were the meetings and any printed record of those meetings. Some examples of printed records were given in the section on public relations. A quarterly bulletin would not be established until 1926 (Phillips, Kerr, & Wells, 1926). Although the NADW did eventually publish a regular journal, the first issue did not appear until 1938.

The conference meetings employed a two-day program of presentations and time for discussion. The NADW conferences appear to have relied more heavily on presentation time, which is logistically consistent given that attendance at these events was in the hundreds. It was not until
1920 in Cleveland that they “met for the first time in informal groups for the discussion of the particular problems relating to . . . deans” (Phillips, Kerr, & Wells, 1926, p. 21). Until 1921, two conferences per year were held, in February and July, rotating cities with the location of the NEA general and Department of Superintendence meetings.

Some of the topics were enduring, having been considered by earlier deans of women and still considered today: social conduct, life in the hall (residence life), student government, physical training and health, self-supporting students, and the adjustment of freshmen. As with the other conferences of deans, vocational issues and services were prominent and popular topics in the nineteen-teens. But three things in particular stand out as qualitatively different about the NADW meetings, and suggest dissimilar purposes and perspectives about the nature of the meetings: first, the use of outside experts who were not deans of women; second, that many of the speakers were men; and third, that there were many topics and twists on topics that were not present in the other conferences of deans of women before or during the time of the NADW.

First, unlike any other conference of deans, Kathryn Sisson McLean and her fellow planners turned to experts outside of their circle of deans for advice, counsel, and guidance. The initial 1916 meeting was actually primarily composed of deans of women as speakers, with the exception of a president who spoke on expectations of deans of women and Gertrude Shorb Martin, who by then was no longer a dean. But after the first conference, all other conferences of the period employed outside speakers as a substantial portion or the majority of the program. Presenters came from a collegiate bureau, the Women’s Educational and Industrial Union, the Russell Sage Foundation, the University Settlement of Chicago, the YWCA, the American Council on Education, the Bureau of Education, the Federal Board for Vocational Education, and the Commissioner of Elementary Education in California, among others. An architect spoke about the construction of dormitories. They had an opportunity to hear an address on citizenship by renowned suffrage leader Carrie Chapman Catt in 1920. And at least three of the faculty members of the new graduate program at Columbia Teachers College addressed the NADW.
Earlier conferences of deans had never used outside speakers to that extent, if at all. The State Universities conference had regularly invited representatives from the National Panhellenic Conference, but the nature of the relationship was clearly that of the sorority women deferring to the deans. They had also once invited a collegiate bureau director for a discussion of common problems, with the director appealing to the deans for help in her work. But never had such a broad range of professionals been brought in for the illumination and edification of the deans of women.

Perhaps it is not surprising that Kathryn Sisson McLean and her colleagues set up a model of seeking answers from experts as much or more than from each other. After all, they originated the association while students at Teacher’s College. The NADW was their second creation for deans of women, the first being instigation of the establishment of the first academic program for deans of women.

The second significant departure from the model previously established by the other conferences of deans of women was the presence of men and their use as experts on the education of women. On one level they were invited to instruct the women, but on another level they were included to attract “presidents and deans of our colleges [to] the meeting and give them a place on the program” (Phillips, Kerr, & Wells, 1926, p. 20). A report of the meeting in another educational journal described the scene:

While a few men whose deans were present at the meeting were permitted to speak, the women themselves did most of the talking. They adopted a form of organization . . . and in other ways covered themselves in a very manly and administrative way!” (as cited in Phillips, Kerr, & Wells, p. 20)

The first instance was the use of a president to talk about expectations of deans of women. Since many of the earliest deans of women were pioneer deans of women at their institutions and were told to use their best judgment to design the position, a session on expectations from a president would have been fairly unthinkable in 1903. Also, the earlier conferences took their leverage from a unified voice of expertise of women to change political decisions among men. The use of men in their conferences would have tipped this careful balance of power.
Another man who addressed the NADW was Paul Monroe, faculty member at Teacher’s College, who spoke on “What Constitutes Training for a Dean of Women?” Other men represented governmental agencies and other national organizations. The college and university presidents and their topics will be described in the next section. Although they were by no means the majority of speakers, the sprinkling of men throughout the programs is notable. Only the REA-affiliated deans of women presented to and with men, and that was limited to the larger REA convention and not the deans’ meeting itself. After the entire history of conferences of deans of women entailed women speaking and presenting to other women, the NADW inclusion of men was an abrupt change in the pattern. One can only wonder if the deans of women, particularly those who had been active in the earlier conferences and the ACA, noted or had opinions about the change in practice.

A third difference in the conferences was the nature and range of topics. There were topics reflective of the era, such as Carrie Chapman Catt’s opinions about the impact of women’s new voting rights. A speaker from the Bureau of Scientific Temperance Investigation emphasized the health benefits of temperance and presented “charts showing a decrease in the death rate from alcoholism since the amendment has been in effect” (Alvord, 1921, p. 1). The NADW expressed support for the efforts of the U.S. Food Administration and its work to better the world’s food supply (McLean & Lytton, 1918) and received in return a letter of thanks from future-president Herbert Hoover (Hoover, 1918, March 6). By 1919 they were listening to thoughts on “Reconstruction and Re-Education of Wounded Soldiers and Industrial and Economic Adjustment of Women Following the War” (Fifth National Conference of Deans of Women Meeting, 1919). Earlier groups had bemoaned modern dancing and a loss of seriousness among women students, but NADW speakers saw a broader threat, and spoke on “Conservation of Our Young Womanhood” (National Education Association, 1916) and “The Cooperation Between School and College in Character Formation” (Third National Conference, 1918). Not all the concern for women students was for their choices in behavior; a dean needed to have “clearness of vision and steadfastness of faith to help college women who are bearing so bravely their share of heartache,
uncertainty, and trial of faith” (Conference of Deans, 1919, p. 33). Vocational topics were many. Administrative topics included a discussion on “Record Forms to Secure Efficiency in Administration” (Second National Convention, 1917) and “The Scoring of Rooms in Residence Halls” (Fifth National Conference of Deans of Women Meeting, 1919).

Notably missing were the topics of scholarship and sororities. Academic achievement, study skills, and brain work were absent from titles, and curriculum appeared only in reference to vocational education and training. Anne Dudley Blitz led a discussion in 1918 on student honor (Third National Conference, 1918). But otherwise an emphasis on the academic mission of the work was present only in a noted objection. In a discussion during the Fourth National Conference (1918) a discussion leader had emphasized the importance of women students taking over campus duties as part of the war effort, doing Red Cross work such as dining room service, gardening, and canning. This was seen as essential to a “mobilization of mind, heart, and will power” (p. 33) and was to be encouraged. Gertrude Shorb Martin, former dean of women and active participant in earlier conferences and the ACA, objected and “urged that deans should not permit time and energy to be consumed in comparatively unimportant details to the neglect of the greater opportunities for the advancement of women” (p. 33). Discussions of sororities and Greek life were completely absent from the records.

Despite the difference in form, content, and even delivery, the ultimate goals of gathering together were likely still the same as earlier conferences of deans and even today. President of NADW Mina Kerr opened the Eighth Annual Meeting “by saying that the purpose of such a conference is to bring to the members of the Association new cheer, hope, courage and power to serve students” (Alvord, 1921, p. 2).

Ethical Standards

As with all the fledgling groups, there was no record of a code of professional ethics being developed. However, the young NADW hit upon a popular presentation about the professional relationship between a president and a dean of women. The first appearance of such was at the initial 1916 conference, through a presentation entitled “What a President May Rightfully Expect
from a Dean of Women” by George H. McFarland, President of the State Normal School in Valley City, North Dakota (National Education Association, 1916). The session was reprised in 1918 when the program announced a presentation of the same name by two presidents, John W. Hoffman of Ohio Wesleyan University and George S. Dick of State Normal College, Kearney, Nebraska. The two men were followed by “What a Dean May Rightly Expect from a President” by Helen M. Smith of Western Reserve University and Mary A. Whitney of the State Normal School in Emporia, Kansas (Fourth National Conference, 1918). In 1919 the president-dean pair was E. A. Birge of Wisconsin and Ruby E. C. Mason, by then at the University of Illinois (McLean & Kerr, 1919). These ongoing public conversations between presidents and deans were targeted to the issue of minimum standards for deans as expressed at the institutional level.

Affiliations

Kathryn Sisson McLean and her compatriots who organized the first NADW meeting very intentionally chose the NEA as a parent organization. They sought permission to meet with the NEA and listed in the program, “a privilege which we felt would give us the necessary educational standing” (Phillips, Kerr, & Wells, 1926, p. 18). McLean knew that an alliance with the “powerful and important National Education Association” (Phillips, 1964, p. 67) would confer immediate legitimacy on the deans, and she considered such an arrangement as having the deans “under their protective wing” (Phillips, Kerr, & Wells, 1926, p. 18). As with her choice of Teachers College, she identified what and whom she saw as the leader and quickly apprenticed herself.

A brief sketch of the history of the NEA will help to explain McLean’s perceptions. The NEA is the oldest of the organizations in this study, being founded in 1857. Historians have noted that the earliest accomplishments of the NEA were somewhat ironic, given their pre-Civil War context. The founders of the NEA united state and regional teachers’ associations into a common national organization at the very time when the national political trends were moving toward separatism and sectionalism. Although the original focus was school teachers and elementary and secondary education, administrators and faculty made up at least one fourth of the founding members and played key roles as officers of the NEA until World War I. Charles W. Eliot, Joseph
Swain, and David Starr Jordan all served as presidents of the NEA between 1900 and 1915. In the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the NEA was the forum for issues of all levels of education, including higher education (Fenner, 1945; Keck, n.d.; Wesley, 1957).

The NEA was organizationally divided into departments, each a subunit of the larger organization but having a great deal of autonomy. The Department of Higher Education was organized in 1870, but was discontinued in 1924 (Fenner, 1945). This happened because the relative numbers of higher education professionals declined as the NEA entered an intense recruitment of public school teachers without coordinate increases in higher education faculty and administrators. Additionally, the first two decades of the twentieth century saw the creation of a number of other associations focused on higher education, including the Association of American Universities (1900), the Association of American Colleges (1915), the American Association of University Professors (1916), the American Council on Education (1918), and the American Association of Junior Colleges (1920). Most who worked in education at the post-secondary level placed their primary memberships in one of these organizations, weakening the NEA Department of Higher Education (Keck, n.d.). Although the Department of Higher Education was still active in 1916 when Kathryn Sisson McLean was seeking affiliation, its state of weakened influence might explain why she did not choose it for the new deans’ association.

The Department of Superintendence was the second oldest and one of the most influential of the NEA departments. It was a charter department of the NEA, having been organized in 1865 and incorporated into the NEA at the 1870 convention in Cleveland. It existed as both a department of the NEA and a separate organization, the National Association of School Superintendents, a model that the NADW would later emulate. During the late 1800s the Department of Superintendence promoted the creation of the Federal Bureau of Education and worked to secure federal financial aid for the South. They were instrumental in securing the role of supervisors in local districts at a time when bureaucracy was increasing. A number of groups began to meet concurrently with the department at the turn of the century, and its meetings became conventions
with multiple interests. The title of the group remained Department of Superintendence until 1937, when it was changed to American Association of School Administrators (Wesley, 1957). The NADW continued to meet at the time and location of the Department of Superintendence throughout the period of this study, even when the NADW became a department of the NEA themselves in 1918 (Fenner, 1945). The two departments maintained some communication and shared some speaker resources, but were separate groups. A 1925 NADW report noted that the “holding of [the] annual meeting at the time of the N.E.A. Department of Superintendence meeting is practically the only co-operation between the two associations” (Prospectus, 1925, p. 1). Like most other conferences, affiliations were used to aid in the launching of the groups, but the deans retained group identity in activities.

A Review of the Variables

The purpose of this chapter was to explore two of the research questions. First, what characterized the organizations, specifically with regard to membership, organizational structure, public relations, fiscal policies, services and publications, ethics and standards, and affiliations? This chapter explored that in detail for each of the six early conferences of deans of women and the seventh conference that became the NADW.

The consideration of membership of each of the first six conferences revealed that the term was used, although in a less than formal sense. Members of the conferences were generally the attendees. The NADW used membership in a more formal, organizational way to indicate people who had paid dues and were on a roster of members. In all cases, issues of membership had a significant relationship to the description of the conference. Who was welcome in great measure defined the conferences, both in general description and in relation to the other conferences.

The variable of organizational structure was a little more difficult to discern from the primary sources, but ultimately revealed a relatively fluid and informal leadership and followership among the first six conferences. There were few officers, and the chairman’s role was primarily that of facilitator. Agendas were mutually agreed upon and subject to change as needs arose. Secretaries and committee members completed specific, concrete tasks, and although there were quite a number
of committees mentioned, only the resolutions committees appeared to have regularly generated tangible products. From the perspective of volume, most of the records of the conferences consist of the discussions themselves and not organizational business or association building. The exception is the conference that became the NADW, which even in its earliest years had a more traditional organizational hierarchy and business operations in place.

Public relations, here used in the general sense of interaction with non-members, was carefully considered and controlled by all of the conferences of deans of women. The first six conferences attempted to protect the proceedings by restricting non-members from access and crafting resolutions to both reveal collective opinion and, apparently, effect change on home campuses. Such a controlled view of the professional conferences might have made the dean of women appear more professional. One writer of the history of Indiana University thought that “these educators’ conventions gave the University more confidence in its Dean of Women, and, as a result, the Dean was assigned more specific duties and granted more responsibility and authority in dealing with student problems” (Rothenberger, 1942, p. 78). The NADW used an opposite strategy, opening its conventions and reaching out to include a wide variety of deans of women as well as presidents and other professionals.

There were no explicit fiscal policies for any of the first six conferences. At no time did they elect a treasurer, and they did not appear to have any financial resources as organizations. Costs incurred were covered by the women themselves, home institutions, host universities, or affiliated organizations. The NADW, especially as it matured, had dues, funds, long-term budgets, an officer responsible for managing money, and even an auditing process in place from its earliest years.

Services and publications for all of the conferences consisted primarily of the benefits of their gatherings and reports of what took place at those gatherings. Although there were references to some efforts to do early research on the profession and some dissemination of individual women’s work, nothing beyond proceedings was published and distributed by the conferences themselves in this time period. Use was made of other organizations’ publications, such as the REA and ACA journals.
The variable of ethics and standards was the most difficult to apply to the conferences. None of the conferences declared a set of ethical principles or minimum standards for membership, in the modern sense of such a project. However, all of the conferences dealt with the issues of professional parameters, accepted practice, and appropriate professional preparation in one way or another. Because the ACA and SACW generated public statements of minimum qualifications for inclusion in membership, and the ACA even published recommended profiles of deans of women positions, those conferences affiliated with them inherited some degree of value judgment about the roles of deans of women and the qualifications of the women who filled them. Central to each of the conferences was the issue of defining appropriate and legitimate positions of deans of women, and the conferences wrestled with it either explicitly in discussion or implicitly by their affiliations, and by including or excluding certain institutions and women.

Finally, affiliations with other organizations played a key role in the identity of almost all of the conferences. Whether those affiliations were calculated to complement the goals of the organizers or merely provided convenient common places to meet to save travel money, affiliations colored the other variables in ways that defined the conferences.

Viewing the conferences across their variables, they were distinct but some were more alike than others. The first six conferences had the greatest differences among them in their membership and affiliations. They overtly included and excluded participants based on geography, the type of institutions they represented, and the requirements of their sponsoring organizations. Each conference had a distinct profile of membership because of who could (or who would) attend. Their affiliations also differed, ranging from the wholly independent State Universities conference to the conference that met regularly in conjunction with the ACA and shared in its convention program, administrative structure, and was eventually subsumed by the organization. Others had loose ties in other degrees. An additional variance was their degree of permanence, with some never intending to exist beyond an informal gathering and others creating formal plans for the future.

Still, among the first six conferences there were many similarities. They all used the same organizational structure of a chairman and secretary with similar committees. They all displayed a
lack of structure for organizational funds, did not collect dues or other income, and set no code of professional ethics and standards. They all created and used resolutions as statements of collective professional recommendations and used those to influence trustees and presidents on their home campuses. They all provided similar meetings, comprised of discussions and sharing about core topics such as housing, self-government, social regulation, physical exercise, scholarship, and the aims of their work with women students. With the exception of some of the later ACA meetings, the groups were small enough to provide for a great deal of interaction and participation by each woman. Their memberships were different, but the boundaries were permeable. Even those with the most stringent restrictions allowed otherwise ineligible deans to attend as guests, with almost every conference making an exception at some point in its history. It was not uncommon for the same woman to be involved in some way in several conferences. Those who were prolific writers or speakers (such as Lois Mathews or Gertrude Shorb Martin), tireless organizers (such as Mary Ross Potter or Myra Beach Jordan), or influential pioneers (such as Marion Talbot or Mary Bidwell Breed) appear on various conference programs throughout the period and into the NADW era.

The last of the conferences of deans of women to form, the NADW, was recognizably different from the previous six conferences on all of the variables. It had a very open membership, extending invitations to all deans of women and even women advisers at the high school level. Membership was counted separately from attendance at meetings, and both were considerably larger than the other conferences, even at the NADW’s inception. The organizational structure was more formal and codified, with more officers and the early creation of a constitution and by-laws. Public relations was less directed at presidents and trustees and more directed at non-member deans, with active recruitment campaigns and, only later, direct lobbying of presidents and superintendents. Dues were collected and regular financial records were kept and routinely audited. Meetings were more regular and more frequent than earlier conferences, with a greater use of outside speakers, national and international topics, and the inclusion of male presenters. Although the affiliation with the NEA was more strategic than philosophical, it still provided contacts to a
different universe of experts and educational movements than any of the previous conferences. The NADW’s ties to Teachers College also linked it to specialized training for deans in ways that were not present (and did not exist as possibilities) for earlier conferences. These considerable differences provide some evidence for use in answering a second research question, what degree of continuity was there between the conferences of deans of women and the later organization, the NADW? That the organization was so qualitatively different on each of the variables suggests that such continuity was limited.

The differences are indeed striking. Still, the NADW shared with the earlier conferences the goals of expanding, supporting, and professionalizing the position of dean of women, and through it, promoting the higher education of women. The NADW members held the same kinds of jobs as the earlier deans of women, some at the same institutions. A few were the same women. They were concerned about many of the same student issues, and ultimately worked toward their goals using the power and pleasure of having good colleagues.

Finally, this chapter provided some information to address a third research question, who were the women who made up the conferences of deans of women? Through consideration of the variable of membership, the characteristics of the group were considered in this chapter. However, this approach yields only an indirect description of the attendees themselves. To better answer this research question, the next chapter will include an overview of the characteristics of the attendees, derived from sources about the individual women.
CHAPTER 6. ATTENDEES OF THE CONFERENCES OF DEANS OF WOMEN

The conferences of deans of women varied in their characteristics, and each of the six pre-NADW conferences had its own flavor. But the conferences were just organizations, and they only formed for a few days before everyone went home and they ceased to be until the next meeting. Organizations only exist if there are people to animate them, and those people provide clues to the nature of an organization. So, who were the people who made up the early conferences of deans of women? To better conceptualize the conferences of deans of women, this chapter provides a brief overview of the collective and individual sketches of the participants.

Using extant sources, a database of attendees was created. Women who appeared on post-hoc documents (attendance lists, minutes, historical accounts) were included; however, those who appeared in planning documents (as intended speakers or invitees) were not included, with the acknowledgment that planning to attend did not necessarily imply attendance. Those who were designated as guests were also not included, although many of the guests appear in the database because they were regular attendees at one of the other conferences. The resulting list included 130 people (See Appendix B). There were probably more, given that no surviving record of attendance was found for quite a number of the meetings. On the other hand, the list might be fairly comprehensive, since so many of the women attended more than one meeting and therefore the missing lists might be mostly redundant.

The data for the profiles of the attendees were collected with the goal of obtaining for each woman her full name, title and length of service of deanship, and educational degrees and years in which those degrees were conferred. Other information was collected as encountered. Over half of the profiles contained the complete minimum data, but almost all included enough information to provide some view of the participants. Some profiles include a great amount of detail, with information related to even such personal details as cause of death, political affiliation, religious denomination, and hobbies.

Given that the premise of the preceding chapter was that there were multiple conferences of deans of women, the question might arise as to why all the women are included in a single
To illustrate, a review of the women’s educational level, marital status, and political leanings by conference yields a spattering of characteristics in each of the conferences. That is to say that if you had attended the meetings of the State Universities conference, you would have met both single and married women, women with doctorates and women with bachelor’s degrees as their highest level of education, and Democrats as well as Republicans and Progressives. The same is true of the conference affiliated with the ACA. Based upon the information available, the only characteristic that seemed to differ substantially among conferences was age and (for one conference) doctoral degree attainment, which will be discussed below. All other descriptors of the group will be reviewed for the population of deans of women who attended the early conferences.

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to a description of the group of attendees, exploring professional involvement (employment and professional organizations), education (experiences in college and graduate work), and personal characteristics (circumstances of their upbringing, religion, relationships, community involvement, and leisure pursuits). The descriptions are based upon the profiles of the attendees contained in Appendix F, and sources for information about individual women can be found in Appendix G.
Characteristics of the Attendees

Professional Involvement

What positions were represented among the attendees? Two primary titles were apparent. At least seventy-one women held at the time of their attendance the title of Dean of Women (or similarly, Acting Dean of Women, Dean of the Women’s Department). Many of those women also held a faculty title, as did Grace Ella Berry, who was Dean of Women and Professor of Physics and Mathematics. Six held the title of Advisor of Women and were likely to have a position profile very similar to that of the Deans of Women.

A second common title was that of Dean, either as a single-word title or designating them as the dean for a women’s institution or the women’s college of an institution. Caroline Dow was the Dean of the National Training School and Sister Mary Margaret Henretty was Dean of Trinity College, both leaders in independent institutions. Other women were deans of women’s sub-units, such as Blanche G. Loveridge as Dean of Shepardson College of Denison University, and Helen M. Smith as Dean of Flora Stone Mather College of Western Reserve University. Although they were deans of independently-named women’s colleges, the women’s colleges were at least somewhat integrated into the larger university, and these deans’ work environments were probably very much like that of a dean of women at a coeducational college. Another 22 women held this title of dean.

The remaining titles included variants of the dean of women title (Preceptress), titles indicating residence life and housing responsibilities (Mistress of Hall and Head Warden) and faculty titles. Women with job titles indicating that they held faculty positions but no official dean role seemed to attend the meetings if their institutions had no dean of women or if their institutions currently had a vacancy in the dean of women role. Faculty ranks (both as primary title and in conjunction with other titles) ran the spectrum, from lecturer and instructor all the way through full professor and head of department.

As was deemed preferable in discussions at the conferences, many of the women held and maintained a primary academic field expertise beyond education, and continued to contribute to it
through both teaching and publication. The fields of endeavor were heavily weighted toward languages and literature and domestic science, but other fields included history, math, chemistry, archeology, obstetrics, astronomy, religion, music, art, architecture, physiology, botany, philosophy, economics, business, industrial design, and deaf education. The diversity of their publications was not surprising given their talents and interests. From children’s books to tomes based upon dissertations, their works can be found in any sizable university library network catalogue. Bertha Boody wrote *A Psychological Study of Immigrant Children at Ellis Island*; Bertha Terrill wrote *Household Management*; Martha Doan wrote *Radio-elements as Indicators, and Other Selected Topics in Inorganic Chemistry*; and Susan H. Ballou produced *De Clausulis a Flavio Vopisco Syracusio: Scriptore Historiae Augustae Adhibitis* (a translation from the Latin texts detailing the biographies of Roman emperors).

Eleanor Lord penned her very readable and entertaining autobiography, *Stars Over the Schoolhouse: Evolution of a College Dean*, in 1938. Marion Talbot’s autobiography, *More Than Lore*, reflected her more private nature and focused mostly on her professional life. Quite a few women wrote histories of their institutions or organizations, such as Lucinda de Leftwich Templin’s *Reminiscences of Lindenwood College* and Mary Isabel Park’s spectacular *Dreams and Visions: An Historical Pageant*, written to celebrate Heidelberg College’s seventy-fifth anniversary, published in 2500 copies and performed for 5000 alumni and visitors. Of course, they also wrote using their educational expertise, as in Marion Talbot’s *The Education of Women*, Irma Voigt’s *Deans at Work*, and Lois Mathews’ classic book *The Dean of Women*.

One reason why the names of these women are still found on their campuses is the amazing lengths of service they gave to their institutions. At least 48 of the women gave 15 or more years of their lives to a college or university they represented at a conference. Eugénie Galloo was a professor and head of the romance languages department at the University of Kansas for a whopping 49 years, ceasing her involvement only at her death. Other notable tenures were those of Elizabeth Hamilton of Miami University (40 years), Irma Voigt of Ohio University (36 years), Jobelle Holcombe of the University of Arkansas (35 years), Margaret Evans of Carleton College
(34 years), Marion Talbot of the University of Chicago (33 years), and Laura Carnell of Temple University (32 years).

On the other hand, the degree of geographic mobility among the majority of the women is notable as well. In a period when automobile travel was rare, flight was still being tested by the pioneers, and the West Coast was still relatively sparsely populated, these women sought professional opportunities across the continental United States and beyond. Mary E. Lewis was born in Ohio, was educated in Massachusetts and Illinois, and worked in Indiana, South Dakota, Hawaii, and Missouri, all before she was married at the age of 37. Kathryn Newell Adams was born in Prague, Bohemia, was educated in Ohio, Massachusetts, New York, and England, and worked in North Dakota, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Missouri, and Hawaii. She also served as a trustee to the American College for Girls in Turkey. Among those who remained in the contiguous United States, there was a surprising degree of mobility between regions of the United States, public and private colleges and universities, and even secondary and post-secondary levels.

Whether by longevity or achievement, many of the deans of women were appreciated and recognized by their colleagues and students. Many of them were awarded honorary degrees (see Appendix H), sometimes as the first, only, or among a few women so honored. A tour of residence halls in 2004 could include those named Evans, Smith, Goodbody, Fulton, Munro, Harris, Erickson, or any of a number of others. A visit might also reveal the Barkley Memorial Center for communication disorders or the Anna Adams Piutti Health Center. One might find financial aid in the names of the women, such as the Grace Fuller Scholarship for students studying early childhood education or the Laura H. Carnell Professorships, awarded yearly to faculty who excel in research, scholarship, creative arts and teaching. Other gestures of gratitude were made in more personal ways, such as in retirement gifts. When Helen M Smith retired from Western Reserve University in 1941, she was given an Ainsley radio-phonograph and $100 for the purchase of records of her choice. When Mary Alma Sawyer retired from Western College for Women (now Miami University) in 1920, the commencement was dedicated to her and she was given a trip
around the world. Apparently not entirely ready to retire, she ended up stopping before making the full circuit, to work with Western students at the Ming Deh School in Nanking, China.

For a handful of attendees, the position of dean of women or dean was a stopping point on a career path to higher administrative positions. Twelve went on to become presidents of college-level institutions. Ada Louise Comstock was a celebrated president of Radcliffe College. Jane Sherzer became the president of Oxford College for Women in Oxford, Ohio, and Mary Alma Sawyer served for a time as president of another Oxford institution, Western College for Women. Laura Drake Gill presided over the Woman’s College of Sewanee, Tennessee. Cora H. Coolidge was the long-time leader of the Pennsylvania College for Women. Emilie Watts McVea left Cincinnati to become president of Sweet Briar College in Virginia. Sister Mary Margaret Henretty became the second president of Emmanuel College in Boston. Both Marion Talbot and Kathryn Adams headed up the Constantinople Woman’s College in Turkey. M. Anstice Harris was the acting president of Elmira College in 1915.

Martina C. Erickson left her dean of women position to head a secondary school, but then invested her efforts in developing the institution into a junior college. With the shift in educational level, she then became president of Monticello College. Other women went to secondary schools or vocational schools and became principals, such as Evelyn Wight Allan who became Principal of Girls’ Commercial High School of Brooklyn, New York and Lois Mathews Rosenberry who stepped in as principal of the National Cathedral School for Girls in Washington, DC.

Other women simply created their own institutions. Blanche G. Loveridge founded and led the Elizabeth Mather College of Liberal, Fine, and Practical Arts in Atlanta, Georgia, and named it after her mother. She proclaimed it to be the “first private vocational coll[ege] in [the] South” (Howes, 1981, p. 540). Martha C. Weaver was the principal and owner of the Martha Weaver School in Los Angeles. Antoinette Bigelow founded a country school in Kentucky. The YWCA put Abby Shaw Mayhew’s organizational skills to good use in Asia, when she worked on its behalf to establish the Physical Training School for Chinese Women. Margaret Stratton, who had already contributed a long and fruitful career by the time she attended the 1903 conference of deans of
women, had already done her organizing when, in her early twenties immediately after the Civil War, she went South and “established and conducted schools for colored students, Florida and Virginia, 1866-76” (Leonard, 1914, p. 790).

The deans of women made numerous professional contributions beyond their home campuses. They belonged to many organizations and quite often took pioneering and leadership roles. Almost all belonged to the ACA at some point in their careers. As previously explained, Marion Talbot was a founder. ACA national presidents that can be counted among the deans are Martha Foote Crowe, Marion Talbot, Laura Drake Gill, Caroline L. Humphrey, Lois Kimball Mathews Rosenberry, and Ada Comstock. Others headed ACA committees and filled offices, such as Katherine Alvord, Eleanor Lord, Emilie Watts McVea, F. Louise Nardin, Loueen Pattee, Mina Kerr, and Louisa H. Richardson. Richardson also received the organization’s European Fellowship (the first to do so, in 1890), as did Fanny Cook Gates, Susan Helen Ballou, and Florence Mary Fitch. Many others were officers or members of city and regional chapters of the ACA and, later, AAUW.

Quite a few of the women were active in the YWCA. Caroline B. Dow and Abby Shaw Mayhew both worked in professional roles for the organization. Lois Carter Mathews (then Rosenberry) served as a board member and chairman. Many others contributed as local and state officers and members, such as Florence M. Fitch, Mina Kerr, Ella McCaleb, Mary I. Park, Winifred J. Robinson, Kathryn N. Adams, Martha C. Weaver, Irma Voigt, Grace Berry, Cora H. Coolidge, Kathryn Sisson McLean, Mary E. Lewis, and Mary Alma Sawyer.

Margaret Evans counted as part of her legacy the fact that she was the first woman member, and for one year the only woman member, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. She was also appointed by the Governor to the Minnesota Library Commission in 1899 and later served as its chairman.

Others contributed to their disciplines or fields. Violet DeLille Jayne was the vice president of the Modern Language Association in 1900-1901, Eugénie Galloo was the first president of the Kansas Modern Language Association, and members of the MLA included Marthe Foote Crow,
Jane B. Sherzer, Jobelle Holcombe, and Alberta L. Corbin. Florence M. Fitch served as the president of the National Association of Biblical Instruction and was active in the National Association of Teachers of Religion and the American Schools of Oriental Research. Laura Drake Gill served as a sectional president of the NEA, heading the Department of Women’s Organizations. Isabel Maddison was a member of both the American Mathematical Society and London Mathematical Society. Clara Marshall was one of the earliest women physicians, becoming the first woman appointed to the staff of the Philadelphia Hospital, and creating a teaching hospital to serve both the community and the Woman’s Medical College of Pennsylvania (now the Medical College of Pennsylvania.) There are many, many other examples of these women contributing their energies to national and local professional organizations and institutions.

*Education*

What sort of educational preparation did these women have for their positions? Overall, the education of this group of women is very impressive. They held many degrees, from prestigious institutions in the United States and abroad, and many were the first or among the first women to compete with men in their institutions or subjects.

At least 37 women, or over one-fourth, held earned doctorates. Clara Marshall, MD in 1875, obtained the earliest of these and Martha Foote Crow earned the earliest PhD in 1885 (see Appendix H). Another 39 held earned master’s degrees as their terminal degrees. In total, 76 women, well over half of the list, held advanced degrees. Many of their dissertation and thesis titles can be found in *Dissertation Abstracts International* and as published monographs in library network catalogs. A sampling of doctoral theses is as follows: *The Hebrew Sense of Sin in the Pre-Exilic Period* by Caroline Breyfogle (1912); *The Invasion of Ireland* by Edward Bruce by Caroline Colvin (1901); *A Taxonomic Study of the Pteridophyta of the Hawaiian Islands* by Winifred J. Robinson (1914); and *The Dependence of Focal Points upon Curvature for Problems of the Calculus of Variations in Space* by Marion B. White (1910). Master’s thesis titles also spanned a range of topics, as evidenced by Anna Klingenhagen’s (1910) *The Diplomatic Career of James Monroe*, and Bertha Terrill’s (1908) *A Study of Household Expenditures*. Some of the deans of

Some achievements were landmarks even though they did not translate to degrees. Isabel Maddison passed the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos exam, first class, in 1892 but was not allowed a degree because she was a woman. She also sat for (and passed) the Oxford mathematical final exams. She was the first woman to do so and no other woman would again until 1923. Lois Mathews was the first woman to pass the Harvard examinations for the PhD in history, economics, and political science, but was eligible only for the Radcliffe degree.

Women with doctorates were present in all the conferences except for the conference of deans of women at private institutions. Of the dozen women who gathered in 1909 for that one meeting, none held earned doctorates, although four would eventually be bestowed with honorary doctorates.

A bachelor’s degree seems to have been a minimum requirement for employment in almost all cases. Some of the deans of women first earned a teachers college diploma, but almost all later earned a bachelor of arts or science. Two exceptions to the minimum educational level were found in Elizabeth Thompson of the University of Akron and Lucile Dora of the University of Oklahoma. Thompson’s educational preparation is unclear, but it appears that she was a highly respected high school teacher in the 1880s and was hired by Buchtel College. The college later became the University of Akron, which recognized her scholarship by awarding her an honorary master’s degree. Dora also came by her dean of women position via a built expertise in teaching in the central high school, and was employed for many years by the University of Oklahoma.

The alma maters of the deans of women reflect some of the earliest institutions of higher education open to women. Bachelor’s degrees were earned at a variety of places, but several institutions were listed more often than others. Well-represented are the University of Michigan (11), Wellesley College (9), Smith College (7), Vassar College (7), Mount Holyoke College (6),
Radcliffe College (6), the University of Minnesota (5), and the University of Chicago (5). Less common alma maters were McKendree College, Earlham College, Western Reserve University, and Trinity College of Dublin, Ireland.

Some of the deans of women must have known each other from their college days, given their proximity of graduation dates. For example, the Class of 1893 at the University of Michigan included deans Alvord, Jordan, Sherzer, and White, and within two graduating years before that, Stayt and Galloo. Florence M. Fitch and Kathryn N. Adams were only a year apart at Oberlin, as were Gertrude Phillips and Loueen Pattee at Grinnell. Fanny Cook Gates and Mary Ross Potter were only two years apart at Northwestern.

Margaret Evans earned the earliest bachelor’s degree in 1869 at Lawrence College. Although she was not a Methodist (and Lawrence was a Methodist institution) she chose Lawrence because she found it to be the only college in the whole West that would allow a young woman to study Greek. The early dates of graduation among this group place many of them in the first generation of women to graduate from college in the US (Gordon, 1990; Solomon, 1985). The most recent bachelor’s degree found was earned by Lucinda de Leftwich Templin, who took simultaneous AB and SB degrees at the University of Missouri in 1914.

As a group, they appear to have been very good students. A 1914 directory of members of Phi Beta Kappa included 46 women from the list, including undergraduate, alumnae, and some honorary members (Phi Beta Kappa, 1941). Five women were members of Mortar Board. Four women held ACA fellowships (named above) and a number of other fellowships and awards appear in their profiles. Mary Bidwell Breed held a Bryn Mawr European Fellowship, Gertrude Shorb Martin had a fellowship in economics from Cornell, and Fanny Cook Gates had multiple fellowships in mathematics. Mina Kerr had both scholarship and fellowship honors at the University of Pennsylvania during her doctoral work, and Lida Shaw King had a Bryn Mawr fellowship to the American College in Greece. Eleanor L. Lord, Mary I. Park, and Irma Voigt each had fellowships while working on PhDs. Henrietta Meeteer was the Frances Sergeant Pepper
Fellow in Classical Languages at the University of Pennsylvania. Anna A. Piutti was valedictorian of her class at Wells.

With or without fellowships, many of the deans of women studied abroad at some point in their education. At least 30 women spent some time at a non-U.S. institution, and more than one woman spent time at Newnham College at Cambridge University, Oxford University, and at the universities in Leipzig, Zurich, Paris, Berlin, Heidelberg, Jena, and Gottingen. Ruby E. C. Mason did all of her educational work in Canada, and Mabel R. Loomis studied in France at La Sorbonne and Ecole Normale Superieuer. Mary Ross Potter studied at the American School for Classical Study in Rome, Italy, and the University of Geneva. Mina Kerr studied at the London School of Economics. And before Mary I. Park spent much of her adult life at Heidelberg in Ohio, she attended London University and the University of Perugia, Italy.

A number of deans continued their educations during the summers. Programs for summer sessions were popular offerings of Columbia Teachers College, the University of Chicago, Cornell, Harvard, Northwestern, Chautauqua, and Woods Hole. At least 35 women studied at colleges and universities other than their alma maters.

A final topic in the education of the deans of women is less academic in nature but has everything to do with collegiate experience. At least 23 women were members of Greek letter organizations, mostly social sororities, some honor societies. Although that is not a large number, those who were involved were very involved. For example, the history of Alpha Phi, a national social sorority, is dotted with names from the conferences of deans of women. Martha Foote Crow was not only a founder, but among the Original Ten was one of the most active in the organization throughout her life. She gave her engagement ring as the starting kernel of the Alpha Phi Martha Foote Crow foundation for scholarships. Cora Stranahan Woodward was an early Alpha Phi president, and as a visiting delegate traveled to organize new chapters all over the country. After she left the deanship at Wisconsin because of health reasons, she lived in the chapter house at Stanford to mentor young women there. No fewer than five Alpha Phis appear on the conference attendee list. Indeed, it seems that almost all of the deans of women at Northwestern University in the early
years of that position were Alpha Phis. Another sorority much influenced by deans of women was Chi Omega. One of its founders was Jobelle Holcombe, later a long-time dean of women at the University of Oklahoma. Several of the women were active in the early history National Panhellenic Conference (National Panhellenic Conference, 2000).

**Personal Characteristics**

Joyce Antler (1992) in her biography of Lucy Sprague (later Mitchell) argued that traditional biographical methods (usually using male subjects) have tended to regard materials about private lives as irrelevant. Sources illuminating personal characteristics, choices, and stories are likely to be rich sources for the goal of understanding historical figures of any sex, but may be especially useful for fully grasping the life experiences of economically independent career women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although the passage of time and the tendency for personal information to be less documented present challenges to learning about this aspect of the early deans of women, some generalizations can be made from the data collected.

Birth years were located for 78 women. The earliest birth year among the deans of women was 1842, the year that Margaret Evans was born. Only three women were born in the 1840s (Evans, Margaret Stratton, and Clara Marshall). Evans and Stratton attended only the initial 1903 Midwest conference meeting, but Marshall was at Bryn Mawr in 1914 with the ACA. The latest birth year found was 1887 and it belonged to Mary Catherine Graham. She attended only the 1913 state universities meeting. She would have only been 16 years old for the 1903 meeting. Most of the deans of women were born in the 1860s and 1870s.

The majority of the women were born in the East and Middle West. Massachusetts roots ran deep in Eleanor L. Lord, Caroline S. Davies, Lida Shaw King, Anna Klingenhagen, Grace Berry, and Cora H. Coolidge, and there is a long list of New Yorkers. Of the Midwesterners, Lois Mathews and Carrie DeNise were Iowa-born, Martha Doan was a child of Indiana Quakers, and at least 11 women were of Ohio stock (Jane Sherzer, Edith Denise, Helen M Smith, Martha Jackson Kyle, Katharine Sprague Alvord, Mary Donovan, Elizabeth Hamilton, Mary C. Graham, Winona Hughes, Caroline Breyfogle, and Mary E. Lewis).
Some were Southerners, such as Jobelle Holcombe of Arkansas. Sarah de Maupassant Plaisance was from New Orleans, having spoken French before she learned English. Emilie Watts McVea, daughter of a Louisiana judge, said

I am a southern woman, born almost as far south as one could be born without going off into the Gulf entirely; and reared wholly in the south, but having found a place and opportunity for work, and for work of thorough interest, in this City of Cincinnati. (McVea, 1910. p. 3)

Six years later she would find other work farther south, as a college president in Virginia.

The far west is not well represented in the childhoods of these women, and was still sparsely populated during the birth years of this group. When Margaret Evans was born, there were only 26 states, and California was not one of them. By the time Mary Catherine Graham arrived, there were 38 states, but the U.S. had not yet admitted the Dakotas, Montana, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, Oklahoma, New Mexico, or Arizona.

A few women were born and grew up outside the United States. Marion Talbot was born in Switzerland while her parents were on an extended European tour. Mary L. Benton was born in B’hamdun, Mt. Lebanon, Syria, and Mary I. Park in Monterrey, Mexico, and several others to missionary parents. Isabel Maddison was a Briton, Eugénie Galloo a Frenchwoman, and Ruby E. C. Mason a Canadian. Martina C. Erickson emigrated from Norway.

Generally, college women who came of age in the late nineteenth century came from upper middle class or middle class families. Parents in the wealthiest families would have seen higher education as not quite socially acceptable for daughters, and most poor families would have neither the means for nor the inclination toward college for female children (Solomon, 1985). The deans of women of the conferences for whom we have family information mostly fit this profile. A look at paternal employment gives us some clues as to the women’s upbringings. At least 9 had fathers who were clergymen (Florence M. Fitch, Martha Foote Crow, Caroline C. Davies, Helen M. Smith, Ruth Loomis, Mary W. Newberry, Louisa Cheever, Susan M. Moore, and Florence Purington). Marion Talbot’s father was dean of the Boston University School of Medicine, L. May Pitkin
Wallace’s father was in retail glassware and served on Beloit’s board of trustees, and Ada Comstock’s father was a congressman. Alice Young’s father, John Young, was the first president of Butler University. Clara Marshall had prominent Pennsylvania Quakers on both sides of her family. She grew up on her maternal grandfather’s estate in Chester County, near the center of an intellectual and medical community. It was with her grandfather’s financial support that she entered medical school.

Not all deans’ early lives appear to have been comfortable. Margaret Evans was “one of 10 children of a merchant tailor whose family had migrated from Wales to Minnesota, via Utica, New York, [and she] began her teaching career in a country school in Winona County when she was only 14 years old” (Headly & Jarchow, 1966, p. 137). Winifred J. Robinson was born two months after her father’s death, and was raised in Battle Creek, Michigan in the home of her grandmother and an aunt on a very small income (Monroe, 1986). Louise Goodbody also came from modest means, in her home in Gainsville, New York. She was able to work as a nanny for a family friend from her hometown, David Starr Jordan. She followed the Jordan family to Stanford during Jordan’s presidency, and then took on additional work for the vice president, Joseph Swain. She then followed Swain to Indiana when he took the presidency there. As such, she worked her way through college in the homes of presidents, working four hours each day and taking classes along the way, ultimately getting her bachelor’s degree at Indiana in 1894 at the age of 26. When she died, the Bloomington Women’s League started a memorial fund in her name to support women students of limited means (Rothenberger, 1942).

Fathers and their employment certainly set a tone for the women’s childhoods, but mothers of the deans were active and influential as well. L. May Pitkin Wallace’s mother, Lillie Pitkin, was the first elected woman official in Oak Park, Illinois. As previously related, Marion Talbot’s mother was an organizer of the ACA, encouraging the group to convene even though she was not a college graduate herself. She was very interested in the area of eugenics and personally consulted with Charles Darwin (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931). Susan Maxwell Moore was raised by a mother whose educational activism was well known in West Virginia. Elizabeth I. Moore and her husband
ran the Woodburn Female Academy, and Mrs. Moore is credited with saving the seminary from sure destruction by plying confederate soldiers with bread, butter, and coffee. She spoke and wrote about the inequities of West Virginia higher education, calling for a change of conditions when education was “given by the State so generously to her sons, while denying to her daughters even the crumbs that fell from the table” (Waugh & Stitzel, 1990, ¶7). The Moore Hall at West Virginia University today is named for the senior Moore woman.

The religious persuasions, beliefs, and heritages of a group of historical professionals are not easy to divine, but there are some records that allow for some description. Affiliations with religious institutions and some activities provide clues, as do obituaries and autobiographies. The characteristic of religion among this group was also illuminated by the fortunate choice of editors of who’s who directories to include in their questionnaires a query about religion or church. Affiliations with the Religious Education Association were discussed in the previous chapter.

Of the 49 women for which religious information was collected, the vast majority declared some form of protestant Christian denomination. Most often listed were Congregational affiliations, followed by Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopalian, and Baptist. Several listed themselves as Unitarians. Three women were active members of the Friends Society, and two declared a more general Protestantism. One woman, Sister Mary Margaret Henretty of Trinity College, was a Sister of Notre Dame de Namur, of the Catholic Church. If there was any additional diversity of religious beliefs, it was either not declared or simply has yet to be discovered from additional historical records.

Some of the women were active in religious organizations. Involvement with Biblical topics as a field of study and the YWCA were treated earlier. Margaret Evans was the first and, for one year, only woman on American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Elizabeth Hamilton was the organist and later an elder of the Presbyterian Church in Oxford, Ohio. An early alumni record of Lawrence College (1915) included a tribute to May Esther Carter, saying that probably the most precious and the most lasting memories of Miss Carter are connected with the religious life of the college. Her Sunday morning prayer services in the Ormsby
parlors, her testimonies in prayer meeting and the Y.W. C.A. meetings, and her private talks with the girls about the Christ life, - who shall say how far their influence shall extend? (p. 136).

There was no indication that there was racial diversity among the deans of women. All biographical information collected suggests that the women on the list were of European descent. Lucy Diggs Slowe is generally cited as the first African American dean of women, employed by Howard University. Slowe was somewhat younger and earlier in her career than most of the conference deans of women during the period of study, having been born in 1885 and receiving her bachelor’s and master’s degrees in 1909 and 1915, respectively. Additionally, she was a leader in secondary education until 1922 (Howes, 1981, p. 1189). Once she entered higher education administration, she quickly became active in the NADW and other higher education associations, but her professional timeline was too late for participation in the conferences of deans of women, even assuming she would have been welcome.

After the preponderance of advanced degrees, the characteristic that makes this group of women so pointedly different from the profile of the general population of women at the time is that of their marital status. Nationally, “over 90% [of women] married at some point in their lives, according to census figures from 1890 to 1910” (Solomon, 1985, p. 119). Very few of the deans of women married, fewer still had children, and what stories of marriage and child raising exist are atypical for the era.

Of the 130 women, only 28 were found to have been married, or about 21%. This marriage rate is low even among college graduates of the time. Because of a fear of instilling an aversion to marriage was one of the greatest objections to higher education for women at the end of the nineteenth century, colleges and universities open to women tracked the marriage rates of their alumnae. This group of deans of women graduated primarily in the 1880s and 1890s, with a few in the early 1900s. Marriage rates for those classes of alumnae at Oberlin, Mount Holyoke, Vassar, Radcliffe, the University of Michigan, Bryn Mawr, and Wellesley range from 40.9% to 78.2%, with most rates around 50% (Solomon, 1985, p. 120). This is anywhere from two to four times the
marriage rate of the deans of women. Even ACA studies routinely reported marriage rates around 50% for women college graduates, except for one study, which found that the marriage rate for the graduating classes of 1889 to 1898 was 22.5% (Solomon, 1985, p. 120). This last statistic is indeed very much in line with the choices of the deans of women.

Of those who married, their age at marriage was high. Only six women married while still in their twenties, and four of them were widowed after a relatively short period of time, and then began their careers in earnest as single women. For those whose age at marriage is known, nine married in their thirties and Ella R. Metsker was in her 40s when she married (it was her husband’s second marriage). Ada Comstock was married at age 67, to a man who had pursued her unsuccessfully in her thirties but apparently had the patience to wait 31 years until she had finished her presidency of Radcliffe. And in the grandest marriage gesture of all, Margaret Evans eloped at the age of 72, surprising all at Carleton by stealing off with her slightly older faculty colleague, George Huntington. She telegraphed from the west coast, “Married. Happy. Going to Hawaii.” The men the deans married were mostly professional men, and disproportionately faculty members themselves. There were, however, some non-academic unions. Ella Metsker’s husband was in business and Lois Mathews Rosenberry had as her second husband the chief justice of the Wisconsin Supreme Court. Mary Sleight Everts married Charles Hull Ewing, who was in real estate and managed his aunt’s gift of a family house to a social reformer named Jane Addams.

Only 11 women were found to have had children, and, as with their marriages, they seemed to mostly have them later in life. Lilly Kollock (married name Paetow) had her son Charles when she was 39. Lucy Sprague (married name Mitchell) was the only one to have a large family, marrying at age 34 and having four children (two adopted, two biological) over the next six years. Some faced tragedy as mothers. Martha Foote Crow lost her toddler daughter Agatha and her husband John in the same year, and never remarried. Kathryn Sisson McLean lost her first child at birth. Mary Wheeler Newberry’s son Trusten only lived to be 15. Of the women for whom information about children was found, at least 16 children survived to adulthood. Although the early deans of women have thousands upon thousands of professional descendants, it appears that their
biological descendants were more limited in number. Still, most deans of women touched their immediate families as siblings or stepmothers or aunts, contributing to the next generations.

The preponderance of deans of women remained unmarried throughout their lives, and so their family stories are less transparent. However, the lack of a legally sanctioned marriage and the birth of children does not mean that their families (biological, legal, and families of choice) were any less important or interesting in learning about the lives of deans of women. Carolyn Terry Bashaw (1999) reviewed the importance of single women’s family and peer relationship ties in biography, and included a chapter on family and friendship in her biographies of four southern deans of women.

Perhaps because the data about the individual deans of women collected for this study came primarily from secondary sources, there was very little found describing the role of family beyond descriptions of marriage and children. Eleanor Lord painted a portrait of her family life as a child in her autobiography, but included only a cryptic reference to a family situation as one of the reasons for resigning her deanship in 1919 (Lord, 1938).

Given the degree of geographical mobility among the women, it seems likely that keeping in touch with family was a challenge. Some must have worked to create their own versions of families in their new surroundings, as did Louise Goodbody. She left her biological family in New York when she went to Stanford and then Indiana University following work and education as a secretary and child caregiver for presidents. At Indiana, she not only worked for President and Mrs. Bryan, but also became very close with them, especially Mrs. Bryan. Charlotte Lowe Bryan was herself well educated and worked with Louise Goodbody to benefit Indiana women students. When Goodbody died from appendicitis in 1911, she was in Indianapolis visiting the mother of her friend, Charlotte Lowe Bryan. The Bryans and Indiana University served as her family at her death, handling the details of her return to Bloomington and holding her funeral in the Student Building (Rothenberger, 1942). President Bryan was the executor of her estate. Except for a life insurance policy that she left to her father, Louise Goodbody willed all other assets to Indiana University (Bryan, 1911, March 23). She had found another family in a university.
Learning about single women’s deep friendships and romantic relationships with peers in this era is problematic. Especially given their campus roles in promoting propriety, their relationships with men must have been carefully managed and guarded. Certainly single women must have formed deep emotional bonds with other women, especially when they entered environments in which there were few women and therefore few others who would understand their challenges. Because a connection with other women with similar professional experiences was a likely force behind the conferences of deans of women, some understanding of the support roles of other women might contribute to an understanding of the early deans of women.

Categorizing such relationships as friendships or romances from the vantage point of the twenty-first century is problematic. Palmieri (1995), in her book *In Adamless Eden: The Community of Women Faculty at Wellesley*, outlined the debate among historians as to how to characterize late nineteenth century women’s relationships. She noted that in that period, romantic friendships among women (known as Boston marriages) were not uncommon and were generally socially accepted as educated spinsters choosing the intimacy and support of another woman over marriage. However, these women would not have self-identified as lesbians because the term was not yet in use. Indeed, it was not until Sigmund Freud’s theories of sexual deviance became popularized that same sex affection among women became intensely suspect. By the 1930s, a lesbian subculture had begun to develop and individual women chose to self-identify as lesbians, reflecting their own shift in awareness in response to changing societal definitions of acceptability (Palmieri, 1995). Given that most of the deans of women spent their formative and adult years in a period in which lesbian women would not have self-identified as such and heterosexual women would have felt very comfortable using highly romantic language with women friends, it would be difficult to categorize some deans of women’s relationships as analogous to those of the married women, or in the larger category of women friendships.

For the purposes of this study, which offers a general overview and abbreviated individual profiles, such categorization might not be necessary. Suffice it to say that there were likely many forms of affection among the deans of women and the women in their lives, and that future research
could illuminate them to the end of historical and professional understanding. The data for this study provided some indications of the role of women friendships. Kathryn Sisson McLean’s (Phillips, 1964) biography was written in the format of her taking a trip around the world with her friend Florence and reminiscing about her life. Evelyn Wight Allan corresponded with her college classmate Lou Henry for almost a half century. Her letters are preserved in the presidential library of Lou Henry’s husband, Herbert Hoover. According to her obituary, Helen M. Smith “lived for many years near the college . . . with a close friend, Miss Evelyn Green” (“Former Dean,” 1955, p. 1).

Outside of their jobs and their families and friends, the deans of women continued their service through organizations dedicated to improving their communities and society. Some were politically active. Edna Barkley was an alternate delegate for Nebraska to the Democratic National Convention in 1924, and Gertrude S. Martin played the same role for the Republicans from New York in 1928. Of those who declared an inclination in politics, 12 were Republicans (Cora Stranahan Woodward a Progressive Republican) and six were Democrats. Several chose to declare themselves independent, progressive, or liberal, and S. Antoinette Bigelow and Lucy Sprague were Socialists (although Sprague made sure to note that she was not a party member).

With the issue of women’s right to vote a hot topic, the editors of the 1914 Woman’s Who’s Who wondered how influential women stood on the topic. In addition to the usual biographical information, they offered women a chance to declare a position on suffrage. Of the 44 deans of women from the list who appeared in the book, 23 chose to not comment one way or the other, but none publicly opposed suffrage. Of the 21 who favored suffrage, some actively worked for its passage. Cora Stranahan Woodward was the vice president of her College Equal Suffrage League when it was first organized, and many of the deans were members. She once wrote, “I think I was born an equal suffragist, and it has always seemed to me that the burden of argument rested on the opponents of the movement” (Rogers, 1912, ¶12). Emily Watts McVea authored the monograph Equal Franchise in Ohio, and reportedly had an exchange with an anti-suffrage Cincinnatian. The woman protested, “But it will give the vote to prostitutes!” McVea replied,
“Who needs it more?” (Stohlman, 1956, p. 131). Clara Marshall gave an address at the fiftieth anniversary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1898. Alberta L. Corbin was active in the campaign for an equal suffrage amendment in Kansas in 1911 and 1912. Marion Talbot marched in full academic regalia up South Michigan Avenue in Chicago in a 1914 suffrage parade. When declaring her position in Woman’s Who’s Who, Martha Foote Crow stated that she favored woman suffrage but was careful to add in parentheses, “not militants” (Leonard, 1914, p. 219).

The constellation of organizations and clubs powered by these women is amazing. To provide a few examples, Mary E. Lewis was on the managing boards of three local philanthropies, and Lucinda de Leftwich Templin belonged to the National Committee on Care and Training of Delinquent Women and Girls, and the American Prison Association. Laura Carnell was on the Board of Managers of the Samaritan Hospital, and Lida Shaw King for the Butler Hospital for the Insane. Ada Comstock was the only woman to serve on the National Committee for Planned Parenthood in 1941. Antoinette Bigelow was the president of the Woman’s International League for Peace and Freedom. Violet DeLille Jayne was a member of the Mother’s Association of Urbana and Champaign.

A final animating detail of their interests is the way in which they used whatever spare time they had. Their hobbies and recreations might not have weighty scholarly import, but help us to understand what it might have been like to sit down and visit with these women. Many of them enjoyed gardening, reading, walking and tramping (hiking), travel, and riding in automobiles (at a time when this was still novel). A few others provided glimpses into their personalities through their personal passions. Agnes Wells liked rowing, skating, and astronomy. Eva Johnston loved to play duplicate contract bridge. Ella R. Metsker was a genealogist and published books about the branches of her family. Florence Purington was into crossword puzzles, and Blanche G. Loveridge planted and raised trees. Jobelle Holcombe had an affinity for colonial quilts. Irma Voigt liked to discover new places of beauty in nature, and Martha Foote Crow once climbed Pike’s Peak with her husband. Anne Dudley Blitz and Kathryn Sisson McLean both collected antique glass, and Blitz
also kept Persian cats and Pekinese dogs. These and other tidbits are the details that make historical figures come alive.

Many of these women had a long time on this earth for professional and personal pursuits. Judging from the women for whom both birth and death dates were found, deanery must have been agreeable enough for long life. Some women had retirements as long as their careers. In the year 1900, life expectancy for women was 48.3 years (Center for Disease Control, 2003). Of the women for whom death ages were calculated, all but one beat those odds. Louise Goodbody, previously mentioned, died of appendicitis at the age of 43. Ill health also found others, such as when Alzheimer’s forced an early retirement on Lida Shaw King, who died at a young 62. But at least 30 others lived well into their 70s, 80s, and 90s, with 9 women becoming septuagenarians. Abby Shaw Mayhew, present at the 1903 first meeting, lived to be 90. The memorable conference organizers, Marion Talbot and Kathryn Sisson McLean, lived to 90 and 91 respectively. Ella R. Metsker, Annette Gardner Munro, Winifred J. Robinson, and Ada Louise Comstock all survived to their mid-90s. M. Anstice Harris retired from Elmira College at age 72 but still enjoyed a 26-year retirement. And Susan Maxwell Moore died at the venerable age of 98, and is buried in Oak Grove Cemetery in West Virginia with her equally educationally active mother, who died at the very same age.

Summary

As a whole, the body of data is a fascinating and very useful window into the lives of the earliest deans of women and has great potential for future study. In surveying the group, the degree of accomplishment and professional activity among these women is staggering. They entered higher education as less-than-welcome pioneers twice: once as women students, and once as women who were professional administrators and scholars. They did the difficult work of making a difference in the present and breaking ground for future students and professionals and did so in a way that left well-appreciated echoes of their work. In seeking these women, it was startling to discover the number of ways that they are a faint part of the daily consciousness of many campuses. You will see their names on buildings and websites and in student handbooks, since so many of them had
residence halls and other buildings named in their honor. So many of these women are remembered in practical ways. On a daily basis, students and faculty go about their work with the support of a named scholarship or professorship, and take on her name as a part of their resumes. A search of a campus website or a discussion with students will yield the impression that these women are, in a way, still there, working for the success of students and of the institution in ways that are powerful but just under the surface. The names of the women are familiar and there is a sense that they are important, although the average student might not fully recognize or appreciate the exact contribution without some conscious consideration. In this manner, the early deans of women continue their work today in ways similar to a century ago.
CHAPTER 7. DISCUSSION

“There is little danger of exaggerating the contributions made by the deans of women themselves, largely through their conferences.” Mary Ross Potter, Report of the Committee on History of the NADW, compiled in February, 1926 (Potter, 1926, p. 1)

The motives behind this study were echoes of the impetus for the NADW committee formed over a half-century ago. History was within memory for Mary Ross Potter, but her senior colleagues had mostly retired or passed on, and the written traces of the beginnings of collective professional organizing were scattered. Surely many items had been discarded to make room for pieces of paper with more modern importance. It must have unsettled her to realize that so much had already been forgotten, and unless something was carefully saved, future generations would not know even the most basic facts about early activity. Indeed, from the vantage point of 1926, she wrote as if the time of the early deans of women had passed, and a new breed of deans had already filled their place. She could not have known what kinds of future professionals would read her work and see her as past. Perhaps it was a sense of urgency, perhaps even an awareness of a reader far in the future, that gave her the patience to painstakingly collect and sort and record the details of the early conferences of deans of women, deep in the chill and snow of a Chicago winter.

This study was undertaken with similar motives of uncovering, considering, describing, organizing, interpreting, and recording traces of the professional deans of women of a past era. To these similar motives were added the challenges of a greater chronological distance from the events and their context, and no personal knowledge of the people or the groups they formed. But the advantages of temporal perspective, a foundation in the literature, and technology must also be acknowledged. Under these circumstances, this study sought to describe the earliest collective professional activities of deans of women.

This final chapter includes a brief summary of the study and its results. Then, the research questions are revisited and conclusions drawn. A discussion of methodological and analytical issues raised in the process of research ensues. Finally, implications for further research are offered.
Summary of the Study and Conclusions

This study sought to describe the earliest collective professional activities of deans of women. Four research questions guided the study:

1. How and why were the conferences of deans of women organized?
2. What characterized the organizations?
3. What degree of continuity was there between the conferences of deans of women and the later organization, the NADW?
4. Who were the women who made up the conferences of deans of women?

The research process included careful examination and consideration of primary sources about the conferences of deans of women, and a wide collection of secondary and primary sources about the individual women who attended the conferences. It yielded a rich description of the conferences and the women who participated in them.

The results were organized into three chapters. Chapter 4 outlined all of the meetings of conferences of deans of women for which there is evidence in the NADW archives, organized them in chronological order (as they are filed in the NADW archives), and described them according to the extant documents. The first research question, the how and why of organization, was addressed in that chapter.

The first, second, and third research questions were addressed in Chapter 5. In that chapter, the meetings of the deans of women were reorganized into conferences, using the concepts of specialization and affiliation to differentiate. This yielded seven different conferences: six conferences of deans of women and the NADW. The seven conferences were then examined using the seven variables selected from the literature on the development of student affairs professional organizations. A review of each of the variables across the conferences highlighted differences and similarities among the seven conferences.

An overview of 130 attendees of the conferences of deans of women (individual profiles listed in Appendix F) comprised Chapter 6. In it, a collective description of the attendees’ professional involvement, education, and personal characteristics was provided. The profiles, and
their collective description, animated the conferences of deans of women and provided the beginning of an answer to the fourth research question about the attendees of these early professional meetings.

Research Questions and Conclusions

The first research question probed the origins of the conferences. How and why were the conferences of deans of women organized? Although there are no records of the first planning meeting, recorded recollections of the early dean of women indicate that five women discussed the first ideas for a conference of deans of women in 1902. The women were Margaret Evans, Marion Talbot, Martha Foote Crow, Myra Beach Jordan, and perhaps a fifth woman, now unknown. Their proposal generated much discussion at that year’s ACA meeting, and a call for attendance went out. It resulted in a conference of deans of women of the Middle West in Chicago on November 3 and 4, 1903. Eighteen deans of women attended the meeting.

It was the first of many similar conferences to occur over the subsequent twenty years. Successive conferences evolved, differentiated by specialization in the attendees (and, thereby, tailoring of the discussion to specific types of issues) and by affiliation with a larger group. But in each case, there is evidence to suggest that the women had similar reasons for participating in the conferences of deans of women. They were able to seek information about best practices that could be applied when they returned; they shared their own successes to support the work of women on other campuses; they gave and received sympathy and support for the hardships they faced; they made statements of collective wisdom for use in effecting change at their home institutions; and they enjoyed the company of colleagues with whom they shared so much in common. Repeatedly, they expressed the importance of building individual institutions and a profession that would improve higher education.

The second research question called for a description of these groups. What characterized the organizations? A careful analysis of the titles and contents of the records of the meetings revealed that there were multiple groups. Leaders of each conference considered it separate from the others, and indicated this by using different titles, numbering meetings, and limiting attendance to
certain groups of women. By examining the specialization of each conference (the characteristics of the membership) and the affiliation of each conference (the nature of ties to other organizations), seven different conferences were identified. Six were early conferences of deans of women: (1) Of the Middle West (differentiated by specialization), (2) In State Universities (differentiated by specialization), (3) With the Religious Education Association (differentiated by affiliation), (4) In Private Institutions (differentiated by specialization), (5) With the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (differentiated primarily by affiliation), and (6) With the Southern Association of College Women (differentiated primarily by affiliation). A seventh conference was affiliated with the National Education Association, and is better known to history as the NADW.

The characteristics of the seven conferences were then analyzed using the framework of seven organizational variables drawn from the literature. Each conference was described according to its membership, organizational structure, public relations, fiscal policies, services and publications, ethics and standards, and affiliations.

The first six conferences had the greatest differences among them in their membership and affiliations. They overtly included and excluded participants based on geography, the type of institutions they represented, and the requirements of their sponsoring organizations. Their affiliations also differed, ranging from the wholly independent to structurally embedded in a larger organization. And yet the first six conferences were also very similar. They all used the same organizational structure of a chairman and secretary with similar committees. They all lacked a structure for managing organizational funds, made no mention of collecting dues or other income, and had no apparent code of professional ethics and standards. They all created and used resolutions as statements of collective professional recommendations and used those to influence trustees and presidents on their home campuses. They all provided similar meetings, comprised of discussions and sharing about core topics. Almost all of their meetings were small enough to provide for a great deal of interaction and participation by each woman.

The seventh conference, the NADW, was recognizably different from the previous six conferences on all of the variables. It had a very open membership, extending invitations to all deans
of women and even women advisers at the high school level. Membership was counted separately from attendance at meetings, and both were considerably larger than the other conferences. The organizational structure was more formal and codified, with more officers and the early creation of a constitution and by-laws. Public relations was less directed at presidents and trustees and more directed at non-member deans. Dues were collected and regular financial records were kept and routinely audited. Meetings were more regular and more frequent than earlier conferences, with a greater use of outside speakers, national and international topics, and the inclusion of male presenters. Affiliation with the NEA yielded a broader contact with all levels of education, and the NADW had ties to the Columbia Teachers College graduate preparation program specifically designed for deans.

The third question was used to attempt to clarify the historical role of the conferences of deans of women. What degree of continuity was there between the conferences of deans of women and the later organization, the NADW? It was answered in part by the apparent differences among the six conferences and the NADW. That the NADW was so dissimilar from the earlier conferences suggests that there was a limited degree of continuity, and that while the earlier conferences were predecessors and perhaps even inspirational to the NADW, they were not the same organization. But is there more direct evidence? Looking beyond the organization records to the documents left by the NADW founder provides some clues.

Kathryn Sisson McLean is indisputably credited as the founder of the NADW. Her own writings as well as those of others all point to her as the initiator. When she wrote of the founding period, she used the pronoun we to describe herself and the other women who were taking summer courses at Teachers College (Phillips, Kerr, & Wells, 1926). In her autobiography, she identified them as “Bernice Sanford from Wisconsin, Gertrude Gardner from Nebraska, Natalie Thornton from Minnesota, and we were soon joined by Anne Dudley Blitz from William Hobart College in New York” (Phillips, 1964, p. 66). Of the five women, only Anne Dudley Blitz had ever attended a conference of deans of women, appearing on the attendance list of the 1914 ACA deans meeting at Bryn Mawr. She was a student at the time, listed in a separate category at the bottom with classmate
Jane A. Cochrane (Report, 1914). That Kathryn Sisson McLean had not attended a conference is probably due to her relatively recent entry to the profession. Her early career was in high school teaching, and she had ceased that to focus on being a wife and mother. When her husband died in 1913, she made a career change and found the dean of women position in Nebraska. She began taking summer courses at Teachers College at the end of her first year there (Phillips, 1964).

Over her long lifetime, she gave many accounts of her motivation and rationale for the founding of the NADW. Three in particular will be examined here to seek clues about her awareness of and use of the earlier conferences of deans of women in constructing the NADW. The first is a 1926 account of the history of the organization, typical of edited and published historical accounts of the NADW (Phillips, Kerr, & Wells, 1926). The second is her 1964 autobiography, *My Room in the World*, which reads as more conversational and personal in its details (Phillips, 1964). Finally, the least-edited piece is a 1963 interview with her, conducted as a part of a Columbia University oral history project. The text is a transcription of her responses, with some corrections made in her hand as she reviewed it later (Phillips, 1963). These sources suggest that she was largely unfamiliar with the established conferences of deans of women at the time of the NADW founding, and that what familiarity she did have with the conferences and their leaders was limited and inaccurate.

In the 1926 history, she wrote that “the psychology of this move was a burning desire to know better how to carry on the work which was claiming our time and attention” (Phillips, Kerr, & Wells, 1926, p. 17). She implied no outlet then existed to do that, offering that “the remarkable growth of this organization from fifty members in 1916 to 980 in 1926 testifies that there was a need for an Association of Deans of Women” (p. 17). In the beginning of the article, she did acknowledge earlier groups, saying “as we learn from Miss Potter’s report there had been an organization of Deans of Colleges and State Universities, a group meeting with the Association of Collegiate Alumnae and discussing particularly academic and curricular matters” (p. 17). She chose to credit the preceding article rather than indicate her own knowledge of the groups, and her
phrasing might suggest that perhaps she, too, was unfamiliar with the details of the early conferences of deans of women.

In her autobiography, written many years later, she recalled that “we knew there was a need for an Association of Deans of Women and we had found out that the following year the annual meeting of the powerful and important National Education Association was to be in New York” (Phillips, 1964, pp. 66-67). She made no mention at any point in the book about earlier conferences of deans of women or the ACA. Her lack of commentary about the ACA and its contributions to professional organizations or the work of deans was also observed by Schwartz (1990), who surmised that she “may have felt estranged . . . from the organization as a whole” (p. 111). He noted that the ACA did not have chapters at either of the institutions with which McLean had been associated to that point.

In her 1963 interview, she explained the circumstances under which the NADW was founded and its role in women’s education. “We really set a standard for women’s education in those days. You see, it was needed” (Phillips, 1963, p. 35). She continued, providing an inaccurate account of the ACA: “Now, the A.A.U.W. had been formed about five years before the National Association was formed” (p. 35). Of course, the ACA was founded in 1881, predating the NADW by 35 years. She continued, “Miss Ellen Blitz Talbot of the University of Chicago had asked Miss Carey of Bryn Mawr and one or two others to come together and form an educational association. That became the A.A.U.W.” (p. 35). Surely she can be forgiven the details of names given the passage of time and her age! But she went on to place the ACA in relation to her own association. “Now the A.A.U.W. in our day - 1915 - was not the strong body it is at the present time. So they fraternized with us. We were not exactly one organization, but we worked together” (pp. 36-37). In reality, the ACA was a large and very powerful organization in 1915, with thousands of members, regular national conferences, and a regular journal that had been published for decades. She is probably correct in her recollection that deans of women who had been primarily associated with the ACA conference of deans of women began to leave that organization and switch their allegiance to the NADW for their professional development. But the larger point here is that she clearly did
not see the AAUW or its deans of women as predecessors or parents (let alone original founders) of her own association. Indeed, by 1963 she expressed some disdain for the AAUW, describing a periodical that had been transferred from her association to the AAUW. “We didn’t charge for it; we gave it. Now they’re charging a dollar and a half” (p. 37).

In all, the evidence suggests that the NADW was not an extension of the earlier conferences of deans of women, and that Kathryn Sisson McLean was unaware of or uninterested in the groups of deans of women that had already been established. It seems likely that Anne Dudley Blitz shared her observations as a student guest of an ACA-affiliated conference two years earlier, and that some of her perceptions might have shaped the planning for the NADW. But nowhere do the founders of the NADW credit the conferences of deans of women as anything more than historical activity. Perhaps she was rankled by the exclusivity of the ACA or the State University conferences. Perhaps her success with instigating the first academic program made her eager to create yet another first, as a pioneer and without precedent. Or maybe her reformer spirit and fervor for “the greatest profession open to women” (Phillips, Kerr, & Wells, 1926, p. 17) simply overwhelmed any inclination to research or credit previous efforts. Whatever the motivation, we should consider the early conferences and the NADW as related but separate entities.

The conferences were not a single, progressively-mature organization that led to later national professional organizations, but rather a number of small, semi-discrete groups, varying in their degree of formality and longevity. Although they were dissimilar enough, especially in the areas of membership and affiliations, to be labeled as different conferences, they were enough alike to speak of them collectively as an early form of professional organization.

The fourth and final research question was posed to move beyond the conceptual unit of the organization to the more tangible focus of individual people. Who were the women who made up the conferences of deans of women? Brief profiles of the 130 attendees of the six conferences of deans of women provided a basis for broad generalizations about this population of deans of women. In viewing their professional involvement, they were scholars and practitioners who had a tremendous influence on their institutions. The women who comprised the conferences had career
stories that reveal the beginnings of the administration of student affairs, with some of them serving as preceptresses and informal advisors early in their careers, many of them serving as the first or second dean of women in their institutions, and almost all teaching in and contributing to a discipline other than education. Notably, few considered education their primary discipline; their specialties were diverse, including Latin, poetry, botany, history, medicine, archaeology, and nuclear physics. Their work took them all over the geographical United States, and in several cases, to institutions in Europe and Asia. They were also founders, leaders, and active members in professional activities beyond their colleges and universities, in national professional organizations, alumni groups, advocacy movements, and governmental committees.

In viewing their education, the women were remarkably well educated. Almost all held bachelor’s degrees; over one-fourth of the attendees held doctoral degrees. Many who did not earn advanced degrees nonetheless developed expertise through experience, as recognized by the many colleges and universities who awarded them honorary degrees. About one-fourth of them spent some time studying abroad, most commonly at the universities in Germany. The quality of their academic achievements also appears to have been outstanding. Over one-third were members of Phi Beta Kappa, and their list of honors includes many scholarships, fellowships, and prizes. Several were leaders even during their undergraduate education, as founders of what are today national sororities.

In viewing their personal characteristics, they led lives that were unusual for women of their time. Born primarily in the 1860s and 1870s in the East and Middle West, most were raised in middle class or professional class families. But from the circumstances of birth and childhood, they chose or were led to the relatively rare experiences of high levels of education, travel, and careers. Perhaps most notably, as a group they had a very low marriage rate, even as compared to the typical marriage rate of college-educated women of their time. Only 21% of them married. Of those, some were widowed at a young age and fashioned careers as single women, and others married in their thirties or later after establishing themselves in their careers. Only 11 women were found to have had children. They gave their talents freely to a plethora of philanthropic and civic organizations,
and contributed to causes of the day with the passion of the Progressive era. Although only 21 were
found to have publicly supported a woman’s right to vote, this study found no evidence that any of
them publicly opposed suffrage. Of those who supported suffrage, several did so very actively, with
speeches, editorials, and association work.

Considering the four questions together, a fuller picture of the deans and their professional
work appears. It is a major conclusion of this study that there was very little continuity between the
conferences of deans of women and the NADW. Indeed, the story of the history of the profession
of student affairs should treat the conferences of deans of women and the history of the NADW as
separate, overlapping chapters, with the former providing qualitatively different contributions to the
development of the profession.

A second, related conclusion is that the position of dean of women also underwent a period
of transition sometime between 1915 and 1920. The career paths of the early deans of women were
firmly rooted in scholarship and teaching as well as administration, and their expertise was
academe. With the appearance of graduate training programs in deaning and the development of the
NADW, later deans of women were urged to have an expertise in students, education in general, and
college administration. Only a few years after the conferences of deans of women disappeared, a
substantial tome that went through at least two printings described the minimum educational
requirements for a dean of women as a complete college course with special work specifically
related to deaning. Psychology, sociology, economics, or civics courses were appropriate given that
they had “special bearing upon dean’s problems” (Pierce, 1928, p. 373) and a minimum
educational preparation must have courses on the “work of deans of women, one year [and one
addressing the] present-day educational ideals and achievements” (p. 373). Even within this sample
of deans of women, those whose careers appeared later in the period of study showed more interest
and activity in scientific methods of education and social change. The connection to the faculty role
faded and disappeared, a development that would have been seen as regrettable by the early deans of
women but as a sign of scientific and professional progress by the next generation of deans of
women. Although women held the title of Dean of Women from the 1890s through the 1970s, this
study suggests that, by 1922, a significant change had occurred in the nature of the position and its expression at the regional and national level.

Finally, a third conclusion is that the careers and lives of deans of women in this period were substantive and filled with accomplishment, and that there is a great potential for continuing to bring their lives to light. This study only scratched the surface of such investigation. Their stories are not as well represented in the history of student affairs as they ought to be. Their personal struggles and professional goals were not unlike those of modern student affairs professionals. They are worth studying, both for their relevance to today’s student affairs professionals, and as a tribute to their pioneering work. It was surprising and even exciting to see that so many of their legacies are cherished by their disciplines, their sororities, and their colleges and universities. Other women had been nearly forgotten. What has been learned in this study can be used to recognize, remember, and learn from student affairs’ earliest professional ancestors.

Other Observations

In addition to the conclusions that were drawn directly from the responses to the research questions, several other observations can be made in a larger consideration of the study. First, although in some ways there was a great deal of diversity among the women deans, at the same time there was consistency in their professional concerns and their professional lives. Second, the deans of women chose a flat, fluid organizational structure for their conferences. This might have been a result of a group not yet established, or a reflection of the small size of the meetings, but might also be interpreted as a leadership style particularly well suited to women. Third, despite a sense of familiarity that current student affairs professionals might feel when reading about the early deans of women, it is important to understand that their time was very different from today. Readers should be careful to note what is very different about early student affairs work as well as what appears to be enduring. Each of these observations will be explored further.

First, there was a high degree of diversity among the women and their positions, and yet the issues they discussed throughout the conferences were consistent. Even though the conferences were held primarily in the Midwest with a few locations in the East, as a group the deans’ resume
included 44 of the current 50 states (excepting only Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Nevada, New Mexico, and South Carolina). They represented a breadth of specialties in the humanities, sciences, and social sciences. They worked at private and public, large and small, urban and rural, new and old, women’s and coeducational colleges and universities. And yet their discussions and campus accomplishments were commonly related to topics such as housing for women students, the use of the YWCA and sororities to improve campus life, opening courses of study to women (and encouraging them to enter those fields upon graduation), health and athletics, scholarship, vocational placement, and ways to teach young women the skills they needed to maneuver in the professional class.

Their professional lives also reveal parallels despite diversity. The collective was primarily highly educated, single (never-married or widowed), and pro-suffrage (or, at least, not anti-suffrage). Many of the women were recognized after long careers with honorary degrees and residence hall namings, reflecting their homes in both the faculty and the administrative realms.

It is a bit of a chicken-and-egg dilemma as to why these similarities can be seen. Did certain kinds of women, with certain kinds of issues, choose to attend the conferences? Or did attending the conferences make them focus on certain issues when they got home? It is likely a bit of both. The comments at the conferences from the women who were struggling with the challenges of deaning suggest that the issues predated the attendance. And yet in some cases attendees were not even deans but became attracted to the work and its key issues after attending meetings.

Another notable observation is that the organizational structure of the conferences of deans was informal, and the leadership hierarchy was flat and rotated frequently. The Maturation Model for Professional Associations (MMPA), from which the variables for description were taken, was developed to track and evaluate organizational growth, and if used as such would likely have found this lack of structure to be a sign of immaturity, a phase to be outgrown on the way to higher plane of being. However, the fact that that the meetings were conducted in a fluid way with a guiding leader might have been less of a reflection of the early nature of the groups, or the size of the groups, and more of a reflection of the style of the women. In her study of modern women leaders,
Helgeson (1990) described the unique style of women’s leadership, in which those in charge are at the center, not at the top; in which power is derived from sharing information, not holding on to it; and in which the professional and the personal are not separate but integrated. In the conferences of deans of women, the chairman (as they consistently chose to label the position) did not set an agenda, but solicited topics and then facilitated discussions, allowing fruitful digressions as long as the group found them useful. Resolutions were created by consensus of opinion. The concept that power is derived from sharing information could in and of itself be a description of the conferences, and the eagerness with which the women spoke and listened comes through even in the written versions. The personal and the professional in the meetings were freely mixed, with social and cultural events built into the schedule. The letters between the women invariably began or ended with personal news, such as feelings about a new job, and news from a vacation.

The suggestion of a female leadership style extends to their home institutions, and their work in their deaning. So many of the tributes to the deans, discovered in compiling the profiles, described the deans of women as the “heart” of the campus, at its center. As both scholars and deans, the sharing of information and advice was the essence of their aims. In their roles on campus, deans of women who lived out their work in the classrooms, and worked out their lives in the residence halls, all with the express intent of serving as a role model, virtually embodied the concept of integrating the personal and professional.

If the meetings themselves represented the “web of inclusion” described by Helgeson (1990), the communication between meetings provided examples of connections as well. Some of the connections were explicit, such as Alice Freeman Palmer’s work as the web-weaver of the generation before, bringing Marion Talbot with her to Chicago and providing a home and encouragement to Lucy Sprague. Myra Beach Jordan so mentored her students that she had a reputation as a dean-maker (Nidffer, 2000). Lois Mathews excelled in this area as well, using several promising young women as stand-ins for her when she was absent from campus, propelling them to their own deanships. A website about the history of DePauw University gave the rationale for hiring Katharine Alvord, noting that “she also was strongly recommended by the author of a
recent book on the then new profession of dean of women” (DePauw, n.d., ¶1). It seems likely that
this was the work of Lois Mathews, promoting a former University of Wisconsin graduate student
and residence hall director. Other connections are implied by proximity, such as the fact that
multiple women from the attendee list graduated in the same class, that some alma maters and
employers are so very well-represented in the sample, and that quite a few of the women in the
database were preceded or succeeded in their dean positions by other women on the attendee list.
The conversations over tea in the mid-afternoon of conference days must have included news of
position openings and opportunities for advancement.

These people who act as hubs, or as Gladwell (2000) called them, “connectors,” bring
together the world using their powerful networks. Connectors not only know many people, but also
know certain kinds of people, such that their links, or strands of the web, are particularly strong and
swift for carrying ideas. These deans of women were exceptionally well-traveled, had ties to national
organizations of all sorts, had personal relationships with their students and alumnae, had standing
among faculty at their institutions and in their disciplines, and had institutional responsibilities for
being the liaison to the local communities. And, they almost all knew at least one or two college or
university presidents. They must have been immensely powerful connectors for each other and for
their students, and worthy vehicles for the ideas and ideals of the work of deans of women.

The implication that the behavior of deans of women in their conferences might reflect
uniquely female ways of knowing and behaving triggers the challenge of placing this study in the
context of the larger field of feminist inquiry. It must be acknowledged that this study was
influenced by tenets of feminist inquiry, assuming an attention to power through connectedness, a
blurring of the personal and professional, and the “[integration of] reason, emotion, intuition,
experience, and analytic thought” (Patton, 2002, p. 129). The purpose of the study shared some of
the aims of feminist inquiry, which seeks to “engage in using knowledge for change, especially
‘knowledge about women that will contribute to women’s liberation and emancipation’” (Guerrero,
as cited in Patton, 2002, p. 129). Although the deans of women were situated as early ancestors of
the profession of student affairs, their stories also contribute to collection of work about women and their role in history.

Third, looking at the topics of the early conferences, an easy observation might be that the work of these women was very similar to that of modern-day student affairs professionals, and indeed there are many parallels in the goals and issues. However, it is important to realize that their lives and careers were also very different, and not project modern definitions onto their experiences. For example, the fact that so many of the women were pro-suffrage and indefatigable champions of women’s right to higher education makes it tempting to frame them as feminists in the current sense of the word. But just because a dean of women advocated equal voting rights and equal access to higher education does not necessarily mean that she believed that women and men should have equal roles and responsibilities in life. Indeed, there is evidence that many of the deans of women held women to very different social standards, with stricter rules and punishments for female than male students on subjects such as dating, smoking, and freedom of movement. However, this differential has been over-emphasized, to the detriment of their role as advocates, and has contributed to an unwarranted image of them as dour, meddling, petty busybodies (Appleton, Briggs, & Rhatigan, 1978; Fley, 1963). On the whole, they may have at times been those things, but the disciplinary role must be balanced with the realization that, as today, rules were often meant to protect and prevent painful outcomes as much as to restrict free will. To the early deans of women, such aims were far more important for the women students than for men.

Another way female and male students were viewed differently was in terms of their ultimate roles in society. Even those educators who believed that education was important for girls and women tended to see that importance in terms of central roles of marriage and motherhood. For example, in 1905, writing in response to concerns of a low marriage rate and a high divorce rate, Laura Drake Gill advocated higher education for women as a way for them to choose better marriages and have the means to leave unhealthy marriages (Perkins, 1999, ¶ 8). But the goal was still a good marriage. A president of the University of Wisconsin, speaking to the importance of higher education of women, framed the argument with a rationale of the importance of mothers’
role in the education of her children, perhaps especially her male children. “If we underfeed and dwarf the intellect of woman, we shall enfeeble her progeny, shall blast and wilt the branch on which the fruit of coming years is to hang” (as cited in Olin, 1909, p. 66). Even among the women themselves, education was important only insomuch as it enhanced womanly roles, and they “did not question the belief that they should contain their ambitions within the boundaries of domesticity” (Solomon, 1985, p. 116). The great emphasis on woman’s purpose in society in relation to husband and children would likely strike most 21st century feminists as outdated. Still, given that so many of the deans of women chose to remain unmarried (or crafted partnerships that were non-traditional even by today standards), their public endorsement of conventional roles for women might have masked private opinions about the advantages of alternative forms of relationships and generativity.

Methodological and Analytical Issues

In the interest of both consideration of this study and the potential for similar future projects, some reflections on the process of this study are in order. While overall the methods were effective in answering the research questions, some challenges were encountered.

First, the records kept in the National Student Affairs Archives were invaluable. The collection is a treasure and it is well kept and organized. However, as is true of many collections, the bulk of the documents in the NAWE collection date from eras several decades into the organization’s history and the earliest records are sparse. Because many of the documents had, handwritten in the upper right hand corner, the words “Potter” or “Talbot,” it is assumed that we owe what we have to the sense of posterity of Mary Ross Potter and Marion Talbot and their tendency to keep things. However, the archives are undoubtedly not complete. There are indications that some records existed at one time but are not currently in the NADW archives. Where documents relating to early deans of women were found elsewhere, they have been noted. There is always hope that additional documents will be found in personal papers, in university archives in the correspondence of presidents, or in the attics of descendants, yet undiscovered. As is always true, the best judgment of the writer of history must be used to bridge the empty spaces in the meantime.
Another challenge of the NADW collection was that conferences of deans of women documents are scattered throughout the collection. Because the compilation of the collection assumed continuity between the early deans of women and the NADW, early conference documents are filed by subject rather than collectively for the conferences. For example, all conferences of deans of women meeting records were filed by year in the Convention Files. Allusions to the ACA or SACW triggered a filing in Inter Associational Files.

Second, the use of the Maturation Model for Professional Associations (MMPA; (Johnson, 1983) to select variables with which to examine the conference was generally very useful. It provided a structure with which to look at the groups from different angles and notice not only what was present, but also what was missing. However, as noted, the MMPA variables did not include a vehicle with which to discuss affiliations with other organizations. This seemed an odd omission given that the model was developed for ACPA, an organization with major historical affiliations. So, the study upon which the MMPA was based was consulted (Price, 1965), and the variable of affiliations was reintroduced. The seven variables used (membership, organizational structure, public relations, fiscal policies, services and publications, ethics and standards, and affiliations) were all relevant, but there was some imbalance in what they encompassed. The variable of services and publications was huge, and could be subdivided into meetings and written products. A single variable for written products might have been subdivided into internal and external records. The variable of public relations might also be realigned for these early groups, following the lead of Price (1965) who chose to group the variables of publicity and publications together. Also, in both the MMPI and Price (1965), the variable of ethics and standards (in Price, titled ethical standards and codes) seemed to imply an expectation of a centralized, written, enforceable code. It might be that such a tool for promoting standards, while appropriate in the current legalistic environment, would have been anachronistic so early in the twentieth century. Even though the conferences of deans of women did not have a professional code of ethics with an enforcing body, the decision was made to use the concept of professional standards in a very broad way and focus on their collective
opinions about minimum standards. Future use of variables might include renaming this variable and defining it in the more broad sense.

Third, by necessity, the compilation of the profiles of the 130 attendees relied heavily on secondary sources. It was simply not feasible to travel to the hometowns, alma maters, and all employing institutions of each of the women to seek access to the primary sources. However, over the course of the project, 11 institutional archives were visited and primary documents located for 19 women. Also, additional primary sources were located through the extensive use of OhioLINK (a consortium of institutions providing access to 85 library systems in the state of Ohio) and interlibrary loan services. Some of the women’s profiles are based upon the work of other researchers who made extensive use of primary sources, notably the four women profiled by Jana Nidiffer (2000) and the deans who have been studied by recent biographers (e.g., Lucy Sprague Mitchell by Joyce Antler, and Martha Foote Crow by Julia Kramer). Also, some very obscure primary documents have been transcribed or scanned and placed online, making them locatable with the use of search engines. Searches yielded links to yearbooks, catalogues, photographs, hometown newspapers, obituaries, and even an old-fashioned autograph book. Perhaps even more amazingly, a repeat of such a search only a few months later sometimes yielded new sources. The Internet has vastly changed our ability to collect information. When possible, virtual sources were confirmed using sources published in hard copy.

Although it is preferable to maximize the use of primary sources, some note should be made of the value of secondary sources. Institutional histories provided the advantage of placing the women in the context of the history of the institution, and authors sometimes analyzed the contributions of the women taking into account the benefit of hindsight. Current university catalogs and websites indicated the importance of the women to the institutions by showing that their impact exceeded their lifetimes. And secondary sources such as biographies and encyclopedia entries included large amounts of information in a small space and offered many potential sources for additional investigation.
All of these strategies provided a body of secondary materials, supported and supplemented by primary sources. Some profiles are extensively supported, but a small number of women proved very difficult to find. Consequently, the profiles should be considered as works in progress, with most having great potential to be expanded. To this end, Appendix G includes both sources consulted and suggested sources for further research.

Implications for Future Research and Practice

The contributions of this study have implications for at least two areas of research as well as for those who work in the profession of student affairs. First, it is relevant to the study of women in higher education. The study builds upon and contributes to the work of researchers who have considered deans of women to comprise a distinct but extinct profession. Most notably, Jana Nidiffer (2000) and Carolyn Terry Bashaw (1999) described a profession of deans of women, each using four biographies. The conclusions of this study support and refine the views provided by their research. Bashaw, in introducing the biographies of Southern deans of women, identified three conferences of deans of women: in this study’s nomenclature, the Middle West conference, the State Universities conference, and the conference in affiliation with the ACA. Interestingly, she did not comment upon the conference of deans of women that met in conjunction with the SACW. Perhaps she did not find evidence of it. Or, perhaps it was not relevant to the four women she studied, since three of the four women whom Bashaw studied would not have been in office in those early years. But since this study found that there was a group as early as 1914 and perhaps as late as 1921, and since a number of the women on this study’s attendee list worked as deans of women in the South, there might be an earlier phase of professional collective activity by Southern deans of women than was apparent in Bashaw’s (1999) *Stalwart Women*. Future research might seek sources to answer additional questions. How and why was the Southern conference of deans of women started? In what ways was it similar to or different from the other conferences? Who attended the meetings of this conference, and what sort of work did they do? What role did the issues of the region at the time play in the work of deans of women? Additional research into both
the SACW conference and the deans of women who worked in the region could contribute to the larger study of early women administrators in higher education and to Southern history.

Nidiffer (2000) recognized three of the conferences: in this study’s nomenclature, the State Universities conference, the conference with the REA, and the conference with the ACA. She viewed the Middle West conference as the first meeting of the State University conference, and did not mention either the Private Institutions or SACW conferences. So, the results of this study found that more groups existed. Nidiffer (2000) also proposed five phases of professionalization of deans of women, based on her four biographies. They were Historical Backdrop, Pre-Professionalization, Collective Activity, Becoming an Expert, and Attributes of a Profession (p. 13). This study’s lens of organizations provides both support and challenge to these phases. For example, the phase of Collective Activity, 1901 to 1906, does indeed include the first collective activity, with the 1902 informal planning, the 1903 Middle West meeting, and the 1905 State Universities meeting. However, this classification relies on counting only the first appearance of events, or what Abbott (1991) defined as first-order statistics. Abbott, in studying the order of professionalization, suggested that relying only on first-order statistics, as opposed to a plotting of occurrences over time that represent a conceptual phase, might skew the labeling to favor earlier but less important occurrences. For example, using the results of this study, it could be argued that the Collective Activity phase should include not only the first occurrence of activity, but also when the occurrences became more frequent and substantial. After the 1905 meeting, there was a lull, with only one meeting of the relatively insular state university dean’s conference in 1907. But then in 1909 and 1910, not only did the state deans meet, but also the conference with the REA formed, the conference of women from private institutions formed, and the conference with the ACA formed and began regular meetings. It was a flurry of activity that included more deans from a more diverse group of institutions. Gladwell (2000) might have called this the tipping point, the phase in which the occurrences ceased to be novel activities performed by early adopters and became a more widespread phenomenon accepted by a larger portion of the population as a trend that will then rapidly increase in popularity. Indeed, by the time the NADW formed six years later with more
flexible membership requirements, not dozens but hundreds of deans of women attended gatherings. Using both first-order statistics and periods of wider adoption, are the patterns of professional organization consistent with Nidiffer’s (2000) phases of professionalization? Analyzing not the form but the content of the conference meetings, do the women’s descriptions of their jobs and their issues support Nidiffer’s phases of professionalization? Are there other ways that collective activity, the development of expertise, and defining the attributes of a profession could be measured, described, or analyzed?

There is another way in which the results of this study might challenge Nidiffer’s (2000) phases of professionalization for deans of women. That the defining characteristics of the conferences were specialization in membership and affiliation lends some support to Abbott’s (1988) challenge to stage theories in general as a way to study professions. In The System of Professions, Abbott argued that “professionalization was at best a misleading concept, for it involved more the forms than the contents of professional life. It ignored who was doing what to whom and how, concentrating instead on association, licensure, ethics code” (p 1-2). Instead, Abbott proposed that those who study professions should focus on the spaces between professions, on the jurisdictional boundaries, and on the larger context in which the professions functioned. Individual professions cannot be studied in isolation; only a consideration of control and competition can take the study of professions beyond description to explanation. From this perspective, professional associations and ethics codes are less hallmarks of inevitable developmental stages, and more clues to positioning and repositioning of groups of workers for control over some aspect of the professional landscape (Abbott, 1988).

For example, the formation of the conferences of deans of women might have been a response to a vacuum of responsibility in academe, created when a need arose or another profession shifted its focus; the membership of the groups might have been a tool by which to control and compete with other types of administrators and advocates of women; and affiliation might have represented forms of borrowing power from pre-established organizations. Future research utilizing this analytic framework might ask different questions. What kinds of relationships did early deans
of women have with functionally similar workers, such as matrons, presidents, female faculty, male faculty, gymnasium directors, YWCA directors, appointment secretaries, deans of men, later deans of women, and early student personnel workers? How did the deans of women negotiate for control in these jurisdictional overlaps? As a profession, how did deans of women gain power in the presence of other professions or groups of specialists? How could the concept of jurisdictional disputes and resolutions help to explain the varied ancestry of the modern profession of student affairs?

Another way in which this study builds upon Nidiffer’s (2000) work is the creation of the list of attendees and their brief profiles. Nidiffer’s biographies of Marion Talbot, Mary Bidwell Breed, Ada Comstock, and Lois Mathews provided depth and detail in understanding early deans of women. However, these four extraordinary women might very well have been just that: beyond the ordinary of deans of women. As a result, some preliminary conclusions about deans of women of the period relied heavily on a depth of information but not necessarily on a breadth of information. For example, Nidiffer discussed the reluctance of early deans to adopt the label of feminist (which was supported in this study), but bemoaned their silence on the issue of suffrage. “Despite the fact that the deans were advocates for women during an era when suffrage was clearly on the national agenda and on the minds of many college women, they were remarkably and maddeningly silent . . . [they] remained taciturn” (p. 153). She conjectured that the women were too marginalized (as faculty, as administrators, and as women) to risk speaking up about controversy in a conservative environment. Although this study also found little suffrage activity among three of Nidiffer’s four women deans (none recorded for Breed, Comstock, and Mathews), the same cannot be said of Talbot or the larger set of deans of women. Talbot marched in a 1914 Chicago suffrage parade and declared her position in her 1914 Women’s Who’s Who directory entry (Chicago, 1914; Leonard, 1914); other deans were leaders or founders of suffrage groups in their communities, and several had publications advocating a woman’s right to vote.

Likewise, this study’s provision of a more shallow yet wider view of the deans of women of the period provides glimpses of other patterns of work and life that were not apparent with the four
comprehensive biographies. Using the 130 profiles as a starting point, future research might include a review of the conference minutes and a resorting of the deans’ comments by participant. It might use these comments and supplemental biographical information to seek to answer questions about the nature of the work and the workers in the time period. How was the dean of women position different at different types of institutions (state universities, private colleges, women’s colleges, normal colleges)? Did women hired with no degree or a bachelor’s degree have different responsibilities or different challenges than those who were hired with a PhD? What was the work like for the women who were never officially named as dean, who were paid as professors but functioned as advisors? What was the difference between a dean of women, a dean of the college at a women’s college, and a dean of the college at a coordinate college? What kind of power, official and unofficial, did deans of women have in their colleges and universities?

The next body of literature to which the study contributes is that of the profession of student affairs. One of the disadvantages of the studies from outside this tradition is a tendency to see the administrator part of the administrator-scholar hybrid as the less important half, as a distracter to the more prestigious work of faculty work. For example, Joyce Antler (1987) in her biography of Lucy Sprague Mitchell betrayed this assumption when she wrote of Lucy’s contact with another dean. “She used to discuss substantive concerns about the higher education of women, not merely questions about dormitory rules, financial aid, student dances, and the like” (p. 112). Those using a student affairs lens to view Lucy and the other deans would find questions of out-of-classroom learning, social development, and financial support to be highly substantive and relevant to the higher education of women, and subsequently treat that part of the early deans’ work as the core, not a diversion. Since most of the biographies thus written about deans of women of this period have been focused on women whose primary career aspiration was something other than that of dean, future researchers might use the 130 short profiles to identify one or more deans of women who appear to have consciously chosen administration as a first or best choice. With the good fortune of plentiful primary sources, questions about individual professional development might be posed. Why did they become administrators? How did their educations contribute to their
work? Who mentored or guided them? Why did they choose administration of student affairs over other career alternatives? What was rewarding or challenging about the work? How did they give and receive professional support from other deans, or other types of professionals? What were their contributions? Who did they mentor or guide? How are they remembered?

Within the student affairs literature, the early part of the history of the deans of women has often been characterized as a time of deans of women and men. That the deans of women and deans of men were two very different sets of professionals with two very different sets of assumptions about their work has been well-argued by Schwartz (1990, 1995, 1997, 2001, 2003) but was noted as a feature of student affairs history as early as 1978 (Appleton, Briggs, & Rhatigan, 1978). The results of this study portray deans of women before 1922 as numerous and active in professional groups, particularly so when compared with the deans of men, who were small in number during this period and did not organize until 1919 (Findlay, 1938; Schwartz, 1990). The fact that the two groups of professional ancestors have similar titles and operated in similar periods make it tempting to categorize them together, but like biological ancestors, they come from different sides of the family and may have had little in common in their own times.

As discussed above, treating deans of women separately from the men could be subdivided even more, treating the early deans of women separately from later deans of women. This has conceptual importance, given the qualitative differences between the groups, but also practical importance, given that the later deans of women are visible in the histories of other existing professional groups, but the extinct NAWE no longer promotes the history of the early deans of women. A collective biography of 100 deans of women from the 1920s and 1930s or the 1940s and 1950s might yield group characteristics that could be compared to the early deans. The degree of validity for the early as opposed to later distinction would be best demonstrated by a full overview of the history of student affairs, a future work that could place all of these groups (early deans of women, deans of women, deans of men, personnel workers) in the context of the larger story.

Perhaps the greatest implication of this work for future research lies in the enhancement of the sketches of the 130 women involved in the conferences. The goals of this dissertation were
largely descriptive, but the information collected has additional implications for analysis of many
trends across this large group, such as circumstances of hiring, job descriptions, relationships with
presidents and trustees, balance of administrative and scholarship activities, and family and
relationship patterns. Continuing the work of discovery of this group of women to develop
enhanced biographies could provide some challenges to assumptions about this era of
professionals. For example, Schwartz (1990), citing other historians, stated that most deans of
women were hired primarily as faculty and later made deans, or were hired as faculty with dean
appointments. But in the profiles, there are many individual stories of hiring that suggest that, at
least for some deans of women in this period, it was quite the opposite. They were carefully selected
from an elite pool of candidates with selection criteria heavily weighted to abilities as a dean of
women. Faculty qualifications were important, but not central, to their selection. Were these isolated
stories? What was the relative importance of faculty and administrative roles? Did it differ from one
type of institution to the next? Or was the distinction between the two positions less distinct than we
project it to be using today’s conception of faculty and student affairs position? Enhancement of
the profiles and a cross-sectional analysis could provide enlightenment.

Finally, this detailed examination of both the conferences and the women who comprised
them has implications for the professionals who currently fill (or hope to one day fill) the positions
descended from the deans of women. The profession of student affairs has a professional culture,
manifested in behaviors but built upon underlying assumptions about reality, truth, time, space,
human nature, activity, and relationships (Schein, 1992). Those assumptions are based, in part, on
the life stories of the founders and the lessons imparted by their example. On a campus, one can
learn about the culture of the institution by examining artifacts, among them the sagas of the
community that tell stories of the founders and are passed down by generations of community
members (Manning, 1993). Just as a college founder’s intentions, wishes, and actions are used by
modern community members to shape the current environment, the lives of the earliest
professionals of student affairs affect the current profession of student affairs.
But those founders and sagas are not fixed or even necessarily rooted in fact. They are part of the constructed environment (Strange & Banning, 2000), existing only in the form that is created by the members of the community. With their presence or their absence, the stories of the pioneers of the profession shape the culture of the profession. Current professionals’ understanding of the origins of the profession will affect how they feel about their work, and the decisions they make each day.

For this reason, the historical accounts of the early deans of women are important, although perhaps not as important as the meaning that we make of them to ourselves, each other, and the future members of the profession of student affairs. The stories of the early deans of women are different enough to be interesting but familiar enough to be inspiring. If we respect them, learn from them, and tell stories about them to learn about ourselves, their legacies will live on in our work.
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### APPENDIX A. MEETING CHRONOLOGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. 1902</td>
<td>University of Chicago</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 1903, Nov. 3-4</td>
<td>Conference of Deans of Women of the Middle West</td>
<td>Chicago and Evanston, IL</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c. 1905, autumn</td>
<td>(intended by 1903 conference)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 1905, Dec. 19-20</td>
<td>Conference of Deans and Advisors of Women in State Universities</td>
<td>Stratford Hotel, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. 1906</td>
<td>(intended by 1905 conference)</td>
<td>Ann Arbor, MI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. 1907, Dec. 19-20</td>
<td>Third Conference of the Deans and Advisors of Women in the State Universities</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. 1909, Feb. 13</td>
<td>Religious Education Association</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. 1909, Dec. 20-22</td>
<td>Fourth Conference of the Deans and Advisors of Women in State Universities</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. 1909, Dec. 21-23</td>
<td>Conference of Deans of Women of Private Institutions</td>
<td>Chicago College Club, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. 1911, Oct. 24-27</td>
<td>Conference of Deans of Women</td>
<td>Association of Collegiate Alumnae</td>
<td>New York, NY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. 1911, Dec. 18-20</td>
<td>Fifth Biennial Conference of Deans and Advisers of Women in State Universities</td>
<td>Hotel Blackstone, Chicago, IL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Affiliation</td>
<td>Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>m. 1912, Nov. 11</td>
<td>Conference of Deans of Women</td>
<td>Association of Collegiate Alumnae</td>
<td>Home of Myra B. Jordan, Ann Arbor, MI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. 1913, Dec. 16-18</td>
<td>Sixth Biennial Conference of Deans and Advisers of Women in State Universities</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hotel LaSalle, Chicago, IL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o. 1914, Apr. 14</td>
<td>Conference of Deans</td>
<td>Association of Collegiate Alumnae</td>
<td>Home of Marion Reilly, Bryn Mawr, PA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. 1914</td>
<td>Conference of Southern Deans of Women</td>
<td>Southern Education Association and Southern Association of College Women</td>
<td>Louisville, KY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q. 1915, Apr. 22</td>
<td>Conference of Deans (Conference of Southern Deans)</td>
<td>Southern Association of College Women</td>
<td>Atlanta, GA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r. 1915, Aug. 18</td>
<td>Conference of Deans</td>
<td>Association of Collegiate Alumnae</td>
<td>Mills College, Oakland, CA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. 1915, Dec.?</td>
<td>Seventh Biennial Conference of Deans and Advisers of Women in State Universities</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>t. 1916, July 6-7</td>
<td>The National Conference of Deans of Women of Institutions of Higher Learning</td>
<td>National Education Association</td>
<td>New York, NY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u. 1917, Feb. 26-28</td>
<td>Second National Convention of Deans of Women in Connection with the Department of Superintendents</td>
<td>National Education Association</td>
<td>Kansas City, KS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. 1917, April 11-12</td>
<td>Sixth Conference of Deans</td>
<td>Association of Collegiate Alumnae</td>
<td>Goucher and Trinity Colleges, Baltimore, MD and Washington, DC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Affiliation</td>
<td>Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>w. 1917, April 12</td>
<td>Joint Conference of Trustees, Deans and Professors</td>
<td>Association of Collegiate Alumnae</td>
<td>Trinity College, Washington, DC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. 1918, Feb. 25-28</td>
<td>Third National Conference of Deans of Women Meeting with the Department of Superintendents</td>
<td>National Education Association</td>
<td>Atlantic City, NJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y. 1918, July 1-3</td>
<td>Fourth National Conference of Deans of Women Meeting with the National Education Association</td>
<td>National Education Association</td>
<td>Pittsburgh, PA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z. 1919, Apr.</td>
<td>Joint Conference of Deans and Professors</td>
<td>Association of Collegiate Alumnae</td>
<td>St. Louis, MO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aa. 1919, Apr.</td>
<td>The Joint Conference of Trustees, Deans, and Professors</td>
<td>Association of Collegiate Alumnae</td>
<td>St. Louis, MO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bb. 1919, Feb. 25-27</td>
<td>Fifth National Conference of Deans of Women Meeting with Department of Superintendents</td>
<td>National Education Association</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cc. 1919 Jun. 30-Jul. 2</td>
<td>Conference of Deans of Women</td>
<td>National Education Association</td>
<td>Milwaukee, WI</td>
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<tr>
<td>dd. 1920, Feb. 24-25</td>
<td>Seventh Annual Meeting of the National Association of Deans of Women</td>
<td>National Education Association</td>
<td>Cleveland, OH</td>
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<tr>
<td>ee. 1921, Feb. 25-26</td>
<td>Eighth Annual Meeting of the National Association of Deans of Women</td>
<td>National Education Association</td>
<td>Atlantic City, NJ</td>
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<td>ff. 1922, Feb. 23-24</td>
<td>Ninth Annual Meeting of the National Association of Deans of Women</td>
<td>National Education Association</td>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
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APPENDIX B. ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ATTENDEES

This list of women was compiled from the attendance records of the conferences of deans of women from 1903 to 1922 (omitting the NADW conference attendance and membership lists). There are 130 women listed alphabetically. Listings reflect names as they were when the women attended the conferences of deans of women, married or single. Married names are in italics.

Adams, Kathryn Newell
Allan, Evelyn Wight
Alvord, Katharine Sprague
Austin, Isabella
Babcock, Mabel Keyes
Ballou, Susan Helen
Barkley, Edna McDowell
Benton, Mary Lathrop
Berry, Grace Ella
Bigelow, S. Antoinette
Blitz, Anne Dudley
Boody, Bertha May
Bower, Elizabeth Bertha
Breed, Mary Bidwell
Breymogle, Caroline May
Brooke, Louisa
Buswell, Clara Lucena
Carnell, Laura Horner
Carter, May Esther
Cheever, Louisa Sewell
Cochrane, Jane A.

Colvin, Caroline
Comstock (later Notestein), Ada Louise
Conrad, Elisabeth
Coolidge, Cora Helen
Corbett, Virginia H.
Corbin, Alberta Linton
Crow(e), Martha Emily Foote
Davies, Caroline Stoddard Crocker
Deaton, Eula Weston
DeGreene, Caroline Elizabeth
DeNise, Carrie Louise
Denise, Edith
Doan, Martha
Donovan, Mary E.
Dora, C. Lucile
Dow, Caroline B.
Erickson, Martina Cecilia
Evans (later Huntington), Margaret Jane
Everts (later Ewing), Mary Sleight
Fawcett, Mary Eliza Chandler
Fitch, Florence Mary
Fuller, Grace
Fulton, Ella Louise
Galloo, Eugénie Helen
Gates, Fanny Cook
Gill, Laura Drake
Goodbody, Louise Ann
Graham (later Hiltner), Mary Catherine
Guppy, Maria Ruth
Hamilton, Anna J
Hamilton, Elizabeth
Harris, Martha Anstic
Harwood, Mary Corinthia
Henretty, Sister Mary Margaret
Holcombe, Jobelle
Hughes, Winona Alice
Humphrey, Caroline Louise
Hussey, Bertha
Jayne (later Schmidt), Violet DeLille
Johnston, Eva
Jordan, Myra Beach
Judson, Margaret
Kennedy, Grace A
Kerr, Mina M
King, Lida Shaw
Klingenhagen, Anna Marie
Kollock (later Paetow), Lily Gavit
Kyle, Martha Jackson
Lewis (later Greene), Mary Elizabeth
Loomis, Mabel Ruth
Lord, Eleanor Louise
Lovejoy, Sara Cutts
Loveridge, Blanche Grosbec
Luce, Alice Hanson
Maddison, Ada Isabel
Marshall, Clara
Marshall, Ruth Elizabeth
Martin, Elizabeth Leiper
Martin, Ella Gertrude Shorb
Mason, Ruby Elizabeth Campbell
Mathews (later Rosenberry), Lois Carter
Kimball
Matzke, Edith Hedges
Mayhew, Abby Shaw
McCaleb, Ella
McLean (later Phillips), Kathryn Sisson
McVea, Emilie Watts
Meeteer, Henrietta Josephine
Metsker (later Milligan), Ella Ruhamah
Moore, Susan Maxwell
Munro, Annette Gardner
Nardin, F. Louise
Newberry, Mary Wheeler
Palmer, Jean C
Park, Mary Isabel
Pattee, Loueen

Phillips (later Austin), Gertrude Bishop

*Piutti*, Anna Adams

Plaisance, Sarah de Maupassant

Potter, Mary Ross

Purington, Florence

Redifer, Anna E

Richards, Jean Marie

Richardson (later Fiske), Louisa Holman

Robinson, Winifred Josephine

Sawyer, Mary Alma

Sherzer, Jane Belle

Smith, Bertha D

Smith, Helen Mary

Sprague (later Mitchell), Lucy

Stayt, Grace Adele

Stoner, Minnie A

Stratton, Margaret Elizabeth

Sweeney, Margaret

Talbot, Marion

Templin, Lucinda de Leftwich

Terrill, Bertha Mary

*Thompson*, Elizabeth A

Throop, Suzanne Everett

Tufts, Edith Souther

*Valentine*, Lucy Munson

Voigt, Irma Elizabeth

Waite, Alice Vinton

*Wallace*, L. May Pitkin

Weaver, Martha Collins

Wells, Agnes Ermina

White, Marion Ballantyne

*Williams*, Mrs. Chas. A.

*Woodward*, Cora Stranahan

Young, Alice
### APPENDIX C. MULTIPLE CONFERENCES, TABLE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conference</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle West</td>
<td>a. 1. (planning meeting)</td>
<td>1902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. 2. Conference of Deans of Women of the Middle West</td>
<td>1903, Nov. 3-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. 3. (intended by 1903 conference)</td>
<td>1905, autumn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e. 2. (intended by 1905 conference)</td>
<td>1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f. 3. Third Conference of the Deans and Advisors of Women in the State Universities</td>
<td>1907, Dec. 19-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h. 4. Fourth Conference of the Deans and Advisors of Women in State Universities</td>
<td>1909, Dec. 20-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l. 5. Fifth Biennial Conference of Deans and Advisors of Women in State Universities</td>
<td>1911, Dec. 18-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n. 6. Sixth Biennial Conference of Deans and Advisors of Women in State Universities</td>
<td>1913, Dec. 16-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s. 7. Seventh Biennial Conference of Deans and Advisors of Women in State Universities</td>
<td>1915, Dec.?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association of Collegiate Alumnae</td>
<td>2. Conference of Deans of Women</td>
<td>1911, Oct. 24-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m. 3. Conference of Deans of Women</td>
<td>1912, Nov. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p. 4. Conference of Deans</td>
<td>1914, Apr. 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r. 5. Conference of Deans</td>
<td>1915, Aug. 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v. 6. Sixth Conference of Deans</td>
<td>1917, Apr. 11-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conference</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w.</td>
<td>7. Joint Conference of Trustees, Deans and Professors</td>
<td>1917, Apr. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z.</td>
<td>8. The Joint Conference of Trustees, Deans, and Professors</td>
<td>1919, Apr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Association of College Women</td>
<td>1. Conference of Southern Deans of Women</td>
<td>1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q.</td>
<td>2. Conference of Deans (Conference of Southern Deans)</td>
<td>1915, Apr. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Education Association</td>
<td>1. The National Conference of Deans of Women of Institutions of Higher Learning</td>
<td>1916, Jul. 6-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t.</td>
<td>2. Second National Convention of Deans of Women in Connection with the Department of Superintendents</td>
<td>1917, Feb. 26-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u.</td>
<td>3. Third National Conference of Deans of Women Meeting with the Department of Superintendents</td>
<td>1918, Feb. 25-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x.</td>
<td>4. Fourth National Conference of Deans of Women Meeting with the National Education Association</td>
<td>1918, Jul. 1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y.</td>
<td>5. Fifth National Conference of Deans of Women Meeting with Department of Superintendents</td>
<td>1919, Feb. 25-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bb.</td>
<td>6. Conference of Deans of Women</td>
<td>1919 Jun. 30-Jul. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cc.</td>
<td>7. Seventh Annual Meeting of the National Association of Deans of Women</td>
<td>1920, Feb. 24-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dd.</td>
<td>8. Eighth Annual Meeting of the National Association of Deans of Women</td>
<td>1921, Feb. 25-26</td>
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<tr>
<td>ee.</td>
<td>9. Ninth Annual Meeting of the National Association of Deans of Women</td>
<td>1922, Feb. 23-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Middle West</td>
<td>State</td>
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<td>1903</td>
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<td>1920</td>
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<td>1921</td>
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<tr>
<td>1922</td>
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</table>

<sup>a</sup>Religious Education Association.  
<sup>b</sup>Association of Collegiate Alumnae.  
<sup>c</sup>Southern Association of College Women.  
<sup>d</sup>National Education Association (National Association of Deans of Women).
# APPENDIX E. ATTENDANCE LIST BY CONFERENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conference</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Attendees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Middle West        | 1902 | Crow, Northwestern University  
|                    |      | Evans, Carleton College  
|                    |      | Jordan, University of Michigan  
|                    |      | Talbot, University of Chicago  
|                    |      | Unknown other                                                             |
|                    | 1903 | Breed, Indiana University  
|                    |      | Crow, Northwestern University  
|                    |      | DeGreene, Lawrence University  
|                    |      | Evans, Carleton College  
|                    |      | Galloo, University of Kansas  
|                    |      | Gill, Barnard College  
|                    |      | Harwood, Ripon College  
|                    |      | Jayne, University of Illinois  
|                    |      | Jordan, University of Michigan  
|                    |      | Luce, Oberlin College  
|                    |      | Mayhew, University of Wisconsin  
|                    |      | Richardson, Ohio Wesleyan University  
|                    |      | Sherzer, Illinois College  
|                    |      | Stoner, Ohio State University  
|                    |      | Stratton, University of Colorado  
|                    |      | Talbot, University of Chicago  
|                    |      | Wallace, Beloit College  
|                    |      | Young, University of Iowa  
| State Universities | 1905 | Barkley, University of Nebraska  
|                    |      | Breed, Indiana University  
|                    |      | Deaton, University of Mississippi  
|                    |      | Donovan, University of North Dakota  
|                    |      | Everts, University of Iowa  
|                    |      | Galloo, University of Kansas  
|                    |      | Jordan, University of Michigan  
|                    |      | Lewis, University of Missouri  
|                    |      | Mayhew, University of Wisconsin  
|                    |      | Meeteer, University of Colorado  
|                    |      | Moore, University of West Virginia  
|                    |      | Redifer, Pennsylvania State College  
|                    |      | Sprague, University of California  
|                    |      | Stoner, Ohio State University  
|                    | 1906 | Unknown  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conference</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Attendees</th>
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</thead>
</table>
|            | 1907 | Barkley, University of Nebraska  
|            |      | Breed, University of Missouri  
|            |      | Colvin, University of Maine  
|            |      | Comstock, University of Minnesota  
|            |      | Fulton, University of North Dakota  
|            |      | Gallo, University of Kansas  
|            |      | Goodbody, Indiana University  
|            |      | Holcombe, University of Arkansas  
|            |      | Jordan, University of Michigan  
|            |      | Kollock, University of Illinois  
|            |      | Stoner, University of Wyoming  
|            |      | Woodward, University of Wisconsin |
|            | 1909 | Unknown |
|            | 1911 | Unknown |
|            | 1913 | Austin, University of Washington  
|            |      | Bigelow, University of Colorado  
|            |      | Breyfogle, Ohio State University  
|            |      | Brooke, University of Oklahoma  
|            |      | DeNise, Indiana University  
|            |      | Fulton, University of North Dakota  
|            |      | Graham, University of Nebraska  
|            |      | Guppy, University of Oregon  
|            |      | Hamilton, Miami University  
|            |      | Johnston, University of Missouri  
|            |      | Klingenhagen, University of Iowa  
|            |      | Kyle, University of Illinois  
|            |      | Martin, E. G. S., Cornell University  
|            |      | Mathews, University of Wisconsin  
|            |      | Moore, University of West Virginia  
|            |      | Sweeney, University of Minnesota  
|            |      | Terrill, University of Vermont  
|            |      | White, University of Kansas  

Guests:  
Hamilton, University of Kentucky  
Potter, Northwestern University  
Talbot, University of Chicago  
Voigt, Ohio University
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conference</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Attendees</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious Education</td>
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<td>Breed, University of Missouri</td>
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<td>Corbett, Colorado Agricultural College</td>
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<td>Corbin, University of Kansas</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Denise, Lake Forest College</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Dora, University of Oklahoma</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Erickson, Indiana State Normal School</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Potter, Northwestern University</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stayt, Knox College</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Talbot, University of Chicago</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Valentine, James Milliken University</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Woodward, University of Wisconsin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Private Institutions</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Adams, Beloit College</td>
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<td>Carter, Lawrence College</td>
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<td>Denise, Lake Forest College</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kennedy, University of Louisville</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Loveridge, Shepardson College of Denison University</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>McVea, University of Cincinnati</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Phillips, Grinnell College</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Potter, Northwestern University</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Smith, B., Franklin College</td>
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<td>Talbot, University of Chicago</td>
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<td>Valentine, James Milliken University</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Weaver, Illinois Woman’s College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association of Collegiate Alumnae</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Allan, Stanford University</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Austin, University of Washington</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Bigelow, University of Colorado</td>
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<td>Carter, Lawrence College</td>
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<td>Corbett, Colorado State College</td>
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<td>Kerr, Milwaukee-Downer College</td>
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<td>Klingenhagen, State University of Iowa</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Loomis, Colorado College</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Martin, E. G. S., Cornell University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Metsker, University of Denver</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Phillips, Grinnell College</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sprague, University of California, Berkeley</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>DeNise, Indiana University</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17-24 additional unknown others</td>
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<td>1912</td>
<td>DeNise, Indiana University</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>42 additional unknown others</td>
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</table>
1914

Babcock, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Ballou, University of Chicago
Benton, Carleton College
Berry, Pomona College
Bower, Pennsylvania State College
Breed, Carnegie Institute of Technology
Breyfogle, Ohio State University
Broswell, Bates College
Carnell, Temple University
Cheever, Smith College
Comstock, Northampton, MA
Conrad, Earlham College
Davies, Jackson College of Tufts College
Denise, Lake Forest College
Dow, National Training School, YWCA
Fitch, Oberlin College
Fuller, Michigan State Normal College
Gates, Grinnell College
Harris, Elmira College
Hughes, College of Wooster
Humphrey, Radcliffe College
Hussey, Kalamazoo College
Johnston, University of Missouri
Jordan, University of Michigan
Judson, New York, NY
King, Brown University
Klingenhagen, State University of Iowa
Loomis, Colorado College
Lord, Goucher College
Lovejoy, Pennsylvania State College
Maddison, Bryn Mawr College
Marshall, C., Woman’s Medical College of Pennsylvania
Martin, E. G. S., Cornell University
Martin, E. L., University of Pittsburgh
McCaleb, Vassar College
Meeteer, Swarthmore College
Munro, University of Rochester
Newberry, Ohio Wesleyan University
Park, Heidelberg University
Pilutt, Wells College
Plaisance, St. Lawrence University
Potter, Northwestern University
Purington, Mt. Holyoke College
Richards, Syracuse University
Robinson, Women’s College of Delaware
Smith, H. M., Western Reserve University
Sweeney, University of Wisconsin
Terrill, University of Vermont
Thompson, Municipal University of Akron
Throop, Middlebury College
Tufts, Wellesley College
Waite, Wellesley College

Students:
Blitz, Teachers College, Columbia University
Cochrane, Teachers College, Columbia University
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Attendees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1915 | Allan, University of California  
      | Mathews, University of Wisconsin  
      | Unknown others |
| 1917 | Alvord, DePauw University  
      | Berry, Pomona College  
      | Blitz, William Smith College  
      | Boody, Radcliffe College  
      | Breyfogle, Ohio State University  
      | Buswell, Bates College  
      | Comstock, Smith College  
      | Coolidge, Pennsylvania College for Women  
      | Davies, Jackson College of Tufts College  
      | Doan, Earlham College  
      | Fitch, Oberlin College  
      | Hamilton, Miami University  
      | Harris, Elmira College  
      | Henretty, Trinity College  
      | Johnston, University of Missouri  
      | Jordan, University of Michigan  
      | King, Women’s College at Brown University  
      | Klingenhagen, State University of Iowa  
      | Lord, Goucher College  
      | Lovejoy, Pennsylvania State College  
      | Marshall, R., College of Wooster  
      | Mason, Indiana University  
      | Mathews, University of Wisconsin  
      | Matzke, Cornell University  
      | McLean, Ohio Wesleyan University  
      | Palmer, Vassar College  
      | Pattee, University of Cincinnati  
      | Piutti, Wells College  
      | Plaisance, St. Lawrence University  
      | Potter, Northwestern University  
      | Purington, Mt. Holyoke College  
      | Robinson, College of Delaware  
      | Sawyer, Western College for Women  
      | Smith, H. M., College for Women, Western Reserve University  
      | Stayt, Knox College  
      | Thompson, Municipal University of Akron  
      | Waite, Wellesley College  
      | White, Michigan State Normal College  
      | Williams, Macalester College |

Guests:  
Babcock, Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Bigelow, Gertrude, Walnut Hill School  
Bristol, Susan Brown, Washington, D.C.  
Brown, Mrs. Herbert D.  
Dolbear, Katherine E., Takoma Park, D.C.  
Dominica, Sister M., San Francisco, CA  
Dow, National Graduate Training School, YWCA
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conference</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Attendees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Glass, Meta, Randolph-Macon Woman's College | 1919 | Harris, Elmira College  
Johnston, University of Missouri  
Mathews, University of Wisconsin  
Nardin, University of Wisconsin  
Templin, Lindenwood College  
Unknown others |
| Lee, Sister Mary, St. Clara College       |      |                                                                            |
| Lord, Eliza, (formerly) Western Reserve University |      |                                                                            |
| McVea, Sweet Briar College               |      |                                                                            |
| Sidwell, Frances H., Friends School      |      |                                                                            |
| Southern Association of College Women    | 1914 | Unknown                                                                    |
| 1915                                     |      | Lord, Goucher College  
Unknown others |
APPENDIX F. PROFILES OF ATTENDEES

This list of women was compiled from the attendance records of the conferences of deans of women from 1903 to 1922 (omitting the NADW conference attendance and membership lists). There are 130 women listed alphabetically. The brief profiles have been compiled from a variety of sources, listed in Appendix F for each woman.

Listings reflect names of the women when they attended the conferences of deans of women. Attendees’ married names are in italics and marriage information is provided in the profile, and the maiden names of attendees’ mothers are in parentheses. Meeting attendance is indicated by both the year and a letter indicating the conference, with M indicating Midwest, S indicating State Universities, R indicating REA-affiliated, P indicating Private Institutions, A indicating ACA-affiliated, and So indicating SACW-affiliated. A name in bold in the body of a profile indicates that the person appears elsewhere in this appendix with her own profile.


She was one of the first women to enter Beloit College when she enrolled in 1895. She later did graduate work at Columbia University and Oxford University in England before returning to the US to begin work as Dean of Women at Beloit. For a time, she was the principal of Kawaihao Seminary in Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii. Commenting on her presidency of Constantinople Women’s College, a Beloit colleague remarked, “A natural leader among women, President Adams’ administration has opened very auspiciously” (Eaton, 1928, p. 256).
Allan, Evelyn Wight (attended 1910 A meeting) Dean of Women, Stanford University from 1908 to 1917. Degrees: BS St. Lawrence University 1891; AB Stanford University 1896. Married July 20, 1901 to Frederick Mansfield Allan (he died February 25, 1903).

Known in her college years as Lucy Wight, she chaired the National Panhellenic Conference meeting in Boston in 1891. At Stanford, she was only one year behind the Pioneer Class of 1895. While there, she could count among her classmates Lou Henry (later Hoover) and Herbert Hoover. She married Frederick Mansfield Allan in 1901, but he died in 1903. After leaving Stanford to teach in high schools in New Jersey and New York and to do graduate study at Columbia University, she returned to her alma mater to become dean of women. After her time as dean, she became the principal of the Girls’ Commercial High School in Brooklyn, New York.


Kate taught history at Oshkosh Normal School and Oxford College for Women in Ohio after college. After her master’s work, she was Mistress of Chadbourne Hall at the University of Wisconsin before going to DePauw University for a 21-year run as dean of women and teacher of American colonial history. She slowly liberalized regulations, instigating university sponsorship of social activities, and advocating dating “any night but not every night.” She retired in 1936 to work on her home, Wee Acre, in Gaylordsville, Connecticut. She died at the age of 88. There is a residence hall named for her at DePauw University.

Austin, Isabella (attended 1910 A, 1913 S meetings) Dean of Women, University of Washington from 1909 to 1914 or later. Degree: BA University of Minnesota 1895.

At the University of Washington, a large residence hall was built in the 1930s. Each of its four wings was named for a prominent University of Washington woman. One is Austin Hall.

The oldest of eight siblings, Mabel grew up to be one of the early women architects in the United States. A graduate of the influential but short-lived program in landscape architecture at MIT, she was chairman of the Technology Women’s Association. She also taught at Wellesley College and the Lawthorpe School. She designed the president’s gardens at MIT, the plantings around the Arlington Street Church, and portions of the grounds of Wellesley and Bates Colleges. At her death she was serving on President Hoover’s conference on home building and home ownership.

**Ballou, Susan Helen** (attended 1914 A meeting) Assistant and Instructor of Latin, University of Chicago from 1897 to 1913 or later. Born in Dubuque, Iowa to George Ballou and Martha (Beam) Ballou on September 28, 1868. Degrees: PhB University of Chicago 1897, PhD University of Chicago circa 1915.

Susan’s passion was Latin manuscripts. She taught and studied it at the University of Chicago and abroad. She won an ACA traveling fellowship for 1901-1902 to the American School for Classical Studies in Rome, and returned to Italy later on a Carnegie fellowship. In 1907 she addressed the ACA about lines of investigation that could only be pursued abroad, and emphasized the importance of financial support for such work. Her translations were meticulous, but she also appreciated the emotional aspects of such research, such as being physically present in the mediaeval libraries in which “one lifts one’s eyes from the time-old, yellowed, parchment-page, to let them rest on . . . windows of rich-hued stained glass, where the very carven chairs and tables, at which one sits, speak of an unbroken succession of scholars” (Ballou, 1907, p. 15).
**Barkley, Edna McDowell** (attended 1905 S, 1907 S meetings) Dean of Women, University of Nebraska from 1904 to 1910. Married November 24, 1898 to William E. Barkley (he died in 1944). She died in 1956.

Edna went to Lincoln, Nebraska in the late 1800s. She taught school and was a principal. In 1898 she married William E. Barkely, a former teacher who was then building businesses in the banking and insurance industries. She was Dean of Women at Nebraska for six years, from 1904 to 1910. The couple helped to establish Goodwill Industries and the Lincoln General Hospital in Lincoln. Gradually, Edna lost her hearing. She learned lip-reading and began to share this knowledge with others. She consulted university educators and encouraged the creation of programs for the education of the hearing impaired. William was prosperous in his work, and at his death was the president of two banks and an insurance agency. In their wills, the Barkleys left a portion of their assets to the University of Nebraska. Their first gifts totaled almost $16 million and funded the 1974 construction of the Barkley Center, an academic building that houses the departments of communication disorders and special education. The Barkley Trust was configured to also provide support to nieces and nephews during their lifetimes. When the last survivor died in 1996, the remainder of the gift went to the University of Nebraska. The $30 million donation was the largest gift ever received by the university.

**Benton, Mary Lathrop** (attended 1914 A meeting) Dean of Women and Professor of Latin and French, Carleton College from 1914 to 1922. Born in B’hamdun, Mt. Lebanon, Syria to William Austin Benton and Loanza (Goulding) Benton on February 26, 1864. Degrees: AB University of Minnesota 1885, PhD.

Mary was born in Syria where her parents were doing missionary work. She graduated Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Minnesota and taught at the secondary level before spending three years in France. She returned to teach at Smith College for fifteen years, including another year abroad in Italy. The president of Smith during her time there was Marion LeRoy Burton, who
was an alumnus of Carleton College. He directed Mary to the position of dean of women at Carleton, in which President Burton had known Margaret Evans. Mary served at Carleton for five years, with one year’s leave for war service in Italy. Headly and Jarchow (1966) described her contributions: “Like [Evans], she lived in Gridley where life touched all the women of the College. Miss Benton lacked the impressive bearing of [Evans] but never the respect of student or colleague. Deteriorating vision limited her desk work and made recognition of faces increasingly difficult. A by-product of her connection with Carleton was the enrollment of her nephew, William Benton, onetime senator from Connecticut, who after one year transferred to Yale, but who later became a helpful trustee of Carleton” (p. 139).

Berry, Grace Ella (attended 1914 A, 1917 A meetings) Dean of Women and Associate Professor of Physics and Mathematics, Pomona College from 1909 to 1927. Born in Worcester, Massachusetts to Elias Burbank Berry and Rebecca (Page) Berry on December 23, 1870. Degrees: BA Mount Holyoke College 1892, BS Mount Holyoke College 1893, MA Mount Holyoke College 1899. Other deanships: Colby College.

Grace grew up in Massachusetts, and got her bachelor’s and master’s degrees from Mount Holyoke, where she studied physics and mathematics. She also studied at Cornell University and the University of Illinois summer schools. Soon after her last degree, she taught at the college level, alternating between appointments at Mount Holyoke and Western College for Women in Ohio. She served as Dean of Women of Colby College in Maine for seven years before landing at Pomona College. There, she was Dean of Women and taught mathematics for a total of 26 years, living in Sumner Hall, the women’s residence hall. The last eight years of her tenure were devoted to teaching but she continued to serve on the cabinet. In 1918 she founded the Pomona Valley Branch of the AAUW, for which she is remembered with the Grace Berry Award for Women in Graduate Studies sponsored by the Intercollegiate Women’s Studies Center of the Claremont Colleges.

Antoinette began life in the East, with all its tradition, but she was drawn to frontiers. She was born and raised in New York, attended Wellesley College, and taught in private schools in New York and Massachusetts before founding and serving as principal of Settlement School, in the countryside of Hindman, Kentucky. After earning a master’s degree at Columbia University, she headed west. In 1934, reflecting on the establishment of her position, she described the reasoning of the president of the University of Colorado: “You know Baker awoke some time ago to the fact that there were girls on this campus. He had never noticed that before. What should he do about it? He withdrew into his study for an hour or so: ‘Oh yes,’ said he, ‘I’ll get a Dean of Women.’ And he’s never given the subject a thought since” (as cited in Cuthbertson, 1940, p. 12). The philosophy at Colorado was that plain living was good for high thinking, and the conditions were spartan for both the dean of women and students. But Dean Bigelow won over the president and the board thoroughly enough to secure basic amenities and perhaps a few luxuries for her women students. She was dearly loved for the 28 years she was Dean of Women and the six years she was Associate Professor of English Literature. With the few other female faculty members, she worked to add women to the faculty, improve conditions for women’s physical education, establish honorary societies for women, and build a new women’s residence hall. She wrote that she was most fortunate “to have have served long enough to have seen young women entering as freshman girls and graduating as senior women” (Pettern, 2001, ¶ 15).

Her favorite recreation was riding horses, and in the mountains of Colorado she had that opportunity. Her ashes were buried near her summer home in Gold Hill, under wildflowers in an Aspen grove in the town’s small mountain cemetery. She is well-remembered at the University of

Anne attended her first conference of deans of women as a student at Columbia Teachers College. Before her study there, she had earned her bachelor’s degree at the University of Minnesota and taught secondary school in Minnesota and Idaho. While at Teachers College, she was among the women who approached the faculty about beginning a course of study for deans of women. She was present at the first NADW meeting in 1916 and was its secretary from 1916 to 1919. She was an instructor in the Teachers College program, and taught sociology and economics at William Smith. When she submitted her biographical listing for publication in the late 1930s, she included a long list of hobbies, including “jewelry making, collecting antique furniture, antique glass, antique jewelry, Persian cats, Pekinese dogs” (Howes, 1981, p. 88).


Bertha graduated from Radcliffe College and later served her alma mater as Dean of the College. She earned a doctorate from Johns Hopkins University in 1924, writing *A Psychological Study of Immigrant Children at Ellis Island* which was published in 1970 as part of the mental measurements monographs series.

Elizabeth attended the 1914 ACA conference of deans of women as a second representative of Penn State, along with Dean of Women Sara Cutts Lovejoy. She had graduated with both BS and MS degrees in chemistry from Penn State, where her thesis was entitled *The Ash Constituents of Various Meats*. Both Bower and Lovejoy joined the faculty at Hood College in Frederick, Maryland in 1924, Bower as a professor of chemistry. She served there for 28 years, until 1953. She is remembered there with the Elizabeth B. Bower Prize for an outstanding student in chemistry. The prize was established by one of her students, who had been inspired by Bower to choose a career in chemistry (M. Metz, Hood College, personal communication, August 12, 2004; P. Townsend, Hood College, personal communication, August 25, 2004).

Breed, Mary Bidwell (attended 1903 M, 1905 S, 1907 S, 1909 R, 1914 A meetings) Dean of Women and Assistant Professor of Chemistry, Indiana University from 1901 to 1906 (also attended conferences as a representative of the University of Missouri and Margaret Morrison Carnegie College). Born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania to Henry Atwood Breed and Cornelia (Bidwell) Breed in 1870. Degrees: AB Bryn Mawr College 1894, MA Bryn Mawr College 1896, PhD Bryn Mawr College 1901. Other deanships: University of Missouri and Margaret Morrison Carnegie College (now Carnegie Mellon University). Died in 1949.

Mary Bidwell Breed had an impressive family tree of notable Americans, and was a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution. She was a triple graduate of Bryn Mawr College, and in 1894-1895 used a Bryn Mawr European Fellowship to study at Heidelberg in Germany. Her chemistry dissertation was entitled *The Polybasic Acids of Mesitylene*, and her chemistry work earned her a listing in the prestigious directory, *American Men of Science* (an honor also belonging to Fanny Cook Gates). She was the first Dean of Women at Indiana University, but was lured away by the University of Missouri when offered a more attractive package of compensation and
duties. After having been unsuccessful at convincing Indiana University leaders that they should build modern housing, she could not help but note in her resignation letter that Missouri “owns a model hall of residence for women students, of which I shall be head. The hall is conducted by the University in an enlightened way, and is an invaluable tool in my profession” (Breed, 1906, p. 1). She later returned to her hometown of Pittsburgh to work at Carnegie College, and traveled extensively in her retirement. For a more detailed biography, see Jana Nidiffer’s *Pioneering Deans of Women*.

**Breyfogle, Caroline May** (attended 1913 S, 1914 A, 1917 A meetings) Dean of Women and Professor of Biblical History, Literature, and Exegesis, Ohio State University from 1912 to 1918. Born in Columbus, Ohio to Charles Breyfogle and Matilda (Cloud) Breyfogle in 1874. Degrees: BA University of Chicago 1896, PhD University of Chicago 1912. Died in Columbus, Ohio on October 14, 1941.

Caroline came from central Ohio, but left to attend college at the University of Chicago and then study at the University of Berlin. She taught Latin at Wellesley College for six years before completing her PhD. Her scholarship combined her interests in religion and the roles of women, resulting in titles such as “The Social Status of Women in the Old Testament” (in *Biblical World*) and “The Hebrew Sense of Sin in the Pre-Exilic Period” (in *American Journal of Theology*). In 1912, the Cleveland Alumnae Association lobbied Ohio State to create a dean of women position, and Caroline returned to Ohio. She was credited by Mendenhall (1926) with four major accomplishments at Ohio State: institutional admission to the ACA, the granting of self-governing powers by the trustees and president to the Women’s Student Council, improved boarding houses, and a weekly lecture for freshmen. She was president of her local College Equal Suffrage League in 1914, and, after resigning from her deanship, she served as president of the Franklin County League of Women Voters.
**Brooke, Louisa** (attended 1913 S meeting) Adviser of Women and member of the English faculty, University of Oklahoma from 1912 to 1914. Degrees: bachelor’s degree from Vassar College.

After having two deans of women (the first was Lucile Dora), the University of Oklahoma changed the title of the office to Adviser of Women and appointed Louisa, who was teaching in the English department. She served for only two years, but in that time was successful in helping the students to organize a woman’s league. After 1914, Louisa returned to teaching English, but served as an informal resource for women.


After graduation from Boston University, Clara taught and administrated in high schools in New Hampshire, Illinois, and Massachusetts. For two years she was dean at Forest Park University in St. Louis. She was Dean of Women at Bates College in Maine for eight years, during which time she attended the 1917 ACA conference of deans of women. Bates College bestowed an honorary degree in 1921, at her departure. After leaving, she was briefly the acting dean at St. Johnsbury Academy in Vermont, and then returned to Massachusetts to earn a master of education at Harvard, and to teach in a private school.


Laura met Russell Conwell when she became one of his students. After she graduated from high school, she was contacted by Conwell to join him as he founded and built a new university. She accepted his challenge. She worked closely with the charismatic speaker and leader, and was
known as “Conwell’s right-hand-man” (Bjork, 1978, p. 46). A summary provided by the Temple University Libraries outlined her contributions:

Next to Russell Conwell, Dean Laura Carnell is probably the person most closely associated with the early years of Temple University. She spent 35 years at Temple, mostly in top administrative positions, and as de facto president during President Conwell’s frequent lecture trips. She came to Temple in 1893 as Principal of the Women’s Department. She became Acting Dean in 1897, Dean in 1905, and was made Associate President upon Conwell’s death in 1925. She is credited with developing the Teacher’s College (now College of Education), the Women’s Club, the School of Nursing and a host of other activities and programs at the University. (Crawford, 1986, p. 10)

She is remembered in the City of Philadelphia with a public school named for her, and at Temple University with a dozen Laura H. Carnell Professorships, which provide research grants of $10,000 to outstanding faculty.

Carter, May Esther (attended 1909 P, 1910 A meetings) Dean of Women, Lawrence College from 1905 to 1914. Degrees: AM.

May was Dean of Women and an instructor of literature, living with the women in Ormsby Hall. Her work was key in bringing Lawrence into the membership of national organizations, the ACA and Phi Beta Kappa. In the 1915 Alumni Record, published shortly after her retirement from Lawrence, she was recognized:

Miss Carter was soon known among the students as an “inspirational teacher,” one with boundless enthusiasm for her subject and the power to impart that enthusiasm to her students. Miss Carter’s influence reached much farther than her classroom and Ormsby Hall . . . She had such a delicate sense of fitness of things that she seemed always to do or suggest just the right thing. Every one listened eagerly for Miss Carter’s toast at a banquet, her talk at a reception, or her word in prayer meeting or Bible class . . . Probably the most precious and the most lasting memories of Miss Carter are connected with the religious life
of the college. Her Sunday morning prayer services in the Ormsby parlors, her testimonies in prayer meeting and the Y.W.C.A. meetings, and her private talks with the girls about Christ life, - who shall say how far their influence shall extend? (p. 136)

Cheever, Louisa Sewell (attended 1914 A meeting) Instructor through Associate Professor of English, Smith College from 1900 to 1912 or later. Born in Worcester, Massachusetts to Rev. Henry T. Cheever, DD, and Jane (Tyler) Cheever on June 10, 1868. Degrees: AB Smith College 1890, AM Columbia University 1897.

Louisa’s grandfather was a medical doctor, and both her uncle and her father were Bowdoin-educated ministers and very prolific writers on various religious issues (missionary work, anti-slavery efforts, temperance) in the middle of the nineteenth century. Her father also wrote travel books, and is still known for his 1850s works on the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands from his travel there. Louisa attended Smith College for her bachelor’s degree and Columbia University for her master’s degree, and then became a professor of English at her alma mater. She was a life member of the ACA, and shared her father’s interests enough to be a member of the American Geographical Society. Other memberships that imply her professional interests were the Consumer’s League, National Playground Association, and the National Child Labor Committee.


Jane attended the 1914 ACA conference of deans of women with her fellow Columbia student, Anne D. Blitz. She had returned for graduate study after teaching in Boise, Idaho.

Colvin, Caroline (attended 1907 S meeting) Instructor, Assistant Professor, and Professor of History, Dean of Women, University of Maine from 1902 to 1932. Degrees: BA Indiana University 1893, PhD University of Pennsylvania 1901.
Caroline was a graduate of Indiana University. Along with Louise Goodbody, who was in the class one year behind her, she was highlighted as an outstanding alumna in Woodburn’s (1940) *History of Indiana*. She completed her PhD in history in 1901 with the thesis *The Invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce*, and then headed to the University of Maine for a position on the faculty. She began as an instructor, and was, over time, promoted to full professor. She was the University of Maine’s first woman on the faculty, first teacher of a distinct department of history, and, later, first dean of women. She is credited for making the university more open to women faculty, for the building of the history department, and for “a long period of faithful service well performed” (Chadbourne, 1930, ¶ 2). In 1930, the University of Maine named its new women’s residence hall in her honor. Today, Colvin Hall houses the Honors College and the building has recently undergone renovation.


The daughter of a regent of the University of Minnesota, Ada found her place in a number of colleges and universities. She returned to the University of Minnesota to be the dean of women, she returned to Smith College to be the dean, and she became the president of Radcliffe College. Although she never earned a doctorate, she held eight honorary doctorates. She was pursued by a suitor while dean of women at Minnesota, but chose to pursue her career rather than marriage. They reconnected and married years later, in their retirements, and lived into their nineties. Ada Comstock
is memorialized in many ways in higher education, and has the distinction of having residence halls named for her on three different campuses (University of Minnesota, Smith College, and Radcliffe College).

**Conrad, Elisabeth** (attended 1914 A meeting) dean of women, Earlham College from 1912 to 1915. Degrees: BA University of Wisconsin 1909, MA University of Wisconsin 1910, PhD University of Wisconsin 1919. Other deanships: Ohio State University.

Elisabeth earned her bachelor’s and master’s degrees at the University of Wisconsin, taught briefly in Kansas City, Missouri, and then was an officer and teacher at Earlham College for three years. When she left, **Martha Doan** became the Dean of Women and Elisabeth went back to Wisconsin to earn her PhD. Her thesis was *Evolution of French Criticism of the Social Drama of Ibsen from 1890 to 1906*. With her new degree, she became Dean of Women and Assistant Professor of Romance Languages at Ohio State University, where she remained until her resignation in 1926.


Cora was a Smith College alumna, and also studied at the University of Chicago and the University of Gottingen in Germany. She taught in, and was a lady principal of, several high schools before she came to the Pennsylvania College for Women (now Chatham College) in 1906. There, she was dean until 1917 and then president until 1933, giving a total of 27 years of service. She was very committed to vocational placement for women workers, served as Chairman of the
National Committee of the Bureau of Occupations, and lectured on the topic. She was especially involved in the YWCA.

Like many of the deans of women, her legacy is partially expressed through her students. One year, a young woman came to the college with a $100 scholarship, but could not afford the remainder of the $1000 bill. Cora and her colleague, dean Mary Marks, marshaled personal loans from friends and colleagues to make the student’s enrollment a possibility. Rachel Carson was able to pay her bills, later changed her major from English to zoology, and went on to write the environmental warning, *Silent Spring*. Chatham College awarded Cora an honorary doctorate, and today the Cora Helen Coolidge Hall of Humanities includes classrooms, faculty offices, the Margaret H. Sanger Lecture Hall, and the Rachel Carson Institute.

**Corbett, Virginia H.** (attended 1909 R, 1910 A meetings) Advisor of Women and professor of history and literature, Colorado Agricultural College (now Colorado State University) from 1900 to 1925 or later. Degrees: Iowa State Agricultural College 1893 (now Iowa State University). Died in the 1930s.

She was the long-time Advisor of Women at what has become Colorado State University. There, she “would regularly be seen guiding a College horse and surrey through the streets of Fort Collins” (Hansen, 1977, p. 191) on her way to visit students at their boarding houses. The Associated Women Students emerged during her time. The group was self-governing, but closely advised by Miss Corbett. She was the first president of the Colorado Association of Deans of Women in 1925. Corbett Hall, a suite-style residence at Colorado State University, is named for her (C. Newman, Colorado State University, personal communication, November 6, 2003).

**Corbin, Alberta Linton** (attended 1909 R, 1909 S meetings) Assistant and Associate Professor of German, University of Kansas from 1902 to 1918. Born in Mound City, Kansas to Myron M. Corbin and Lizzie (Linton) Corbin on April 24, 1870. Degrees: BA University of Kansas 1893, PhD Yale University 1901. Died in 1941.
The state of Kansas was the site of her birth, childhood, and college education. She taught high school for several years and then pursued her PhD in German at Yale University, graduating with the thesis *Contributions to the Study of the Political Lyric in German*. With her new degree, she returned to her alma mater to become a professor of German. She served as an unofficial advisor of women for years, but was finally given the official title in 1918. According to a colleague, she had always wanted to marry and have a family, but instead poured her energies into the university and her students. She fought for a women’s residence hall on campus, and for the Equal Suffrage Amendment in Kansas in 1911-1912.

**Crow(e), Martha Emily Foote** (attended 1903 M meeting) Dean of Women, Northwestern University from 1900 to 1905. Born in Sacketts Harbor, New York to Rev. John Bartlett Foote and Mary Pendexter (Stilphin) Foote on May 28, 1854. Degrees: PhB Syracuse University 1876, PhM Syracuse University 1879, PhD Syracuse University 1885. Other deanships: Iowa College (now Grinnell College). Married John McClusky Crow on August 8, 1884 (he died 1891), daughter Agatha born 1889 (she died 1891). Martha died on January 1, 1924.

Mattie Foote was born the daughter of a Methodist Episcopal minister. All of her degrees were taken at Syracuse University, where as an undergraduate she was among a group of young women who founded the national sorority, Alpha Phi. She was also an early president of the ACA. While Lady Principal at Waynesburg College, she met and, after a three-year engagement, married John McClusky Crow, an archaeologist and educator. Together the newlyweds went to Iowa College, where they each taught and Mattie was the Lady Principal. At first she did not want to use her husband’s name, but was discreetly informed that since they were residing together, their surnames should match. She conceded, but stubbornly added a final e to the Crow name to distinguish herself from her husband. (This variant spelling was rarely used later in her life, but Grinnell College continues to use it as a tribute to her pluck.)

In 1890, her husband and her two-year old daughter Agatha died within a month of each other. She resigned from Iowa College and went to Oxford, England to study and do research for
the U.S. Bureau of Education and the ACA. After returning to the US, she taught Elizabethan literature at the University of Chicago for a time before becoming the Dean of Women at Northwestern University. But she was controversial at both institutions, and from each of them she left unhappy. She relocated to New York City to live with her sister, a librarian, and devoted most of the rest of her life to writing biographies (Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Lafayette) and poetry. She also promoted poetry, especially by supporting novice poets.

She is well remembered by Alpha Phi members as a founder and leader in the early history of the organization, and some material about her can be obtained from the Alpha Phi national headquarters and their publications. Her primary biographer is Julia Wood Kramer, who wrote *The Ever-widening Life: The Story of Martha Foote Crow* and an informative entry in *Women Building Chicago 1790-1990: A Biographical Dictionary*.

**Davies, Caroline Stoddard Crocker** (attended 1914 A, 1917 A meetings) Dean, Jackson College of Tufts College from 1909 to 1921. Born in Methuen, Massachusetts to Samuel Roland Crocker and Jan Breck (Davis) Crocker on December 3, 1864. Degrees: AB Wellesley College 1887. Married in 1895 Rev. Owen John Davies.


Mrs. Caroline S. Davies was selected as the first dean of Jackson College and served fifteen years until her resignation because of ill health. She was a native of Massachusetts and a person of exceptional scholarly achievement and leadership ability. She was graduated from Wellesley College in 1887 and later attended Newnham College, Cambridge University, where she continued her studies in English literature and Greek. She served several years as an instructor at Harcourt Place Academy Gambier, Ohio. Her husband, Rev. Owen John Davies, was for a time the chaplain of Kenyon College. From 1904 through 1909 Mrs. Davies taught in various girls’ schools in the Chicago area and served one year as headmistress of St. Peter’s School, Bayswater, London. She was an active advocate of
women’s suffrage, was a member of numerous professional and scholarly organizations, and was included in Woman’s Who’s Who of America, 1914-1915. At the time of her appointment to Jackson College she was living in Boston, but she moved in 1911 to 72 Professors Row, which was then designated as the residence of the dean of Jackson College. Mrs. Davies came to Tufts as both an administrator and a teacher. She carried the title of Professor of Greek and also taught the Jackson freshmen their basic English course when she first arrived. She was both the first woman to hold an administrative post at Tufts and the first woman to teach at the institution. She was also the first and only faculty member to teach courses exclusively for women. Mrs. Davies filled a difficult assignment “quietly, efficiently, and with most remarkable tact, firmness, and patience.” (pp. 203-204)

Deaton, Eula Weston (attended 1905 S meeting) Dean of Women and Head of Woman’s Hall, University of Mississippi from 1903 to 1907. Born in Tallahatchie, Mississippi to George W. Deaton and Margaret Ann (Boothe) Deaton. Degrees: AB Industrial Institute and College 1889 (now Mississippi University for Women), BS University of Chicago, AM University of Mississippi 1894.

Eula was among the ten young women who comprised the very first graduating class of the Industrial Institute and College, now Mississippi College for Women. After graduation, she taught English there and in high schools in Chicago. In 1894 she became the first woman to receive a master’s degree at the University of Mississippi, and then the first professor of mathematics at Converse College in Spartanburg, South Carolina. In 1903 she returned to Ole Miss to become its first Dean of Women, its first woman faculty member in the department of English, and its first woman elected vice-president of the alumni association. Eula Deaton Hall is named for her. After Ole Miss, she went to Chicago to be the Dean at Austin High School.

DeGreene, Caroline Elizabeth (attended 1903 M meeting) Preceptress, Lawrence University from 1903 to 1907. Degrees: PhB Earlham College 1893, AM University of Michigan 1903.
She taught French and German at Lawrence University, and worked to establish self-
government in the women’s residence halls in 1908. After Lawrence, she did graduate work at the
University of Pennsylvania and was the Head of the Modern Language Department at Friends
Select School, an institution that survives today as a college preparatory school in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

**DeNise, Carrie Louise** (attended 1911 A, 1912 A, 1913 S meetings) Dean of Women, Indiana
University from 1911 to 1914. Born in Burlington, Iowa on November 3, 1877. Degrees: AB Iowa
College 1900 (now Grinnell College). Other deanships: Iowa Wesleyan College and Grinnell
College. Died in 1927.

She grew up in Burlington, Iowa and went away to school in Lake Forest, Illinois. After
graduating from Iowa College, she spent six years teaching before landing a position as Dean of
Women at Iowa Wesleyan College, near her hometown. This position launched her to the same
position at the Indiana University. She apparently encountered difficulties from the faculty there, for
within days after her resignation and departure in 1914, President William Lowe Bryan sent out a
memo to the members of the faculty, asking that they treat the next dean of women well (implying
that they had not done so for the last). “The Dean of Women, I think, has the hardest place in the
University,” he wrote. “Her work is our work - to make this a good place for young people to live.
We should give her a fair fighting chance to succeed. But that is not enough. We should give her
the whole-hearted support which each of us would crave from his colleagues if he occupied her
difficult place” (Bryan, 1914, p. 1). Leaving Bloomington, Carrie found a fair fighting chance
elsewhere, by pursuing graduate study at the University of Wisconsin, a deanship and teaching
position in sociology at her alma mater (by then re-named Grinnell College), and work as secretary
of the YWCA in Brooklyn.
Denise, Edith (attended 1909 R, 1909 P, 1914 A meetings) Dean of Women and Assistant Professor of German, Lake Forest College from 1906 to circa 1916. Born in Ohio. Degrees: BL Lake Forest College 1885, MA University of Chicago 1918.

Edith graduated from Lake Forest College, near Chicago, and went on to graduate study at Bryn Mawr College and a summer at the University of Chicago in 1899. In the 1890s, she alternated teaching modern languages at Iowa College (now Grinnell College) during the academic year and studying in France and Germany in the summers. In 1905 she left to teach German at Indiana University for one year, and then returned to her alma mater as a faculty member and Dean of Women. She served Lake Forest for ten years before returning to graduate study, and earned her master’s from the University of Chicago with the thesis *The Attitude of Nineteenth Century French Criticism Toward Montaigne’s Skepticism* (Michel Evquem de Montaigne).

Doan, Martha (attended 1917 A meeting) Dean of Women and Professor of Chemistry, Earlham College from 1915 to 1926. Born in Westfield, Indiana to Abel Doan and Phoebe MacPherson (Lindley) Doan on June 6, 1872. Degrees: BS Purdue University 1891, BL Earlham College 1892, MS Purdue University 1893, DSc Cornell University 1896, (honorary) DSc Purdue University 1950. Other deanships: Iowa Wesleyan College. Died in Franklin, Indiana on April 15, 1960.

Martha was born to an Indiana Quaker family. She graduated from both Purdue University and Earlham College with chemistry degrees, then went on to Cornell University and completed her Doctor of Science in chemistry in 1896. Returning to Indiana, she taught at the Indianapolis Manual Training High School for four years, then became Professor of Chemistry and head of Raymond House at Vassar College until 1914. Once again returning to Midwest roots, she became Dean of Women and Professor of Chemistry at Earlham College for 11 years, and then held the same titles at Iowa Wesleyan College for 8 years. She retired at age 65, devoting the last 23 years of her life to service in the Society of Friends, Friends Meeting of Westfield, Indiana, focusing her efforts on the training and recording of young ministers. She received an honorary doctorate from
Purdue and the Alumni Citation from Earlham. The Westfield Old Friends Cemetery is also known as the Martha Doan Cemetery and Memorial Park.

**Donovan, Mary E.** (attended 1905 S meeting) Instructor in English, University of North Dakota from 1904 to 1906 or later. Born in Steubenville, Ohio. Degrees: AB Carleton College 1892.

Mary served the women students of North Dakota before university leaders decided to appoint a Dean of Women. She was an English instructor, having taught in high schools in Minnesota and in Florence, Colorado before coming to North Dakota. In 1908, the students finally had a Dean of Women when **Ella Fulton** was appointed and served for 15 years.

**Dora, C. Lucile** (attended 1909 R meeting) Dean of Women, Professor of Romance Languages and Literature, University of Oklahoma from 1908 to 1910.

George Lynn Cross (1981) told the tale of Lucile Dora in his *Professors, Presidents, and Politicians: Civil Rights and the University of Oklahoma, 1890-1968*. He related that when the University of Oklahoma decided to seek a dean of women, Lucile was teaching at the city high school and, hearing about the opportunity, approached the Board directly. They hired her in both dean and faculty roles, with little or no input from the president. In her second year, Cross noted, she attended a conference of deans of women in Chicago. “Word got back to the university that during the meeting she had boasted about how she had been able to tame the wild young women . . . [mentioning] one of her problem children, the daughter of a prominent Oklahoma family” (p. 29). In the aftermath, the president urged the board to dismiss her. They relieved her of her dean duties, but “the colorful woman continued to teach French, despite her less than minimal command of the language” (p. 29) until her retirement in 1943. The incident was one of several that exacerbated the strained relationship between the president and the board. Cross also included an appendix entitled “The Dora Legend” in which he described her “peculiar, though on the whole endearing characteristics” (p. 256). He described her:
She always carried a green parasol, which became the symbol of her presence on the campus. Because of her dubious academic origin, she designed and apparently made her own cap and gown to be worn at Commencement . . . her mortar board, hood, and robe were golden yellow . . . A more frequently observed eccentricity was her practice of taking all that her plate would hold at a meal, whether at a private home . . . or a campus function. She would eat from the plate until she was satisfied, fold what was left in a napkin, and place it in her handbag to be eaten at a later meal. In spite of all this, Professor Dora was a charming woman who made and held the friendships of many, not only at the University of Oklahoma but throughout the state. (p. 256)


Caroline B. Dow was a loyal alumna of Vassar, who did graduate work in Paris and at the University of Columbia. She was particularly interested in vocational placement. She was also involved in a number of organizations including the REA, NEA, ACA, and the New York Peace Society, as well as groups with missions related to supporting the medical and artistic communities.

She attended conferences of deans of women as the Dean of the National Training School of the YWCA, at Lexington Avenue and 52nd Street in New York City. However, she is probably best known for her discovery and patronage of another talented woman of the era. While on vacation in Camden, Maine, Caroline heard a young Edna St. Vincent Millay read her poem “Renascence” and immediately offered to help her attend college. A woman in her forties with a talent for organizing, Miss Dow orchestrated everything for her young protege, from applications and money, to catch-up course work at Barnard, to meeting the right people, to buying appropriate clothes. She continued as a sponsor throughout Millay’s time at Vassar. Millay called Miss Dow “Aunt Calline” in her letters home, and said “she’s ‘de hull ting’ here and lovely to me. She’s the
busiest woman I ever saw” (Macdougall, 1952, p. 32). Millay was more of an adventurer and free spirit than Miss Dow would have liked, and Millay did not always follow the advice that was freely given. But she dedicated her 1921 “Second April” to “My beloved friend, Miss Caroline B. Dow.” Edna St. Vincent Millay was considered the voice of a generation and was the first woman to win a Pulitzer Prize in poetry. For more information about Caroline B. Dow’s role in Millay’s career, see Savage Beauty by Nancy Milford.


Martina’s family came from Norway and settled in La Crosse, Wisconsin. She graduated from Minnesota State Normal School at Winona and attended the University of Chicago. Her first positions were as teacher and principal of various high schools in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. In 1905, President William W. Parsons of Indiana State Normal School requested that the board approve hiring a dean of women. He thought that she should be between 30 and 40 years of age so as to have maturity but still be able to see the student point of view; that she have large scholarship so she could occasionally teach; and that she should become virtually a part of the administration and so should therefore not have too many set opinions about the duties of a dean. He found his dean of women in Martina. She served for five years, and in that time made large steps to improve supervision of housing and establish student organizations.

In 1910, she left to become the principal of Monticello Seminary for Girls in Alton, Illinois. There, she elevated the level of the instruction and made the institution a junior college, changing its name to Monticello College and her title to president. The young college grew in size and physical plant under her tenure, and she became its President Emeritus and a member of its Board of Trustees. The college thrived until the 1960s, and closed in 1975.
Back at Indiana State Normal School, President Parsons must have been impressed by his former dean’s accomplishments, for in 1917 they married. He was 67, she was 47. She returned to Terre Haute as the first lady of Indiana State Normal School and contributed to it in new ways. William Parsons retired from the presidency after 36 years at the post. Martina continued her involvement and support until her death in 1959 at the age of 89. Erickson Hall at Indiana State University is dedicated to her.

Evans (later Huntington), Margaret Jane (attended 1903 M meeting) Dean of Woman’s Department and Professor of English Literature, Carleton College from 1874 to 1908. Born in Utica, New York to Daniel Morris Evans and Sarah (James) Evans on January 9, 1842. Degrees: AB Lawrence University 1869, AM Lawrence University 1872, (honorary) DLit Lawrence College 1898, (honorary) DHL Carleton University 1898. Married in 1914 to George Huntington (he died 1916). Died in Northfield, Minnesota, March 17, 1926.

Margaret was the sixth of ten children of Welsh immigrants. Her father was a merchant tailor, living for a time in New York but ultimately settling in Minnesota. Young Margaret applied to teach at a rural school and passed the examinations and interviews with ease before the Board discovered that she was only 14. They employed her anyway. When she was ready for college, she chose Lawrence because it was the only college in the West that would allow young women to study Greek. After graduating she taught at Fox Lake Seminary (later Milwaukee-Downer College, now defunct) before her master’s work and a job as preceptress at her alma mater.

She was hired by a fledgling Carleton College in 1874, as preceptress and instructor, but within a year was elected Professor of Modern Languages. She had a long and very successful tenure at Carleton, with her titles evolving over time to Dean of the Woman’s Department and Professor of English. She was once invited to become dean, and perhaps ultimately president, of Wellesley College, but declined saying “I am building my brain and heart into Carleton College, and cannot desert her” (Headley & Jarchow, 1966, p. 138). After her retirement in 1908, she renovated a house on the edge of campus and surprised all by eloping with fellow retired professor,
George Huntington. Margaret is well-remembered by Carleton College as one of its historical pillars, and a large residence hall bears her name. She and her husband George are buried in a cemetery on a hill near Carleton, with a view that overlooks the campus.

**Everts (later Ewing), Mary Sleight** (attended 1905 S meeting) Acting Dean of Women and Assistant to the Chair of Public Speaking, University of Iowa from 1904 to 1906. Married Charles Hull Ewing.

Mary attended the University of Minnesota and took a diploma from the Boston School of Expression. She taught expression at the State Normal School at Winona, Minnesota (now Winona State University). She came to the University of Iowa in September 1901 to be assistant to the chair of Public Speaking, and continued that position to 1906. For two years, 1904-1906, she was also Acting Dean of Women.

After the University of Iowa, she married Charles Hull Ewing, a real estate developer who managed his aunt’s bequest of a house to reformer Jane Addams. Mary worked with him in his business affairs, handling auditing reports. Because of Charles’ membership on the Hull House board, there were always connections between Hull House and the family. Mary’s two daughters worked at Hull House. In 1929, when the girls had become young women, the family took a grand tour around the world. The family “rode elephants in India, watched Siamese dancers at Ankor Wat, visited the old walled city of Beijing (then called Peking), sailed to Cairo to view the great pyramids and traveled on to the great capitals of Europe” (Obituaries, 2000, ¶ 1).

Mary Chandler’s parents were born in London, England. They came to the US and settled in Galena, Illinois, where Mary was born, raised, schooled, and married. She went off to college at Ohio State University, graduating Phi Beta Kappa. She continued her education, going to the University of Illinois for a master’s degree. Upon graduating, she remained at the University of Illinois to teach English and, from 1910 to 1912, to serve as Acting Dean of Women. This led to her next position, Dean of Women at Oregon State Agricultural College (now Oregon State University) in Corvallis, where she served for six years.


Florence was selected to succeed Alice Hanson Luce as the dean of women of Oberlin College, from a field of over fifty candidates. Oberlin was her alma mater, and in the time since her graduation she had taught high school in Buffalo and gone to Germany to earn her PhD in philosophy on an ACA European fellowship. When she first arrived for professional work at Oberlin she was the secretary to the president and instructor in philosophy, and moved to the dean position in 1904. Later, her academic focus shifted to Biblical literature. She was also deeply interested in the Near and Far East. She was a writer, producing such titles as Allah, the God of Islam: Moslem Life and Worship; The Daughter of Abd Salam: The Story of a Peasant Woman of Palestine; A Little Journey in Japan and China; and The First Church of Oberlin, 1842-1942: Centennial Celebration. She served Oberlin College for 37 years and died in Oberlin at the age of 84.
**Fuller, Grace** (attended 1914 A meeting) Dean of Women and Supervisor of Domestic Science and Domestic Art, Michigan State Normal College (now Eastern Michigan University) from 1909 to 1914. Degrees: graduated from a special three-year course at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, New York 1905.

Grace began teaching at Michigan State Normal College immediately after graduating from the Pratt Institute. At first she taught in the training school and focused her expertise on domestic science, particularly food science. In 1909 the title of Dean of Women was added to her duties. The 1910 yearbook was dedicated to her by the senior class, and her colleague Edwin A. Strong wrote:

Her home has come to be a social center of great attraction for the girls of the school, who find in her a faithful friend and judicious adviser, and, through her influence, an introduction to a wider circle of interests than they could otherwise have known. (Michigan State, 1910, p. 8)

Although she was only the dean for 5 years, she garnered unusual devotion from students. One alumna wrote almost fifty years later, “She gave me what I needed most, confidence in myself” (as cited in Isbell, 1971, p. 77). Today, the Grace Fuller Scholarship supports early childhood education majors.

**Fulton, Ella Louise** (attended 1907 S, 1913 S meetings) Preceptress of Davis Hall and Dean of Women and Assistant Professor, University of North Dakota from 1908 to 1923. Degrees: BA University of Chicago 1901.

After graduation from the University of Chicago, Ella was a multi-talented instructor of math, English, history, and German at Kalamazoo College for five years. She went to North Dakota to become the preceptress of Davis Hall and, in 1908, was promoted and installed as the University of North Dakota’s first Dean of Women. Her charge was less to maintain discipline than to unite the student body. She quickly organized a self-governing Women’s Senate that created and enforced all rules for women students. She served as dean of women for 15 years, and Fulton Hall is a home to women students at the University of North Dakota today.
**Galloo, Eugénie Helen** (attended 1903 M, 1905 S, 1907 S meetings) Assistant Professor of French, University of Kansas from 1893 to 1941. Born in France. Degrees: BL University of Michigan 1892, MA University of Kansas 1895. Died 1941.

Eugénie was born and raised in France and studied at the Sorbonne before emigrating to the US. After earning her degree at the University of Michigan, she found a position as Assistant Professor of French with Arthur Graves Canfield at the University of Kansas. She became head of the Department of Romance Languages in 1900, and also served as first president of the Kansas Modern Language Association. Because Kansas had no dean of women in the early 1900s, Miss Galloo attended the conferences of deans of women. Her association with the university spanned almost a half-century. A biographer of one of the university’s presidents remarked that “she remained a campus personality till her death in 1941, known for her exacting standards and her extraordinary learning” (Hyder, 1953, p. 269).

**Gates, Fanny Cook** (attended 1914 A meeting) Dean of Women and Professor of Physics, Grinnell College from 1913 to 1916. Born in Waterloo, Iowa to John Cook Gates and Adelia (St. John) Gates on April 26, 1872. Degrees: BS Northwestern University 1894, MS Northwestern University 1895, PhD University of Pennsylvania 1909. Other deanships: University of Illinois. Died 1931.

Fanny was a nuclear physicist. She has been recognized for “demonstrating that radioactivity is not destroyed either by heat or by ionization due to chemical reactions,” and “showed that radioactive materials behave qualitatively and quantitatively differently from phosphorescent materials” (Byers, 2003, ¶. 1). Her work stemmed from the research of Marie Curie. Fanny grew up in Waterloo, Iowa, and her father was an attorney. Her brother became a justice on the supreme court of South Dakota. Fanny got her bachelor’s and master’s degrees from Northwestern University, and then took a year as a fellow in mathematics, Bryn Mawr College, in Gottingen and the Polytechnik Institut in Zurich on an ACA European Fellowship.
Returning to the US, she took a position as the head of the Physics Department at the Woman’s College of Baltimore (now Goucher College) working with dean Eleanor Louise Lord. She took leaves from this post to study with Ernest Rutherford at McGill University and at the Cavendish Laboratory at Cambridge. She spent two years at the University of Chicago studying psychology and eugenics, and then returned to her home state of Iowa as Dean of Women and Professor of Physics (and, later, Professor of Mental and Physical Hygiene) at Grinnell College. She held the same dean and physics positions at the University of Illinois from 1916 to 1918. For three years after that, she was the General Secretary of the YWCA in New York.

For the last decade of her career, she taught and was head mistress in high schools. She died in 1931 at the age of 59. Fanny’s resume and a photo are available online at the UCLA website, *Contributions of 20th Century Women in Physics* (Byers, 2003). There, one can link to full-text versions of her publications, “Effect of Heat on Excited Radioactivity” and “On the Nature of Certain Radiations from Sulphate of Quinine.” She is also listed in the prestigious *American Men of Science*, along with Mary Bidwell Breed.

**Gill, Laura Drake** (attended 1903 M meeting) Dean of Barnard College from 1901 to 1907. Born in Chesterville, Maine to Elisha Gill and Hulda (Capen) Gill on August 24, 1860. Degrees: BA Smith College 1881, MA Smith College 1885, DCL University of the South 1907. Presidencies: College for Women, Sewannee, Tennessee. Died in Berea, Kentucky on February 3, 1926.

She had a varied professional career, but according to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, is best remembered for her contributions to organized placement services for educated women. She was educated at Smith College, and then taught mathematics for 17 years at her aunt’s institution, Miss Capen’s School for Girls. During that time she earned a master’s degree and studied abroad at Leipzig, Geneva, and the Sorbonne. War brought a change of plans, and in 1898 she worked with the Red Cross to place nurses during the Spanish-American War. She continued her work after the war, leading nurse placement at army hospitals, and doing relief work in Cuba with schools and orphans. She returned to higher education in 1901 when she became Barnard’s second dean, and
oversaw construction of the first residence hall. In 1905 she was quoted in a *New York Times* article advocating formal education for all women, because they would have the “training and mental discipline to marry wisely and the economic independence to escape unwise unions” (Perkins, 1999, p. 1).

She then went to Boston and in 1909 established the first vocational placement bureau for college women. Heading south, she worked at both the University of the South and Trinity College in Durham, North Carolina. With American entry into World War I, she again turned to war work as a special agent in field organization for the U.S. Employment Services of the Department of Labor. Approaching age 60, she returned once again to education, first at the Pine Mountain Settlement in Kentucky, and finally as a housemother and teacher serving the Appalachian poor at Berea College. She died in Berea, Kentucky.

Almost two decades after her death, she was honored by the U.S. government with the naming of a Liberty Ship, one of the cargo ships built in the massive construction effort spurred by American entry into World War II. The S.S. Laura Drake Gill was launched in 1944 and sailed under U.S., Greek, and Liberian flags before being scrapped in Taiwan in 1966.

**Goodbody, Louise Ann** (attended 1907 S meeting) Dean of Women, Indiana University from 1906 to 1911. Born in Gainesville, New York to Walter Goodbody and Clara (Javan) Goodbody on September 6, 1868. Degrees: AB Indiana University 1894. Died in Indianapolis, Indiana on March 5, 1911.

Louise Goodbody came from modest means, but forged her own way in life by recognizing and pursuing opportunities as they arose. Supporting herself, she attended high school in Ithaca and had begun college work at Cornell University. When family friend David Starr Jordan became president of Leland Stanford Jr. University, he invited her to join his family in Palo Alto, California. She went along as a caretaker for the Jordan children and secretary to President Jordan, and continued her studies at Stanford. When vice president Joseph Swain left Stanford for the presidency of Indiana, she followed him there as his secretary. She completed her bachelor’s
degree at Indiana in 1894. After working for Swain at Indiana and Swarthmore, Louise set off on her own for a few years, working as an office manager in New York and Chicago and doing graduate study in Grenoble and Leipsig.

By 1903, Indiana University had a new president, and William Lowe Bryan convinced Louise to return to Bloomington as secretary to the president. She also served as registrar for a time. When Dean of Women Mary Bidwell Breed left and Bryan had difficulty finding a suitable replacement, he decided to look closer to home. Bryan surprised the board by nominating Louise Goodbody to the position of acting dean of women. The board was skeptical of her abilities, given her background, but she proved her worth, and was eventually given the position in full. She improved conditions for women, yielding results such as improved retention rates, guides to study, early orientation programs, and a focus on the senior year. She was concerned about unity and democracy among women students, and encouraged young women to look beyond class distinctions when making friends, using her own life as an example.

Tragically, Louise died of appendicitis while visiting her friend’s mother in Indianapolis. Her death triggered great mourning at Indiana, and her funeral was held in the Student Building. She was just 43. In a memorial address, President Bryan outlined four qualities that made her so valuable to Indiana and so beloved: rock-bottom integrity, good judgment, courage, and the ability to make friends. He said that the latter quality was her greatest genius. Today, Goodbody Hall stands on the Bloomington campus as her memorial. Biographical sources and more details appear in the thesis by Rothenberger (1942), available at the Indiana University archives.

Graham (later Hiltner), Mary Catherine (attended 1913 S meeting) Dean of Women, University of Nebraska from 1913 to 1916 or later. Born in Dayton, Ohio to William Ross Graham and Minnie Loretta (Seabrook) Graham on January 30, 1887. Degrees: AB University of Nebraska 1909. Married after 1916 to Arthur Herbert Hiltner.

Mary was born and raised in Dayton, Ohio. After graduating from high school, she completed a course of study in business in Dayton. She then attended the University of Nebraska,
graduating with a bachelor’s degree and a teaching certificate. She stayed and taught chemistry at Nebraska for two years, then returned to Dayton to teach chemistry in the Manual Training School. In 1913 she was back at the University of Nebraska, and became its Dean of Women. She was very active in suffrage causes in both Ohio and Nebraska. She married Arthur Herbert Hiltner, also a graduate of the University of Nebraska. They lived in Los Angeles, California where Arthur was Secretary of the YMCA.

**Guppy, Maria Ruth** (attended 1913 S meeting) Dean of Women, University of Oregon from circa 1909 to circa 1921. Degrees: BL University of Michigan 1887.

M. Ruth Guppy graduated from the University of Michigan in the same class as **Violet DeLille Jayne**. She worked at the Annie Wright Seminary (now the Annie Wright School) in Tacoma, Washington briefly before going to the University of Oregon to be its Dean of Women. The 1921 *Oregana*, the yearbook, included a history of women at the University of Oregon and revealed that it was Ruth’s idea “to bring all the women of the University together not merely for the purpose of a well organized student government, but for the specific aim of raising money for a much-needed Women’s building” (University of Oregon, 1931, p. 204).

**Hamilton, Anna J.** (attended 1913 S meeting) Dean of Women, University of Kentucky from 1910 to 1918.

She was the second Dean of Women at the University of Kentucky, serving for eight years. The president during her time there wanted to encourage a more academic and serious university atmosphere. Students created the Library Club, and were joined by Dean Hamilton. She also provided lectures to the general community, such as her talk on “The Needs of Women” at the Louisville Women’s Club’s first meeting of the 1917 fall season.

Elizabeth graduated from Oxford College for Women in Oxford, Ohio, and taught there for several years before becoming the first Dean of Women at the institution across town, Miami University. She would serve Miami in this capacity for 40 years, retiring at the age of 72. Another large part of her life was the Oxford Presbyterian Church, which she served for an even longer period of time, beginning as its organist and eventually becoming an Elder. She was a divisional vice president of the AAUW, and liked to leave the heat of Southern Ohio summers for vacations in Kittery Point, Maine. Western College for Women, also in Oxford, granted her an honorary doctorate, and at her retirement, Miami’s North Hall was renamed Hamilton Hall in her honor. Delta Zeta, a national sorority, presented the university with her portrait and a scholarship in her name.

M. Anstice Harris (as she was usually listed) earned one of the earliest Yale doctorates awarded to a woman. Her thesis was A Vocabulary of the Old English Gospels. She was hired by Elmira College as its Dean of the College and also led the English Literature department. She served as Dean over the next 30 years, stepping in as Acting President in 1915. She is credited with initiating student government, but her largest contribution was curricular. She brought practical and vocational elements to the offerings of the college, a philosophy popular at public institutions but still meeting resistance at liberal arts colleges. With the president and another professor, she established a program in domestic science on the unclaimed third floor of the science building.
Having already upset a certain contingency with such a move, she remarked that the innovators “may as well be killed for a sheep as a lamb” (as cited in Heslan, 1980, p. 133) and went forward to institute a course of study in law and finance. She authored a number of books in her field of literature. Harris Hall, an academic building at Elmira, is named in her honor.

Harwood, Mary Corinthia (attended 1903 M meeting) Dean of Women and Professor of German and French, Ripon College from 1895 to 1914. Born in Holley, New York on January 15, 1866. Degrees: BL Lawrence College 1888, ML Lawrence College 1888. Died on October 19, 1914.

Mary was raised in Holley, New York, near the shores of Lake Ontario and just west of Rochester. She studied at Lawrence College and, after graduation, continued her studies in France and Germany. She was an assistant principal in the high school in Traer, Iowa and a teacher of French and German in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin before accepting an appointment at Ripon College. There, she was a much-respected dean of women and head of the Department of Modern Languages for 19 years, until her death in 1914. Her portrait is in the Ripon College archives. In her honor, Harwood House was operated from 1970 to 1975. It was built in the 1890s and was originally the president’s house. As Harwood House, it was a residence hall for women students majoring in French, with residents allowed to communicate only in French.

Henretty, Sister Mary Margaret (attended 1917 A meeting) Dean, Trinity College from 1904 to 1921. Presidencies: Emmanuel College.

Sister Mary was a member of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur. She was Dean of Trinity College for 17 years, and was greatly beloved by the students there. Trinity opened in 1900 as a pioneer institution for the higher education of Catholic women. She left in 1921 to become superior of the home of her childhood and early religious life, Mount Notre Dame in Reading, Ohio. Later, she was the second president of Emmanuel College in Boston.
Holcombe, Jobelle (attended 1907 S meeting) Dean of Women and Instructor, Associate Professor of English, University of Arkansas from 1907 to 1942. Born in Springdale, Arkansas on February 5, 1877. Degrees: BA University of Arkansas 1892, MA Cornell University 1906, (honorary) LLD University of Arkansas 1947.

Jobelle was born and raised in Arkansas. She attended Arkansas schools, the University of Arkansas, and began her career teaching in the public schools and colleges of Arkansas. She left briefly to study at Chatauqua, New York and to earn her master’s degree at Cornell University, and even studied at the Universities of Chicago and California, but returned to Arkansas after each sojourn to teach. After Cornell, her return to her alma mater became permanent, and she was named Dean of Women and instructor of English. A residence hall there is named for her.

She was also active in the territorial committee of the YWCA, and in her retirement from the university became the vice president of the Citizens Bank of Fayetteville. However, Jobelle is probably best remembered today for her activities as an undergraduate. With two other women, she co-founded the sorority Chi Omega, and was instrumental in helping it develop into a national organization. She recalled the impetus for the sorority was feeling left out by fraternity talk.

The men were most mysterious about their affairs, and we women were sorry we couldn’t match them. So three of us said we’d organized a sorority of our own, and we said we had a badge and secrets, but we didn’t. The only secret was that we didn’t have any secrets. (Chi Omega History, n.d., ¶ 3)

Their charade included choosing ugly colored ribbons and declaring that the boys couldn’t wear them because they were sacred. But soon they realized that they could turn play into reality, and led a national organizing effort.

Hughes, Winona Alice (attended 1914 A meeting) Dean of Women and Instructor in the History of Art, College of Wooster from 1912 to 1916. Degrees: PhB College of Wooster 1891, PhM College of Wooster 1894. Died 1955.
Winona was a native of Marion, Ohio who sought her education at the nearby College of Wooster. She had an interest in chemistry, and did graduate study at the University of Chicago, Cornell University, Harvard University, and Wood’s Hole. She spent one year as a fellow at Bryn Mawr College and then taught chemistry at Mount Holyoke College for six years. In 1911 she returned to her alma mater as Fiscal Secretary. When alumnae began to lobby the board for a dean of women, the president went looking for a woman with both the sympathetic and cultural qualities of a matron but also “brains of high quality, and know-how in dealing with both men and women . . . real leadership” (Notestein, 1971, p. 33). After a year of searching, Winona became Wooster’s first Dean of Women.

Things went very well in her first three years, with students reporting that she was “by no means as ferocious and tyrannical as some believe. . . . She has been instrumental in securing the repeal of several rules which she regarded as unfair to the young women” (p. 34). However, in 1915, she became the unfortunate victim of a college-wide debacle as a new president took office and commenced a power struggle with the faculty. Lucy Notestein (1971) in Wooster of the Middle West provided a detailed description of the events and some hypotheses as to explanations. But from Winona’s perspective, she was dismissed, was denied a hearing, objected, enlisted the help of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), was cleared by the AAUP of all charges save speaking ill of the president, and, despite the support of her colleagues, was not reinstated.

The incident triggered the formalization of procedures for removing faculty, and instigated a codified tenure system. The national Phi Beta Kappa investigated the climate at the time and declared that Wooster was not yet ready for a chapter, and delayed approval until 1926 (at which time, Winona Hughes was admitted with alumnae status). After her dismissal, Winona retired to her hometown of Marion. Notestein (1971) provided the end of the story: “As for Miss Hughes . . . at her death in 1955 she left a bequest of $5,000 to Wooster College. [To quote Petrarch], ‘to pardon offenses is a most beautiful revenge, but to forget them is still more beautiful’” (p. 124).
**Humphrey, Caroline Louise** (attended 1914 A meeting) Acting Dean, Radcliffe College from 1913 to 1914. Degrees: AB Radcliffe College 1898.

Caroline was an alumna of Radcliffe College, taught there, and was its Acting Dean of the College when she attended the 1914 conference of deans of women at the ACA meeting. She was very active in the ACA, serving as its president from 1913 to 1917. Shortly after her term in office, she was on a number of committees, such as the War Service Committee, which also included among its members **Lois Mathews** and **Gertrude Martin**. Their work was to concentrate the efforts of the whole association upon patriotic education . . . the purpose is to carry into the remotest regions of the country the message of the necessity for this war and the peril of a premature peace . . . Eminent men and women will also be brought from abroad to present the point of view of our allies to the school, colleges and normal schools of this country. The plan is an ambitious one and is deserving of the heartiest commendation. (Clark, 1918, ¶ 54).

**Hussey, Bertha** (attended 1914 A meeting) Dean of Women and Assistant Professor, Associate Professor of English, Kalamazoo College from 1912 to 1913. Degrees: BA, AM University of Chicago 1911. Other deanships: Stevens Point Normal School (now University of Wisconsin Stevens Point).

Bertha began at Kalamazoo College in 1907 as an instructor of Latin and English, and was promoted to Associate Professor of English. She also added the duties of Preceptress of Ladies’ Hall, a title which in 1912 was changed to Dean of Women. She earned her master’s degree from the University of Chicago with the thesis *Classicism in English Tragedy from 1750-1775*. She was later the Dean of Women at Stevens Point Normal School in Wisconsin.

**Jayne (later Schmidt), Violet DeLille** (attended 1903 M meeting) Dean of the Woman’s Department and Assistant Professor, then Associate Professor of English Literature, University of Illinois from 1897 to 1904. Born in St. Charles, Minnesota to Havens Brewster Jayne and Nellie

Violet’s parents were New Englanders, hailing from Long Island, New York and Portland, Maine, but she grew up in Minnesota. After college in Michigan, she was an assistant principal of a high school and then taught English at Wheaton Seminary, State Normal School at Oshkosh, and State Normal School at San Jose (now Wheaton College, University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, and San Jose State University, respectively). She also took a year to study at the University of Zurich. In 1897, she became the first Dean of the Women’s Department at the University of Illinois and set about the pioneer work there. She was polite but doggedly determined to make sure that young women had a better life in college. She urged the president to allow dancing within reason because the students benefited from it. She also wrote President Draper with concerns about the state of the basement space for women students:

In a conversation we had, a week or so before Commencement, in regard to the Woman’s Parlor, you said perhaps if I presented the matter to you when you were not quite so tired out, you might see it differently. May I, then, bring the matter to your attention again?

(Jayne, 1903, p. 1)

Efforts were made at a broader level as well, and she oversaw the University of Illinois’ entrance as a member of the ACA. Her PhD thesis was entitled *The Technique of George Eliot’s Novels*. Shortly after this accomplishment, she married Edward Charles Schmidt, Head of the Department of Railway Engineering. Their daughter, Katharine, was born nine months later. Doctorate, marriage, and motherhood all came in the two years before she turned 38. Although she left higher education, she was a very active club woman, leading in organizations such as the League of Women Voters, the state committee on peace, and the Associated Charities of Champaign and Urbana. She died in 1937 at the age of 70, after a battle with tuberculosis.
**Johnston, Eva** (attended 1913 S, 1914 A, 1917 A, 1919 A meetings) Advisor then Dean of Women and Associate Professor of Latin, University of Missouri from 1912 to 1923. Born in Ashland, Missouri to John Thomas M. Johnston and Elizabeth Jane (Martin) Johnston on May 14, 1865. Degrees: BA University of Missouri 1892, AM University of Missouri 1895, PhD University of Koenigsberg 1905. Died 1941.

Eva was born, and spent most of her career, in Missouri. She attended the University of Missouri, and after graduating spent three years of study at the universities of Berlin, Heidelberg, and Koenigsberg, receiving her PhD in Latin from the latter in 1905. She began her professional career at the University of Missouri as an assistant professor in Latin, and taught for over a decade before becoming first Advisor of Women and then Dean of Women and Professor of Latin. From her entry as a student to her retirement in 1933, her association with the university spanned over 40 years. Her portrait hangs in the university archives. In 1951 the Women’s Hall A was renamed Johnston Hall, and women students living there today are a part of a residential learning community known as E.V.A. Success: Excellence, Vision and Achievement for Women.


Myra was a Michigander. She went to the Battle Creek schools, and later taught there. She began her teaching career in country schools at the age of 16. Her college degree was from the University of Michigan and her twenty-year career as a Dean of Women was at her alma mater. Her only departure was a two-year stint teaching high school in Salt Lake City, Utah. She was married right out of college to Frederick P. Jordan. She became Dean of Women at Michigan in 1902.

Once, in response to an angry letter sent to the president of the University of Michigan accusing higher education of ruining women’s sense of family, she wrote, “The majority of our
women who graduate go out to earn their livings, not because they scorn returning to their parents’ homes, but because they are forced to be wage earners” (Jordan, 1913, p. 1). She had to contend with many fears about coeducation, continuing her response to the letter by politely countering that “I do not believe that they are responsible for the cost of high living, erotic dancing, or any of the other dreadful things that the writer enumerates” (p. 1). Although she did not have advanced degrees or scholarly expertise in a discipline, Myra left a legacy in that she mentored future deans of women, so much so that she was called a “dean-maker” (as cited in Nidiffer, 2000, p. 123).

**Judson, Margaret** (attended 1914 A meeting) of New York, New York. Born in Orange, New Jersey to Edward Judson and Antoinette (Barstow) Judson on February 15, 1880. Degrees: AB Vassar College 1903.

Margaret graduated from Vassar and then taught English at Simmons College before returning to her alma mater to teach there. She also did graduate work at Yale University. She co-authored the book *Composition, Rhetoric, Literature: A Four Year’s Course for Secondary Schools*.

**Kennedy, Grace A.** (attended 1909 P meeting) teacher of Latin, University of Louisville from 1908 to at least 1909.

In 1907, the University of Louisville consisted of a medical school and a law school. Leaders decided that the university needed an undergraduate college of arts and sciences, and revived an older seminary that had closed some years before. The first faculty was made up of local school teachers, instructing part time for the new college. Grace A. Kennedy taught Latin.

**Kerr, Mina M.** (attended 1910 A meeting) Dean of the College, Milwaukee-Downer College (merged with Lawrence University in 1964) from 1910 to 1920. Born in Saville, Pennsylvania to Lewis Barnett Kerr and Elizabeth (Wagner) Kerr on September 15, 1878. Degrees: BA Smith
College 1900, PhD University of Pennsylvania 1909. Other deanships: Wheaton College and Florida State College (now Florida State University).

Mina attended Smith College on scholarship, and after graduation served as the head of the English department at Hood College (in Frederick, Maryland) and Cornell College (in Mount Vernon, Iowa). Her PhD was earned at the University of Pennsylvania, and her thesis (published as a book several years later) was *The Influence of Ben Jonson on English Comedy from 1598-1642*. She was Dean of Milwaukee-Downer College from 1910 to 1920, attending the first ACA conference of deans of women only a few months after beginning her tenure. An early statement of philosophy in working with students appeared under her name in the 1911 *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae*, entitled “The Personal Element in College Work.” She left Milwaukee-Downer in 1920, shortly before the arrival of the new president, Lucia Russell Briggs, daughter of LeBaron Russell Briggs of Harvard. Mina went on to deanships at Wheaton College and Florida State College. She served as president of NADW from 1921 to 1923 and executive secretary of the AAUW from 1923 to 1925, and chaired the 1923 AAUW convention in Portland, Oregon. She was “actively interested in work in college and city YWCA, and in various forms of social work, as probation, settlements, teaching of eugenics and hygiene, clubs for working girls” (Leonard, 1914, p. 454). In retirement she lectured on world affairs, traveled, and collected folk art.

**King, Lida Shaw** (attended 1914 A, 1917 A meetings) Dean of Women, Women’s College at Brown University from 1905 to 1922. Born in Boston, Massachusetts to Henry Melville King, DD, and Susan Helen (Fogg) King on September 15, 1868. Degrees: BA Vassar College 1890, MA Brown University 1894, (honorary) LittD Mount Holyoke College, 1912; (honorary) LLD Western Reserve University 1913. Died in Providence, Rhode Island on January 10, 1932.

The daughter of a Baptist minister who opposed his daughter’s education, Lida persisted and graduated from Vassar College. When her family moved to Rhode Island, she continued her studies by earning a master’s degree at Brown University. She also studied at Bryn Mawr College, Harvard University, and the American School in Athens, Greece. Her field was classics, and she had
a life-long interest in archaeology. She and a fellow student were “the first women to excavate on the mainland of Greece, and their work at the Nymph’s Cave at Vari resulted in an article, “Vases, Terra-Cotta Statuettes, Bronzes and Miscellaneous Objects Found in the Cave at Vari,” which appeared in the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute* in 1903” (Mitchell, 1993, ¶ 1). She became the third dean of the Women’s College at Brown College and a Professor of Classical Literature and Archaeology. In her 17 years of service, she developed a considerable talent for fundraising and academic management, increasing scholarship funds and completing a study of reasons for academic failure. Her efforts also contributed to the completion of two large residence halls and a fund for more campus activities and speakers. Her decision to disband sororities was at first unpopular, but she considered the move necessary to democratize the college. Alzheimer’s disease, the “slow encroachment of the shadow of illness that darkened her later years” (Albert Davis Mead, as cited in Mitchell, 1993, ¶ 3), forced her retirement in 1922. For more detailed biographical sketches, see *Notable American Women 1607-1950* and Martha Mitchell’s *Encyclopedia Brunoniana*.


Anna’s academic love was history. She attended Wellesley College on a Durant Scholarship, and did her master’s thesis at the University of Chicago on *The Diplomatic Career of James Monroe*. She completed all work for the PhD except the thesis, and also studied at Columbia and Northwestern Universities. After her education, she taught in high schools and the State Normal School at Oneata, New York. Her ten-year term as Dean of Women and Professor of History at the University of Iowa encompassed the dates of the four conferences of deans of women which she attended, but her longest professional service was to Oberlin College. She arrived
in 1920, also with the titles of Dean of Women and Professor of History, and stayed for 14 years, followed by 23 years emerita status. A founder of the Women’s International League in 1915, she also remained active in many historical groups even though her later years at Oberlin were devoted to the Dean of Women position. She was a committee chairman in the NADW in the 1920s and a member of the AAUW. She enjoyed boating and collected American antiques. Anna died in the same state in which she was born, Massachusetts.


Lily was born and attended school in her mother’s hometown of Philadelphia, culminating in attendance at the Girls’ Latin School in Baltimore. Her college work was at the Women’s College of Baltimore where she studied chemistry. Securing a Bloomfield Moore Fellowship, she went on to her doctoral work in chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania. She remained as a fellow after graduation, and then was hired as an instructor at Vassar for one year. She set out from there to seek a career farther west, taking a post as the Head of the Department of Chemistry and Physics at the Girls’ High School in Louisville, Kentucky, and remained there for six years before going on to the University of Illinois. In her three years as Dean of Women there she had as an assistant Martha Jackson Kyle and worked in parallel with Thomas Arkle Clark, who is commonly cited as the first person to hold the position of dean of men. In 1911, at age 38, she married Louis John Paetow, a scholar of medieval history. Their son Charles was born a year later, and the family moved to Berkeley, California. Lily devoted over half of her entry in the 1913 alumni directory to her publications, indicating a great deal of pride in them, so they are listed here:


Kyle, Martha Jackson (attended 1913 S meeting) Acting Dean of Women and Instructor of English, University of Illinois from 1912 to 1916. Born in Cedarville, Ohio to Thomas B. Kyle and Margaret (Henderson) Kyle on December 5, 1862. Degrees: A.B University of Illinois 1897, AM University of Illinois 1898. Martha was born in Ohio but went to high school in Urbana, Illinois. She attended the University of Illinois while the office of dean of women was being developed (by Violet DeLille Jayne) and served as Assistant Dean of Undergraduates (under Lily Kollock) and Instructor of English after her graduation. She also took time to study in the summer sessions at the University of Chicago and Columbia University. She was then well-suited to serve as the University of Illinois’ Acting Dean of Women between Mary Fawcett and Fanny Cook Gates, in which capacity she attended the State University conference of deans of women in 1913.

Lewis (later Greene), Mary Elizabeth (attended 1905 S meeting) Adviser of Women, University of Missouri from circa 1903 to 1906. Born in Salem, Ohio to Dr. T. A. Lewis and Jean (Alexander) Lewis in 1869. Degrees: BS Wellesley College 1891. Other deanships: Oahu College (now Punahao School). Married 1906 to Arthur Maurice Greene, Jr. She died in 1954.
Mary graduated from Wellesley College with a bachelor of science but went on to graduate study in English, at the University of Chicago in 1895-1896 and 1899-1900. She was a professor of English at Coates College in Indiana and the University of Dakota (now the University of South Dakota), and dean of women at Oahu College in Honolulu before becoming Adviser of Women at the University of Missouri. There, she met Arthur M. Greene, Jr., the Dean of the School of Engineering and a mechanical engineer. They married in 1906, and she followed him as he took a position at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute and then became the long-time Dean of the School of Engineering at Princeton University. Mary was involved in the ACA, serving as a third vice president and the national chairman of the membership committee.


Born and raised an Easterner, Mabel attended Vassar College and after graduation remained and taught there for nine years. She also studied abroad at La Sorbonne, Paris, and Ecole Normale Superieure, Sevres, France. In 1896, she became a pioneer in several senses, traveling west to become the first Dean of Women at Colorado College. Also its first full-time administrative employee, she was still regarded as a member of the faculty. Colorado College’s institutional historian said of her, “Her most important contribution was to bring to a small western college the sophistication, gentility, and sense of proper behavior typified by an eastern college for women such as Vassar” (Loevy, 1999, p. 71). She was known for being gracious and sympathetic and for emphasizing the personal element in her work with women students. She retired in 1917 and returned east to New Jersey, where she continued involvement in the League of Nations Association and the Foreign Policy Association.

Eleanor attended the public schools of Malden, Massachusetts. She was interested in attending a normal school, but a Smith alumna encouraged her to apply to Smith College and she set off with a childhood friend as her roommate. After graduating and teaching for a short while, she became a student again, winning a fellowship at Bryn Mawr College and doing study and research at Newnham College, Cambridge, England. Her doctorate in history was awarded in 1896, and her thesis examined international arbitration and the nature of peace. Professionally, she found her way to the Woman’s College of Baltimore (later Goucher College) as a professor of history and Dean of the college. She was Dean for nine years, and taught history for all of her 22 years at Goucher.

In 1919 she took a year’s leave for rejuvenation, and did not return. As a favor to her friends at Bryn Mawr, she served for a time as a warden of one of the residence halls at that college, and later in her career was a consultant hired to conduct research projects in vocational placement. She continued her consulting work when she studied the educational outcomes experienced by Smith alumnae. Throughout her adult life she studied, taught, and worked to effect change on the topics of “social hygiene, civics, pure politics, sanitation, equal suffrage, social betterment, [and] peace” (Leonard, 1914, pp. 499-500). In retirement, she tended her small cottage, Grey Gulls, overlooking her colorful garden and the Maine seacoast, and hosted scores of friends and nieces and nephews. Her conversational and entertaining autobiography, Stars Over the Schoolhouse: Evolution of a College Dean provides not only a sense of this woman, but also a window into the world of women students and women educators in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Sara was an alumna of Mount Holyoke College and then did some graduate study at Columbia University and Harvard summer school. In 1907 she became the first Dean of Women at Penn State College. In 1910 she took on the additonal responsibilities as director of the Department of Home Economics. Today, a residence hall in the White Course Apartments graduate complex at Penn State is named for her. She attended the 1914 ACA conference of deans of women with **Elisabeth Bower**. In 1921, they both joined the faculty at Hood College in Frederick, Maryland, Sara as Dean of Women. She died in office, in 1931 (P. Townsend, Hood College, personal communication, August 25, 2004).

**Loveridge, Blanche Grosbec** (attended 1909 P meeting) Dean, Shepardson College of Denison University from 1909 to 1913. Born in Watseca, Illinois to Eugene Fenwic Loveridge and Elizabeth (Mather) Loveridge on September 26, 1871. Degrees: PhB University of Chicago 1903, AM University of Chicago 1913, (honorary) PhD Elizabeth Mather College 1921. Other deanships: Woman’s College of Alabama (now Huntingdon College). President and founder of Elizabeth Mather College, Atlanta, Georgia.

Blanche attended Lake Forest and Northwestern Universities. She also studied in Berlin and Paris, and earned degrees at the University of Chicago. She attended the deans of women conference while dean at Shepardson College, a women’s college in Granville, Ohio that was functioning at the time as a part of Denison University and later officially merged with it. Students lampooned her in the yearbook as “Blanche G.” and she taught pedagogy and the history of art. Her master’s thesis was *Aesthetics of Form Production*. She left to become the dean of women at the Woman’s College of Alabama, and then founded and led the Elizabeth Mather College of Liberal, Fine, and Practical Arts in Atlanta, Georgia. It was named for her mother, and she proudly claimed it to be the first private vocational college in the South (Howes, 1981, p. 540). Her hobby
was planting and raising trees. She was also a prolific writer, focusing on art, children’s literature, and short stories.

**Luce, Alice Hanson** (attended 1903 M meeting) Dean of Women’s Department and Professor of English, Oberlin College from 1900 to 1904. Born in 1861. Degrees: BA Wellesley College 1883, PhD Heidelberg University (Germany) 1896. Died in Berkeley, California on October 1, 1940.

Alice’s doctoral work in English literature in Germany was funded by a foreign fellowship, and her thesis was *The Countess of Pembroke’s Antonie*. She became the second dean of women at Oberlin College, after Adelia Field Johnston. She was concerned about women students’ financial needs, and attempted to institute the merit-based Oberlin Scholars awards. Not an alumna of Oberlin herself, she struggled to understand the close community as an outsider, this challenge and ill health caused her to resign after only four years. She later became the principal of Willard Home School for Girls in Berlin, Germany.

**Maddison, Ada Isabel** (attended 1914 A meeting) Assistant to the President and Recording Dean and Associate in Mathematics, Bryn Mawr College from 1905 to 1926. Born in Cumberland, England in 1869. Degrees: BSc University of London 1892, BA Trinity College (Dublin, Ireland) 1905, PhD Bryn Mawr College 1896. Died on October 22, 1950.

Isabel was born in England and attended the University College of South Wales and Girton College, Cambridge. In 1892 she passed, first class, the Mathematical Tripos (a rigorous mathematical program) but was not allowed a degree from Cambridge because she was a woman. However, the University of London was more impressed, and granted her a bachelor’s degree with honors. She sailed for the US to do graduate work at Bryn Mawr College, where she was awarded the first Mary E. Garrett Fellowship and studied abroad at the University of Gottingen. Her doctoral thesis was *On Singular Solutions of Differential Equations of the First Order in Two Variables and the Geometrical Properties of Certain Invariants and Covariants of their Complete Primitives*, which was also published in the *Quarterly Journal of Pure and Applied Mathematics*. 
Trinity College of Dublin also awarded her a bachelor’s degree, primarily for her work at Cambridge. She spent the rest of her career at Bryn Mawr, in mathematics and as an administrator. She was secretary and then assistant to the president, M. Carey Thomas, the renowned 28-year president of Bryn Mawr. Her roles also included that of Recording Dean. In all, she spent over 30 years at Bryn Mawr before her retirement in 1926.

As a woman in the male-dominated area of mathematics, she once wrote words of encouragement to a frustrated young alumna who was trying to make her way in the corporate world.

The situation seems to be annoying, but it is I fear the kind of thing that a great many of women have suffered and are likely to suffer for the present when business is controlled by men. I hate to confess that there is any sex antagonism in existence, but it is almost impossible to shut your eyes to it. I regret it especially because I have always been most anxious that college women should not regard teaching as their only provision. (Bryn Mawr College, 2004, Reel 206)


Clara was born into a prominent family of the Pennsylvania Quaker community. She grew up on her maternal grandfather’s estate, and was exposed to a medical community that was opening to women as she came of age. She taught school at first, but then decided to go to medical school at the age of 24. After graduation, she spent one year studying pharmacy and became an instructor at her alma mater. When the dean died, she was appointed and began a 31-year career administering and growing both the college and its teaching hospital. Throughout, she maintained a private practice and devoted herself to it full-time after leaving the college.
She is remarkable for being one of the first women physicians in the US, and for playing such a vital role in the careers of the many women physicians who shortly followed her. Her specialty was obstetrics, and her expertise was such that she was invited to lecture halls filled with male medical students to talk about female reproductive processes. She was also a supporter of woman’s suffrage, giving an address to the 50th anniversary convention of the National Woman’s Suffrage Association in 1898. She died of heart disease at the age of 83, and her ashes were buried at Longwood, the Friends burial ground at Kennett Square, Pennsylvania. She can be found in numerous books and online databases of early women physicians. To her is attributed the quotation, “You will often reach patients and cure them by scientific use of your humanity” (Hypatia Institute, n.d., ¶ 18)

**Marshall, Ruth Elizabeth** (attended 1917 A meeting) Dean of Women, College of Wooster from 1916 to 1918. Degrees: BA University of Minnesota 1912, MA University of Minnesota circa 1915. Died on November 15, 1918.

Ruth graduated Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Minnesota and remained to receive her master’s in history. Upon its completion, she took one more year of study at Bryn Mawr College and then went to the College of Wooster in Ohio to be its Dean of Women, replacing the ill-treated Winona Hughes. Wooster’s history treats her thusly:

She was still in her twenties, yet she had stature in every way. She had come not only from a large city but from a great university where as an individual she had stood out, not only for her scholarship, but for her warm personality, her poise, her natural dignity. Instinctively people respected her, looked to her as one they could trust. . . . She was awake, responsive, and full of ideas. (Notestein, 1971, p. 156)

She secured Wooster’s membership in the ACA and initiated a vocational conference for women. But after only two years she decided to go back for her doctorate, and left for Minnesota in the spring. But it was not to be. She died November 15, 1918.
Martin, Elizabeth Leiper (attended 1914 A meeting) faculty and medical adviser, Western Pennsylvania Medical College (now University of Pittsburgh) from 1905 to 1918 or later. Born in 1872. Degrees: MD Western Pennsylvania Medical College 1902. Died in 1945.

Elizabeth became a medical doctor in 1902. She was the first woman on the faculty of her alma mater, the Western Pennsylvania Medical College, where she taught in the department of diseases for women. From 1912 to 1918, she and a classmate served the institution (by then the University of Pittsburgh) as medical advisors in the health service for women. Like many women of the era, she promoted women’s education but still saw wifehood and motherhood as the ultimate aims of women’s lives. “Admitting that ‘brilliancy of intellect is often associated with an instability of the nervous system which makes parenthood undesirable for some of these women,’ Martin nevertheless believed that careful supervision by the woman physician could counteract such dangers” (Morantz-Sanchez, 1985, p. 219).


After completing her degree at Michigan, Gertrude Shorb taught high school for two years before marrying Clarence A. Martin, faculty member and later director of the College of Architecture at Cornell University. They lived in Ithaca, and Gertrude earned her PhD in sociology from Cornell with the thesis, Dying Out of Uncivilized Peoples in Contact with Modern Civilization. Their children, Gertrude and Clarence, Jr., were born in 1902 and 1903, respectively. When both had reached school age and Gertrude turned 40, she became the Adviser of Women. During her time in that position, she was critical of Cornell’s handling of coeducation, seeing the reluctance to use the title Dean of Women as a part of individuals’ “unwillingness to admit that the institution is really and permanently committed to the policy of coeducation; a feeling that the
presence of women somehow renders it inferior to the other great eastern [sic] universities” (as cited in Bishop, 1962, p. 420). She worked to increase vocational awareness and opportunity for women students. Beyond her time as Advisor of Women, she was, in her own words, “active in all local social and philanthropic movements” (Leonard, 1914, p. 544). She taught Bible school, was the first woman member of the Ithaca Board of Education, sat on the Board of Directors of the Cornell Suffrage Club, was the Executive Secretary of the ACA, and was a member of organizations such as the Women’s Christian Temperance Union and the Women’s Educational and Industrial Union. Her 1911 study and presentation on the position of the dean of women was the first systematic research study of student affairs professionals.

Mason, Ruby Elizabeth Campbell (attended 1917 A meeting) Dean of Women and Instructor of English, Indiana University from 1914 to 1918. Born in Stratford, Ontario, Canada to John Mason and Janet Mason in 1871. Degrees: AB University of Toronto 1895, Ontario College of Pedagogy 1896, AM University of Toronto 1899, PhD University of Oxford. Other deanships: University of Illinois and University of Western Ontario. Died in Toronto, Ontario, Canada on July 4, 1942.

Ruby was a Canadian, born and schooled in Ontario. She attended university at Toronto and took a course of study at the Ontario College of Pedagogy before going to Oxford in 1910 for a special teaching certificate. When she returned from overseas, she secured a position at Indiana University as dean of women, succeeding Carrie DeNise. When the US entered World War I, President William L. Bryan committed Indiana University to supporting the war effort, and dedicated sixty acres of campus grounds to the planting of potatoes. Ruby’s contribution was organizing women students, faculty wives, and local women to send a Christmas box to every IU man at the front. In 1918, she resigned to become Dean of Women at the University of Illinois. From there she taught at her alma mater, the University of Toronto, and then went to Europe to do educational research for the Canadian government. She earned her PhD from the University of Oxford and returned to Canada to become the Dean of Women at the University of Western
Ontario. A portrait of her, standing in front of University College, hangs there. In 1938, worsening mental illness forced her retirement to London, Ontario. She died in Toronto at the age of 71.

Mathews (later Rosenberry), Lois Carter Kimball (attended 1913 S, 1917 A, 1919 A meetings) Dean of Women and Associate Professor of History, University of Wisconsin from 1911 to 1918. Born in Cresco, Iowa to Aaron Kimball and Emma Wilhemina (Laird) Kimball on January 30, 1873. Married June 9, 1897 to George R. Mathews (he died December 1899). Degrees: BA Stanford University 1903, MA Stanford University 1904, PhD Radcliffe College 1906; (honorary) LittD Lawrence College 1930. Married again June 24, 1918 to Marvin Bristol Rosenberry. She died at her home in Maple Bluff, Wisconsin on September 1, 1958.

Lois grew up in a small town in Iowa, not far from the Minnesota border. Her father was among the first settlers of the area and was involved with the town school, the local bank, and real estate sales, and eventually became a state senator. Young Lois graduated from high school at the age of 15 and went to Winona State Normal School. Later, while teaching in Salt Lake City, she met a professor, George Reynolds Mathews, and they married. Tragically, he died only 18 months later. She returned to school, earning her bachelor’s degree at Stanford University while teaching to support herself.

The next few years turned Lois into a serious scholar of history, and she connected herself to a network of important male scholars who helped guide her to a PhD at Radcliffe. She was the first woman to pass the Harvard examinations for history, economics, and political science, but at that time she was not eligible for the Harvard degree on account of her sex. Her important historical book, based upon her thesis, was The Expansion of New England. After a time teaching at Vassar College, she went to the University of Wisconsin. With the assistance of the eminent historian Frederick Jackson Turner, she resolutely negotiated terms that would allow her parity with male faculty, in addition to being the Dean of Women. The year 1915 saw the publication of her comprehensive 275-page book, The Dean of Women. In 1918, Lois remarried, to Marvin Bristol
Rosenberry, who became the Chief Justice of the Wisconsin State Supreme Court. For a more
detailed description of her life, see Jana Nidiffer’s *Pioneering Deans of Women*.

**Matzke, Edith Hedges** (attended 1917 A meeting) Cornell University in 1917. Degrees: MD, DPH.

Edith represented Cornell University at the 1917 ACA conference of deans of women. In 1919, she was appointed to the faculty position of Lecturer on Hygiene in the School of Hygiene and Public Health at the University of Pennsylvania. Her position was funded by a grant from the U. S. Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, and she had a secondary appointment in the Department of Physical education. She came at the same time as another woman physician, and they were the first women appointed as officers of instruction in the school. She was later named to the faculty position of Medical Examiner for Women and informally advised all undergraduate women. She remained there for two years, when she left to become the Woman Physician of the University Student Health Service at the University of Missouri, serving from 1921 to 1923. While there, she administered an experimental health program for women students, using student organizations to deliver peer health education, and published the results in the *Journal of Social Hygiene*.


Abby’s passion was the field of physical education, which she expressed in her personal life through her talent as a gymnast. After college, she sought out other educational experiences in her field, attending Dr. Sargent’s School of Physical Education at Cambridge and a summer course in physical training under Dr. W. G. Anderson of Yale, at Chautauqua. She was the first physical
director of the YWCA in Minneapolis, and then went to the University of Wisconsin as both faculty member and the Mistress of Chadbourne Hall. It was in the latter capacity that she attended conferences of deans of women at times when Wisconsin was without a dean of women. During this period, she also taught summer school courses at Columbia Teachers College. After 15 years at the University of Wisconsin, the national board of the YWCA asked her to go to Shanghai, China and establish a school of physical education for Chinese girls. She remained there for 18 years before retiring and returning to the US in 1930. She died in 1954 and is buried in Lakewood Cemetery, Minneapolis. A residence hall at the University of Wisconsin is named for her, in honor of “those qualities for which she is especially remembered: stamina, perception, integrity, and a fine dedication to the larger interests of humanity” (University of Wisconsin, 1966, p. 1).


Ella graduated from Vassar College. After teaching in high schools in Clifton Springs, New York and Detroit, Michigan, she returned to Vassar to become its Dean. She was especially interested in YWCA work, child labor legislation, and student aid for college women. She was Dean when a Vassar alumna, Caroline B. Dow, recruited and presented a young writer, Edna St. Vincent Millay. At first Dean McCaleb wrote to the young woman that she was not qualified and that she had not done well enough at her remedial courses at Barnard College to earn admission. But Millay had her sights set on Vassar, and charmed Dean McCaleb as she did many men and women of her time. The dean was sensitive to the fact that Millay was older and less wealthy than her classmates, and took extra steps to bolster the poet’s flagging self-esteem among dignitaries. Millay wrote a letter home, saying that Dean McCaleb “kissed me Hello right before ‘em all, to show ‘em she loved me, and then she kissed me good-bye just only before me, to show me she loved me. She’s a perfect darling” (Milford, 2001, p. 109).
McLean (later Phillips), Kathryn Sisson (attended 1917 A meeting) Associate Dean of Women and then Dean of Women, Ohio Wesleyan University from 1916 to 1919. Born in Eureka, Kansas to Fletcher Sisson and Sarah Sisson on March 16, 1879. Married 1907 to James McLean (he died 1913), daughter Jean born January 29, 1911. Degrees: BA Ohio Wesleyan University 1901, MA Teachers College Columbia University 1920. Other deanships: Chadron State Normal School (now Chadron State College). Married again in 1920 to Ellis Laurimore Phillips, son Ellis Laurimore, Jr. born February 26, 1921. She died on January 11, 1970.

After college at Ohio Wesleyan University in Delaware, Ohio, Kathryn taught school in Nebraska and worked as secretary for the YWCA in Spokane, Washington. There, she met and married Jim McLean, and they had a daughter, Jean. She settled in to be a stay-at-home wife and mother. But in 1913 Jim died of cancer, and she found she needed to support herself and her daughter. She had always admired her dean at Ohio Wesleyan, and set out to become a dean of women. She took a high school teaching job that gave her contacts to become the dean of women at Nebraska State Normal School in Chadron, Nebraska. As she worked, she realized how little she knew about her new profession. With her sister and young daughter, she moved to New York City to attend Teachers College. There, she helped to start a training program for deans of women and founded the NADW. She also took the position of Dean of Women at her alma mater while she completed her master’s degree.

In New York, she met Ellis L. Phillips, a Cornell University electrical engineering alumnus who was making his fortune providing electrical service to Long Island. They married, she retired from deaning, and their son Ellis L. Phillips, Jr. was born in 1921. She spent the rest of her long life involved in educational causes and helping to manage her husband’s foundation. She lived to be 91 years old. Her son became the president of Ithaca College and served there from 1970 to 1975. For more information about her life and professional work, see her autobiography, My Room in the World: A Memoir by Kathryn Sisson Phillips.

Emilie told an ACA convention that she was a Southerner, “born almost as far south as one could be born without going off into the Gulf entirely” (McVea, 1910, p. 3), and she honored that affiliation by becoming one of the founders of the Southern Association of College Women. When she was young, her family moved from Louisiana to Abingdon, Virginia for her father’s health, but it did not help and her father died. The senior Emilie McVea and her three small daughters moved in with her sister’s husband, who was principal of St. Augustine’s School for Negroes (now St. Augustine’s College) in Raleigh. Emilie’s childhood was spent in close quarters with many cousins and her siblings, eventually leading to the opportunity to go to St. Mary’s, a school for girls headed by yet another uncle. Upon graduation, she attended George Washington University for both her AB and AM degrees, and also studied at Cornell University and Harvard University. She taught and was principal at St. Mary’s in Raleigh, North Carolina, and was an instructor at the University of Tennessee before coming to the University of Cincinnati.

Author of articles on James Madison, John Marshall, Edgar Allen Poe, and Sidney Lanier in the Encyclopedia Americana, she also wrote the monograph Equal Suffrage in Ohio. She was once challenged by an anti-suffrage Cincinnati woman who protested, saying, “‘It will give the vote to prostitutes!’ Miss McVea’s reply was, “Who needs it more?’” (Stohlman, 1956, p. 131). She taught English for eight years and then added to that the role of Dean of Women for eight years. “She was an excellent teacher and as an executive officer she exerted ‘a fine influence, not only among the students, but throughout the City.’ She was of great assistance in securing funds for the erection of the Women’s Building” (McGrane, 1963, p. 230). The latter was done with the help of the ACA. The story was relayed in The History of the AAUW (Talbot & Rosenberry, 1931). After the University of Cincinnati met all requirements for admission except for a woman’s building, Emilie gave a memorable speech to the committee:
I beg you not to admit us without the building. Hundreds of girls are coming to us to-day and hundreds more will come in the future. There is not at present a single hook upon which a girl may hang up her hat, not a single locker where she may leave her load of books, not a single table in a sunny room where she may eat her luncheon, not a cot or a couch where she may lie down when she is ill, not a bit of apparatus by which her body may be trained and strengthened. Keep us out, and we can have a lever by which to secure these things. Take us in, and it may be years before we get them. I beg you not to accept us, and to give me a letter telling me why! (p. 93)

A few months later, Lois Mathews found at her doorstep at the University of Wisconsin a trustee from Cincinnati, saying that he was touring women’s buildings because the ACA would not let them in without one. He seemed sympathetic with the wishes of the ACA, expressing that it was a necessary thing, and that one would be built within the year.

But Emilie had aspirations beyond Cincinnati. While caring for her ill mother, Emilie made the transition to become the President of Sweet Briar College in Virginia, where she served from 1916 to 1924. Because of her own ill health and then a severe heart attack, she retired to Winter Park, Florida and taught English part-time at Rollins College, finally succumbing to her illness in 1928. For a thorough description of her childhood, career, and especially her presidency, see the chapter “Widening Horizons 1916-1925” in Martha Lou Lemmon Stohlman’s (1956) *The Story of Sweet Briar.*

**Meeteer, Henrietta Josephine** (attended 1905 S, 1914 A meetings) Dean of Women and Assistant Professor, University of Colorado from 1904 to 1906. Born in Laporte, Indiana to Joseph Chamberlain Meeteer and Henrietta (Churchman) Meeteer on June 1, 1857. Degrees: AB Indiana University 1901, PhD University of Pennsylvania 1904. Other deanships: Swarthmore College.

Born and raised in Indiana, Henrietta went to Indiana University and then went on to the University of Pennsylvania as the Frances Sargent Pepper Fellow in Classical Languages, earning her PhD in 1904. Her thesis was *The Artists of Pergamum.* Upon graduation, she headed west to
become the Dean of Women at the University of Colorado for two years. She then began a long career at Swarthmore College, serving as the college dean, the dean of women, and progressing through ranks as a professor. She retired Emeritus Professor of Greek and Latin.

**Metsker (later Milligan), Ella Ruhamah** (attended 1910 A meeting) Dean of Women, University of Denver from 1906 to 1911. Born in 1864. Degrees: AB University of Chicago 1906, AM University of Denver. Married in March 1911 to Edward W. Milligan. She died on January 1, 1958.

Ella graduated from the University of Chicago in 1906 and went directly to the University of Denver to teach and become its Dean of Women. She established the dean’s office there and taught art history and Latin. Occasionally, she needed items to be printed, and she brought them to a local stationary company to be done. There she met Edward Milligan, a successful businessman. His wife had died and he was raising four small children on his own, and when he and Ella found they enjoyed each other, they were married. Ella was 47. She continued to teach at the university, less when the children were small and more as they grew older. She was determined to become a more serious writer, and among other things produced books on an art curriculum for high schools and two genealogy books.

Edward wrote his autobiography (Milligan, 1963), and in it provides a window to Ella’s life after she married. He shared stories about their home, gardens, many travels, and other adventures. About their delayed honeymoon, he wrote:

> With a minimum of equipment to carry and good walking boots, we started out and for two weeks we tramped up and down the mountain trails . . . through mining camps now deserted, past forest ranger stations, prospectors’cabins - in rain, sleet and sunshine - one hundred and sixty miles. The adventure of not knowing where we might be by nightfall, the beauty of the mountains beyond us and the flowers at our feet lured us on. We never failed to find a place to sleep out of the weather and most of the time in simple comfort. The trip was recorded in photography by me and in writing by Ella. (pp. 21-22)
In 1942, Ella was awarded the Alumni Medal by the University of Chicago Alumni Association. Awarded to only one person per year and not awarded every year, it “has been reserved for those persons who have attained and maintained extremely high stations in their chosen fields of endeavor and in their service to society” (University of Chicago Alumni, 2004, ¶ 1).


Susan was born to educator parents who operated the Woodburn Female Seminary in West Virginia. Her father died when she was nine. Her mother’s gift of the seminary building was key in the legislature’s decision to locate the state university in Morgantown, and Mrs. Moore became renowned for her public indignation that the new university would not welcome women in its early years.

Susan attended Mount Holyoke, and then was the Dean of the Conservatory of Music at Denison College in Ohio. She avenged her mother in 1903 by becoming West Virginia University’s first Dean of Women and graduating Phi Beta Kappa in 1909. Susan served for 20 years as dean and then remained as an instructor of music. E. Moore Hall at West Virginia is named for her mother, Elizabeth Irwin Moore, and is both a practical and a symbolic reminder of the role of women on the campus. Susan and her mother are buried in Oak Grove Cemetery, each of them living to be 98 years old.

**Munro, Annette Gardner** (attended 1914 A meeting) Dean of the College for Women, University of Rochester from 1910 to 1930. Born in Bristol, Rhode Island 1861. Degrees: AB Wellesley College 1885, (honorary) MA University of Rochester 1910, (honorary) LittD University of Rochester 1930. Died in Providence, Rhode Island on October 2, 1955.
After graduation from Wellesley College, she taught high school history in Oxford, New York and Kalamazoo, Michigan. She was preceptress and teacher of history at Wheaton Seminary (now Wheaton College) in Massachusetts before heading to the other coast. She had completed a library science course at Pratt Institute in New York City, and used it to become the Head of the Cataloguing Department of the Portland Library Association in Oregon. Returning to the East, she began her long career at the University of Rochester as Dean of Women. Men’s and women’s colleges were separate during her service, and she lived just long enough to watch with great interest as the two merged. After 20 years as dean, she retired in 1930, receiving an honorary doctorate and the title of emeritus.

She returned in 1939 for the dedication ceremony of Munro Hall, a women’s residence. A friend recalled that Miss Munro “shook hands with hundreds of women graduates and called them by name without any prompting” (“Miss Annette Munro,” 1955, p. 15). When one remarked that surely she would not remember her, Miss Munro “replied with characteristic humor: ‘Oh yes I do. I had such a time getting you through college’” (p. 15). Another student paid tribute especially to her quiet refinement, humor, fair-mindedness, tolerance and sympathy, and “firm realism that has kept us grounded in truth and the many-sided culture that has invited us into wider interests” (p. 15). She died at the age of 94 and is buried in Providence, Rhode Island.

Nardin, F. Louise (attended 1919 A meeting) Dean of Women and Assistant Professor of English, University of Wisconsin from 1918 to 1930 or later. Degrees: PhD University of Missouri 1914.

Her doctorate in English literature came in 1914, with the thesis A Study of the Tragic Situation and Character in English Drama, 1900-1912. She remained at the University of Missouri as an instructor of English, until she replaced Lois Mathews Rosenberry when the latter resigned in 1918 from the University of Wisconsin. She was also a founder of Pi Lambda Theta International Honor Society, a professional association in education. She served the University of
Wisconsin for many years in coordination with Dean of Men Scott Goodnight, and was an active member of the NADW.

**Newberry, Mary Wheeler** (attended 1914 A meeting) Preceptress of Monnett Hall, Associate Dean of Women and Professor of English, Ohio Wesleyan University from 1906 to 1914. Born in Waymart, Pennsylvania to Rev. Henry Wheeler, DD and Mary (Sparkes) Wheeler on June 14, 1861. Degrees: BA Ohio Wesleyan University 1885, MA Ohio Wesleyan University 1890. Married July 29, 1886 to Rev. Trusten Polk Newberry, son Trusten Polk born May 21, 1887 (son died December 20, 1902).

Mary was born, raised, and schooled in Pennsylvania. She came to Ohio Wesleyan University in Delaware, Ohio for college, and soon after graduation was married. The daughter of a minister, she married a minister. They had one son, but he died when only five years old. She became a graduate student at Radcliffe College and then a preceptress at Pennington Seminary in New Jersey before returning to her alma mater to work with women students. Although she appeared as the old-fashioned preceptress, “austere, dressed in plain black silk with slender white collar and cuffs” (Hubber, 1943, p. 122) she bridged the eras of women in education. She supported and advised a self-governing council and was a member of the Equal Suffrage Club.

**Palmer, Jean C** (attended 1917 A meeting) Head Warden, Vassar College from 1913 to 1917 or later. Degrees: BA Vassar College 1893.

Jean was an alumna of Vassar, and continued her service after graduation. The book *The Magnificent Enterprise: A Chronicle of Vassar College* (Plum & Dowell, 1961) provided a point in the timeline:

1913 February. Wardens, consisting of the Head Warden, Jean Palmer, ‘93, and an assistant warden in each residence hall, replaced the Lady Principal. The social regulations were liberalized at once: students could entertain men on Sundays (with cards of admission
signed by the Wardens) and in their rooms (between 4 and 5 daily with a chaperone.)
(p. 45)

**Park, Mary Isabel** (attended 1914 A meeting) Dean of Women, Heidelberg University (now Heidelberg College) from 1905 to 1929. Born in Monterrey, Mexico to Andrew Park and Mary Park on December 25, 1868. Degrees: BA Mount Holyoke College 1893, PhD Yale University 1904.

Mary graduated from Mount Holyoke and then taught at several academies. She studied abroad at London University and the University of Perugia, Italy, and was among the first women to earn the PhD from Yale. Her thesis was entitled *A Study of the Philosophical Basis of Leibniz’ Optimism*. Heidelberg University’s president wanted to hire a dean of women, believing that “personal oversight was more important than rules, and that someone was needed who would be a ‘companion, chaperone and guide’” (Williams, 1952, p. 205). In 1905, he hired Mary Isabel Park. She served in that role until 1929, a full 24 years, and then remained on the faculty as a Professor of Philosophy, and as acting Dean of the College from 1938 to 1940. She was an active member of the AAUW, the Red Cross, the YWCA, the Ohio College Association, and the Tiffin Women’s Club.

In 1925, when Heidelberg celebrated its 75th anniversary, she contributed an elaborate dramatic production about the history of the college. “Bleachers and benches were inadequate for the huge audiences which attended, 2000 on the first night, 3000 on the night following . . . . Twenty-five hundred copies were printed and distributed free to the alumni and visitors who attended” (Williams, 1925, p. 231).

**Pattee, Loueen** (attended 1917 A meeting) Dean of Women, University of Cincinnati from 1916 to 1921. Degrees: AB Iowa College (now Grinnell College) 1908. Died 1921.

Loueen graduated from Iowa College with a degree in German and French, and taught in a private school in Munich, Germany. In 1916 she became Dean of Women at the University of Cincinnati, when **Emilie Watts McVea** left to become the president of Sweet Briar College. She
was also a Lecturer in the History of Art. She died while in office, in 1921, and the student yearbook of that year was dedicated to her in memoriam. Her photograph was encased in a thick black frame, and beneath it was printed

Whereas, God in His infinite wisdom has seen fit to take from our midst our beloved Dean of Women, Loueen Pattee, and Whereas, In the death of Loueen Pattee, the University and the community loses a woman who gave unsparingly of herself for the advancement of educational, social and artistic ideals; now, therefore, Be It Resolved, That the Student Council, in the name and in the behalf of the entire student body, does express the sincere sorrow and bereavement of the students; and Be It Further Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the brother of Dean Loueen Pattee (University of Cincinnati, 1921, p. 35)


Gertrude graduated from Grinnell College (newly-renamed, from the earlier moniker of Iowa College) and immediately took the post of Dean of Women. In 1910, during her tenure as dean of women, she married Charles B. Austin, a Grinnell professor of economics. The couple was generous to Grinnell College in their wills, and today there is an endowed chair for the Gertrude B. Austin Professor of Economics.

**Piutti, Anna Adams** (attended 1914 A, 1917 A meetings) Dean, Wells College from 1907 to 1914 or later. Born in King Ferry, New York to Samuel Adams and Sarah M. (Smith) Adams on April 3, 1858. Degrees: AB Wells College 1877. Married June 19, 1879 in King Ferry, New York to Max Piutti (he died 1885), daughter Minna. Anna died on June 18, 1932.

A life-long New Yorker, Anna was the valedictorian of her class when she graduated from Wells College in 1877. Shortly after, she married Max Piutti, and they had a daughter, Minna.
However, he died in 1885, after only six years of marriage. In 1888 she became Professor of Hygiene and Physiology at her alma mater, and in 1907 became Dean. Today at Wells College, students who have health issues can go to the Anna Adams Piutti Health Center, built in 1962.

Plaisance, Sarah de Maupassant (attended 1914 A, 1917 A meetings) Dean of Women and Lewis Professor of French, St. Lawrence University from 1915 to 1927. Born in New Orleans, Louisiana. Degrees: AB University of Colorado 1906, AM University of Colorado 1908.

Sarah was born and raised in New Orleans where she spoke both French and English as a child. The former became her academic specialty. Both her bachelor’s and master’s degrees were earned at the University of Colorado, and she did additional work at Tulane University and the Alliance Française in Paris. She became a professor of Romance Languages at Buchtel College (later the University of Akron) and served there for five years. The president of Buchtel was a graduate and supporter of St. Lawrence University in New York, and was likely a reference for her next job. In 1913 she became the Lewis Professor of French at St. Lawrence, and also the Dean of Women beginning in 1915. She taught there until her retirement in 1941. Institutional historians Young and Delmage (1957) wrote that “she brought to the campus of the little North Country college the charm of a southern lady and the sophistication of a widely traveled cosmopolite. . . . For twenty-eight years Mademoiselle (as everyone called her) labored patiently and valiantly to pull students through the intricacies of French grammar, literature, and conversation” (p. 127).

Born in Illinois, Mary graduated from Illinois Wesleyan University before seeking bachelor’s and master’s degrees at Boston University. She became a long-time Dean of Women at Northwestern University. She continued to find ways to study while a dean, traveling to the American School for Classical Study in Rome, Italy in 1904-1905 and the University of Geneva in 1912-1913. As dean she moved event planning from a faculty committee to a student committee, so social life would no longer be, as she wrote with a touch of drama, “certain entertainments granted as concessions to frivolous youth by the powers that be” (as cited in Williamson & Wild, 1976, p. 126). She was the leader of the first conference of deans of women with the ACA, and authored the 1927 committee report on the history of the NADW. After her long service to Northwestern, she left to become the Dean of Women at Monmouth College in Illinois. “This pulling up the roots of a quarter century has not been easy,” she wrote Marion Talbot, “but I am most happy in the prospect of life and work here in Monmouth College” (Potter, 1929, p. 2). In the summers she escaped to Pentwater, Michigan, to “Lake Michigan and little Pentwater Lake and the pine trees and the sand dunes” (p. 1).


Florence was a graduate of Mount Holyoke, and after a brief teaching stint at a high school in Waterford, Connecticut, spent the rest of her career at Mount Holyoke. She taught mathematics for 15 years before beginning her administrative service, becoming Appointment Secretary and Collector, and for 20 years its first Dean. Her association with the college from entry as a new student to retirement lasted almost a half-century. In the mid-1920s she held several officer positions in the NADW. She maintained an interest in peace, holding membership in the Foreign Policy Association, the National Association for Prevention of War, and the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association. In retirement she traveled extensively and promoted education abroad,
serving on the boards of the Women’s Christian College and St. Christopher’s Training College, both in Madras, India.


Anna taught writing and drawing at the Normal School at Indiana, Pennsylvania (now Indiana University of Pennsylvania) from 1876 to 1878, and in 1890 became Pennsylvania State College’s first instructor of industrial art and design.

Graphics comprised an important aspect of engineering education, and Redifer’s principal task was to teach industrial and mechanical drawing to students in the technical courses. She soon inaugurated instruction in freehand drawing, pottery, painting, and stained-glass design as well, subjects that formed the foundation of Penn State’s fine arts program. (Bezilla, 1985, p. 66)

The new design-oriented curriculum for women included courses in education and art history. Anna built the department into a solid unit, retiring in 1914 as Penn State’s first associate professor with emeritus status. Today, Penn State students eat at the Redifer Dining Commons.

**Richards, Jean Marie** (attended 1914 A meetings) Dean of Women, Syracuse University from 1909 to 1924. Degrees: BL Smith College 1895.

Jean began teaching English at Syracuse University right out of college in 1895. She was promoted to full professor in 1903, becoming Dean of Women when the position was created in 1909. In addition to the regular duties of residence and social life, she instituted vocational guidance for women. She retired in 1924 after almost 30 years of service.
Richardson (later Fiske), Louisa Holman (attended 1903 M meeting) Associate Dean, Ohio Wesleyan University from 1902 to 1903. Degrees: BA Boston University 1883, MA Boston University 1887, PhD Boston University 1891. Other deanships: Carleton College. Married Everett O. Fiske.

Louisa earned all three of her degrees from Boston University, with her PhD coming at the early date of 1891. As part of her doctoral study, she was awarded the first ACA European Fellowship and completed it at Newnham College, Cambridge University, England. Her research included three separate trips to Italy to study antiques and archaeological remains. She took a position as Professor of Latin at Carleton College and spent 17 years teaching and continuing her research there, sometimes filling in as lady principal for Margaret Evans when the latter was on sabbatical. She spent one year as Associate Dean at Ohio Wesleyan College, during which she attended the 1903 conference in Chicago.

Her career went in another direction when she became the general secretary (and executive secretary) for the British-American YWCA and lived at 93 boulevard St. Michel in Paris for four years. After marriage to Everett O. Fisk, she became vice-president and treasurer of Fisk Teachers Agency (1915-1955). In 1922, she affirmed her ties to her three-time alma mater, accepting her election to the Board of Trustees of Boston University.


Born two months after the death of her father, she and her mother moved in with her grandmother and aunt and struggled on a limited income. After high school and six years of
teaching, she attended the normal school in Ypsilanti, Michigan. She became a working student, using her income as a teacher to complete her degree in biology at the University of Michigan. Age 31 and with a newly-minted degree, she taught at Vassar College, continued her study of botany (including trips to Jamaica and the Hawaiian Islands), and worked to complete advanced studies at Columbia University. Her doctorate was awarded based on the thesis *A Taxonomic Study of the Pteridophyta of the Hawaiian Islands*.

While at the 1913 summer session at the University of Wisconsin, she served as acting dean of women for Lois Mathews. This put her in the sights of the selection committee from Delaware, then seeking a dean. She later wrote that it was hard to leave botany, teaching, and especially an unfinished research problem, but she could not resist the opportunity to shape a new institution and its students. At age 47, she finally found her professional home at the Women’s College of Delaware, and served for 24 years as its first dean. Short in height but aggressive in nature, she was called “Queenie” because of her regal bearing. In 1940, Science Hall was renamed Robinson Hall in her honor, and she’s well-remembered by the institution. She died at 95 years old, living until 1963. In his 1986 *The University of Delaware: A History*, John A. Monroe called her “one of the five or six most important figures in the history of the University of Delaware” (p. 206). See his book for sources and more detail about her life, particularly at Delaware.

**Sawyer, Mary Alma** (attended 1917 A meeting) Dean of the Western College and Seminary, Western College for Women (now Miami University of Ohio) from 1895 to 1920. Born in Reading, Vermont to Orren S. Sawyer and Sophronia (Wheelock) Sawyer on November 26, 1854. Degrees: Mount Holyoke Seminary 1879, AM Mount Holyoke College 1901, (honorary) LittD Miami University 1907, (honorary) LLD Western College for Women 1920. Presidencies: Acting President Western College for Women.

Born and schooled in Vermont, Mary went off to Mount Holyoke for college and then taught for five years at Demill Ladies College in Oshawa, Ontario, Canada before locating the institution to which she would devote her career. She began work at Western College for Women in
Oxford, Ohio in 1887 as an instructor in chemistry and physics. In 1895, President McKee, who was a friend of the dean of women Adelia Johnston of Oberlin, decided that Western needed a Dean. She tapped Mary. Asked to describe the role of dean, McKee said, “Someone to be my lord-high-everything-that-I-can’t-be” (Nelson, 1953, p. 100). Sawyer served so ably that she was twice promoted to serve as acting president, in 1906-1908 and 1912-1913.

She was honored with two honorary doctorates, one from Western and one from Miami University, which would later merge with Western. The 1920 Western College for Women commencement was dedicated to her on the occasion of her retirement, and she was presented with a gift of a trip around the world. The trip was lengthened by two years when she temporarily came out of retirement to serve at the Ming Deh School in Nanking, China, where she had stopped to visit some of the Western College students.


Referred to as Jennie in primary sources from the 1890s, she was a native of Franklin, Ohio. She had experiences as a teacher of English and principal in Ohio and Illinois before her bachelor’s degree work, and then went to study in several European universities. She eventually earned her PhD in German in Berlin. She became the first Dean of Women at Illinois College when it merged with the Jacksonville Female Academy in 1903. Unfortunately, many women students boycotted enrollment out of protest for the merger, and with continuing financial problems the position of Dean of Women was eliminated after only one year. Dr. Sherzer (many of the women used “Miss” even with the advanced degree, but Jane consistently used “Dr.”) went on to become the President of Oxford College for Women in Oxford, Ohio. Her paper, entitled “The Higher
Education of Women in the Ohio Valley Previous to 1840,” originally published in the January 1916 *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, can be found on the website of the Ohio Historical Society.

**Smith, Bertha D.** (attended 1909 P meeting) Dean of Women, Franklin College.

She was listed as Mrs. Bertha D. Smith at the 1909 conference of deans of women from private institutions. Franklin College had recently, in 1908, greatly improved its support of women students by adding a chair of physical culture, physical examinations for all women students, and a women’s basketball team. A women’s residence hall and a gymnasium had been authorized. To manage all these improvements, a dean of women was hired.

**Smith, Helen Mary** (attended 1914 A, 1917 A meetings) Dean of Mather College, Western Reserve University (now Case Western Reserve University) from 1914 to 1941. Born in Cleveland, Ohio to Pardon Smith and Eliza Jane Smith on October 5, 1870. Degrees: BL Western Reserve University 1894, (honorary) Doctor of Humanities Western Reserve University 1938. Died at her home in Shaker Heights, Ohio in January 1955.

Helen was a lifetime Clevelander. She was born there, attended Cleveland public schools, and graduated from Flora Stone Mather College of Western Reserve University. Her graduating class was only the fourth of the college, “when half the city, at least, disapproved of higher education for women” (Robertson, 1941, p. 1). She taught English at Central High School for a time before becoming dean at Mather for 27 years.

She took the generational changes of students in stride, and advocated core principles no matter what the fashion. She was much loved by students. A later dean said “she was modest and unassuming as a person, always direct and completely forthright in stating her beliefs, entirely true to her ideal of education, and steadfast and uncompromising in her determination that the highest principles be recognized and maintained” (Hastings, 1955, p. 2). One of her presidents, Winfred J. Leutner, said simply, “She was a wonderful woman” (“Former Dean,” 1955, p. 1). Above all
other pursuits, she loved bass fishing. She retired in 1941 as Dean Emeritus. Her portrait hangs in Guilford House and a residence hall, Smith House, is named for her. She died in 1955 and is buried in Cleveland’s Lake View Cemetery near the campus of Case Western Reserve University.


Lucy was born in Chicago to a wealthy family, her father and uncle having built Sprague and Warner & Co., at the time the largest wholesale grocery in the world. When her family moved to California to cope with her father’s tuberculosis, Lucy lived with Alice Freeman Palmer and her husband George Palmer in Cambridge, Massachusetts. After college, she became the first dean of women at the University of California, in Berkeley. While dean, she took a class in economics from Wesley Clair Mitchell, who became a noted economist. He was quite taken with her, but she was concerned that she would not be able to complete her professional goals in the context of marriage. He convinced her that both their careers would benefit from a marriage based on mutual respect, and she consented. They had four children, two adopted and two biological.

Lucy is perhaps best known for her work in early childhood education. In the nineteen-teens, in her thirties and while a new wife and mother to small children, she studied with John Dewey and then founded the Bureau of Educational Experiments to study and practice progressive education. She later founded a cooperative school for experimental teaching which became the Bank Street School of Education. She was also noted for her writing of children’s books. For detailed information about the life of Lucy Sprague Mitchell, see her own account of her married life in *Two Lives: The Story of Wesley Clair Mitchell and Myself*, and the works of Joyce Antler, her primary biographer, especially *Lucy Sprague Mitchell: The Making of a Modern Woman* and “Having it All, Almost: Confronting the Legacy of Lucy Sprague Mitchell.”

After graduating from college, Grace taught for two years at Logan College in Kentucky (no longer in existence). She did graduate work at the University of Chicago and in London, and began her long career at Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois, in 1903. She was Dean of Women and taught English for 22 years, and then continued to teach for another decade as a Professor of English and the History of Art. She retired as Professor Emeritus in 1936. In her short retirement, she owned and managed an apple orchard and ranch in Kettle Falls, Washington, a town that has since disappeared under the waters of the Columbia River with the building of the Grand Coulee Dam. She is buried near family in the Highland/Calvary Cemetery in Stevens County, Washington.

Stoner, Minnie A (attended 1903 M, 1905 S, 1907 S meetings) Professor of Domestic Science, Ohio State University from 1901 to 1907. Degrees: South Dakota State College (now University). Other deanships: University of Wyoming.

Minnie had a first career in domestic science, and then shifted her focus to deaning. She was a graduate of South Dakota State College, and there became the first faculty member in domestic science to hold the rank of professor. She was also on the domestic science faculty at the University of Tennessee and a full professor at Kansas State Agricultural College (now Kansas State University). There she put together a group project for her students, entitled A Kansas Kook-Book for Kansas Kooks, dedicated to the “first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of their countrymen, the girls of sunny Kansas” (Graduates and Students, 1900, dedication page). In June 1901, she became head of the Department of Domestic Science at Ohio State University. Under her administration, the department offered its first master’s degree and the student enrollment grew to 87.
In 1903 she made the trip to Chicago to attend the conference of deans of women, and later attended two other state university conferences. This must have made an impression on her, for in 1907 she resigned her faculty position and became the first Dean of Women at the University of Wyoming. They had recently built a beautiful and spacious new women’s hall, and wanted a new dean of women to go with it. She had additional duties teaching a few classes in domestic economy, but her primary role was dean.

Stratton, Margaret Elizabeth (attended 1903 M meeting) Dean of Women, University of Colorado from 1901 to 1904. Born in Stratford, Connecticut to Marcus Stratton and Sarah Sophia (Curtis) Stratton on April 17, 1844. Degrees: AB Oberlin College 1878, (honorary) MA Oberlin College 1882. Other deanships: Oberlin College and Wellesley College. Died in Stratford, Connecticut on December 17, 1925.

At the close of the Civil War, Margaret was in her early 20s. She decided to leave Connecticut and go south to establish and conduct schools for African American students in Florida and Virginia, work that she continued until 1876. She then went to college at Oberlin. After graduation, she served as an assistant to Adelia Field Johnston, the first dean of women of Oberlin. Her accomplishments to date earned her an honorary master of arts from her alma mater in 1882. She taught at Oberlin and Wellesley College in the departments of rhetoric, and in 1895 became the first dean of Wellesley. From there, she went west and was Dean of Women at the University of Colorado for three years before retiring. She was a supporter of woman’s suffrage and loved to travel. She stated her philosophy of her work in 1890, while dean at Wellesley, saying “the modern college does not aim to make ascetics; it seeks to make men, whole men and whole women, ready for the duties of modern life” (as cited in Palmieri, 1995, p. 154).

Sweeney, Margaret (attended 1913 S, 1914 A meetings) University of Minnesota in 1913 and 1914. Degrees: BA Radcliffe College 1899, PhD Yale University 1901. Died on November 16, 1920.
Margaret was a member of the ACA. At the conferences of deans of women, she represented the University of Minnesota in 1913 and the University of Wisconsin 1914.

**Talbot, Marion** (attended 1903 M, 1909 R, 1909 P, 1913 S [as a guest] meetings) Dean of Undergraduate Women & Professor of Sanitary Science, University of Chicago from 1892 to 1925. Born in Thun, Switzerland to Israel Tisdale Talbot and Emily (Fairbanks) Talbot on July 31, 1858. Degrees: BA Boston University 1880, SB Massachusetts Institute of Technology 1888, MA Boston University 1882, (honorary) degrees from Cornell College, Boston University and Tulane University. Presidencies: Constantinople Woman’s College in Turkey. Died in Chicago, Illinois, October 20, 1948.

Marion was the eldest of six children, born when her parents were on an extended European tour. Her father was the dean of the Boston University School of Medicine, and her mother took an active interest in helping her daughter get an education and establish a professional life, encouraging Marion in the founding of the ACA. Marion began her career teaching at Wellesley College, but came with Alice Freeman Palmer when she was recruited by William Rainey Harper to the newly-formed University of Chicago. She is generally regarded, with Alice Freeman Palmer, as the first Dean of Women, and her leadership as well as the prestige of the University of Chicago made her an influential figure in both the higher education of women and the field of domestic science. There has been quite a bit written about her life, but especially see her autobiography, *More Than Lore*, and Jana Nidiffer’s *Pioneering Deans of Women*.

**Templin, Lucinda de Leftwich** (attended 1919 A meeting) Dean of Lindenwood College and Professor of History and Political Science, Lindenwood College from 1916 to 1924. Born in Nevada, Missouri to William Templin and Ella (Rice) Templin. Degrees: AB and SB University of Missouri 1914, AM University of Missouri 1915, PhD University of Missouri 1926.

Lucinda was a Missouri girl, and earned all of her degrees in that state. After completing her bachelor’s and master’s degrees, she took a position as Dean of Lindenwood College in Saint
Charles, Missouri. She was there eight years before obtaining her PhD in education with the thesis *Some Defects and Merits in the Education of Women in Missouri: An Analysis of the Past and Present Educational Methods and a Proposal for the Future*. After Lindenwood, she was principal at two girls’ schools in Texas. She wrote quite a bit on the subject of education, and in her biographical listing included a number of titles:


**Terrill, Bertha Mary** (attended 1913 S, 1914 A meetings) Head, Home Economics and de facto adviser of women, University of Vermont from 1909 to 1940. Born in Morristown, Vermont to Newton A. Terrill and Mary (Cheney) Terrill on December 11, 1870. Degrees: AB Mount Holyoke College 1895, BE Mount Holyoke College 1895, AM University of Chicago 1908.

At Mount Holyoke, Bertha majored in Greek, but soon discovered the new field of home economics. She studied with Ellen Richards and Marion Talbot, and in 1908 earned her master’s with the thesis *A Study of Household Expenditures*. When alumnae of the University of Vermont lobbied for a program in home economics, she was the logical choice to head it. She admitted that her “status as a Vermonter, her experience as a college roommate of President Buckham’s second wife, and her training as a Classicist worked to her advantage” (Daniels, 1991, p. 223). She was the first woman faculty member, and fought the long fight for acceptance of a practical science. In 1917, she took a one-year leave of absence to do war work. Her primary official contribution to Vermont was her leadership of home economics until her retirement in 1940. However, over her 31 years there, she was also an untitled advisor of women, and “had worked the back roads of Vermont, urging farm girls to come to college and . . . ‘no one ever knew how many girls Bertha helped finance out of her own pocket’” (p. 223).

Elizabeth was in her thirties and living in Philadelphia when her husband died. She moved to Akron, Ohio, supporting herself and her son by teaching ancient and modern history at Central High School. She also taught at Buchtel College, and when it became the Municipal University of Akron she was called upon to head its new history department and become its first Dean of Women. She served in those capacities for 17 years. She was a progressive dean of women in the general sense of the word, taking social changes in stride even in the Roaring Twenties. She once commented that morals weren’t getting any looser; people were just less hypocritical. “Today we are frank enough to face facts and talk about everything” (as cited in Rader, 1975, p. 1). When she died in 1931, alumnae remembered her for her “vigorous and alert mind, the wide range of her intellectual and social interests, the amazing scope of her information on various subjects, her keen interest in affairs, her gracious personality, her ability as a teacher, [and] her gift for public speaking” (Spanton, 1931, p. 7).

Throop, Suzanne Everett (attended 1914 A meeting) Dean of Women and Assistant Professor of Fine Arts, Middlebury College from 1913 to 1915. Degrees: AB Radcliffe College 1903.

Suzanne attended Miss Throop’s School in Worcester, Massachusetts, and later taught Latin and mathematics there. For college, she spent one year at Bryn Mawr College, one year at Harvard Annex, and then later returned to the latter to graduate when it was Radcliffe College. She spent about a decade teaching one or two years in each of a number of private schools, such as the Bryn Mawr School in Baltimore, the Boese School in New York City, Miss Bynner’s School in Boston, Courtlandt School in Bridgeport, Connecticut, Ogontz School in Philadelphia, and Berkeley School in Brooklyn. In 1913, she became the Dean of Women at Middlebury College in Vermont.
It was in that capacity that she attended an ACA conference of deans of women. Later, she moved to Berkeley, California and was the chairman of the Department of Literature of the City and County Federation of Women’s Clubs of San Francisco.


With the exception of a few years after graduation to teach school and do graduate work at Yale, Edith spent her entire adult life at Wellesley. She earned her degrees from there, and was a teacher of Greek, the Registrar, and the college’s first Dean of Residence. She retired as Dean of Residence Emeritus in 1930, and lived in the white house in Dover, New Hampshire, in which she was born.

In 1935 she returned for several days of happy reunion and reconnection with important people from her past. After a dinner with Dean Emeritus Alice Vinton Waite, she returned to the President’s House where she was staying, and said she had a small pain in her chest. She died at her alma mater, amongst her closest friends, in the place that had most been her home.

**Valentine, Lucy Munson** (attended 1909 R, 1909 P meetings) Dean of Aston Hall and Teacher of Domestic Art, James Milliken University from 1907 to 1911. Born in Manchester, Vermont to Mr. and Mrs. Cyrus B. Munson. Married by 1889 to Wells Valentine.

Lucy Munson was born into a family of supporters of education. Her paternal grandfather’s brother, Cyrus Munson, was an original incorporator and trustee of Burr Seminary in Manchester, Vermont. Her great-grandmother’s brother, Josiah Burton, gave a gift to the institution before the Civil War, with the stipulation that it admit young women on terms of equity with young men, and it was renamed Burr and Burton Seminary in 1860 (now Burr and Burton Academy). Not surprisingly, Lucy attended Burr and Burton, graduating in 1881. She also attended finishing
schools and did some special work at Drury College, and also traveled and studied abroad. She married Wells Valentine, president of a knitting company in Bennington, Vermont, but he died sometime around the year 1900. She became a teacher of domestic art at various secondary schools and the University of Minnesota before coming to James Millikin University to be Dean of Ashton Hall and teacher of domestic art.


For the first 31 years of her life, Irma’s world was in Illinois. She was born in Quincy, attended Illinois State Normal University, taught at Illinois high schools, and then went to the University of Illinois to pursue her bachelor’s, master’s, and doctoral degrees. While a doctoral student, she had the opportunity to be a chaperone in a sorority house, providing both income and a chance to see the importance of guiding young women students. She graduated in 1913 with a PhD in German, her thesis entitled The Life and Works of Mrs. Therese Robinson.

As a new graduate she found a position as Dean of Women at Ohio University, commencing her life as an Ohioan. She served Ohio University as Dean of Women for 36 years, retiring in 1949. Thomas N. Hoover (1954), author of The History of Ohio University, noted that “Miss Voigt’s tenure was almost without parallel among America’s deans of women. Her abilities and her personality brought her wide recognition” (p. 196). Indeed, in addition to her work with the students in Athens, Ohio, she was impressively involved with many organizations and associations. She worked with the national YWCA; was a leader of the AAUW at the city, state, and sectional level; served as president of NADW from 1935 to 1937; and was a delegate to the International Federation of University Women in 1932. Voigt Hall at Ohio University is named for her. She kept a summer home at Five Oaks, and each spring hosted a picnic for the Tuesday Club, a weekly reading group begun by an OU president. To get the attention of guests, she rang a large bell.
Today, the succession of leadership in the Tuesday Club is marked by the passing of Irma Voigt’s Cowbell.


Alice attended Smith College, earning both bachelor’s and master’s degrees there. She was hired by Wellesley College in 1896 for what would be her life’s work. She was on the faculty for 17 years before being tapped to be Dean. She consented on the condition that she still be able to teach, as “she had achieved signal success as a teacher, and she loved her subject [English]” (Converse, 1929, p. 82). She became a full professor in two departments, English Language and Composition and English Language and Literature. As dean, she brought “intellectual standards of the highest and most unswerving, as also qualities ingrain of judgment, integrity, humor, and beneath a sometimes relentless exterior, a sympathetic understanding. She did not suffer fools gladly - but why should Deans?” (p. 82). Happily, she served on the faculty at the same time as her sister, Louise S. Waite, and when Alice became emeritus together they spent several years in Italy before coming home “to a pleasant little apartment on Appleby Road, where they welcome their friends and are ministered to by their faithful retainer, Jane” (p. 254).


May’s father established Pitkin and Brooks, a china and glassware retail store located at State and Lake Streets in Chicago. When his minister became president of Beloit College, Mr. Pitkin became a fundraiser and trustee to the college. The family lived in Oak Park, and May’s mother took advantage of an 1891 law that allowed Illinois women to vote in local school board
elections, and won a six-year term on the Oak Park High School Board in 1893. May went away to Wellesley, and after graduation taught school and worked at the Chicago Hull House.

She came to Beloit to teach literature and become its first Dean of Women. For a short while, she carried the literature department, but then Beloit hired a dashing young scholar, Malcolm W. Wallace, a Canadian fresh from his doctoral work at the University of Chicago. May and Malcolm were, together, the literature department, and by 1904 were married. The students were amused by what must have been a courtship hard to disguise. In the 1905 yearbook, they wrote a limerick: “There is a Professor of Lit. Whose every speech makes a great hit; He’s romantic in talk, He’s romantic in walk, For his cane doesn’t help him a bit” (Beloit College, 1905, p. 218). The poetry was followed by a tongue-in-cheek play with a cast that included all the faculty and officials of Beloit. In it, every time the character “Prof. of Lit” speaks, the character “Dean of Women” swoons, faints, and is carried out. Malcolm returned to the University of Toronto in the fall of 1904 to head the English department, and May remained at Beloit to finish her work as dean of women until spring 1905, when she joined him in Canada.

Weaver, Martha Collins (attended 1909 P meeting) Dean, Illinois Woman’s College (now MacMurray College) from 1907 to 1913. Born in Beardstown, Illinois to Joseph Weaver and Mary Ann (Collins) Weaver on December 26, 1865. Degrees: BA McKendree College 1889, MA McKendree College 1891. Other deanships: Upper Iowa University.

Martha was a graduate of McKendree College. She came to Illinois Woman’s College (later MacMurray College) in 1893 as Lady Principal and teacher of literature and history. She focused on the cultural and social supervision of the girls, as was consistent with her title and the type of institution. Among other duties of social graces, it was her responsibility to give the annual Thanksgiving toast. In 1897, she left to become the dean of women at Upper Iowa University. She returned to Illinois Woman’s College in 1903 as Lady Principal again. In 1907, when the college became a four-year college, changes needed to be made.
With his customary appreciation of dramatic suspense, Doctor Harker, after announcing in chapel the fact that the institution was a full-fledged college, followed this announcement with the statement that Miss Weaver’s position had been abolished, that a college, of course, could not retain a ‘lady principal.’ In the shocked silence of students and faculty, he introduced Miss Weaver as the new dean. (Watters, 1947, p. 377)

Martha left again in 1913, this time for good. She owned and served as the principal of the Martha Weaver School at 443 South Mariposa, Los Angeles, California.


Agnes came to Indiana after finishing her master’s degree at Carleton College in 1916. After a series of Indiana University deans of women with short tenures for various reasons, Agnes was finally a dean of women who stuck. She remained at Indiana University for nearly two decades. Her academic fields were astronomy and math, and she was the author of “Radial Velocities and Proper Motions of the Pleiades.” Beyond the campus work she did at Indiana, she was a leader in organizations at the state and national level, serving the NADW (president and second vice president), the Indiana State Deans Association (president), and the AAUW (first vice-president). She retired in 1937, and was succeeded by Kate Hevner Mueller.

**White, Marion Ballantyne** (attended 1913 S, 1917 A meetings) Acting Dean of Women in 1913 and Assistant then Associate Professor of Math, University of Kansas from 1910 to 1915, also Dean of Women, Michigan State Normal College (now Eastern Michigan University) from 1915 to 1918. Born in Peoria, Illinois to Samuel Holmes and Jennie E. (McLaren) White. Degrees: PhB University of Michigan 1893, MA University of Wisconsin 1906, PhD University of Chicago 1910. Other deanships: Carleton College.
Marion was from Illinois and had strong Scottish roots, her mother having been born in Glasgow. After college Marion did additional graduate work at Munich, Wisconsin, and Illinois, and taught math at the secondary level in Colorado and Illinois. Her doctoral thesis at Chicago was entitled *The Dependence of Focal Points Upon Curvature for Problems of the Calculus of Variations in Space*. Her academic talent was in math, and she also held deanships at three different types of institutions over her career (a state university, a normal college, and a private liberal arts college.) A 1915 yearbook hailed her as “a woman who is in the highest sense a lady and a scholar” (Michigan State Normal College, 1915, p. 8).

**Williams, Mrs. Chas. A.** (attended 1917 A meeting) Dean of Women and Adjunct Professor in Bible, Macalester College from 1917 to 1920.

Mrs. Chas. W. Williams attended the 1917 ACA conference of deans of women. Her primary role at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota was as dean, but she also taught religion (L. Hamre, Macalester College, personal communication, August 17, 2004).


Cora Stranahan attended both Syracuse and Cornell Universities, and it was at the latter that she was initiated into Alpha Phi sorority and joined an organization that would guide her opportunities for the rest of her life. She became active in local and then national leadership for the sorority, and as a visiting delegate was instrumental in establishing chapters across the country. One group she assisted with its charter was at the University of Wisconsin, and in 1906 she returned to the campus to become the Adviser of Women. During this time she attended a conference of deans of women of State Universities and was part of the impetus for establishing communication channels between the deans and the National Panhellenic Conference. Forced to resign by ill health,
she then went to California to serve as a house mother to the Alpha Phi chapter at Stanford University.

**Young, Alice** (attended 1903 M meeting) Dean of Women and Assistant Professor of English, University of Iowa from 1900 to 1904. Born in Bloomington, Indiana to Mr. and Mrs. John Young in 1861. Degrees: BL University of Minnesota 1896. Other deanships: University of Montana. Died April 8, 1935.

Alice’s father was the first president of Butler University, but left office before Alice was born. He was then appointed an American Consul, and Alice spent her early years in Belfast, Ireland. After her family returned stateside to Indiana, she was the valedictorian of the Indianapolis public high school and graduated from the City Training School. She taught school in Indianapolis and San Diego and was a principal in Minnesota before beginning her bachelor’s degree at the University of Minnesota. She studied English under George E. MacLean and began doctoral work but discontinued it to take the postion of Dean of Women at the University of Iowa. After Iowa, she was for a while the Dean of Women at the University of Montana, and then returned to California to teach school.
APPENDIX G. SOURCES AND RESOURCES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Adams, Kathryn Newell


Allan, Evelyn Wight


**Alvord, Katharine Sprague**


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**Austin, Isabella**


Babcock, Mabel Keyes


Ballou, Susan Helen


**Barkley, Edna McDowell**


Benton, Mary Lathrop


Berry, Grace Ella


Bigelow, S. Antoinette

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**Boody, Bertha May**


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**Breed, Mary Bidwell**


**Breyfogle, Caroline May**


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**Carnell, Laura Horner**


**Carter, May Esther**


**Cheever, Louisa Sewell**

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**Corbett, Virginia H.**


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**Corbin, Alberta Linton**


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**DeNise, Carrie Louise**


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**Donovan, Mary E.**


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Harwood, Mary Corinthia


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Holcombe, Jobelle

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**Kollock, Lily Gavit**


**Kyle, Martha Jackson**


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**Loomis, Mabel Ruth**


**Lord, Eleanor Louise**


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**Lovejoy, Sara Cutts**


Loveridge, Blanche Grosbec


Luce, Alice Hanson


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**Maddison, Ada Isabel**


Marshall, Clara


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Marshall, Ruth Elizabeth


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**Martin, Ella Gertrude Shorb**


**Mason, Ruby Elizabeth Campbell**


**Mathews, Lois Carter Kimball**


Matzke, Edith Hedges


Mayhew, Abby Shaw


**McCaleb, Ella**


**McLean, Kathryn Sisson**


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**Plaisance, Sarah de Maupassant**


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Kuehn, A. (n.d.). With Cleveland Club women: Presenting Miss Helen M. Smith. *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. Cleveland, OH: Case Western Reserve University Archives, file: Smith, Helen M.

List of members. (1903). *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, 3*(8), 115.


List of members. (1912). *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, 5*(1), 158.


*Mather College in the deanship of Helen Mary Smith, 1914-1941* [manuscript]. (1941). Cleveland, OH: Case Western Reserve University Archives, file: Smith, Helen M.

Nason, K. B. (1929). *Bystander*. Cleveland, OH: Case Western Reserve University Archives, file: Smith, Helen M.


Robertson, J. (1941, March 11). Dean Smith of Mather is to retire in June. *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. Cleveland, OH: Case Western Reserve University Archives, file: Smith, Helen M.
Sprague, Lucy


**Stayt, Grace Adele**


**Stoner, Minnie A.**


**Stratton, Margaret Elizabeth**


**Sweeney, Margaret**

List of members. (1912). *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, 5*(1), 164.


**Talbot, Marion**


List of members. (1907). *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae*, 3(16), 129.


**Templin, Lucinda de Leftwich**


**Terrill, Bertha Mary**


**Thompson, Elizabeth A.**


**Throop, Suzanne Everett**


**Tufts, Edith Souther**


List of members. (1907). *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae*, 3(16), 133.


**Valentine, Lucy Munson**


List of members. (1912). *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, 5*(1), 171.


**Voigt, Irma Elizabeth**


Waite, Alice Vinton


**Wallace, L. May Pitkin**


Professor Malcolm Wallace leaves. (1904, October 7). *Round Table*, p. 23.


**Weaver, Martha Collins**


**Wells, Agnes Ermina**


**White, Marion Ballantyne**


List of members. (1907). *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae*, 3(16), 140.


**Williams**


**Woodward, Cora Stranahan**


Rogers, J. P. (1912). *How Wisconsin women won the ballot: To the teachers of Wisconsin.*


**Young, Alice**

The University dictionary. (1913). *Alumni Weekly,* 8(8), 213. Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa, Special Collections, file: Young, Alice.


Rogers, E. M. (1986, Dec. 31) [Letter from the curator of the archives]. Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa, Special Collections, file: Young, Alice.


University of Minnesota. (1897). *The Gopher.* [photocopy of page 103]. Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa, Special Collections, file: Young, Alice.
APPENDIX H. ATTENDEES HOLDING DOCTORATES AND HONORARY DEGREES

**Doctorates:**

- **Boody, Bertha May**  
  PhD Johns Hopkins University 1924
- **Breed, Mary Bidwell**  
  PhD Bryn Mawr College 1901
- **Breyfogle, Caroline May**  
  PhD University of Chicago 1912
- **Colvin, Caroline**  
  PhD University of Pennsylvania 1901
- **Conrad, Elisabeth**  
  PhD between 1916 and 1920
- **Corbin, Alberta Linton**  
  PhD Yale University 1901
- **Crow, Martha Emily Foote**  
  PhD Syracuse University 1885
- **Doan, Martha**  
  DSc Cornell University 1896
- **Fitch, Florence Mary**  
  PhD University of Berlin 1903
- **Gates, Fanny Cook**  
  PhD University of Pennsylvania 1909
- **Gill, Laura Drake**  
  DCL University of the South 1907
- **Harris, Martha Anstice**  
  PhD Yale University 1896
- **Jayne, Violet DeLille**  
  PhD University of Minnesota 1903
- **Johnston, Eva**  
  PhD University of Koenigsberg 1905
- **Kerr, Mina, M.**  
  PhD University of Pennsylvania 1909
- **Kollock, Lily Gavit**  
  PhD University of Pennsylvania 1899
- **Lord, Eleanor Louise**  
  PhD Bryn Mawr College 1896
- **Luce, Alice Hanson**  
  PhD Heidelberg University 1896
- **Maddison, Isabel**  
  PhD Bryn Mawr College 1896
- **Marshall, Clara**  
  MD Woman’s Medical College of Pennsylvania 1875
- **Martin, Elizabeth Leiper**  
  MD University of Pittsburgh 1902
- **Martin, Ella Gertrude Shorb**  
  PhD Cornell University 1900
- **Mason, Ruby Elizabeth Campbell**  
  PhD University of Oxford
- **Mathews, Lois Carter Kimball**  
  PhD Radcliffe College 1906
Matzke, Edith, Hedges  MD, DPH
Meeteer, Henrietta Josephine  PhD University of Pennsylvania 1904
Nardin, F. Louise  PhD University of Missouri 1914
Park, Mary Isabel  PhD Yale University 1904
Richardson, Louisa Holman  PhD Boston University 1891
Robinson, Winifred Josephine  PhD Columbia University 1912
Sherzer, Jane Belle  PhD University of Berlin 1902
Sweeney, Margaret  PhD Yale University 1901
Templin, Lucinda de Leftwich  PhD University of Missouri 1926
Voigt, Irma Elizabeth  PhD University of Illinois 1913
Wells, Agnes Ermina  PhD University of Michigan 1924
White, Marion Ballantyne  PhD University of Chicago 1910

**Honorary Degrees:**

Adams, Kathryn Newell  DHL Wheaton College 1929
Blitz, Anne Dudley  LLD Hobart College
Buswell, Clara Lucena  MA Bates College 1921
Carnell, Laura Horner  LittD Temple University
Comstock, Ada Louise  LittD Mount Holyoke College 1912
LHD Smith College 1922
LLD University of Michigan 1921
Boston University 1922
University of Rochester 1924
University of Maine 1925
Brown University 1934
University of Minnesota 1936

Coolidge, Cora Helen  LittD Pennsylvania College for Women
<table>
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<tr>
<td>Doan, Martha</td>
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<td>Purdue University</td>
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<td>Evans, Margaret Jane</td>
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<td>Tufts, Edith Souther</td>
<td>LLD</td>
<td>University of New Hampshire</td>
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APPENDIX I. AUTHOR’S VITA

Janice Joyce Gerda was born to Joyce Eileen (Murphy) Gerda and Jerome Joseph Gerda on January 18, 1967 in Columbus, Franklin County, Ohio. After the arrival of second child Jeffrey in 1969, the family moved to Muscatine, Iowa. In 1972, they returned to Ohio and settled in the Cleveland area, where relatives on both sides of the family had deep roots. Janice grew up and attended the public schools in Brunswick, Medina County, Ohio.

She attended Case Western Reserve University (CWRU) and graduated in 1989 with a BA in communication sciences. As a student she was a resident assistant in Storrs House and was involved with various student affairs activities, and so entered graduate school to pursue a career in student affairs. She continued working in residence life at CWRU, and received her MEd in Adult Learning and Development from Cleveland State University in 1991. She served Grinnell College as a residence hall director for two years, and then took a position at the University of Virginia. There, she was an Area Coordinator and then Assistant Dean of Students at Mr. Jefferson’s University, serving from 1993 to 1999. She began her doctoral work in 1999 at Bowling Green State University, where she was a full-time student and held assistantships with the office of the vice-provost, About Campus magazine, and the Higher Education and Student Affairs program. In 2003 she became an instructor at Kent State University in the Higher Education Administration and Student Personnel program. She resides in Kent, Ohio, close enough to her hometown of Brunswick to afford frequent visits to her parents Jerry and Joyce, her grandmother Lois, her brother Jeff and sister-in-law Ronda, and her two nephews, Jordan and Joshua.