This dissertation has been microfilmed exactly as received 66-15,107

LIVINGSTON, Inez Baisden, 1918-
SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL INFLUENCES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF RESIDENCE HALLS FOR WOMEN IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE UNITED STATES,
The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1966
Education, administration

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan
SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL INFLUENCES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF RESIDENCE HALLS FOR WOMEN IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of
The Ohio State University

By
Inez Baisden Livingston, B.S., M.A.

* * * * * * *

The Ohio State University
1966

Approved by

[Signature]

Adviser
Department of Education
The writer wishes to express her sincere gratitude to her adviser, Professor Collins Burnett, for his helpful criticism, guidance, and encouragement which have enriched and facilitated her graduate study and research. The writer is also grateful to Professor Robert Sutton and to the members of her committee, Professors John Ramseyer and C. Gratton Kemp, for their criticism and suggestions.

The writer is indebted to the administrative staff of Northern Illinois University for granting her a sabbatical leave of absence, without which this study could not have been made, and to the residence hall staff for their understanding and forbearance.

For the patience, helpfulness, and understanding of her family words are inadequate to express the gratefulness, but are nonetheless expressed to children, Judith and Bernard Graves; mother, Ora L. Baisden; brothers and sisters-in-law, Donie and Donna Baisden, Jennings and Betty Baisden, David and Joyce Livingston; and mother-in-law, Lucy D. Livingston. A special gratefulness is expressed to grand-daughter, Carla Inez Graves, for giving this endeavor, and life itself, new meaning and zest.
VITA

August 4, 1918  Born - Tram, Kentucky

1938 . . . . . B.S., University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky

1938-1941 . . . Teacher, Home Economics, Loyall High School, Loyall, Kentucky

1941-1944 . . . Teacher, General Science, Ludlow High School, Ludlow, Kentucky

1944-1945 . . . Teacher, Home Economics, Bloom Junior High School, Cincinnati, Ohio

1945-1947 . . . Teacher, Retarded children, Harlan High School, Harlan, Kentucky

1947-1954 . . . Teacher, Home Economics, Loyall High School, Loyall, Kentucky

1954-1955 . . . Teacher, Eighth Grade, Upper Arlington Schools, Columbus, Ohio

1955-1958 . . . Instructor, Home Economics, Union College, Barbourville, Kentucky

1956 . . . . . M.A., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1958-1959 . . . Assistant Professor, Eastern Kentucky State College, Richmond, Kentucky

1959-1966 . . . Assistant Professor and Coordinator of Residence Halls, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois

1965 . . . . . Graduate Assistant, Department of Education, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

iii
PUBLICATIONS

"The Principal and The Public," The Kentucky School Journal, November 1956

"Is The Personnel Worker Liable?" Personnel and Guidance Journal, January 1966

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Higher Education, Student Personnel

Studies in Higher Education. Professor Collins Burnett

Studies in School Administration. Professor John Ramseyer and Professor Roy Larmee

Studies in Guidance. Professor C. Gratton Kemp and Professor Frank Robinson
CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ..................................................... 11
VITA ........................................................................ 111

Chapter
1. INTRODUCTION ..................................................... 1
   Importance of the Problem
   Purpose of the Study
   Method of Study
   Historical Background of the Study

2. THE COLONIAL PERIOD, 1636-1790 ...................... 19
3. NATIONALISM, EXPANSION, AND REFORM, 1790-1850 36
   Social, Economic, and Political Changes
   Status of Women
   Higher Education for Women
   Housing in Women's Colleges

4. DEVELOPMENT AND CONFLICT, 1850-1900 ............. 55
   Social, Economic, and Political Changes
   Academic Changes
   Changing Attitudes toward Education for Women
   Housing of Students

5. THE PROGRESSIVE ERA ...................................... 86
   Social, Economic, and Political Situation
   Changes in Role and Status of Women
   Demands for Reform
   Changes in Higher Education
   Rise of the Student Personnel Point of View
   The Progressive Era and Student Housing

v
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. FROM DEPRESSION TO NEW FRONTIERS, 1929-1966</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview of the National Situation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accompanying Changes in Higher Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status and Educational Opportunity for Women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of Women's Housing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. A VIEW BACKWARD AND A LOOK FORWARD</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A View Backward</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Look Forward</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Importance of the Problem

From their inception, institutions of higher education in the United States have maintained a uniquely different purpose from similar institutions in other parts of the world. The development of American higher education has been closely related to the major events and forces in the national social, economic, and political history (2, p. 27). The colonists' purposes included "not only the intellectual development of the students, but also their moral, religious, and vocational life" (7, p. 4). The colleges and other educational ventures were the visible expressions of the will of the people, and their philosophy was expounded in the laws which defined the institutions. Training in citizenship and for active participation in government were the outstanding objectives of colonial educational legislation and was so stated in the laws of each of the colonies (7, p. 4). The close relationship between government and the educational institutions had a profound effect on all
later developments in higher education in that the colleges so founded tended to set the pattern for all later institutions.

The rapid development of residence halls in institutions of higher education for women is evidence of the importance that has been attached to housing by educational administrators. After the appointment of the president, one of the first major problems of the trustees of Colonial colleges was the housing of students. In some cases the granting of charters rested on the evidence of existing facilities or money to purchase or to build facilities for housing students and faculty (7,p.4). An early trend was established toward a concern not only for the provision of food and shelter, but also for religious training. This emphasis, over the period of years, has shifted reciprocally as education, under the influence of change in social, economic, and political conditions, has enlarged in scope and extended to the masses. Historically, the development of the basic concept of residence halls has been changing gradually. Harold Hakes says there is a discernible movement away from the original concept that housing is solely for students: physical shelter, board, security, and discipline toward an ever-increasing belief that the residence halls have an educational
potential also. "However," he continues, "the extent of the educational purpose is open to question. If the educational concept is broadened to include both personal and social education, this education can be seen in ever-increasing concern for guidance and counseling in the residence halls" (6, p.5).

Higher education is now experiencing the repercussions from the population boom. To date, response has been in a direct way by adding more space for students. One has but to visit the average college or university campus today to note the tremendous interest in and concern for housing. The small residence hall with its close-knit, home-like atmosphere has been forced to give way to the new skyscraper structures which accommodate hundreds of students. Observing this widespread construction, which must continue in order to provide shelter for the ever-growing numbers of young people gaining admission to our institutions of higher education each year, one can but question the ability to provide very much more than mere bed and board to these students. Ellen Fairchild warns, we need to be alert to the danger that the business aspects of housing may dominate educational goals (5, p.145). Although educators would agree that effectiveness in meeting the academic needs of students must be the deciding factor in any
residence hall program, the influence on students and
the educational implications of different living con-
ditions cannot always be foreseen. Evaluations can
usually be made only after several years of actual
operation.

Repercussions from historical events have been
felt before on college campuses. Education of the past
has solved many problems and has also handed us some
unsolved ones. This is pertinently pointed up by
Lawrence A. Cremin, who said:

Granting the serious limitations of
American higher education... the old-time
college provided certain educational advan-
tages that the great universities of the
twentieth century have yet to duplicate....
Moreover, many features of the modern uni-
versity have their source in the educa-
tional debates of the mid-nineteenth cen-
tury and some of the collegiate reforms of
the past seventy-five years were well under
way before the Civil War. Finally, whether
we like it or not, we remain the heirs of
many a conflict that was never fully
resolved. (3,p.vi)

To deal with these problems as well as with new
ones arising, the wise person will attack them with a
vision provided by the past-- not suffering from, but
profiting by past experience. Thus every stage of devel-
opment can be a foundation for further development
through borrowing from the past that which has proved
valuable, profiting from mistakes of others, and using
the resulting facts as a basis for creating new institutions and/or for applying new uses to existing institutions. Thus to learn from history, to borrow discriminately, and thereby to be able to create with clearer vision and intelligence is the basic importance of this problem.

Housing has been provided for women since they began attending institutions of higher education and has served fundamentally the same purposes as are now being served. Since, through the intervening years, the scope of housing has tended to parallel the general philosophy underlying the social, economic, and political conditions, might it not be valuable to determine the degree to which residence halls have served or have failed to serve students as a means of giving clearer vision and insight to solving our present-day problems and for meeting those of the future?

**Purpose of the Study**

It is the intent of the present study to attempt to answer the above questions. This study is, therefore, concerned with the following aspects of higher education:

1. The historical development of residence halls for women in order to relate this development to the concurrent developments in the national life.
2. The ways that social, economic, and political conditions have influenced the programs in women's residence halls.

3. The method of and the extent to which, under these influences, residence halls have served the needs of students.

4. The isolation of those aspects present in former programs which may have potential toward more effective utilization of present housing facilities as an adjunct to academic growth of present and future students.

The historical development will, of necessity, also be a part of the development of higher education to some extent because residence halls were of first consideration in the opening of higher education to women. It is hoped that the past full century of operation of housing for women will reveal an accumulation of theory and practice as a base for present and future residence hall programming.

The fundamental aim of the present study is to exhibit a continuous sequential development of residence halls for women at institutions of higher learning in the United States with reference to the social, economic, and political conditions which prevailed. The primary result of the study is expected to be a clearer
understanding of the forces which have led to the
development of present-day residence halls and, through
this, some implications for meeting and solving present
and future problems of housing women students in insti-
tutions of higher education in the United States.

**Method of Study**

Although the organizations and programs of resi-
dence halls vary and no one description will apply
directly to all of them, there was, in each period of
development, an overall philosophy which was basic to the
organization of the majority of the residence halls.
Therefore, it shall not be the purpose of this study to
describe in detail the organization of all the residence
halls in each period, but rather to describe the typical
ones, the atypical ones, and to note those which deviated
to any extent from that typical pattern.

Recognition must be given to the significance
and influence of the early boarding schools and semi-
naries, but beyond this recognition, the extent of this
study shall be limited to those institutions which, from
their inception, afforded education for women at the
college level. The development of residence halls will
be included for the three types of institutions affording
higher education for women: the women's colleges, the
affiliated women's colleges, and the coeducational institutions.

To note the development more easily, the study will be divided into historical periods and the social, economic, and political conditions of each period will be discussed insofar as those conditions influenced the residence halls. The oldest of the residence halls will be presented in order of their establishment in each of the three types of institutions. Of course, there must be some comparison at times with men's residence halls.

Since any historical study demands a background, it seemed best to the writer to give a brief sketch of the influences which led to full-fledged college education for women. It seemed necessary to mention in some detail the organization and influence of those very outstanding seminaries which were directly responsible for college education for women and which were later to become colleges.

A study will be made of early college and university histories, biographies of educators and administrators, college catalogs and reports. In some cases, visits to campuses and interviews with and/or letters to deans of women and college presidents will supplement the data of printed records.
Historical Background of the Study

In the ruins of Ur a room has been unearthed that was a school some 4500 years ago, and found there were some clay tablets of instruction which had been used by that society. Schools and education have been a part of every known civilization, and education today is an accumulation, rather than a neat integration, of all things that education has been in the past.

The American system, like the society that it serves, has been in a state of constant evolution and change since its inception. The dynamic society of the United States has provided the atmosphere, the motivation, and the incentive that has spurred ever forward the search for more efficient ways of educating her people. Change has taken place and will continue to take place as the educational system responds to meet the ever-changing needs of a free people in a free society. That our system of higher education is intimately related to the sustaining of our national life and concerned with the immediate problems of general welfare as well as with the advancement of scholarship and the transmission of an academic heritage is clearly demonstrated by the social, economic, and political influences which have served, to a large extent, to chart its direction.
For a hundred years and more, the proponents of free public education sought funds to support their cause. Gradually progress was made. Massachusetts, concerned with the failure of the Colonists to provide for their children opportunities for the learning deemed necessary for their soul's salvation, passed the "Old Deluder Satan Act" in 1647. With this legislation, the precedent for public elementary education was established. In 1874, the supreme court of the state of Michigan held, in the famous Kalamazoo case, as legal the expenditure of public funds for support of education at any level. The people of the United States had thus agreed, in principle, to support education on a scale heretofore unknown.

In 1795, higher education was shown as a national concern of our first president when George Washington spoke in favor of founding a national university in the capital city. The founding of such a university had been proposed at the Constitutional Convention of 1787 for the purpose of affording the means of acquiring liberal knowledge which was "necessary to qualify our citizens for the exigencies of public as well as private life" (2,p.37).

From this national university project considered in 1787 to the Morrill Act signed by President Lincoln
during the Civil War, development in higher education has been closely related to the major events and forces in the nation's social and political history. Today, a century after the Morrill Act, American higher education, although the issues are more subtle in their complexity, is concerned with the growth of science and technology, the new world consciousness, federal aid to education, and other such aspects which still influence the organization of our universities.

In the years between the historic dates cited above and even to this time, the young nation was torn by growing pains of a rapidly expanding educational system. Control of the schools passed from the Church to the State in keeping with the ideals of democracy. The objectives of education changed with changing times from the predominantly spiritual concepts of the seventeenth century to a secular purpose by the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The college preparatory curriculum of the early schools, with heavy emphasis on Latin and Greek, gradually evolved through the academy to the birth of the high school as we know it today. Psychologists and educators pushed back the barriers of ignorance concerning the way people learn, grow, and develop. Formal discipline of the mental faculties and transfer of learning were discarded; out-dated and
unsound theories relative to the growth and development of children were cast aside.

The social and economic influences were significantly pointed up during the twentieth century. Soon after the turn of the century, rapid acceleration of cultural change created conditions which proved that the traditional concepts of education were inadequate. In the more complicated society, characterized by mass production, power-driven machinery, and specialization of labor, new vocations came into being with confusing rapidity. The average person was no longer able to understand or to comprehend the scope of this rapid vocational expansion nor was he able to adjust satisfactorily to this changing and more specialized society. So the educational institutions responded with a change in the organization, structure, and content of the educational program. The curriculum was expanded to include vocational subjects and was extended, both horizontally and vertically, to meet the needs of more people.

So change has taken place in the educational system because of the social, economic, and political influences--as it will continue to take place while the educational system responds to meet the ever-changing needs of a free people in a free society. As the demands
of society today are made, an even more accelerated change is anticipated. The possibilities are good that the educational philosophies and practices of today will be outmoded no later than tomorrow. The concept of education for all Americans, however, is firmly established it seems.

To understand American colleges and universities, one must be aware of their heritage. The existence of a few four-year colleges during the colonial days and the persistence of these institutions during the early days of the Republic have had a determining influence on higher education in this country (l,p.23). Of perhaps equal, if not greater, significance has been the unique American belief that all the children of all the people should have the same educational opportunity. The personality of higher education in the United States is dominated by the political fact and the emotional attitude of the theory that the American campus is open to all because the right of learning is one of the expressions of the strong American drive toward equality of economic and political position (l,p.24).

When Thomas Jefferson wrote of equality, he was no doubt thinking of political equality. But by declaring on July 4, 1776 that "all men are created equal," the United States committed itself to a doctrine that was to
prove the world's most powerful lever for social and political change. The declaration was intended simply to justify the colonists' separation from England, but no great imagination was required to discern wider implications. It is clear that a new nation without hereditary titles or an old society with an aristocracy was what was meant, but for the American of the seventeenth century equality became, above all else, equality of opportunity--an equal start in a competitive struggle. This belief has become general and firmly entrenched. The admission of women to higher education which started about a century ago was one rather obvious result of this attitude.

The passage of the Morrill Act during the Civil War provided federal funds for a new type college, the "land grant colleges," as they were soon called. As these institutions developed, collegiate instruction in such practical fields as animal husbandry and home economics came to have the same academic standing as that of education for the professions. A proliferation of professional and semi-professional areas of instruction started in the closing decades of the last century.

Sanders says that in the United States the emphasis on "bettering oneself" leads to social mobility
by way of the educational ladder; emphasis on efficiency and success "leads to how-to-do-it courses" and emphasis on education for all leads to courses geared to the mediocre student. The resultant theme of "promotion of human welfare" best explains, according to Sanders, the relationship between our universities and the community (11,p.36). So the university has taken the service motif and speaks of itself as a public servant. Many Americans think service is reward in itself. In higher education the emphasis on service is vocal, highly developed, and present throughout practically all aspects of the program.

The introduction of "how-to-do-it" courses, the service motif, and the attitude of equal opportunity for all is not surprising. They are the reflections one might think would be found in the people of a nation with a birth and heredity such as in the United States. According to McKeon, the "history of education reflects the history of society and of thought. The educational theories of people and times are determined by prevailing social relations and values and by available knowledge and attitudes toward its use" (10,p.122).

The practical motivations that have been prominent in all stages of educational growth and in all times is obvious in the change that began to evolve in
our educational system at the end of World War II. The need at that time for technicians and experts and the stimulation as a result of reports of Soviet accomplishments in producing scientists and engineers pointed up the comparative neglect of the basic studies which gave technical skills their foundation (10, p. 73). The contacts with other cultures has also accelerated the recognition of the need for broader bases in studies concerned with cultural values—history, literature, religion, art. It pointed up the subject matter which reflected narrowing vocational interests of research scholars rather than the broad cultural background of genuinely educated men and women (8, p. 54).

From this review of the evolution of the American educational system, one must agree with the writers of the Educational Policies Commission when they say that "in the United States the higher educational program is inter-related with the whole of American educational enterprise and the whole of the American political and economic enterprise" (4, p. 9). It rests upon a foundation of the American public educati system and it is an expression of the cultural ideas which shape the national life.

It is upon this background material that this exposition suggests that the development of residence
halls for women, as an aspect of the system of higher education in the United States, has been and will continue to be influenced by the social, economic, and political conditions of the country. The residence halls in institutions of higher education will therefore be scrutinized with the hope that such a study will produce guides to facilitate in the future development of such housing as an integral part of educational effectiveness.
Footnotes


CHAPTER II

COLONIAL PERIOD
1636-1790

Universities became a part of our civilization in medieval times with the reawakening of intellectual life brought about by contact with other civilizations, notably that of Greece and Rome. Although the earliest universities were created and managed entirely by students, as the University of Bologna in the thirteenth century, the balance of control began to swing to the faculties within a few hundred years as a result of the favored position gained by them in Paris over the transient student population through acquisition of permanent housing facilities and tenure. This organization was imported to England and adopted at Oxford. The tradition of faculty control was solidly in effect in England when the first colleges were established in this country by the colonists.

The first American colleges were patterned after the English models of strict faculty control and enforced by the stern Puritan character of the colonial era.
Cowley states that "the Colonial American college followed the British pattern because its founders knew no other" (6,p.708). However, the environmental influences of pioneer America were such that the plans for colleges like those in England were never completely realized. They were "English in general point of view, but American in implementation" (6,p.708). English precedent planted the residential principle, but American contingencies modified it to fit the Colonial situation. Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, and Brown were all set up not only as centers of instruction, but also as consciously planned ways of living for male students. Students were then less widely representative of all levels of the population and, by home and community, were committed to a religious orthodoxy to which the institutions were also committed. The founders of American colleges recognized no divergence between the curricular and the extra curricular as the students were sternly aware. The point of view of early authorities, which was characteristic of most institutions even through the first half of the nineteenth century, was expressed by President Dunster of Harvard in 1642. He announced the requirements for graduation from that institution by saying,

Every scholar that by proof is found able to translate the original of the Old and New Testament into the Latin
tongue, and to resolve them logically and shall be imbued with the beginnings of natural and moral philosophy, withal being of honest life and conversation, and at any public act hath the appreciation of the Overseers and Masters of the college, may be invested with his first degree; but no one will expect this degree until he shall have passed four years in college and has maintained therein a blameless life and has sedulously observed all public exercises. (14,pp.4-5)

Other modifications of the implanted English college plan were due to the Scottish influence. The post-reformation Scottish universities, unlike Oxford and Cambridge, were non-residential, professionally oriented, and under the control, not of faculty, but of prominent lay persons in the community. The first president of William and Mary was Scottish and, although the influence was felt more keenly there, all colleges were influenced to some extent. The most general influence was shown by the fact that the college government boards were made up from members of the non-academic community to have authority over the college (5,p.5).

In spite of wilderness life, or perhaps because of it, Colonial Americans were exceedingly concerned with education. Their former life in England where many of them were educated pointed up the need for this education in their new country. Furthermore, most of them were Protestants and Protestants believed that religious
truth was incomprehensible to the man who did not read the Scriptures for himself. They wanted to read; they wanted their children to read. Their desire was no doubt sharpened by the sight of the real children of nature, the Indians--naked, savage, and ignorant.

The American settlers had brought the classics and other books with them and they were determined that their children should preserve those aspects of the old world civilization which their fathers had held to be all-important. In achieving this, education was their most valuable tool. To be more specific, the desire for a literate, college-trained clergy was probably the most important single factor explaining the founding of Colonial colleges. The Christian tradition was seen as the foundation stone of the whole intellectual structure. The civil society would thus get orthodox laymen to be its leaders and the Church would get educated orthodox clergy. To them the view that "the advancement and preservation of learning was one and the same thing as the training for literate ministers" because they took for granted that piety could not be separated from intellect; that religious faith could not be rationalized (5,p.7). This is borne out by the earliest rules of Harvard which announced that the chief aims of that institution were that "everyone shall consider the
mayne End of his life and studies, to know God and Jesus Christ, which is Eternall life" (19,p.6).

The colonists made early provision for higher education. In 1636, only six years after the Puritans came to Massachusetts, they founded the college that later took the name of its first benefactor, John Harvard. Although founders of this institution had as their prime purpose to furnish the colony with a learned ministry, Harvard was no mere theological seminary. From the beginning its students followed the traditional curriculum of the liberal arts as taught in Europe (3, p.64).

The religious commitment to develop the students' moral character and the difficulty and uncertainty of travel were also factors of early American life which pressed the college into a residential mold. An element of equal or even greater significance, which affected the decision to house students from the beginning of Harvard College, was the age of the students. During the first century of American higher education, students entered college at thirteen or fourteen years of age (6,p.708). Parents then, as now, were unwilling to allow children of such tender years to live away from home without some sort of supervision. College authorities, therefore, undertook to provide accommodations
for their young charges not only to save the students' souls, but also to keep them out of mischief. The latter function, in fact, was presumed to be essential to the former (12, pp. 179-180).

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the growth of religious diversity made denominational co-existence necessary. In order to attract more students and to enlarge the bases of their financial support, more colleges began to stress inter-denominational practices. One of the best indications of this was shown in the decrease in emphasis on training for the ministry. This trend became more pronounced after 1727 when the primary influence on the Harvard governing board passed to wealthy Boston men of affairs. An increasingly large number of students at Harvard during the remainder of the Colonial era came from the homes of merchants and magistrates (5, p. 6). What was true at Harvard was also true in most other Colonial colleges. Even under Thomas Clap's administration, with its primary emphasis on ministerial training, Yale undergraduates took an ambitious program of preparation for secular professions (13, p. 34). At William and Mary, the students were given "ye liberty of attending whom they please, and in what order they please, of all ye different lectures in a term if they think proper" (15, pp. 12-13). The college
faculty of William and Mary declared in 1770 that its aim was to train "your young men for the three traditional professions" (law, medicine, and the clergy) and also to "become gentlemen" which was evidently regarded by the aristocratic Virginia society of the time as being the equivalent of a fourth profession (5, p.11).

It should be recognized that in this Colonial period the proportion of the total population which had a chance for at least some college training was small. Some poor boys did go to Harvard in the seventeenth century on what we would call scholarships today, but the social and political philosophy of the time did not openly recognize the situation (14, p.646). By the end of the Revolutionary War, however, there was noticeable protest to the situation. A striking statement is that of William Manning, A Revolutionary War veteran, who, in his essay entitled "The Key to Liberty," said:

Learning is of the greatest importance to the seport of a free government, and to prevent this the few are always crying up the advantages of costly colleges, national acadimyes and grammar schooles, in ordir to make places for men to live without work, and so strengthen their party. But are always opposed to cheep schooles, the ondly or prinsaple means by which lerning is spred amongue the many. (7, p.57)

Another influence in the broadening of the
American college curriculum was the passage of the Act of Uniformity by the English Restoration Parliament of 1662 which, by making subscription to the doctrines of the Church of England a prerequisite to residence there, excluded large numbers of Englishmen from Oxford and Cambridge. Thereupon, the English nonconformists set up their own "dissenting academies," institutions of university grade which came to rival Oxford and Cambridge in numbers and in curriculum. It was pointed out that these institutions "gave not merely an education to Dissenters, but a Dissenting education" (5, p. 16). Their curriculum was broader than that of the older universities including, as it did, the newer utilitarian subjects as well as the classical ones. Mathematics, chemistry, physics, English prose and poetry, and elocution could be studied in their classrooms as well as the traditional Latin and Greek. The children of middle-class Englishmen flocked to these academies (1, pp. 250-251).

The influence of these pioneering institutions was felt in a number of Colonial colleges. As a specific example of the new orientation, almost all of the Colonial colleges were teaching natural science with increasing emphasis after 1756. Indeed, professorships of mathematics and natural philosophy were among the earliest chairs established in the colleges (18, p. 416).
All through the period from 1776 to 1779, Thomas Jefferson was active on the Virginia Committee for the Revision of the Laws, seeking to hasten the coming of the new era of Republicanism by drafting bills on a great variety of subjects. This was the purpose of his bill (No. 79) for a more "General Diffusion of Knowledge" and his bill (No. 81) for a "Public Library and Institution for Advanced Research." Part of this comprehensive scheme was represented in Jefferson's bill (No. 80) for the ammending of the constitution of William and Mary College. This legislation, however, was never passed. In 1779 shortly after being elected governor, Jefferson became a member of the Board of Visitors of William and Mary College and from this position he was able to introduce many of the changes at which he had aimed in some of his bills (5, p. 20).

These, then, were the main patterns of the Colonial colleges. Small institutions, every one of them, with meager equipment and with scanty funds and they grew slowly (17, pp. 104-105). The important thing, however, was not the dimensions but the permanent significance of the Colonial achievement in higher education. Granted, the graduating classes of that era were small, the important thing is that they comprised the intellectual and political elite of America. The influence
of this select group and, through it of the colonial college itself, percolated down to the mass of the population from the legislative assembly, the pulpit, the law court, the mercantile house, and the school.

The colonial American college upheld the tradition of prescribed liberal arts educational curriculum, based upon a primarily classical preparatory course; it was more deeply concerned with the forming of character than the fostering of research; it placed great value on a residential pattern of life for students; and it was concerned primarily with the training of a special elite for community leadership. To this fundamental policy it held steadfastly and without important change for nearly two hundred years (5,p.25).

As was pointed out earlier, the American colleges were patterned after the residential colleges of England with unique American implementation. In the residence halls the chief point of difference was that in England's residential colleges the residence halls had developed into educative agencies, while in the United States the residence halls were little more than body shelters (6,p.708). The British used their housing units to bring the professors and the students together for social and intellectual intercourse as well as for academic work, but in colonial American colleges faculty
members were saddled with the responsibility of enforcing all disciplinary regulations. Thus they appeared in the guise of the students' enemy. Instead of separating the teaching and proctoring functions, American colleges, with their compulsory class and chapel attendance, disciplinary regulations, and daily recitations, made it impossible for students and professors to develop close, amicable relations (4, p. 29; 11, p. 149). Residence halls thus became places for students merely to eat, sleep, and occasionally to study. As Cowley stated, "The opportunity to make them the core of the educational program has been lost in the disciplinary muddle" (6, p. 710).

This essentially paternalistic approach is embodied in a statement by Buell Gallagher. Reviewing the situation in 1938, he wrote: "Perhaps the dominant method of collegiate administration of the beginning period was that of the despot--sometimes benevolent, but typically despotic" (8, p. 263). Following this philosophy of paternalism, it was a custom from the earliest days of American colleges to provide housing facilities for students. It is on record that Nathaniel Eaton, the first head of what was to become Harvard University, lost his position in 1639 because he mismanaged the residential affairs of the young institution (16, p. 4).
The congenital concern for housing students was probably the result of at least three major concerns of the Colonists: the religious commitment to develop in the students a strong moral character, the young age of the students, and the difficulties of travel. The benefactors and legislators set the precedent for acceptance of housing students in their plans for endowing and chartering institutions. In some cases the granting of a charter rested on the evidence of existing facilities or money to purchase or build facilities for housing students and faculty (10,p.38).

The role of women in this review of higher education in the United States during the Colonial period has been conspicuous by its absence. Everywhere in Colonial America it was held that the woman's place was in the home, bearing and rearing children and carrying on the varied rounds of domestic duties. Married women in the Colonies had no legal status, having surrendered their legal personality to their husbands at marriage. In the words of the old English Common Law, "Husband and wife are one, and the husband is the one" (9,p.1). The economic position of women was also markedly inferior. At marriage, a woman surrendered all right to administer her property, both real and personal, into the hands of her husband, who could enjoy
the income and make no accounting for it. Such was the Common Law of England and so it was in the American Colonies and so it remained in all but a handful of the states of the American Union up to the Civil War (9,p.2).

The attitude toward learning for women in the Colonies was decidedly unfavorable. The daily attentive study of the Holy Scriptures which was held to be the true source of all wisdom was a general practice, but mental improvement seldom went beyond this limit. The belief was held that "women's minds were not strong enough for learning" and that it was "furthermore totally unnecessary" (20,p.128). Education to the point of literacy became the rule, not to the extent of denying the above stated belief, but to implement it. The belief was held that it was necessary to read the Bible for the training of children. For the purpose of teaching girls to read there is also record of teaching, on a very limited scale, being open to women in the Dame's schools (20,p.159).

The Colonists adopted the customs of the mother country and followed their traditions in the education of women. Thus daughters were instructed by their mothers in the domestic tasks. This was all that was deemed necessary for them beyond learning to read, write, and practice the courtesies. The prevailing conception of women's
intelligence and the belief that women were "destined for the hearth," effectually quenched any latent ambitions for higher education. Such education as was afforded looked toward a satisfactory marriage. The learned wife was not sought after (20,p.107).

Although in 1636 Lucy Downing suggested, in a letter to Governor Winthrop, the desirability of creating a college for women in New England (20,p.137), there continued to be only sporadic mention of such a possibility for two hundred years. The practical facilities for improving girls' education began to develop in the eighteenth century. The Ursuline Convent for Girls was established in New Orleans in 1727 and the Bethlehem Female seminary was established in 1742 in Pennsylvania (20,p.108). In 1772 the town of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, invited one David McClure "to take care of a public school of Misses." In his diary the master records that it is his belief that "this is the only female school in New England, it is a wise and useful institution"(9,p.6).

During the eighteenth century a new type of school began to develop in the Colonies--the private day or boarding school. The New York Gazetteer of April 7, 1774 carried the announcement of the intentions of J. and M. Tanner to set up a "Boarding school for young
ladies" where they proposed to teach "Reading; Writing, in all the useful and ornamental hands; Arithmetic, by a method adapted to their capacities" as well as "needlework of all kinds, music, dancing, drawing, French ... and every polite accomplishment." These were to be taught by a method similar to "that of the most approved English boarding schools" (2, p. 82).

After 1785 many of the same types of schools sprang up. The female academy and the seminary were the prevailing type of institution for girls until about 1865. These aimed at a secondary education (2, p. 108). They were the sole means of higher education for well-to-do girls prior to the Revolution. Since the fees were high, according to colonial standards, the rank and file of girls must have received little or no instruction beyond that furnished by the Dame's schools.

The progress of higher education for women illustrates the truth of the remark made by one of the most famous of social philosophers, Sir Henry Sumner Maine, to the effect that the "progress of modern societies is a movement from status to contract." The education for women for two centuries had relation to their condition as wives and mothers. Their education was, like that life-- simple, prosaic, narrow (17, p. 334).
Footnotes


CHAPTER III

NATIONALISM, EXPANSION, AND REFORM
1790-1850

The last decade of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth century brought sweeping changes in American society and in academic concepts. A decline in religious orthodoxy at large took from college life the chief prop of authoritarianism. The rapid settling of the continent, the great humanitarian and social reform movements of the 1840's and 1850's, the changing status of women in society, and particularly the rise of gigantic industrial and commercial forces all altered American society and with it academic life. Colleges, and particularly the large state universities which rose in the Middle West in the mid-nineteenth century, drew clientele from wider and wider segments of the population. This was the period when women were first admitted to separate colleges or to the ever-growing number of co-educational institutions.

Social, Economic, and Political Changes

During the expansion period which began in 1790, American ideas about separation of Church and State and
about education moved less rapidly than did political and social concepts and the political and economic patterns of life began to overshadow the religious as claimants on the energies and loyalties of the people. The United States was becoming a secular society in which religious institutions still played a strong part, but no longer a leading role. This shift in power did not take place without bitter struggles and much searching of the hearts and minds of men (4,p.35). The assumption that widespread education was desirable showed itself in a revival of schooling. Many academies were founded and the number of colleges doubled. In 1776 there were nine colleges. By 1790 as many more had been opened or chartered and every state except Delaware had at least one college in operation or in process of organization (1, pp.115-116).

The doctrine of equality, still salient from the struggle for independence, was hostile to aristocracy. Americans were determined to continue without a titled nobility and looked askance at anything which smacked of special privilege. In Connecticut even a medical society which sought to raise the standards of the profession by licensing practitioners was at first denied a charter because its members were to be chosen for life and might thus become a privileged order (1,p.117).

Prevailing confidence and optimism were rooted
in a popular belief that man's potentialities were unlimited when he was free to develop them in the socio-economic realities of the nineteenth century America. One of the most important realities was the virgin land that promised a life of greater dignity and abundance than Europe's common people had ever dreamed. The West became one of the central interests of the American people and, in the main, is the story of the expansion of American agriculture and the development of less rigid class structure.

Westward movement

The interest in and movement toward the West encouraged such qualities as individualism and resourcefulness while it exposed sham and discarded superficialities. It gave added emphasis to the notion that all must have an equal chance to make their way. It showed an uncommon respect for the "self-made man."

Giving impetus to the westward movement was the construction of the Cumberland Road, from Cumberland, Maryland, across the mountains to Wheeling, Virginia, completed in 1811, and the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 which opened the Mississippi River to navigation by Americans. Further impetus was made when the steamboat was invented in 1811 and the Erie Canal was opened in 1813.
In this movement to the West, schools were not forgotten. The Land Ordinance of 1785 reserved one lot in each township for the maintenance of public schools, and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 provided that schools and means of education were to be encouraged. From the beginning girls were allowed the same freedom of education as boys in the West. Perhaps the major reason for this was that no one could deny the ability of women who had crossed the country in covered wagons, battling the hardships with as much fortitude as the males.

**Industrial expansion**

In this same period, the factory system had its beginning in the East. In 1790, Samuel Slater built a cotton spinning mill at Pawtucket, Rhode Island. Manufacturing soon spread to other items: woolens, shoes, rolling mills. The invention of the steam engine in 1804 gave added emphasis to manufacturing and was the beginning of the urban movement. Due to a chronic shortage of labor, women began working in the mills although they were closely supervised. In 1830, a visitor from England to Lowell, Massachusetts, commented on the attention the Boston Association gave the young women who worked in their mills. He wrote that the "Lowell girls live in comfortable boarding houses built by the company, their morals are strictly supervised and they are provided with
recreational facilities, educational opportunities, and religious instruction" (1,p.208).

The rapid economic and social growth soon began to influence political life. The control of public affairs became less exclusively the business of select groups. This was especially intensified under the leadership of Andrew Jackson when the "common man" was almost glorified as bids were made for the political support of the masses by both Whig and Democratic parties.

**Status of Women**

Women were constantly confronted, especially in the East, by a wall of prejudice and rebuff that the "woman's sphere was in the home." American men characteristically treated them with deference, but few would accept them as equals. Women's inferiority was also sanctioned by laws recognizing the husband as the dominant figure in the family and even giving him control over the property his wife brought to the marriage. Except for female seminaries, where the daughters of the well-to-do could learn the social graces, schools were closed to girls. Women were excluded from the professions. They could neither vote nor hold public office. Indeed it was considered unfeminine for them to even speak in public or to offer prayers in church (1,pp.245-247).
In 1840 a group of American women, including Elizabeth Stanton and Lucretia Mott, went to the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London, but were given no right to participate (1,p.247). This and other similar experiences provoked a women's rights movement which became at once an integral part of the general reform crusade and a decisive issue among the male reformers. Women took a special interest in temperance, for example, but when they tried to participate actively in this or in any other reform movement they were at once confronted by prejudice and rebuff.

Reformers such as Mary Wollstonecraft and others argued that differences in mental ability between the sexes were solely due to existing social environment. They, therefore, demanded that women be placed on a plane of equality with men in political affairs, in opportunity for employment, in legal position, in social status and, of course, in education (3,p.65).

In 1848 the first Women's Rights Convention was held at Seneca Falls, New York, and issued a demand that women "have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belonged to them as citizens of the United States" (1,p.248).

In the years prior to the Civil War, women did make some gains. A few states gave married women control
over their own property and everywhere one profession, teaching in the elementary schools, was open to them. They secured admission to a few high schools and normal schools and a few schools of college level were opened to them.

In this period, Emma Willard was campaigning for educational reform and Lucy Stone was a popular lecturer for equal suffrage. Although most men and many women sneered at these "feminists," such women had effectively challenged the myth that women were physically and mentally unfitted for any useful activity outside the home. As a result of the reform movement, by the 1850's the states were committed to making tax-supported public education available to all of both sexes without the stigma of charity.

Higher Education for Women

Although the citizens of the Colonies were, after six devastating years of War for Independence, now free to set their faces toward the future, education for women still lagged. Gradually the popular democratic doctrine of equality, long restricted to men, began to be applied to women and their education, but higher education was much slower to be accepted. In New England, the town elementary schools were generally opened to girls, but beyond this were only the academies and female seminaries.
Despite the fact that several academies were in existence in 1815 which offered girls a more solid education than ever before, these schools were not free and were scattered over a wide area. In consequence, girls of the poorer class were quite generally excluded from the academies, and prosperous parents, who were willing to send their daughters to perhaps some distant towns to secure an education, were chiefly the patrons of these institutions. Most of these private female academies and seminaries were "meagerly staffed, meagerly financed, meagerly equipped, offering a course of study taught by ill-educated women which was little, if any, superior to the private day schools" (9,p.11).

The agitation for collegiate education for women shared the same inspiration as many humanitarian movements of the first half of the nineteenth century. Rudolph aptly stated it as follows:

In a world where everything and everyone was progressing, where the sacredness of the human personality and inherent rights of the individual in society were advanced as fundamental truths, in such a world higher education for women received the attention of mankind along with such causes as prison reform, education for the blind, the care of the insane, and the emancipation of the slaves. (12,p.311)

The first reference to the institutions of higher learning which purposed and purported to be comparable to college level are the Troy Female Seminary, founded in 1821
by Emma Willard and the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, founded in 1831 by Mary Lyon. About this time other such institutions began to make their appearance on all parts of the widening educational horizon.

The first women's colleges rose in the South. Although the Georgia Female College (1839) was the first to be chartered, the Wesleyan Female College of Macon, Georgia, founded in 1836, made history by being the first educational institution in the country to confer higher degrees on women (3,p.65). Judson College was founded in Alabama in 1838 and the Mary Sharpe College for Women (now extinct) was established in Tennessee in 1852.

The first prototype of the American coeducational college made its appearance in Ohio in 1837 when Oberlin opened its doors to women. Established by a deeply religious people who were, among other things, passionately opposed to Negro slavery, this school made it a special point to admit women from the very beginning just as it admitted Negroes (8,pp.16-24). To clarify the date that women were first admitted to regular college work at Oberlin, it should be stated that women were permitted to be admitted earlier. Oberlin opened in 1833, to admit both men and women; about one-third of the enrollment that year was women. The work of the first years was largely of high school level, however, for the women, but
In 1837 four women were prepared to be admitted to regular college work (10, p. 109).

The pre-Civil War period was a very difficult time for women's colleges. The age of admissions had to be kept low because many girls were unable to obtain an adequate secondary school education; academic admission requirements had to be sacrificed in order to attract paying students; material endowments were almost totally lacking. Even more discouraging was the deep-seated skepticism of the public with respect to the value of higher education for women. It was feared that such training would raise a woman above the duties of her "station" and a man could not learn to love a learned wife. "Better far to teach young ladies to be correct in their manners, respectable to their families and agreeable in society" (16, pp. 152-153, 173).

The management of the student body in earliest colleges for women were patterned after the seminaries. The general objectives of college education for women could be summarized as (1) preparation for home duties, (2) discipline of mental powers, (3) cultivation of formal gentility and social grace, (4) specific preparation for professional opportunity, primarily teaching in elementary school, and (5) emphasis on religious and Christian purpose (7, p. 314).
Housing in Women's Colleges

The housing of women students was one of the first considerations of the first institutions of higher education for women--the seminaries. In this period, in agreement with the general attitudes of the times, there was a strong feeling that a real part of the obligation of the college to the women students was a continuation of the sheltered life which women of that day lived in their homes and in society. Along with this, still remained the idea that women were instinctively domestic and that this domesticity should be developed to the highest degree. Among the early residence systems, therefore, were found arrangements by which the women students did practically all the household tasks connected with the dormitory. Typical of the residential accommodations was that of Mount Holyoke which had one large building, the upper three stories of which were divided into the "scholars and teachers lodging rooms, there being about sixteen in each story" (5,p.36). The students were responsible for the preparation of food and for all of the domestic chores. Mount Holyoke was greatly influential in the creation of other seminaries and colleges. From Wellesley in Massachusetts to Mills in California, institutions acknowledged it as their model, and an essential part of the model was the residential life provided for
the students. The attitude toward Mount Holyoke is typified by the statement of Henry F. Durant, founder of Wellesley, who said, "there can't be too many Mount Holyokes" (6,p.25).

A glance at the print of the Georgia Female College (1836), which depicts its extensive building, and at those later ones which show Oxford Female College, Elmira Female College, and finally Vassar Female College will reveal how essential those early institutions regarded the housing of their students under the same roof where their academic work was pursued.

Typical of the habit of fixing everything by rule is shown by the rules of the Wesleyan Female College of Cincinnati. Their rules specified that "young women were required to rise at the ringing of the bell," attend prayers in the chapel, have their rooms "readied by the appointed time," be prompt at all meals, retire and have lights extinguished by ten o'clock P.M. There was to be no loud talking or laughter, no "nick-names or by-words," and no conversation during study hours. The women were not allowed to attend parties or to "walk with gentlemen other than those of the immediate family," to leave the college premises, or to make any purchases except with parents' permission (16,p.198).

The Georgia Female College was an early exception to the rule. At that college the discipline appears to
have been mild and the rules few. The government of the college was "founded on mutual confidence and affection between teachers and pupils." It was thought that many rules would multiply offenses (16,p.199).

The separation of the duties of teachers and residence hall supervisors was first pointed up by Catherine Beecher, founder of the Hartford Female Seminary in 1829. In an essay which stated the typical restrictions on college life for women at that institution, Miss Beecher spoke of the staff as having "one teacher (who) is exclusively occupied as governess in enforcing the rules of neatness, order and propriety, and in administering the government of the school." In further comments on college life at Hartford Female Seminary, she stated:

Females will cease to feel that they are educated just to enjoy themselves in their future life and realize the obligations imposed by heaven to live to do good... to combine the highest intellectual culture with the highest practical skill in all the distinctive duties of womanhood... That the two sexes should be united both as pupils and as teachers, in the same institution, seems very desirable, but rarely in early life by a method that removes the females from parental watch and care, and the protecting influence of a home.

(9,pp.156-206)
In a report to the trustees, Miss Beecher commented further on the duties of the governess:

She sits in the hall which is devoted to study, to see that perfect quiet is preserved; she is the person from whom all permissions are sought; she attends the regular departure and return of the classes to and from the recitation rooms, and in short, relieves the other teachers from all care except that of communicating knowledge. No arrangement has more effectively contributed to the comfort and prosperity than this for the institution. (9, p. 156)

The pattern of living was copied from the seminaries even by those institutions which were fearless enough to inaugurate coeducation. At Oberlin, for example, a very distinct feature of the original plan was the arrangements made for young women. A building, called the Ladies Hall, was made the headquarters of the Ladies Department "where the young women are provided room and board. The Lady Principal and her assistants find their homes in this hall and have here their offices" (2, p. 320). In the first annual report of Oberlin was the announcement that the primary objective of the institution was the "education of ministers and pious school-teachers," and a secondary objective of the institution was the "elevation of female character." It is further stated in that report that

The female department, under the supervision of a lady, will furnish the instruction in all the useful branches taught in the best female seminaries;
and its higher classes will be permitted to enjoy the privileges of such professorships in the teachers', collegiate, and theological departments as shall best suit their sex and prospective employment. (2, p.236)

While for the purpose of some instruction, the young women came under the same instructors and into the same classes as the young men, the arrangements for the general supervision and discipline of them were entirely distinct. For these purposes the women constituted a department by themselves, under the direct care of a lady principal who

... receives them as they come, advises them as to their arrangements, introduces them to their classes, and gathers them statedly for general counsel and instruction as they might require. In this responsibility, she is sustained by a board of ladies, who in connection with the principal, have full authority in reference to the conduct and discipline of the young women. Thus the advantages of coeducation are secured without separating the young women from proper care. (2, p.312)

From reviewing the housing arrangements of the early colleges it is seen that the major purpose of the school administrators was to provide a chaperone or a housemother to "look after" women students. The colleges generally selected mature women, frequently widows, in order to provide an impressive weight of years to insure adult watchfulness and judgment over the students. The general pattern of housing women students was much the
same as in the Colonial period for men. Francis Wayland provided one of the best contemporary descriptions of the dormitory system as follows:

The buildings are commonly after the same model, three or four stories high and containing about 30-50 rooms in each. One, or more commonly, I think two students occupy the same room. The residence is assigned to each pupil by the principal or some other officer. The junior officers occupy rooms in the college buildings during the day and the night and the senior officers in the same institution during the day. All the rooms in many colleges are visited by the officers during some part of the day and evening for the purpose of preserving order.

In most colleges, a commons table is provided for students and for junior officers. In some cases, the pupils are obliged to board in the commons, in others this is optional. In general, then, the college undertakes to stand to the student in place of a parent, providing for him board and lodging, and the services usually included in this charge, as well as education; and it assumes the responsibility which attaches to this understanding. (114,p.113)

Summary

The religious commitment to develop the students' moral character and the difficulty and uncertainty of travel were factors of early American life which had pressed the college into a residential mold. A factor of equal or greater importance was the age of the students (7,p.708). Parents, then and now, were unwilling to allow their children of thirteen or fourteen years of
age to live away from home without some supervision. College authorities, therefore, undertook to provide accommodations for their charges to keep them from mischief and from harm.

The failure of coeducation and of separate women's colleges to make much headway before 1860 should be viewed in the context of those other educational reforms which remained blocked until after the War: the elective principle, technical education, graduate education, popular practical learning (12,p.312). The movement for the higher education for women suffered from the mental rigidity of college governing boards, from the inability of those who controlled American higher education to think beyond the classical course of study. It suffered from the essential poverty of collegiate foundations and from the widespread suspicion of the class and sectarian colleges (12,p.313). In addition, higher education for women had its own set of problems with which to deal. These problems were basically a result of the generally accepted idea of the role of women in society and made the idea of allowing women to attend college seem as subversive to the American home and family.
Footnotes


CHAPTER IV

DEVELOPMENT AND CONFLICT
1850-1900

Up to 1850, the only real profession into which women had entered was teaching in the common schools and seminaries. Now there was a more general assertion of women's rights in many new fields. "Give women some pursuit which men esteem important, and see if their work is not well done, provided they are suitably trained," represented the view held in many quarters. But any desire to undertake man's work was decried by the cautious. "We only want our sex to become fitted for their spheres, but we believe this includes preparation for physicians, nurses, teachers, social workers, and managers of savings banks," was a statement printed in the Ladies Book by Godey (17,p.228).

Social, Economic, and Political Changes
Accelerated industrial development which gave rise to a strong labor movement and an increased interest in farm development which gave rise to a strong farm movement were the significant concerns of this period.
Both of these had an important influence on the change in the status of women and in their acceptance to higher education.

**Industrial development and rise of the labor movement**

Led by the textile industry, the production of all kinds of machinery was given impetus in the East by the 1870's. The tempo of industry was greatly accelerated and the key industries became steel, ore, meat packing, and railroads.

Closely allied with the industrial revolution were rapid advances in science and technology which made this industrialization possible. The cotton gin, the sewing machine, the automatic reaper, the iron plow, iron smelting, the steamship, the steam locomotive, the telegraph as well as the improvement of roads, canals, and rivers had all appeared by the middle of the century. They were followed in the later decades by the telephone, refrigeration, canning processes, the typewriter, the phonograph, steel process, oil and gasoline process, and electric power among many others.

The later nineteenth century was the high point in the pervasive influence of capitalism. It was also the birth of the labor movement opposing it. As the capitalists used the individualistic ideals of historic
liberalism to justify their role in society, the labor movement was beginning to use the humanitarian ideals of liberalism to defend itself (7,p.449). The labor movement arose as a protest and reaction against capitalism. Many labor organizations were formed. Drawing upon the humanitarian and democratic ideals of liberalism, the labor groups argued that free education was needed as a means of improving conditions of working people.

The ferment of social reform ideas emerged in reaction to the stifling and sordid qualities of industrial conditions. This movement was signalized by the establishment of such settlement houses as Stanton Coit's Neighborhood Guild in New York and Jane Addams's Hull House in Chicago and by publications of Jacob Riis which attacked the tenement conditions. By 1900, one hundred settlement houses were in operation in various cities of the country (7,p.453).

Meanwhile the great influx of immigrants to work in the industries brought in thousands who had Roman Catholic and Jewish backgrounds rather than Protestant. The influence of Protestantism became less all-embracing than it had been during the first part of the nineteenth century. As the century moved into its later decades, the growing secularism of life, especially represented by industrialism, urbanization, and newer intellectual trends
growing out of the theory of evolution, affected organized religious groups in different ways.

The increased wealth in the cities gave enormous support to the established churches. The observation of the Sabbath in the Puritan tradition began to weaken. Some churches turned to secular methods, such as sewing circles, child care, and discussion groups, to hold their members. Interdenominational cooperation began in such organizations as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Christian Endeavor, and the Young Women's Christian Association. Religious-minded persons also found outlet for their energies in such organizations as the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Rise of the farm movement

In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the frontier moved further West. The individual states did not possess sufficient resources to push forward developments such as higher education on their own. Hence a number of enthusiasts launched a movement for federal support. By 1850 the so-called "farmer's vote" was becoming more important. Such farm organizations as the Grange came to regard agricultural education as at least a partial cure for the farmer's economic ills. The agitation gradually expanded with the help of various local and national
agricultural societies, until a large body of opinion demanded the establishment of what was called "Democracy's Colleges." The result was the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862 whereby federal aid was given to agricultural and mechanical colleges (28, p. 65).

When the Homestead Act of 1862 was passed, the process of buying up land for both settling and for speculation was greatly stimulated. Because there was much land speculation by land corporations and by individuals who bought up great areas of land to hold until higher prices could be obtained, the American ideal of opportunity for all seemed less possible of achievement. The spur to large scale farming in order to export caused farmers to borrow money to buy more land and equipment. High tariffs and high railroad rates made the return to the farmers lower and lower. As a result, 40 per cent of the farmers of the midwest had mortgages on their farms and 35 per cent of all American farmers were tenants by 1900 (7, p. 447). It was these conditions which caused the farmers to turn with renewed interest to various kinds of organization to protect their rights. Here was the grass-roots reform movement caused by democratic agrarian reaction to the increased industrial and capitalistic control of the American economy (6, pp. 63-67).

The passage of the Hatch Act of 1887 represented
a great stimulus to the agricultural and mechanical colleges because it provided a growing body of scientific subject matter. The formation of the Association of Land Grant Colleges in the late 1880's stimulated support for their work and mobilized forces in congress to pass favorable legislation. Finally, largely due to pressure from the Grange and the Farmers' Alliance, the second Morrill Act of 1890 was passed with amendments which provided that federal funds could be used for instruction in agriculture, mechanics, English, mathematics, science, and economics. It also gave special reference to these subjects as concerned "their applications to the industries of life" (1, pp. 56-57).

In the West particularly, the Morrill Acts were looked upon as "a provision upon which women had the same claim as men" (3, p. 84); consequently women were admitted almost immediately to the land grant colleges on the same terms as men.

The land grant colleges were significant because they were among the first institutions of learning in the United States to welcome applied science and the mechanical arts and to give these subjects a place in college curricula. They fostered the emancipation of higher education from a purely classical and formalistic tradition. Above all, these colleges stood pre-eminently
for the principle that every American citizen is entitled to some form of higher education.

**Entry of women into industrial world**

In a large measure the arguments presented against higher education for women on the grounds of their feminine attributes were middle class arguments and it was from this class that the bulk of college women would be drawn. But society was already becoming accustomed to the spectacle of women leaving the cloistered shelter of the home to enter the burgeoning factories of the nation in increasing numbers. In fact, it was not unusual in certain industries, such as textiles and shoe industries, for the women to outnumber the men. In Lynn, Massachusetts in 1850, there were 6,412 women as compared to 3,729 men working in the shoe factories (9, p.175).

The entry of women into the industrial world was further accelerated by the onset of the Civil War. Women occupied posts and competently performed tasks that hitherto had been regarded as outside their proper sphere and alien to their natural capacities and capabilities. Once having tasted of this newly found freedom, however, they were frequently reluctant to return to household tasks. As long as the skills required for the operation of uncomplicated machines were relatively simple, women in industry needed little more than rudimentary schooling.
However, there were women now, particularly of the middle class, who were entering professions that demanded greater intellectual attainments. The spreading common schools, female academies, and female seminaries of the country were being staffed by a larger number of women. Preparation for these professions required an advanced education which the colleges could best supply. It was here, particularly in preparation for teaching in the seminaries, that women first tasted the hitherto forbidden fruits of higher learning in the few colleges that were operating for them.

The decline of enrollments that came with the war also helped weaken the resistance and led to the opening of instruction to women in a number of universities during or immediately following the war (25,p.13). Thus, although the war was rather crippling to the advance of higher education in general, it did a great deal to draw forth the American woman from the home, place her in situations demanding skills, temperament, and responsibility normally reserved for men. Her success in meeting the wartime challenge not only silenced her critics, or at least deflated some of them, but it also inspired the American woman herself, suggesting horizons of good works, useful and interesting lines of work so long denied her by the men's tradition (29,p.318).
Academic Changes

Somewhat parallel to the trends noted above, the dominant beliefs about how people learn underwent a marked change. Experimental psychology was supported by studies in heredity and original nature conducted by such men as Francis Galton, James McKeen Cattell, and Edward Lee Thorndike. The startling findings as to "individual differences" as early as the 1880's led progressive educators to recognize the varying abilities and interests in the learning process. In 1859, the very year that President Buchanan vetoed the original Morrill bill providing for land grant colleges, Charles Darwin's epoch-making book, The Origin of the Species, appeared. It was becoming increasingly clear that the western world was about to enter a new era of free inquiry, of more extensive scientific research.

Even up to 1870 American colleges, even the better ones, were likely to be strongly sectarian, provincial, and undistinguished. Collegiate pedagogy, like the Victorian family, was highly authoritarian with emphasis on rules and discipline (3,p.454). As a result, however, of the changing social, political, and economic conditions as mentioned earlier, American education was caught up in the conflicts and controversies. Although
many Americans felt that the working people should not be allowed to rise too rapidly out of their inherited places in society, the trend was unmistakable. The nineteenth century witnessed the beginning of the democratic experience in higher education no less than in elementary and in secondary education.

With Harvard in the vanguard, under the leadership of Charles Eliot, a small group of academicians undertook to reform the old collegiate order (3,p.457). More proliferation of courses through acceptance of the elective system, more use of the laboratory method of instruction, more relaxed student discipline, and a decrease in the proportion of clergymen on boards of trustees were signs that the old collegiate order was passing. Accompanying these changes and reflecting the shift to secular and scientific emphasis was an increase in the German influence in academic circles.

This was an era of prolific birth of new institutions of learning, both private and public. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century the total number of colleges and universities increased by nearly 150, although many were short-lived. Ten new state universities, all of them coeducational from the start, were founded between 1882 and 1895 (3,p.458).
Changing Attitudes Toward Education for Women

Prejudice toward higher education for women had somewhat abated by 1850 as shown by the establishment of a small number of women's colleges and by the admission of women to Oberlin College. The hoary conception, however, of women's proper sphere as the "maker of the home and the educator of her children" continued to be perpetuated and in turn to perpetuate an atmosphere which militated against women's entry into the existing colleges of the period and it also inhibited the movement toward the establishment of separate institutions of higher education for them (12, pp. 27-29). Coupled with this narrow view of women's place in society was the equally circumscribed estimate of their mental powers. The female mind, it was held, was of an inferior order, "incapable of penetrating the subleties of the complex disciplines and of ascending to the Aristotelian heights of pure reason. To educate such a mind, therefore, required separate facilities and special programs of study" (4, p. 166).

The entry of women into industry, their activities in assuming, during the war, those responsibilities usually reserved for men, and the increased need for teachers all combined to temper this attitude until during the three decades following the Civil War, the
issue of higher education for women had narrowed down, for the most part, not to the question "should women receive a college education?" but to "what kind of college education should women receive?" The main cleavage by this time had come to be one between proponents of co-education and advocates of separate women's colleges. The cleavage followed marked sectional lines (6,p.69).

**Attitude toward education for women in the West**

In the West, particularly, academic tradition was less hidebound and the social influence of women was greater than in the East. They were even beginning to assume political responsibility. Wyoming, in 1869, and Utah, in 1870, had pioneered by granting women the vote. In this social context, it was impossible to deny them an equal chance in higher education (37,pp.225-226).

At the same time, we cannot overlook the practical appeal that coeducation would have to a new region like the West. Along the frontier it was financially impossible to duplicate the expensive educational facilities of the eastern states. There was usually not enough endowment available to maintain one good college, let alone two. Coeducation enabled western institutions to serve a larger number of students without increase in expense (36,p.68).
William Rainey Harper attributed the progress to a more advanced outlook of the West. He said that they had a spirit that was "splendidly modern and higher than the older spirit of the monastery and the convent" (19, p.301). But perhaps the most telling argument, however, was the assertion that coeducation was necessary so that all persons, irrespective of sex, would have the democratic right to be taught all branches of knowledge (6, p.68).

The extension of women's education in the West was greatly affected after 1850 by the function of the land grant colleges and by the state universities where coeducation took hold and contributed heavily toward elevating the standards and reputation of collegiate education for women (29,p.314). First the University of Iowa (1855) and then the University of Wisconsin (1863) opened their doors to women, followed by Indiana, Missouri, Michigan, and California. The readiness of western institutions to adopt coeducation was unquestionably derived in part from the facts of western life where an equality of the sexes was achieved in the ordinary work of living. The increase in the second half of the nineteenth century made its impact as far east as Pennsylvania in 1869, the year that Swarthmore accepted women.
Attitude toward education for women in the East

The stronghold of separate women's colleges was in the East where the situation was somewhat different. There the private schools and colleges had long set the patterns. In New England, moreover, the land grant foundations were overwhelmingly attached to the long established men's colleges. The reluctance of the better female seminaries, such as Mount Holyoke and Emma Willard's school at Troy, to take on work of the college level also closed off one natural source of strength for the women's college idea. In an address delivered in the Music Hall of Boston as late as 1870, Miss Beecher expressed with vigor her conviction that the Creator had assigned men and women to different spheres. She heartily disapproved of the tendencies of the day such as the movement to open higher education of learning for men to young women, and the growing emphasis on a purely intellectual education for women (18,p.109). This attitude reveals that with all her fine ardor for the improvement of women's education, she was out of touch with two of the most significant tendencies of the day.

To these barriers must be added those various social and intellectual considerations still present
which argued that woman's place was in the home and that the home did not require college training. Eastern society could provide women with a kind of woman's world apart where they were certainly not equal to men, but at whose feet men could worship.

Nevertheless, the massive skepticism, even hostility to higher education for women in the East crumbled under the impact of a successful demonstration at Cornell which offered the first coeducation at a higher level in an established eastern university, and of the opening in close succession of high grade women's colleges at Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley (pp. 255-266). The die was really cast when a benefactor offered Cornell a woman's dormitory and to receive it they voted "equal rights" to women. The words, "equal rights," need some qualification which may be found in the section entitled "housing for women students" in this paper.

In spite of the examples set by Cornell and by Swarthmore two years earlier, there was a rather general distrust of coeducation in the East. It was, in part, as a result of this distrust that the separate women's colleges arose. Another factor in the development of these women's colleges was probably that in New York and in New England a partial pattern had been set by the seminaries established by Emma Willard and Mary Lyon.
So the principal pattern in the East came to be the superior, but separate women's colleges. This was in accord with the reigning genteel tradition, and moreover, it was inevitable since the eastern colleges steadfastly refused to admit women. Thus was established Vassar in 1865, Wellesley in 1875, Sophie Smith in 1875, and Bryn Mawr in 1885. The same tradition was strong in the southeastern states where, between 1885 and 1910, eight states established separate tax-supported colleges for women (6,p.67).

To realize how completely the East subscribed to the idea of a separate college for women, one has only to review the debates over whether or not to organize Smith College as a coeducational institution. Even with the support of the editor of the Springfield Republican, Governor Alexander H. Bullock of Massachusetts, and the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher, one of the most eloquent preachers of that day, coeducation did not become a reality at Smith College (30,pp.7-10).

At about this same time another influence had begun to have its influence in women's higher education especially in the East. Cambridge University had established Girton College at which women were obtaining Cambridge University advantages and Oxford had subsequently established Newham College to offer similar
advantages to women. These establishments were parent to the same type institution in the United States. In 1879, with the leadership and guidance of Elizabeth Cary Agassiz in organization, a group of Harvard professors began to give courses for women outside the university. Offered under the auspices of the Society for the Collegiate Instruction for Women, these courses constituted what was popularly known as the Harvard Annex (24, p. 391). In 1893, the name Radcliffe College was adopted for this women's branch which at that time received an official charter as a college (22, pp. 3-9).

In his report to the trustees of Columbia University in 1880, President Barnard dwelled at length upon these English schools and upon the residences for women which they provided. He also referred to Cornell's example in support of his recommendation that Columbia College "open her doors to receive all honest and earnest seekers after knowledge, without distinction of class or sex." Eight years later his desire was realized by the establishment of Barnard College with residence facilities patterned after those of Vassar (32, p. 14). Three years before, a donation of $100,000 to Tulane University set up in New Orleans the H. Sophie Newcomb Memorial College "for white girls and young women." Lastly, in 1891, women were admitted for the first time to Pembroke
College which was organized as a coordinate part of the structure of Brown University (5, p. 450).

But neither the coordinate college nor separate education would be the rule, for while these movements were strong in the East and helped to establish the right of women to higher education, the characteristic institution was fast becoming the coeducational college or university, the strength of which was clearly in the West during this period. In 1872 there were 97 major coeducational colleges and universities in the United States and of these 67 were in the West, 17 in the South, 8 in the middle Atlantic states, and 5 in New England. By 1880 over 30 per cent of all American colleges admitted women. In the coeducational colleges the increase in men students from 1875 to 1900 was threefold and of women students the increase was sixfold. Some, such as Stanford, finally adopted a limit for the number of women students admitted to preserve the college from unwanted change in character (16, pp. 132-136).

Housing of Students

During this period women were concerned so much with obtaining the opportunities of higher education that they seemed willing to accept any and all regulations insofar as student life and housing were concerned. Also, it did not, in all probability, enter their minds to
question such regulations because close supervision was an "understood" part of the social structure of the era. The same, however, could not be said for the men's residential situation. There occurred in some of them disciplinary clashes which created thorough-going antipathies (21, pp.101-105). President James of the University of Illinois, speaking in 1917 at the dedication of a hall for women at Urbana, Illinois, recalled the change in attitude toward university housing of students which had taken place on that campus. He recalled that when a tornado had finally rendered Illinois' original hall unusable there had been "rejoicing among the students and relief on the part of the faculty," and that its reputation had persisted so powerfully that during two successive decades no one had dared to propose residence halls for that university (21, p.106).

The years following the Civil War witnessed not only a transformation of the curriculum and organization of the American college, but also profound changes in the nature of student life. Before 1865 it was more cohesive. Despite the sporadic warfare which raged between the faculty and the student body, a basic unity existed between the curricular and the extra-curricular (2, pp.190-191). But following the Civil War a new situation arose. Students came to represent a broader group than before.
and some of them were lacking in any serious intellectual or professional interest. Others of them were coming to college mainly as a prelude to an active career in business and finance. College faculties began to relax their paternalistic grip on undergraduate life and the dormitory system fell into decline. This did not mean, however, that a positive program of guidance or counseling was substituted. For a long period of time the students were generally allowed to drift aimlessly. They improvised their own patterns of college life through clubs, fraternities, and other housing. The private boarding house was another expedient to which students resorted to provide for themselves the room and board they had once secured at the dormitory. These trends, especially the transformation of fraternities from social and intellectual groups to organizations providing residential facilities, had the effect of dramatically accentuating social distinctions between college students. Perhaps this simply mirrored the increasing stratification which, after the Civil War, came to characterize American society (6, p. 118).

Cowley suggests that it was chiefly because of the "messiness and magnitude of the disciplinary muddle" that the dormitories came in for attack during the later part of the nineteenth century (13, p. 710). The writer,
however, would ascribe at least some cause to the German influence on American education at this time. President Henry Philip Tappan, of the University of Michigan, led the onslaught which followed the expressed point of view of President Wayland, of Brown University, who expressed his philosophy by saying the dormitory system "is objectionable in itself.... It is a remnant of the monkish cloisters of the middle ages, still retained in England, but banished from the universities of Germany" (6, p.117). This philosophy of Tappan and of Wayland rapidly predominated in the Middle West and West. Tappan made every attempt to transplant the Prussian program to the University of Michigan and to the schools of that state. The idea gained great favor through other students from Germany and the financial situation fanned the flame of disapproval. Dormitories were expensive and, especially in the West and Middle West, the administrators were anxious to become academic equals of the East and thus they needed all their funds for salaries, classrooms, and laboratories (114, p.711).

Perhaps this type of situation was partially the reason why, without exception, the state universities opened without the troublesome problem of residence halls (20, p.55). These universities devoted all available income to the improvement of instruction and to the
furthering of research so as to become the academic equals of existing universities.

To be sure there remained earnest advocates of the "collegiate way of living." President Noah Porter of Yale, for example, felt sure that there were social and educational virtues in the "common life" of a college dormitory that scattered residences in boarding houses could never supply (6, p. 177). It was largely because of the influence of people of his belief that the dormitory system continued to exist in many liberal arts colleges of the East and Middle West while the tide was running against it everywhere else.

Whatever the cause, it was clear that two contradictory trends were underway. On one hand, the opportunities for a college education were made available to more people than ever before by state universities and by land grant colleges which made no distinction as to sex or status. On the other hand, an ever larger proportion of wealthy students were invading the older, privately endowed colleges of the East. As if to confirm these trends, the cost of obtaining a college education in the private institutions was rising all the time. This was reflected in the realm of student housing especially in the new, expensive private dormitories—"university counterparts of the vast mansions of the Vanderbilts and Morgans" (6, p. 118). These elaborate
dormitories were built as some college authorities were inspired by the rush of off-campus building in an attempt to maintain the former cohesiveness of the student body.

The development of the new luxury halls alarmed even Charles W. Eliot who previously had been inclined to keep hands off the housing of students. Writing at the end of the nineteenth century, he now declared that it was necessary for colleges to build dormitories with "common rooms" and dining halls so that "students in all levels of life and of all sorts could mix together freely (15, pp. 216-220).

This tendency which worried Eliot had already been present before the period under review. The social life of the residence hall had come to be regarded as separate from, and unrelated to, the intellectual life of the classroom and laboratory. Even more was this true of fraternity houses and off-campus residences (33, pp. 2-3).

Thus, in the years after 1865, are seen two opposing forces or concepts of college housing which came into conflict. One, dating back to Colonial colleges, was the traditional paternalistic system with its elaborate rules for government and control. The other, patterned after the freedom of the German universities, was the concept of treating students as responsible adults (10, pp. 432-433).
One consequence of the traditional paternalistic system was student rebellion. Another was the development of a bitter enmity between faculty and students. Reformers of this ante-bellum period, men like Barnard and Harper, worked toward a new system of college discipline and a mature concept of responsibility (6,p.119). The new system, as one observer pointed out, was in essence

a reflection in the academic world of the fundamental changes which were taking place in the whole spirit and structure of the American family relationships. Where once these had been founded on control by fear and patriarchal authoritarianism, now they were increasingly being transformed by a democratic humanization springing from the very core of the developing American civilization. (31, pp.13-14)

The housing of women

The housing of women did not follow the same pattern as that of the men. It is true that, in the state universities which did not have any dormitories, women were left to find lodging and board for themselves for a time. These universities, however, by the end of the century were building residence halls for women. Columbia University built its first in 1896. The western state universities such as Minnesota, Michigan, and Illinois took similar steps within the next few years. The women's colleges, the coordinate colleges, and the private colleges and universities which were coeducational
all had dormitories that provided for the women students in much the same way as in the colonial colleges for men (12,p.187).

The influence in favor of residence halls for women was accumulating. Two of the greatest of these influences were the effect upon all institutions of the several women's colleges in the East and the emphasis upon dormitories by deans of women.

Mount Holyoke, Wellesley, Vassar, and Smith had all been organized during the second half of the nineteenth century on distinctly residential bases. It might be very well for men's colleges and coeducational institutions to put students on their own, but few in those days were willing to allow young women undergraduates to shift for themselves. The notion that women were physically unequal to higher education had by no means died down and the Victorian morality left no room for anything but strict regimentation. The influence of these colleges was really pointed up in the second of the influences mentioned above--their graduates. Many of the graduates of eastern women's colleges joined the faculties of the colleges and universities in the Middle West and they brought the housing philosophy with them (13,p.161).

A specific and typical pattern of the housing facilities and regulations may be seen in a history of
Vassar College published in 1878 in which it was stated that the "lady principal is the immediate head of the college family, and the chief executive-aid of the president. She exercises a maternal supervision over the deportment, health, social connections, personal habits, and wants of the students." In the "curriculum" as expressed by the same historian, the following is written:

It is the maxim of the college, that the health of students shall be a prime object of attention. Great care is taken in regard to sanitary regulations of the college as respects hours for rising and retiring, the warming of the rooms, ventilation, choice and preparation of food, rules of personal regimen, etc.

A portion of each day is set aside for some invigorating exercise and every student is required to observe it as a duty.... A regular physician resides at the college. Complete arrangements are made for the comfort of the sick, and a competent nurse is in constant attendance. The infirmary is isolated from the rest of the college, and, with its southern exposure and cheerful appointments makes a home-like place of rest for those who need temporary respite from college duties.

There are daily prayers in the chapel, and a religious service every Sunday; and Bible classes meet on Sunday for the study of the Scriptures. These exercises the students are required to attend unless excused by the proper authority.

(27, pp. 383-391)

Much the same kind of living arrangements were found in the coeducational institutions such as Oberlin and Swarthmore. Although these institutions spoke of admitting women on an "equal" basis, the living
arrangements and rules of behavior were a great deal more supervised. For example, when Swarthmore accepted women students they were housed "at one end of an immensely long, stone building which comprised the entire college and the men students were housed at the opposite end of the building" (36,p.304). In what amounted to the buffer state in between the two residential sections, the college provided for the faculty and all the "essentials of a college.... The sexes, thus widely separated, mingled only in the classroom, dining room, and parlor" (36,p.304).

Even at the height of the late nineteenth century impersonalization, eastern institutions such as Yale continued to be strongly influenced by the old English beliefs in the value of residence halls. This policy was re-entrenched by Arthur T. Hadley, president of that institution during this period, and by William Rainey Harper, a Yale professor of Hebrew, who organized and became the first president of the University of Chicago. Harper was convinced of the educational value of housing and promoted one project after another to foster a "common element" on the campus reminiscent of the antebellum college (6,p.325). Although denounced by his contemporaries as "medieval," Harper built four dormitories (57.3 per cent of the total building cubature) at the University of Chicago in the first group of buildings
and sought money for more. This Chicago leadership, so potent in all other matters of higher education, had its important influence upon arousing other middle western institutions to an interest in housing (26,p.158). An interesting note is that the faculty appointments for the first year at the University of Chicago included nine women. After long negotiation, President Harper secured the services of Alice Freeman Palmer, former president of Wellesley College, as dean of women. She had as her assistant, Marion Talbot (36,p.282). They were engaged to solve the double problem presented by the presence of both men and women students in the college, and by the demand, as Harper saw it, for adequate supervision of the housing of women. These officers were educationally the lineal descendants of Oberlin's "judicious lady" and they spread the "gospel of residence halls" as they fulfilled their duties (32,p.17). The renewed interest in housing of students is contributable, in no small part, to the efforts of these and others like them-- graduates of the eastern women's colleges who became deans of women.
Footnotes


CHAPTER V

THE PROGRESSIVE ERA
1900-1928

No specific date marked the beginning of the Progressive Movement in the United States and no specific date marked its end. Blum et al., in The National Experience, set this period as from 1901 through 1928 and this seems reasonable for the purposes of this writing. The inauguration of Theodore Roosevelt in 1901 had marked the beginning of a period in which the federal government gave intense attention to the making of the nation and the world a better place in which to live. The year 1929 marked a highpoint of economic well-being during the early part of which the new President Hoover could, as evidence of success, point to the statutes resultant from progressivism, the great war won, and the largess of good times. Not for a generation had the nation suffered a serious depression (5,p.630).

The beginning of the twentieth century in America saw industry growing more swiftly than ever before. Yet it was noted by a historian of the period that the
United States was still a "land of stark, staring, and stimulating inconsistency" (5,p.314). While technology advanced, rural ways of life and habits of mind persisted. The problems facing the nation were to accommodate to the social and cultural changes stimulated by the industrial and urban growth, to adjust laws and techniques of government to the age of larger and more complex private organizations, and to recognize the responsibilities of the national power. Although there was increased productivity of the economy, it served to highlight the striking contrasts between national aspiration and achievement. Blum et al. point out that it was

... out of an awareness of that contrast, out of the tensions of material development, out of a consciousness of natural mission, there emerged the efforts at adjustment and reform that constituted the Progressive Movement, a striving by men of good will to understand and improve their prosperous society. (5,p.314)

The social philosophy of the era between the Civil War and World War I made a great impact upon collegiate housing policy. In educational matters, as well as in economic matters, rugged individualism was considered a virtue if not an actual blessing. This concept, which had run rampant through American society in the decades following the Civil War, was now undergoing some serious questioning as the nineteenth century came to a close (33,p.184). Higher education was not unaffected
by this changing social pattern. Indeed, Edwin E. Slosson, an acute observer of American universities, discerned in 1910 that "the laissez-faire policy is breaking down all along the line in university as in civil administration" (35,p.193).

The Social, Economic, and Political Situation

If measurement were to be made in terms of plenty, the first two decades of the twentieth century were ones of progress. During this time the number of people in the United States increased, their average personal per capita wealth increased, and the average income increased. The nation, spurred by private investments, was recovering from the depression of the 1890's. Capital investments doubled and products of industry rose over 76 per cent (5,p.515). But all groups did not share equally, or even reasonably so, in the national wealth. Corporate mergers and reorganization gave a dominant influence to a few huge organizations in each of many industries such as meat packing, railroading, iron, steel, and petroleum. By 1909, one per cent of all the business firms produced 44 per cent of all the nation's manufactured goods. While the richest one per cent owned 47 per cent of the national product, a large part of the industrial population, between one-third and one-half, lived in a state of
poverty. Their children ordinarily left school to find work—only one-third of the American children enrolled in primary school completed their courses; less than one-tenth finished high school (5, p. 516).

Although labor unions were organized, they were concerned with only the skilled laborers who already fared much better than the unskilled laborers. Indeed Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, along with other labor leaders, looked down on unskilled labor. Crafts leaders feared that management would hire unskilled and unorganized immigrants to replace the skilled workers (5, p. 517). This fear doubtless intensified prejudices against the immigrants. In short, the unions did little more than management to help the majority of workers.

Through confusion in Latin America and conflict with Mexico, the progressive ideas of reform remained the uppermost ideal of the majority of Americans. When a crisis in Austria-Hungary brought on the war in Europe in 1914, most Americans were shocked although they had known war was threatening. Most progressives tended to believe that the United States could best serve the world by further reform at home and those who were not progressive saw little need for our country to be affected.
When at last the inevitable entrance of the United States into the war was made, the progressive administration had to feel its way in creating agencies for better production. One of these, the United States Employment Service, was successful in placing almost four million workers in essential jobs. While keeping the country free from serious strikes, the government labor agencies and policies continued to advance peacetime objectives of social reform on through the even more prosperous twenties. However, the later years of the twenties found some Americans repelled by materialism and its delusions. The progressives, nevertheless, persevered. Most Americans, as they had shown at the polls, were remarkably content and confident. The stock market boomed as it awaited Hoover's inauguration and the nation's final triumph over poverty.

**Change in the Role and Status of Women**

The new industrial era and the increased facilities in transportation led to a remarkable development of urban life and with this development came a great modification of the activities and responsibilities of women. The increased use of hotels and lodging houses, the provision of common water, light, and such facilities, and the building of hospitals for the care of the sick
were some of the outcomes of urban life which affected women's work in the home. The result of this change was not to free women from responsibility; on the contrary, there arose a new duty for women and a new need for education— that of intelligently and effectively cooperating with other members of the community for the welfare of the individual households. Because of this change, women had the new function of directing how the products of other people's labor should be consumed. Marion Talbot pointed out that it was estimated that the consumption of 95 per cent of the world's goods was directly controlled by women, and the center of this consumption was in the home. She further stressed that to meet this responsibility, a reading of the daily papers to learn of bargains or to keep up with the latest fashions was not enough. She stressed training in "knowledge of fabrics and other materials, methods of production, laws governing industrial processes, appreciation of human needs" and emphasized that "at present the girls are receiving no training to meet these new duties commensurate with their importance" (39, pp. 14-15). As concerned the necessary education for women, Talbot stated in 1910:

The right education gives women not only specific knowledge, but vigor and breadth of view, discipline of character, and a freedom of mind which comes from the scientific attitude. And all of these powers are needed from men and women alike.
in the formation and development of those processes by which in a political democracy provision is made for the well-being of the separate households. It has been said that the home does not stop at the street door—it is as wide as the world into which the individual steps forth.

The determination of the character of that world and the preservation of those interests which she has safeguarded in the home constitute a real duty resting upon woman. The intelligent woman recognizes that no household is any longer independent and she sees that the conditions which she desires for her own household are in large part determined by the community as a whole. (39,p.31)

This change in the interests of women was due to the industrial system which had developed. The home had ceased to be the center of production, and women had followed their work out of the home into the factory. In addition, women had begun to participate in other occupations which developed incident to the factory system.

The list of occupations scheduled by the twelfth census (1900) contains 303 separate employments in which women were found. The only employments in which there were no women were soldiers, sailors, marines, street car drivers, and firefighters. An analysis of the figures shows that in 1900 over five million women were gainfully employed out of a population of twenty-eight million women over ten years of age. They were divided among five great occupational groups: agriculture, trade and transportation, domestic and personal services,
manufacturing, and professional services (39, pp. 11-12). When the figures of 1890 are compared with the figures of 1900, it is found that there was a decrease in women employed in only four occupations and these occupations were the ones which are popularly supposed to belong to women, namely, dressmakers, seamstresses, servants, and waitresses (1, p. 17).

Even with the acceptance of women in industry and business, the prejudices and fears of higher education for them persisted in many quarters. This is shown by the Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for the year 1907-1908 which states that of the 543 professional schools (including theology, law, medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy) only 275 were open to women. President Eliot of Harvard voiced his apprehension as follows:

The world knows next to nothing about the natural mental capacities of the female sex. Only after generations of civil freedom and social equality will it be possible to obtain the data necessary for an adequate discussion of women in regard to their natural tendencies, tastes, and capacities.... The (Harvard) Corporation do not find it necessary to entertain a confident opinion upon the fitness or unfitness of women for professional pursuits. (18, p. 51)

Marion Talbot, however, was more confident and also more definite in her opinions of the abilities of women. To give credence to her opinions, she did much
study of the students attending the University of Chicago and from this study, she concluded the following:

Women have proved their ability to enter every realm of knowledge. They must have the right to do it. No area of the mind should be peculiarly men's. Unhampered by traditions of sex, women will naturally and without comment seek the intellectual goal which they think good and fit. The logical outcome of the present status of women's education will be intellectual freedom on an individual basis. (39,p.22)

As a basis for her statement that power of the intellect was not a peculiar quality of men and that women had proved their fitness by reaching the recognized intellectual standard of men, Talbot presented the following data on the rank of men and women who had taken the degree doctor of philosophy at the University of Chicago prior to 1909: Women constituted 15.6 per cent of the total number of degrees awarded and received 20.7 per cent of the degrees which were granted summa cum laude (39,p.210).

Despite blocks in some areas, women were still making inroads into the educational pattern of the nation on an equal basis with men. This is shown by the fact that the peak of the founding of women's colleges was in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, 20 women's colleges were founded between 1900 and 1920 and five between 1920 and 1930. None has been founded since 1930, although Bennington,
chartered in 1925, did not open until 1932 and Sara Lawrence and Finch, formerly junior colleges, introduced four-year courses in 1931 and 1952 respectively (27, pp.36-37). But this did not mean that women were not still taking advantage of the opportunities for higher education. The proportions of women among the total college students showed the opposite trend. This showed an increase from 21 per cent in 1870 to 47 per cent in 1920. Enrollment of women in coeducational institutions accounted for the greatest percentage of growth (27, p.45).

As conditions change, so also do the goals of the students and the goals of those directing the institutions. For example, home economics as a special field of study for women grew rapidly in the first quarter of the century, partly as a result of the encouragement of the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 and partly because of the impetus given by such educators as Marion Talbot who saw the education of women as different and as serving a different purpose from that of men (see page 92, this chapter). The larger numbers of women attending the land grant colleges during this period was probably also partly due to the fact that these institutions early founded departments of home economics as a result of the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 and the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917.

Perhaps the best summary of the progressive
attitude toward education for women in institutions of higher learning could be made by quoting Charles R. Van Hise, President of the University of Wisconsin. Van Hise stood firmly on the ground that a state university should be for all the people. He exemplifies the progressive attitude in the following excerpt from his inaugural address made in Madison, Wisconsin in 1904:

> Until this movement of the state universities had developed, the advantages of all educational institutions of the highest rank in all the countries had been restricted to one sex, and even now it is practically impossible for the sons of artisans and laborers to enter the doors of many. In state institutions, where education is maintained by the people for the good of the state, no restriction as to class or sex is possible. A state university can only permanently succeed where is found open doors to all of both sexes who possess sufficient intellectual endowments and where the financial terms are so easy that the industrious poor may find the way, and where the student sentiment is such that each stands upon an equal footing with all. This is the state university ideal, and this is a new thing in the world.

(8, pp. 226-227)

Demands for Reform

Although politics had not created the glaring social and economic inequities of the early twentieth century period, as pointed out earlier in this chapter, it did reflect and sustain them. In the first decades of the century, however, there occurred a flowering of remedial political and social ideas which politics could
implement. Cries of protest were raised in almost every realm of American life.

The farmers, although more prosperous than ever before due to the fact that domestic and world markets revived and prices of farm products and value of land almost doubled, were nevertheless still suspicious of finance and bankers. Therefore, farm organizations continued to battle for reforms which would help agriculture. They sought better roads, cheaper transportation, lower taxes, larger appropriations for schools and tariff adjustments. Though not altruistic, the farmers were challenging special privileges and aiding reform. Thus they were an integral part of the Progressive Movement.

Authors, journalists, and social workers were quick to add their voices to the cries of protest and to demands for reform. Men like Theodore Dreiser, author of *Sister Carrie* and *The Financier*, Jack London, Upton Sinclair, author of *The Jungle*, Frank Norris, author of *The Octopus*, and Carl Sandburg, with his mighty poetry of the stockyards and the city of Chicago, exposed the conditions of misery to which the American middle and lower classes were subjected. These works supplemented and pointed up the facts as recited by social workers and by economists. They also served to stir the conscience of middle class Americans into indignation.
Meanwhile the intellectuals were also protesting. They were formulating attitudes and techniques as a basis for reform. Oliver Wendell Holmes preached judicial equity; William James emphasized freedom of intellectual creativity; John Dewey stressed freedom of expression and belief; Charles Beard strove to find solutions through a better understanding of history; Thorstein Veblen made uncompromising analyses of business institutions. In general, American intellectuals were concerned about their society and confident in the ability of alert minds to create a better world.

The work of the above groups in toto had an effect on state governments through the voters so that by the year 1915, twenty-five states had passed laws which affected strikes, boycotts, minimum wages, hours and conditions of work. Federal impetus for reform was furthered through the efforts of two dedicated presidents: Theodore Roosevelt, who conceived of the President as "a steward of the people bound actively and affirmatively to do all he could for the people" (5,p.523), and Woodrow Wilson, who came to the presidency of the United States from the presidency of Princeton University where he had initiated a number of educational reforms.
Changes in Higher Education

The chief indications of a change in higher education came from the college clientele itself. The undergraduate body of the nineteenth century had been a relatively small percentage of the population, most of them destined for the professions. The educational clientele of the twentieth century was much larger, and with the larger segment of the population of college age which sought higher learning came many who were not headed for the professions and who came from homes which held no particular allegiance to the intellectual life. Rather, they were planning mercantile and industrial pursuits (7, pp.170-171). Far too many were not headed in any direction at all, but came, or were sent, for what social prestige college might bring or because it was the socially accepted thing to do. With the extravagance possible for the sons of the rich, it is small wonder that college took on some of the aspects of a country club (4, pp.195-196).

The change in number and in composition of the student body was soon reflected in a discrepancy between the traditionally stated aims of the college and the ambitions of the new clientele. Traditionally the aim of the college had been intellectual and moral. The ambitions of the new undergraduate clientele tended to
deviate from this time-honored ideal. C. Wright Mills pointed out that

Many a twentieth century father sent his son to college less to sharpen his wits than to polish his manners, especially if the father felt himself to have suffered from lack of the latter. He expected college to round off his son's social angularities and thus enable him to get along well with his fellows in later life, particularly those who might be college bred. The employment market, he was dimly aware, sought the man who had been well known and popular on the campus by virtue of participation in the social clubs, student government, publications, and athletics. (26, pp. 266-267)

Confusion, or at least uncertainty, about the objectives of higher learning was matched by disappointment in the program of studies. In the first decade of the century, one-third of those matriculating dropped out before graduation and no small part of this exodus was from lack of conviction that the college curriculum was worth the effort to stay (28, p. 13). Writing about Alma Mater, Henry Seidel Canby described the era from 1890 to 1920 as one in which colleges appealed to the students through glittering personalities such as William James at Harvard, William Graham Sumner at Yale, and Woodrow Wilson at Princeton rather than through the intrinsic merit of their curriculum (9, pp. 85-88).

The elective system, of course, had made an earnest attempt to make the curriculum more meaningful,
but while it won some interest it lost integration. The net result was fragmentation of the curriculum. This was noted by Brubacher and Rudy as follows:

Aided and abetted in the twentieth century by the psychology of individual differences and by the theory of the specificity of learning, which supplanted the theory of formal transfer of training, the elective system resulted in a fragmentation of the curriculum.

(6, p. 261)

Discontent with the curriculum was accompanied by discontent with the methods by which it was taught and the time seemed ripe for broader and better selection of curricular materials, for greater integration of the materials selected, and for improved methods of instruction. Colleges made a variety of approaches to meet these demands (3, pp. 35-48). A. Lawrence Lowell (Harvard) stressed self education, introduced general examinations for departments rather than for courses, and instituted a tutorial system to aid the student (23, pp. 65-72; 24, pp. 64-67). Woodrow Wilson (Princeton) initiated a preceptorial plan of instruction to "stimulate and guide, not drill and quiz" (43, pp. 385-390). These institutions were probably the inspiration for other colleges to follow suit in considering their programs. Shortly after the first World War, Frank Aydelotte organized the undergraduate program at Swarthmore by recognizing honors instruction as something beyond and distinct from regular coursework.
He wrote of the rigid curriculum, which did not allow for individual interests, as "the academic lockstep" and proposed the honors program as one means of making learning more meaningful (2, pp.40-41). These new ideas spread and by 1927 some form of independent study had been adopted by 150 institutions. On the whole, revisions of curricula represented a shift in the educational center of gravity from subject matter to the student (6, pp.264, 273).

The problem method proved most popular in enlisting the students' interest and early in the twentieth century many saw the possibilities of using this approach which had proved so common to research (36, pp.459-460). It was John Dewey who, perhaps more than any other one person, influenced by the impact of science on modern culture, showed how the problem method might be used (16, Ch.6).

Although concerned with the problems of motivating the student and with making the curriculum more meaningful, it is not true that methods of instruction popular in earlier centuries were completely discarded. Quite the contrary, earlier methods persisted, but with some modifications to meet the new emphasis (20, pp.74, 82-88). As John Dewey pointed out, there seemed to be two kinds of institutions of higher learning at the beginning of the twentieth century, those devoted to
perpetuating and transmitting a certain view of truth
and those devoted to discovering truth (15, pp. 1-14).

Rise of the Student Personnel Point of View

In curricular and in extra-curricular life, it is
pointed out by Brubacher and Rudy that the history of
American life resembles the swinging of a pendulum in a
wide arc. The same simile might be used in describing
the interest displayed in the personal life of students.
The new concern, in the twentieth century, for developing
unity in the American college curriculum, enlisting
student interest, and in the use of the personal problems
approach to learning came to be the student personnel
movement (6, p. 318). This movement, in part, could be
traced back to the very origins of the Colonial colleges
in which the attitude toward the student was one of in
loco parentis. The swing of the pendulum began soon
after the Civil War when educators, who had been trained
in Germany, tried to introduce a more impersonal, intel-
lectualistic approach modeled after the continental uni-
versity. The swing did not make its full sweep back to
the German idea, however, because there were too many
forces interested in the total life of the student. The
personnel movement, thus rising in the twentieth century,
represented a major effort to restore a unified life to
the college and also a revival of the old-time college's
concern for the non-intellectual side of the student's career. This reaction to the temporary vogue of German impersonalism expressed itself, however, in a different way from the clerically dominated pattern of early times.

The size and complexity of the American institutions of higher education, the impact of the sciences of human relations, the development of mental testing, and the changing nature of the college population gave a special direction to the movement (11, p. 74). The net result of these developments was a profound shift in American higher education. The lack of personal interest disappeared as did the belief in mental discipline. In their place organismic psychology, with its emphasis on viewing the individual as a "whole" person, began to serve as a basis for what came to be called a "holistic" approach to the college student (13, pp. 469-477).

Basic to the personnel point of view was that "it should recognize no inherent opposition between the curricular and the extra-curricular; the college existed for the sake of the student, not for special subjects of instruction" (22, Ch. 1). Above all, the college must not knowingly allow students to fail. As one of the leading exponents of this point of view put it: "Once a college has admitted a student it has a moral obligation to do all possible to help the student succeed" (11, pp. 47-48).
The Progressive Era and Student Housing

Housing was one of the principal areas in which exponents of the new personnel point of view felt much could be done for the student. Charles R. Van Hise, President of the University of Wisconsin, was one of the first to recognize the importance of housing students in this period of growth in numbers attending the universities. In his inaugural address at Wisconsin in 1904, he declared that "this great enrollment would jeopardize the values of communal living that the English conception had made possible through residence halls." He there insisted that the large state universities must "not only meet the demands of democracy by admitting the masses of young people of a state, but must also try to preserve the advantages of the small college by providing adequate housing for its students" (8, p. 227).

The investigations into heredity and original nature by Galton in England, Binet in France, and Cattell and Thorndike in America and especially the publication early in 1900 of Thorndike's Educational Psychology, made apparent another phase of the personality, i.e., the sharp differentiation between the personalities of people. These researches provided additional stimulus to the personnel movement and gave indications as to how
residence halls could be used to advantage. More specific research studies, such as those by Gray and Walker, bolstered this emphasis by revealing that a student's academic performance was affected in an important way by his surroundings and particularly by his housing (17, pp. 348-360; 42, all).

These studies bore out the convictions of some college presidents who had visions of the part housing could play in education and who were pioneers in the development of it. These were exemplified by Van Hise of Wisconsin, mentioned above, and by William Rainey Harper of the University of Chicago, whose efforts were noted in Chapter 4, this writing.

The present century was ten years old when Marion Talbot, the dean of women under whose direction the residences at the University of Chicago had operated since their inception, pointed out that dormitory living served to

... Establish standards of conduct, of principle, of social efficiency, of appreciation and discrimination and of moral power.... It should afford an opportunity for training in those qualities of disposition and character which are essential to citizenship. (39, pp. 223-225)

When the state universities added deans of women to their staffs it was largely in the interest of the provision of more adequate supervised off-campus housing
for their students. In their case, housing by no means assumed the form of college-owned dormitories. Funds and perhaps inclination were lacking for them. Therefore, as these deans of women worked they continued to spread the gospel of residence halls because, as mentioned earlier, most of them were graduates of eastern women's colleges or seminaries and thus had experience of living in college-owned and supervised housing (37,p.17).

There seemed to be a decided difference in understandings about what residence halls should offer or do for the student. Many educators who embraced the personnel point of view thought of the college residence halls as developing into positive educational agencies in the way that Oxford and Cambridge had linked the system of instruction with a residential way of life. But with the exception of a few wealthy, private institutions, notably Harvard and Yale, this was not the case. To William McDougall, former Fellow at Oxford and Cambridge and in 1930, a professor of psychology at Duke, anti-intellectualism was reflected in the residence halls by the fact that most of the student residences in America showed no appreciation of the necessary conditions of intellectual work. He described the typical residence hall:

Students herded together with two, three, or four in one set of rooms. That these rooms were still primarily sleeping quarters was attested by the appellation "dormitory" commonly applied to them.
On many campuses not as well endowed as Harvard or Yale, students were still forced to do all their studying in the common reading room of the university library... The herd spirit was always predominant in this setting and a profoundly noisy, anti-intellectual herd spirit at that. The average American undergraduate still had no place where he could sit down in comfort with a book and possess his soul in quietude, no place where he could... express and develop his taste and personality, his individuality. (25, pp.242-243).

The principal reason why the residence halls did not develop into positive educational agencies was, in all probability, lack of funds. At Yale, for example, it was found that the English tutorial system transplanted bodily to America would be much too expensive to maintain and almost impossible to staff. The well entrenched student institutions of secret societies and athletics also created a problem because they did not fit easily into such a pattern. In order to staff a partial version of the English system, Harvard, in face of mounting enrollments, had to resort to the use of graduate students many of whom had little knowledge of how to make the system work (6, p.326). Without adequate endowment for tutors, the residence halls in America were destined to remain primarily social rather than educational units (38, pp.4-5, 38-39). This seemed entirely satisfactory to most people. Some, as the president of LaFayette College, seemed almost romantically and
sentimentally attached to the aesthetic values of beautiful college buildings and others, such as Edwin S. Harkness, the millionaire philanthropist who donated funds to Yale and Harvard for residence halls, felt that the social aspects were most important (21, pp. 166-167).

In the building of residence halls there was noted the same great contrasts as were noted in the economic life of this period. One critic pointed out that the mere expenditure of vast sums on American student housing in the first decades of the twentieth century did not ensure that the full benefits would be realized. He pointed out that many "collegiate gothic" residences in this period might impress visitors with their expensive exteriors while inside "were small, cramped, poorly lighted rooms-- gloomy, vaulted, darkly paneled. Here, in truth, was an educational embodiment of conspicuous consumption-- or was it conspicuous waste?"

(38, pp. 48-49)

Acceptance of college residences in American higher education hinged, in the final analysis, on the question of whether or not they were a democratic influence (34, p. 26). Edwin E. Slosson noted that all of the institutions he visited were openly proud of the democratic life of their student bodies (35, p. 71). This was in accord with many who, concerned about the contrasts
in society at large, noted the growing social stratification of many student bodies. Shay points to specific examples of this in the student body at Yale and at Cornell. Yale students had congregated in one large private dormitory, but officials of the university counteracted this tendency through some judicious room assignments in the campus halls. Cornell's college life was being endangered by the gradual separation of its students into two classes, rich and poor. Even the western universities were beginning to experience the influence of the "leisure class" (34, p. 27; 28, p. 254).

It was, however, at Harvard that the main battle for student residence halls as the foundation of democracy in student life was won. President A. Lawrence Lowell had as his basic concern a system of residence halls which would enable students "from different schools and from different parts of the country, to mix together and find their natural affinities unfettered by the associations of early education, of locality and of wealth" (34, p. 28). When his plan proved successful, educators everywhere began advocating college halls in the name of democracy.

Thus it can be seen that concurrent with the protests of the nation toward the inequities in industrial and economic life, there were protests toward the
undemocratic and undesirable aspects which had developed in university residence halls.

In the residence halls for women, changes were also occurring during this period. Although women students were always, and are still, more protected physically and morally than the men students, rules and regulations were gradually becoming more realistic and hence more lenient. Most significant during this progressive era was the emergence of student government, to some degree, in the majority of residence halls.

As regards this major trend in women's residence halls, it is interesting to note that although more concern has always been present for the protection of women students, self government has, on the whole, been more extensive for women than for men. Even in coeducational institutions women students have more frequently been given more control over their own social regulations and discipline than has been given to men students (27, p.117). The extent to which women students were entrusted with their own government in this early period was not matched by their participation in government outside the schools. Although they were given more control than men students enjoyed, they did not have a vote in national, state, or local affairs. Reasons for this are not clear (27, p.120).

Since Oberlin was a pioneer in higher education
for women, as one would expect, it was also a pioneer in the area of women's student government. Here, as at the majority of colleges and universities, the growing independence of women was reflected in their demand for more responsibility for themselves. In 1908, a college women's board of students was organized at Oberlin to act as an advisory board for the dean of women to promote "government in charge of students and faculty, cooperating with no thought of opposing interests" (29,p.211). To be sure, responsibility was given to the students slowly and at first centered only around social affairs, but the pattern was set. It was not, however, until the year 1913-1914 that another major change was worked out at Oberlin by a joint student-faculty committee. This committee made a comprehensive survey of the opinions of educators and parents and drew up recommendations for conduct based on these findings. In addition, the committee recommended the initiation of a new organization to take over enforcement of student regulations and discipline. This organization, called the Women's League, was subsequently formed and handled disciplinary cases with the women's board of the faculty and the dean of women (30,p.247).

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, student governing organizations of one sort or another apparently were becoming fairly common in colleges and universities. This is borne out by the fact that
in 1913-1914 Northwestern University was hostess to a conference of such student organizations (19,p.84).

Although the advent of student government represented a giant step, it must be recognized that it was in reality more limited than statements of purpose of the organizations infer. Most control was still vested in the dean of women. Typical of this is the statement of duties of the dean of women as made in 1922 by the Chancellor of the University of Kansas. In describing the work of the dean of women at that institution, he listed as her responsibilities the following:

1. Center of control of student organizations for women.
2. Final authority for all parties and entertainments given by all these organizations and chaperon for the same.
3. Chairman of a joint committee on student affairs.
4. Final authority in all disciplinary problems concerned with women.

(10,p.20)

Lulu Holmes points out that, although student organizations at most colleges in reality took over only the routine discipline, their work was a very important step in developing relationships with the administration and in securing more cooperation among the students (19,p.92). Indicative of this function is the statement of purposes of the Woman's League of the University of Oregon as given in the catalog of that
institution in 1913-1914. This statement reads: "The Woman's League is a medium for the promotion of friendship, acquaintance and loyalty and provides the machinery for the establishment and enforcement of fine social standards" (41,p.59).

Another illustration is found in the descriptions of the Women's League as it existed at the University of Michigan. The catalog for the University of Michigan for the year 1917-1918, for example, states the following:

The Women's League is the clearing house of all women's activities in the university. It aims to unify the women in their interests, both academic and social. Every woman in the University is a member. ... The work of the Women's League is carried on by a system of committees, the judiciary council being the governing body of the Women's League. This committee has charge of such matters of conduct and housing regulations as are referred to it by the Board of Directors of the League and by the Dean of Women. (40,p.85)

Evidence that even modified student government was not completely accepted, however, is emphasized by Marion Talbot, Dean of Women at the University of Chicago. She stated in 1910:

The college hall is not at its best when, to paraphrase the words of Flexner, it is a "mere mosaic of sharply accentuated personal units." The organization of the group living in the hall should be such, then, as to bring all into relation with all, and to have all realize the privileges and obligations which must be recognized if the life is to bring adequate results. By this is
not meant so-called "student government." The term "government" has no more place in considering such a group than it does in a well-organized family. There is no question there of government in all the countless details which make up the sum of the daily life. It is cooperation, sympathy, generosity, mutual understanding and thoughtfulness. In the crisis, the sorrow, and the problem, the greater experience and wisdom of the parents are drawn upon, and likewise in the college home, there must be some authority or permanent directive power ready to act in emergency and to guide the complex group.

(39, pp. 226-227)

Evidently it was only the term "government" to which Miss Talbot objected, because in seeming inconsistency with her statement as quoted above, Dean Talbot worked very closely with the students at the University of Chicago from the beginning and allowed them to aid in determining their rules and regulations. She initiated a group very similar to those found at Michigan and at Oregon, The Woman's League, and carried on a very similar program (31, p. 129).

That the effect of World War I on the life of the college campus was at least in part responsible for fewer regulations in the halls and for strengthening of student government is shown in reports by Dean Talbot. In reports to the president during this period, she stated that "in common with other communities in this and in foreign countries, the University of Chicago has suffered from a wave of laxness of standards." She
continued with an account of a conference with students, officers of the governing group, who had met with her to go over the problem (32,p.34).

World War I, with its shortage of labor which resulted, had a second effect on the residence halls. Many halls introduced volunteer programs of work. These were reminiscent of Mount Holyoke's early example except that they were not required. One writer described the contributions of the volunteer program as follows:

The Vassar students, after some preliminary skirmishing with dandelions on the college lawns, formed a group of farmerettes to work on the college farm and neighboring farms during the summer. (27,p.109)

Summary

The Progressive Era in American history has been described as the period of "striving by men of good-will to understand and improve their prosperous society" (5, p.314). It has been noted that it was a period of prosperity and growth. It was also a period of contrasts and protests because the prosperity was concentrated in the hands of a very small percentage of the total population while the majority of the population were in dire poverty. Protests of the inequities were responsible for legislation and understandings to protect the many.

It has been seen also that concurrent with the
recognition of inequities in the social, economic, and political life of the nation there was increased recognition of the inequities in the educational life in the institutions of higher learning. Protests in this realm gave rise to renewed interest in curriculum development and student life.

The greatest gains made by women during this progressive period in the area of residence hall living were in the realm of self government. Whereas in the last decades of the nineteenth century practically every minute of the woman student's life was regulated by university authority, in the first decades of the twentieth century some form of student government was instituted in practically every institution of higher education. A firm basis for further progress was set.
Footnotes


10. Chancellor's Report, University of Kansas, 1922.


29. President's Report, Oberlin College, 1907.


31. President's Report, University of Chicago, 1898.

32. President's Report, University of Chicago, 1921.


41. University of Oregon Catalog, 1913.

The decades following the progressive era were marked by radical change, but two principal pressures were relatively constant in exertion of influence on higher education. First, rising standards were requiring more and more time for preparation and second, increased numbers were attending institutions of higher learning.

In the short space of one century, professional education had moved from an apprenticeship requiring no college education to a position where four years of college was the common prerequisite. In addition, technological advances had opened up, with amazing rapidity, great numbers of occupations which demanded training beyond high school. The technological changes in the nation also caused occupations to be so changed that hordes of workers required retraining to meet the demands of industry.

In 1920, the percentage of youth 18 to 21 years old who attended college was eight per cent or approximately 476,000 students. In the next decade attendance
had mounted to 12 per cent and to 18 per cent by 1940.
A little after the middle of the twentieth century it
was estimated that college enrollment had reached
2,500,000 and this figure was expected to double by 1970
(35, pp. 360-361).

Two events during this period had significant
influence in giving impetus to the above trends. These
were the great depression of the 1930's and the generous
G.I. Bill after World War II. Because adults, much less
youths, could hardly find employment during the depres­
sion, great numbers descended upon the colleges, prefer­
ing to spend their time there rather than in idleness.
As Robert M. Hutchins put it, "The most footless question
that college presidents have been debating in recent
years is, who should go to college? Where else is there
to go?" (26, p. 74)

The G.I. Bill made it possible for returning
veterans from World War II to go to college to compensate
for time spent in the armed services. Great numbers took
advantage of this opportunity, a significant number of
whom would never have thought of college careers other­
wise. Elias stated that one possibility for this was
that "the basic economy seemed to have the strength to
encourage larger numbers of youth in the expectation of
attending college to promote social mobility (17, p. 486)."
In the area of women's housing, the acute financial problems of the 1930's led to much discussion of cooperative dormitories and provided the helpful experiments carried on by many colleges. In the 1940's war and post-war housing pressures resulted in studies of types of temporary structures and the rapid improvisation of residences for the growth of numbers of students (10, p.1).

Although not within the limits of this writing because they did not generally maintain halls for housing students, the contributions of the junior college should be mentioned. It needs be recognized that had it not been for the growth of the junior colleges during this period it would have, in all probability, have been impossible to have accommodated the phenomenal numbers. Such institutions brought higher education within reach of many students who would otherwise have found prohibitive the expense of room and board away from home. The junior college relieved the four-year institutions of numbers by allowing many students to take their first two years of training locally and by allowing some students, who did not wish to continue for a full four-year program, to complete their training.
Overview of the National Situation

A habit of confidence had grown during the progressive era. The feeling of the period was well expressed by President Hoover in his inaugural address in 1929. He said, "I have no fears for the future of our country, it is bright with hope." Dramatic evidence of the shortsightedness and unsoundness that had been developing for years was evidenced by the stock market crash only a few months later which settled a mood of despair over the nation. Although President Hoover announced in May 1930 that "we have now passed the worst and shall rapidly recover," it was a different story. The economy continued to sink to a new low to the banking crisis in February, 1933.

Hope, however, began to materialize with the inauguration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in March, 1933. With the now famous statement, "It is my firm belief that all we have to fear is fear itself," the new president launched into his "New Deal" program which resulted in steady economic improvement in the nation.

Depression had induced despair, but it had also forced change. Replacing the business man as the cultural hero of the progressive period were the politicians and the intellectuals. As Blum stated it
... There emerged a rush of the forgotten men of America for status—men who had been denied opportunity because of their class or ethnic origin. The new program, by revising the structure of status, brought about a social and an ethnic revolution. Organized labor's rise to respectability typified the tendency of the period. Even though the depression restricted economic opportunity, members of once marginal groups, not only wage earners, but share croppers, tenant farmers, old folks and even intellectuals and women, now had unprecedented chances for fulfilled lives. Immigrants achieved full acceptance ... the industrial unions of the C.I.O. opened their doors to them. Similarly the New Deal gave them their first chance in politics and public service. Concurrently there was a notable decline in the foreign language press and a more effective assimilation of ethnic minorities into American life.... Most striking of all was perhaps the rise of the Negro. (2,p.669)

The American nation had been able to renounce laissez-faire and overcome economic depression without embracing socialism. It had demonstrated that a managed capitalist order could combine personal freedom and economic growth. Confidence in a free society had been rekindled.

Another problem, however, was about to face the nation. By about 1933, indications were multiplying that the uneasy peace established after World War I was in danger. When Germany and Japan withdrew from the League in 1933 and Japan terminated the Washington Naval Treaty in 1934, hope of averting war through disarmament was virtually gone. Aggression by Italy in Ethiopia, Japan
into China, and Germany into the Rhineland caused every method of appeasement to be made. Aware of possibilities, Roosevelt, in a fireside chat, said that when the peace had been broken everywhere, the peace of countries everywhere was in danger. Although he reaffirmed his determination to use every effort to keep America from war, he warned that America should strengthen armaments.

In spite of all attempts at appeasement and of hopes that defeat would come to the aggressors without American intervention, the attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese on December 7, 1941 launched the nation into World War II. The attack caused a tremendous unity behind the government and, although the morale of the nation was kept high throughout the war, this was a period of upheaval as the situation created both opportunity and anxiety. The dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and three days later on Nagasaki brought the end to fighting on September 2, 1945, a period of seven months after President Truman succeeded to the presidency following the death of President Roosevelt. Mankind was thrust into a new epoch—the atomic age. The leaders of the victorious coalition worked to bring the war to its formal conclusion, the result of which was to create a permanent United Nations Organization. An impasse was reached, however, on the problem of atomic power control
and continued conflicts with communistic governments developed. As Winston Churchill said, "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain descended across the continent."

The conflict became "limited war" in Korea until 1953 when a truce was agreed upon. Even though no formal peace treaty was concluded, the situation along the thirty-eighth parallel in Korea was a clear-cut victory for the United States and the United Nations. It stopped a major Communist lunge to the South.

Throughout these middle decades with their accompanying problems, America had confounded all the Marxist prophets by remaining prosperous. There was an enormous, unsatisfied demand for consumer goods and almost every class in the community had money to spend. New automobiles and household appliances were again on the market. Prices rose as most restrictions were removed and incomes rose even more. Even the farmers continued to benefit from high war prices for their cattle and other products because of the demand in Europe and the federal government's willingness to extend credit so that Europeans could buy them.

The Truman achievements, writes Morison, "eleven years after his retirement, shine out from the somber post-war atmosphere, but a large section of the American
public in 1950 and 1952 could see nothing but failure" (35, p. 1076). The American people found it difficult to understand the Korean situation and saw Truman and the Democratic party as instruments of defeat. It was aided in this attitude by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and by the spectacular demagoguery of Senator Joseph McCarthy. Against this background of suspicion and frustration sprang up suspicion and concern of Communist subversion which resulted in efforts to root out subversion from government, colleges, and business. Although some subversive persons were found, the result was also to ruin the careers and reputations of thousands of patriotic Americans whose only offense was to have lent their names to some "front" organizations during World War II. McCarthyism took its full toll in dividing the nation by sowing suspicion of terrible treason in low and high places until, in the Eisenhower administration, he was censured by the Senate with an emphatic vote and was denounced by the President.

The Eisenhower administration was marked by almost constant international crisis. The establishment of an atomic energy act permitting exchange of information and cooperation in atomic research with trustworthy allies was an important accomplishment. At home, important developments were the creation of an aeronautics and
space administration to direct space research, the passage of the National Defense Education Act which was in all probability spurred by Russia's "Sputnik" achievement, and the addition of Alaska and Hawaii as states to the Union.

Throughout the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations the significant concerns were for civil rights, atomic power, and space research. The Johnson administration has added an interest for improvement of the "Great Society" which has resulted in more inclusive coverage by Social Security, renewed interest in aiding underprivileged groups, and increased federal interest in "education for all." These concerns have shown themselves through legislation and through nationwide programs.

The gravest domestic issue of this middle century period has been social rather than economic— the struggle to assure Negroes and other minority groups full rights as American citizens. This issue has resulted in mob violence in some cases and in legislation to insure equal rights.

The return of prosperity during the war years produced a swing to earlier marriages and larger families. At the same time, medical advances— the introduction of penicillin and other antibiotics, anti-polio vaccines and better medical techniques-- brought about a steady drop in
the death rate. In addition to the increased population as a result of these improvements in medical science, over two million immigrants entered the country in the fifties. All these things have contributed to the "population boom" which has shown itself also in a change of direction of population growth (2, p. 796). The census of 1960 showed that 85 per cent of the increase in population had taken place in cities of over 50,000 population (36, p. 1103).

The increase in population was accomplished through social development and accompanied by steady economic growth. Morison points out that there has been an increase in average income and that the proportion of people employed and of goods produced is higher than at any other period in history (36, p. 1104).

Wages, prices, and production continue to increase at a rather steady rate. On January 10, 1966 in a television commentary, Keith G. Cone of the LaSalle National Bank of Chicago, Illinois, made the following statement:

We are at an all-time highpoint in the utilization of resources and at an all-time lowpoint in unemployment. A year from now, however, we shall in all probability not consider this as a highpoint because I can see nothing for the future but reaching an even higher point in both utilization of resources and employment.... Although some people foresee inflation, and it is a possibility, I cannot be persuaded that it is at all probable in the coming year. (11)
Accompanying Changes in Higher Education

The forces which were unchained by the depression and World War II had their impact on American higher learning. Under the influence of the economic collapse which began in 1929, the incomes of institutions shrank. This necessitated a general retrenchment in which the number of teaching staff, salaries, and academic work as a whole was hampered.

Although Hutchins (page 123) was correct in his statement that college enrollment increased in the early years of the depression, a definitive study by Marcia Edwards under the sponsorship of the American Association of Collegiate Registrars shows that the increase was short-lived and began to decline seriously in 1931 (16, p.209). After showing that the sharpest decline actually came in the 1932-1933 school year and was the absolute lowest in the following year, Edwards gives the following explanation:

The using up of savings immediately following a severe break in economic conditions, so that less are available after a period of a year or so for such purposes as education; the cumulative effect on college enrollment of the financial ability of succeeding classes of high school graduates to enter college during years of economic depression—these offer perhaps the most logical explanation for the delayed effect of depression on enrollment. (16, p.209).
A breakdown of Edwards' data reveals that the decline in enrollment was greater and more rapid for women than for men possibly because more men earn their own way and hence are less dependent on family support or possibly because, if family funds are low, preference would have been given to the sons in the matter of priority of education (16,p.212).

The upturn of enrollment, however, began in 1934-1935, but not sufficient to bring it to the 1931-1932 level (48,p.234). While decline in enrollment from 1931 to 1934 resulted in decrease in staff, the reappointments of staff were slower than the return of enrollments (48, p.237). The public institutions showed the most rapid increase in numbers re-employed. This is the only group in which the number employed in every rank was larger in 1935-1936 than in 1931-1932 (48,p.29).

Although salaries of university faculty were lowered in many cases, living costs were dropping faster than salaries so that the purchasing power of median university salaries was still higher than in 1926-1927 (3). The greatest effect of the depression on faculty salaries, according to the American Association of University Professors, was that it stimulated the introduction of more highly standardized salary schedules (48,p.54). This was a definite gain for faculty members because
enactments of this type are more equitable and also more difficult to modify.

Although Committee Y of the American Association of University Professors, after reviewing much material, made the statement that they found no conclusive evidence of change in student attitude as a result of the depression, they did point out that there were indications of such change (H8, p.309). In an attempt to arrive at a factual analysis of student attitude in this period, R.C. Angell used interviews and questionnaires to gather data. He arrived at the following conclusions:

the depression, however calamitous its other effects, does seem to have put the college students into a more serious frame of mind and led them to points of view and values considerably more mature than those which they held in 1929.

(1, pp. 391-396)

Angell further pointed out that evidence seemed to confirm that students read more, were more interested in politics, were less interested in social affairs, and were more concerned about social problems (1, pp. 391-396).

The possibility that students "swung to the left and sought reform as a result of the depression conditions" was suggested by Harold Seidman. He continued that this may be because they believed that in reform lies their only chance at finding a place for themselves. Seidman felt that this attitude was the result of a "desire to improve
not to destroy-- an elemental point, but one not too frequently grasped" (444, pp. 326-330).

Renewed interest in aid to education was made by the federal government during and immediately following the depression. The significance of this interest was shown by the resultant George Dean Act of 1936 for vocational education, the Social Security Act of 1935 making permanent provisions for work in vocational rehabilitation, the Bankhead-Jones Act giving more funds to land grant institutions, and experimental stations for agricultural research. In the fall of 1933, aid was given to students in higher education for employment. Continued under the National Youth Administration after 1935, the program was liberalized to make provisions for graduate students in non-professional schools. The Public Works Administration began in 1933. Grants were given to institutions for non-federal public school buildings and, under the Emergency Relief Act, additional funds could be borrowed by colleges and universities. The Civil Works Administration, dating from 1933, fostered construction and in some cases funds for research were approved. In 1936, funds were allocated to the United States Office of Education for cooperative research in that office.

The institutions of higher education had only just somewhat adjusted to and weathered the period of depression
when the defense concerns and later war created new problems. In the course of time, colleges began to reshape courses to meet the special needs of the times. Generally speaking, the demand for mathematics, physics, chemistry, and for various technical subjects whose value in modern warfare were seen was greatly increased as was the demand for languages. Under wartime conditions, accelerated programs and courses became popular. At many universities the needs of students gave impetus to the development of larger summer programs and often inter-sessions or post-sessions.

Faced with the depleted enrollment and rising costs due to war conditions, the colleges were thrown into more dependence on the federal government than ever before. The government followed much the same policy it had in World War I by deferring selected groups of students and by setting up special training programs by contract in hundreds of educational institutions. Existing faculty and facilities of colleges participating in the program were utilized. By 1945, the army and navy contracts amounted to as much as 50 per cent of the income of some men's colleges (28, pp. 123-134, 151-153, 160-161).

A new area in which federal funds went directly to institutions of higher education was that of housing. This began after the close of World War II with the
donation of surplus military supplies and buildings to colleges which were hard pressed by the sudden wave of veteran enrollment. At first a temporary expedient to supplement the G.I. Bill of Rights, the program was put on a permanent basis in 1950 when Congress passed a bill authorizing the Housing and Home Finance Agency to make up to $300,000,000 available in long term loans to colleges for the erection of dormitories (27,p.87).

The period following the war served to hasten and strengthen the tendencies toward expansion of the educational population and curriculum that had begun earlier. The rapid growth in total population and in urban population poured more and more students into the colleges. As mentioned in the opening statement of this chapter, the G.I. Bill and other aids to students made it possible for greater and greater numbers to attend.

The result of these great numbers and the steady increase in the bounds of knowledge from the physical and social sciences was that the curriculum continued to expand enormously in terms of new courses and new subjects to meet the needs of those students interested and of industry. Butts summarized it succinctly:

Industrial demands increased demands for technical and practical studies; the conceptions of democracy led to demands for "education for all;" and the desire to make money led to demands for increasingly useful and vocational subjects.... Courses of instruction were
divided and sub-divided and multiplied until a subject for a year or for a half a year of study was often narrowed down to a small division or segment of knowledge in its respective field. ... The most frequent terms that came to be given to this state of affairs indicated that the curriculum was too "compartmentalized" and too often encouraged the student to engage in too much smattering or too much specialization. (6, p.268).

The result of the above was to create a concerted effort to attack more fundamentally the problems which had been created and in this attack two almost diametrically opposed philosophies and plans of education evolved. On the one hand, the so-called "Progressive Education Movement" tried to incorporate into education theory and practice the most valid evidence derived from modern social and scientific trends. On the other hand, a definite revival of the conservative education pattern, with its roots deep in traditional liberal education of the past, attacked the elective system and proposed a return to a more traditional curriculum (6, pp.267-268). The result being a choice between "an aesthetically motivated mode of education for which the classics set the pattern and a pragmatically motivated type of education for which the sciences set the style" (4, p.294). Although many educators, such as Irving Babbitt, felt that compromise between the two was impossible because "the impasse went to the roots of first principles," Sidney Hook
insisted that "to formulate a viable philosophy of higher education did not require the precondition of agreement on first principles" (7, pp. 15-16).

The most outstanding effort to achieve a synthesis of these two contrasting philosophies of education was probably that made by a Harvard faculty committee. It was their conclusion that "the true task of education is therefore to reconcile the sense of pattern and direction deriving from the heritage with the sense of experience and innovation deriving from science so that they may exist fruitfully together." Although they did not offer a satisfactory method of accomplishing this, as indeed no one to the writer's knowledge has done to this point, they did furnish bases of thought which gave rise to experimentation in each of the schools of thought and in varying combinations (22).

Thus the social forces which were unchained by the depression and the Second World War gave rise to a concern for curriculum. But curriculum-making assumed a new form. Where it had, in the past, been handled by individual educators or committees of scholars, now it drew upon the services not only of specialized students of educational curriculum itself, but also upon teachers, intellectual citizens, and parents. A National Education Association research bulletin stated that "the curriculum
revision program which fails to carry editors, civic leaders and other intelligent laymen along with it will encounter active opposition or lukewarm support" (34, p.441).

Despite legislative measures involving equality of educational opportunity, problems in this area persisted into the middle decades of the twentieth century and were a resulting part of the issue of civil rights in the nation as a whole. The question of attendance of Negroes at institutions of higher education in the South was the aspect of gravest concern. But educational opportunity for Negroes did expand significantly during this period for several reasons: The Negro institutions such as Howard, Fisk, and Hampton began to place their graduate programs on a more advanced basis; Supreme Court decisions from 1936 to 1952 outlawed segregation or exclusion of Negro students in public institutions of higher education (42, pp.475-480); and more and more Negro scholars were attaining eminent positions on the faculties of leading American universities such as Columbia, Chicago, Minnesota, and Wisconsin (47, pp.4-7). By 1953 all states, with the exception of five in the South, were admitting Negroes to their professional and graduate schools (32, pp.101-104). In 1955, due to various pressures, 125 other institutions in the South which had been admitting only white students were now
admitting Negroes. In addition, formerly all-Negro colleges were admitting white students (18, pp. 12-13; 4, pp. 375-376).

**Status and Educational Opportunity for Women**

The period from 1910 to 1935 was marked by a consolidation of gains. The women's colleges strengthened their positions through being recognized by accreditation associations and through successful campaigns for funds. In addition, the number of women students made a more rapid increase than in any other period. According to Carmichael, this was "the most significant period in the history of higher education for women in the United States. It came of age during this period" (8, pp. 165). Women were admitted in greater numbers, even greater than men. This caused one observer to remark, with tongue in cheek no doubt, that "it might become necessary in this modern era of overcrowded classes for men to insist upon equal rights with women" (7, p. 355).

During World War II, some men's colleges opened their doors to women when they experienced a decline in enrollment after the drafting of men for the armed services began, and after the war some women's colleges opened to the great flood of veterans who had difficulty gaining admission to men's colleges or to coeducational institutions. Many remained coeducational permanently,
in fact, one-half of the former women's colleges who now admit men have done so since 1950 (38,p.38).

Several considerations since the war accounted for a shift to coeducation in addition to enrollment pressures. Important were pressures from local residents of the excluded sex who could not afford to go away for college study because of finances and the growing tendency toward marriage before finishing college, thus making it necessary for both husband and wife to attend the same institution if education for both of them were completed (38,pp.38-39).

The trend of coordinate colleges was also toward coeducation and the chief reason appeared to be that separate campuses were too expensive to maintain. An increased number of courses open to both men and women often made transportation of faculty and students a problem. In those colleges where the separation is still maintained in name, the degree of separation is diminishing (38,p.43).

The degree to which women availed themselves of their hard-won freedom to higher education after 1935, however, presents a non-expected picture. The increase in attendance of women in institutions of higher education from 21 per cent of the total student population in 1870 to 47 per cent in 1920 gave the implication that
higher education would become as much a matter of course for women as men, especially in view of the fact that a greater proportion of girls than boys finished high school (38,p.47). This was, however, not the actual result. Although the number of women enrolled in higher education continued to increase, the proportion of women of the total eligible population that enrolled in higher education did not keep pace with the proportion of men who attended (14,p.3). The same pattern was seen in the graduate schools. From about 125 degrees in 1920, the number of doctors degrees increased to approximately 400 in the mid-thirties, or an average per cent increase per quinquennium of 60 per cent. This rate of growth was more rapid than the increase in population and in the increase in doctoral training for men. Since the late thirties, however, the increase has reduced to about 45 per cent while the corresponding increase for men has risen to 85 per cent. The result is that top level training of women in this country has shown little or no growth in the last 25 years despite unprecedented opportunities for them to acquire and use such training. Such data caused Newcomer to make the statement that "now women are free to go to college, they are not so eager after all! And now that the majority of college men
appear to prefer college women for wives, there are only half enough to go around" (38, pp. 41-49).

In pointing out that only about half of the eligible women availed themselves of higher education, The Committee on the Education for Women raised the following questions in their report of 1951:

In this rapidly changing scene, questions are being raised as to whether the basic personal values of Western civilization are being applied as fully as possible to American women. Are women encouraged to achieve their highest potentialities? Do they hinder their own development and advancement through a lack of clear purposes? Is the education women receive effective in terms of their varied roles? Such questions are becoming increasingly insistent as women assume a greater prominence than ever before in the total life of the nation. (25, p. 2)

Carmichael pointed out in 1959 that although almost one-third of the labor force of the United States was composed of women and that they were "increasingly enriching and strengthening the cultural life of the nation by their growing prominence in art, literature, journalism, drama, and the professions," women themselves almost unanimously considered marriage, home-making, and child rearing as their major goals and responsibilities (8, p. 175). He further pointed out that in these areas which women considered most important,

... Little or no education is provided. The content of the arts and sciences which underlie homemaking is not such as to
warrant university recognition, but what more basic subject could adorn the curriculum? What is needed more in the revolutionary period in which we are living? The boldness which has characterized university development of curriculums of science and technology may be needed in the areas and goals which represent the major goals and responsibilities of women. (3, pp. 175-176)

The questions and problems mentioned above were also noted by Newcomer who suggested that evaluation should be made of the nature and kind of college education women have received and the uses to which they have been allowed to put their training (36, p. 50).

Along this vein, it is interesting to note that Radcliffe women are still excluded from the Harvard undergraduate men's library. The explanation given in late 1940 was that the building had many alcoves which would make policing too expensive (30, p. 33).

The entire period from 1935 to the present has been characterized by widespread interest and questioning of the freedoms of women in higher education and of the academic offerings for women. Since 1945, in particular, many books and articles have been critical of provisions made. In 1952, the American Council on Education established the Committee on the Education of Women which has been actively engaged in studying the role of women in modern society and the kind of education necessary to aid them more (25, p. 2).
Elizabeth Hartshorn pointed out in 1961 that the important creative freedoms for women had been difficult to gain, not because of the lack of women's talents, but largely because of the perceptions concerning them which have prevailed in the past. The data she presented indicated that greater academic freedom and more creative approaches to individualized study had come from women's colleges and the smaller universities (21, p. 138).

Evidencing that the same question of women's real freedom still continued, Paul Heist stated in 1962:

The ultimate freedom of women is yet to come, as much perhaps in the male's understanding and acceptance as in renovation in the thinking of women. Some would contend that their freedom is a fait accompli; but... the emancipated woman and changes in conception of sex roles are a part of the future. (23, p. 52)

Even those women, he added, who complete advanced degrees are confronted with some prejudice and even opposition in the fields for which they are trained. In summarizing results from varied sources, Heist said it appeared legitimate to conclude that college women are more than equal to their male counterparts in readiness for academic tasks as shown by grade achievements and as measured characteristics such as values and attitudes indicate (23, pp. 52-56).

In view of the preceding facts concerning enrollment of women and degrees earned by them, it does seem
reasonable to assume that many colleges do not provide a mutually congenial environment or that they do not have a similar effect in promoting vocational involvement and meaningful careers for equally capable students of both sexes. Some evidence to substantiate this was offered by the report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women in 1963. The report pointed out that from infancy roles held up to girls were such as to deflect their talents into narrow channels. The report emphasized that there is a need for encouragement to women in all levels of skill to develop broader ranges of aptitude to carry them into higher education. It emphasized the need for imaginative counseling to lift aspiration beyond a stubbornly persistent assumption about "women's roles" and "women's interests" and to result in choices that have real meaning for the women who make them (40).

The need for more counseling was also stressed by Mueller who listed it as a challenge to higher education. She pointed out that another challenge which had been gathering force in the decades since the period of World War II is the changed status of women in their personal world-- in their attitudes of themselves (37, p. 51).

Also placing the responsibility for women's lack of equality in recent years on the attitudes of women themselves, Betty Friedan uses the term "feminine
mystique" to describe the culturally approved attitude toward or image of women which is limited to that of wife and mother. She said that this is the image which, in spite of the beginnings of revolt in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has developed. As Friedan puts it, "the feminine mystique says that the highest value and the only commitment for women is the fulfillment of their own femininity" (20, p. 43). She further stated that "as Victorian culture did not permit a woman to accept or gratify basic sexual needs, our culture does not permit acceptance or gratification for the basic need to grow and to fulfill potential as a human being, a need which is not solely defined by the sexual role" (20, p. 77). In her opinion, only a strong and dedicated effort, led by women themselves, can change the present image of woman in our society (20, p. 372).

In strong agreement with Friedan, Eunice Hilton said:

Many deans and counselors could furnish support from experience and observance of the college campus of the idea of feminine mystique.... Certainly those of us working in schools and colleges at the time saw the dramatic change come after World War II, the written and spoken attacks on the feminist movement and on individual feminists... the unpopularity of women's rights as a topic of conversation or discussion, the measurement of female success almost totally by the standard of marriage and babies, the drop in marriage age, the rise in subtle
discriminations against women students on coeducational campuses, the loss of interest in educational goals on the part of women students and the common phenomenon of the predatory female student frankly pursuing a husband as the only road to self-confidence and self-respect. We have protested little beyond attempting to adapt our thinking to the new circumstances.... To help youth understand soon enough for the resultant action to be effective is perhaps our most urgent task. (24, pp. 61-62)

The cause notwithstanding, a study by Esther Matthews at Harvard University resulted in the conclusion that women did indeed have, in the majority, the attitude of "feminine mystique." In this study, all women interviewed considered marriage as a culminating goal of great if not first importance (23, p. 56).

The question arises, what are the proper objectives for higher education for women? Since women were first admitted to institutions of higher education the objectives have changed from preparation for home duties and development of grace and gentility in the eighteenth century, to preparation for professional competence, especially teaching, in the nineteenth century. There is seen an early trend, especially in the women's colleges, to copy men's education and, although many regretted this trend and thought women's colleges should establish their own distinctive type of higher education (50, pp. 192-198), it remained for the twentieth century for this to happen.
Only when Bennington and Sara Lawrence began experimental programs were educators in general aware that curricular programs without inequality could be different. These experimental programs began formulation of objectives which realistically took the distinctive role of woman into account (46, pp. 6-7).

Bennington and Sara Lawrence approached the education of women as something special. These colleges took the position that education should begin by taking into account the student's interests and aptitudes and that the program of study should differ with individuals. President Taylor of Sara Lawrence stressed the fact that the difference was one of emphasis only. He took the position that training women to be wives and mothers was to "assign them to fixed and subservient roles in terms of the needs and wishes of men and not in terms of their own fulfillment." He stated:

The most that can be done in the college to prepare for the consequences of living for long periods with children and husbands is to become as intellectually mature as the curriculum of the college will allow, and to become more and more resourceful about organizing one's own life. Nothing very helpful can happen until the individual student learns to see life as something which extends beyond the circle of her own private interests. (45, pp. 165-167)

The idea is pointed up by many such as Newcomer who says it is not the colleges which have neglected the
special concerns of women, rather it is that a liberal arts education is accepted as the best preparation for homemaking as well as for the professions (38, p. 64).

In view of the broad responsibilities of homemaking today this does seem realistic, but the suggestion of Anne Lee also has merit. She said, "It is imperative that colleges today have flexible programs which permit women to combine education and family responsibility" (29, p. 132).

Although not within the strict province of this writing to evaluate or to attempt to resolve differences of opinions of the writers on the subject of women's higher education, it does seem that there is inconsistency in their statements. How can women demand equal opportunity for professional education on the grounds that they have equal intellectual and personal ability to allow them to perform in a given professional role as well as men, and at the same time demand that women should be given special consideration and have academic programs specifically planned for them to be better able to carry out their role in society? It appears to this writer that if women are indeed equally capable, they should be equally able to profit from the same programs as those followed by men and that, as a result of this program of studies, they should be capable of performing their role as wife and mother to the same degree of satisfaction as a man would be capable
of performing the role of husband and father. The writer would agree with Lee that the academic programs of colleges should be flexible enough "to permit women to combine education and family responsibility," but she can see no reason for using the word "women" in that statement. Is this not also a true need for men students?

**Development of Women's Housing**

It has always been considered more important to protect women students than men students and as a result more attention continued to be given to housing accommodations for women. Thus women have always been provided more protective services than men--from housemothers to night watchmen (38, pp. 112, 157). This philosophy has also caused women's housing to be more expensive to maintain.

The acute financial problems of the 1930's in the nation as a whole had its resulting effect on institutions of higher education which admitted women. One of the effects was of significance to residence halls for women and resulted in the development of cooperative living units (9, p. 1). In these units the students, by doing the housework themselves, were able to reduce costs of living. This practice gave rise to much experimentation during these years in degrees of responsibility of the college staffs and in amount of responsibility required of the students. In some cases, the houses were
college owned and under the supervision of a division of
the college other than student personnel as at the
University of Kentucky. At that institution the School
of Home Economics maintained a cooperative house with
supervision by a housemother-manager employed by the
university and under the jurisdiction of the head of the
School of Home Economics. No academic qualifications were
required of the housemother-manager, the chief qualifi-
cation being that she be reliable in consideration of the
physical and financial well-being of the students and that
she be capable of making a budget, planning low-cost
meals, and managing the funds so that the living costs
would be as low as possible. At the beginning of each
academic period, the amount of the proposed budget was
equally divided among the number of students living in the
house, and at the end of the period any sum remaining was
returned in equal shares to the students or, if additional
costs had arisen, each student was assessed an equal share
of the amount. The work program was scheduled so that
each resident did an equal share of the housekeeping and
food preparation duties.

In other cases, as at The Ohio State University,
the cooperative houses were owned and supervised by
private citizens in the community or by some interested
organization. The Ohio State University Alumni Associa-
tion is an example of the latter type. This organization
maintained two cooperative houses for students at a location adjacent to the campus. These and the privately owned houses were operated in much the same manner as the college-owned units and generally maintained the same regulations as the units operated by the college.

Although many of the cooperative houses were very successful and indeed are still maintained, as in the case of the two universities cited above, much thought was given to the standards of living there as well as in other residences for women. In 1934, the American Association of University Women held a conference on the housing of college women. In an address at that conference, Irma Voigt, Dean of Women of Ohio University, named the following standards for women's housing units which are still a challenge to directors of women's residence halls. She listed (1) physical well-being, (2) improved habits and modes of living, (3) appreciation of beauty and development of good taste, (4) social development, and (5) sociological curriculum—"the principle of the independence of all persons living in a community" (9,p.1).

The concern for desirable housing continued. By 1939 three-fourths of the institutions examined for accreditation by the North Central Association reported that they were making an effort to vitalize their student housing facilities. This was clearly a nationwide trend,
but the problem to which Harper had early called attention remained— that of finding a way to integrate more closely the provisions for housing with the educational objectives of higher education (4,p.325). Alexander Meiklejohn tried to do this in his experimental college at the University of Wisconsin as early as 1932, but the results were only to antagonize and alienate the bulk of the students (33).

Following the depression, the next situation of national concern to seriously affect housing was World War II. During this period of war, many institutions followed the early example introduced by Mount Holyoke and established required work programs. Vassar, for example, required each student to spend one hour each day in waiting on table, cleaning rooms, messenger service, and other essential jobs. The program was found so valuable that it has been retained. Many schools developed permanent work programs in the same way. The current Vassar handbook states that the work (reduced to one hour per week) is being required "chiefly for practical reasons, but it is also a means of teaching each student to share with others the responsibility of community life" (38,p.109). Even though it has no place in this writing, it might be noted that the type of required off-campus work program which is an integral part of the educational offering at such institutions as Antioch and Bennington may have had some impetus given to their development from the same source.
The large coeducational institutions were not in a position to introduce work programs. Contributing causes for this may have been in part because a large percentage of the students lived off campus and in part because they enrolled a somewhat less "sheltered" student body. Too, a larger proportion of the women in these universities worked to contribute to their own support than in the more expensive private women's colleges (38, p.111).

Another aspect of the college housing program which developed as a result of the repercussions of World War II was the housing of married students and this concern still remains today. Immediately following the war, with the influx of returning veterans, many colleges responded with temporary habitations. Many of these were "quonset" type buildings which were army surplus and were donated to institutions by the federal government (19, p.144). They are gradually being replaced with permanent structures and more and more institutions are adding accommodations. Stanford University, for example, provides apartments for students with up to three children (38, p.115). Eastern Kentucky State College provides apartments for families, and Northern Illinois University completed in 1963 a housing unit which accommodates married students with two children.
Anne Lee, among others, has stressed the need for more college and universities to plan for married students when they contemplate housing needs (29,p.132).

To the aftermath of World War II and the return of the veterans to civilian life, educational institutions responded in every way possible to meet the needs of the students as concerned housing. They began building more and larger halls and remodeled existing structures, but overcrowding the existing residence halls was the first and most obvious solution. Double rooms were used to house three or four students in double bunk beds and all facilities were overtaxed (9,p.5). This is still the situation as the college population continues to grow. At Northern Illinois University, which is a typical example, rooms which were built to accommodate two students have been reorganized so that three of these double rooms now accommodate eight students. Four beds and two desks are placed in each of two rooms while the third room has four desks and no beds. Four girls sleep in each of the two bedrooms, but two girls from each of these bedrooms have their desks and closets in the third room. In this way, eight girls are housed in an area which was planned for six girls.

Each period of history appears to be characterized by its own peculiar compromises and the compromises that
have had to be made as a result of the great influx of students beginning after World War II was no exception. Many of these compromises, however, are relatively short-lived and the resulting problems have not had serious consequences. In this case though, it is predicted that the growth in numbers of students entering our institutions of higher learning will not abate in the near future and educators are faced with the problems resulting from continual compromise. The sacrifice of not only physical comforts but, more important, privacy is obvious. Serious loss of identity and group responsibility may be the result of congestion in larger halls. The problem which educational institutions may be creating for the community in which they are building skyscraper hotel-type dormitories is another consequence mindful of consideration (9,p.2).

The inadequacies of residence halls have become more and more apparent in recent years as the close relationship between the academics and housing is being stressed. Eddy pointed out that the environment must reflect this commitment to learning as the "raison d'être of all that happens on the college campus and to the student" (15,p.138). The Committee on Residence Halls of the National Education Association stresses that "conditions under which students live have always influenced significantly the quality of academic performance
and housing should be the laboratory for much of the social education of undergraduates." They further point out that "skill in human relationships should be a lasting result of residence hall life, but more than this, students need to learn to see their place and their worth in the communities to which they belong-- in school and afterward" (9, p.5).

There seems to be some variance of opinion as to whether the residence hall should be primarily a place of furthering academic learning *per se* or social learning, but all educators seem agreed on the fact that residence halls should be an integral part of the educational program. The Committee on Residence Halls of the National Education Association stated that "the residence hall program is totally and always an educational program and it can be effective only to the extent that it is integrated with the educational programs and objectives of the whole college or university" (9, p.8).

In this same vein, Fairchild pointed out that the residence hall should provide opportunity for activities which support the objectives of the institution and contribute to supplement education as group membership and social competence (19, p.16).

Emphasis on more functional architecture was made by Harold Riker because he said that this would contribute to better organization for reaching institutional goals.
He stated that "the hall will seek to sharpen student perception of the continuity of learning on the campus." He further emphasized that the development of positive relations between the learning situations in the classroom and hall will "emphasize the close kinship between what the student learns and how he lives" (41,p.58).

In answering the question, are modern residences real centers of learning?, May Brunson said that "learning certainly takes place within them, for wherever people congregate something in the way of learning takes place." It may, she explained, be constructive or destructive, superficial or deep (5,p.32).

In 1959 Annis Eileen Cozart did a study of the residence halls at The Ohio State University. She pointed out the functions of the residence hall, which in her study represented an area of learning within the framework of higher education, tended to be those centered in group living, group understanding, and in development of those personal characteristics which would help the student be more tolerant, responsible, considerate, friendly, independent, and unselfish in living and adjusting to personalities and to new situations (13).

In agreement that most residence halls did indeed serve this function, Cowley stated:

It must be pointed out with emphasis that the great majority of dormitories, even those built in
recent years and many now being erected, have not been conceived primarily as educational agencies. They house the students in comfort and almost complete safety, and they serve vitally in the social development of undergraduates. Organically, however, they are separate from the curriculum and the active life of the college. (12, p. 763)

There are many educators who insist that the primary purpose of the residence halls should be academic development. E.G. Williamson stated:

I am convinced that residences can serve most fruitfully educational purposes of significance in higher education. And I am equally convinced that these purposes will be served only when we reappraise our present uses of residences and reorient our expectations to explicit and significant academic content and objectives. (49, p. 397)

In seeking an answer as to why residences have not served the academic function, May Brunson pointed out that the reason may be dependent upon the direction of the halls. She said:

The residence hall directors may have, by emphasizing counseling, social education, administration, discipline contributed to the dichotomy that has now developed between the academic and student personnel areas. (5, p. 138)

Brunson sees the task for the residence hall director as being that of recognizing the kind of atmosphere that is being created and doing all "within our power to improve the intellectual climate of the halls" (5, p. 138).
Recognizing that there is need for no dichotomy between education and social education, Nevitt Sanford said:

When students live apart, geographically or physically, from the academic centers of the college, they may actually acquire a culture that is in many ways in opposition to the intellectual culture that the faculty would like to introduce them to. We must find ways to bring the intellectual life of the college into the establishments where students live... (where) social needs of students are brought into the service of the intellectual aims of the college. (43, p. 19)

Integration between social and academic life was also seen by Campbell and Richards who pointed out that the purpose of residence halls in the educational process is not to compete with or to supplement the formal curriculum. Rather, they felt that the hall may be viewed as one means of complementing the academic program by providing opportunities of putting into use materials assimilated in the formal academic setting, as well as for providing outlets of expression. As the formal curriculum of a university remains segregated into disciplines, these writers felt that there is a constant need for integrative opportunities to be made available outside the classroom (5, p. 34).

Various means of affecting a closer relationship between the academic programs and the social programs of the residence hall have been initiated at a number of
institutions. A few of the attempts are as follow:

1. In some of the smaller institutions, faculty members and students have taken some or all of their meals together in college dining halls. This arrangement has the dual advantage of social contacts and informal discussion of books, ideas, and issues of the day or from the class discussions (5,p.34).

2. Libraries have been established in some residence halls. Some of these, as at Douglass Hall at Northern Illinois University, are relatively extensive and have a student librarian to offer assistance to other students using the library.

3. Establishment of faculty residence in the hall. In 1960 Stephens inaugurated its house plan where 100 students lived and studied with professors (31,pp.74-80), The University of Colorado and Stanford University have faculty in the residence halls on a type of fellow or associate basis, giving faculty latitude to develop with students those programs which are an extension of the academic opportunities of these universities (21,p.141).

4. "Foreign Language" houses have been established in some universities as The Ohio State University which has a residence where only French majors live. Only that language is spoken in the house and the resident adviser is a person who is particularly fluent in the language.

5. In some institutions what is known as "projects
rooms" are being established. This is an area in which students and interested professors may join in activities which are academic in nature. Drawing boards, microscopes, and crafts tools may be furnished, the type depending on the interests of the residents (5,p.34).

As can be seen from the above discussion, there simply is no current, commonly accepted basic philosophy about the central purpose of the residence halls, but there is the consensus that the hall should be integrated into the university program in some way. Some see residence halls as auxiliary services with the purpose of providing physical environment that would be conducive to learning; others are of the belief that the halls have a potential to offer educational experience, either academic or social or both. The trend for both shelter and education were early established, but the extent to which the educational purpose has been developed is open to question. It does appear, however, from recent writings that the educational concept has been gradually strengthened. Even in those halls where specific plans have not been developed for academic endeavors, there is an increasing concern for guidance and counseling and an interest in the scholarship of the students.

The need for more administrators to become cognizant of the educational potential of residence halls has been emphasized. W. Max Wise, for example, said that if
the hall is to function so as to fulfill the academic objective, it must be staffed with that purpose in mind (50,p.399). More and more college administrators are aware of this and the Committee on Residence Halls of the National Education Association stated that "today, therefore, a large majority of our college administrators in all parts of the country have found it advantageous to employ staff personnel with some degree of experience and professional training." This committee further pointed out that "in no other way can they (the college) meet their responsibilities to the young woman student living in their college-operated halls." They do emphasize, however, the responsibility of the student personnel staff by stating that "in turn, the student personnel division, whatever its size or character, is given the responsibility of finding and employing these residence hall officers and assigning their duties and determining their functions" (9,pp.26-27).

Summary

During the period from 1928 to the present, much experimentation has been carried on in the residence hall programs in various institutions of higher education which admit women. These departures have been, for the most part, in response to the needs of the nation.

The financial problems of the 1930's gave rise to
the development of cooperative housing units in an attempt to answer to some degree the financial problems of the students. Many aspects of these cooperative houses were found to be with merit and have been retained.

In response to the labor shortage during World War II, required work programs were established in many institutions. Many of these, too, have been retained as they seem to have merit as a part of the educational program.

Following World War II, the great influx of students resulted in response of the university housing programs through accelerated building of residence halls, remodeling of the existing structures, and exacting all use possible from the halls in operation. This has been the area which has given rise to the greatest concern for evaluation of the residence hall program. The sacrifice of physical comfort and of privacy to accommodate the great numbers of students has caused educators and student personnel workers to be concerned about the role of the residence halls in the university academic program.

From this concern has arisen the question of the purposes of residence halls and to the present time, there are two fairly well-delineated schools of thought: that which conceives of the residence hall as primarily to supplement the academic learning of the students living in
the halls and that which conceives of the residence hall
as primarily for the social education of its residents.

All educators and student personnel workers,
however, are in agreement that the residence hall should
be an integral part of the educational program of the
total university program.
Footnotes


3. Boothe, Viva, Salaries and the Cost of Living in Twenty-Seven State Universities and Colleges, Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 1932.


25. Hottel, Althea, How Fare American Women?
   Washington, D.C.: Committee on the Education of Women

26. Hutchins, Robert M., No Friendly Voice, Chicago: The
   University of Chicago Press, 1936.

27. Irwin, Mary (ed.), American Universities and Colleges,

   Education, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina
   Press, 1945.

29. Lee, Anne M., "A Study of Married Women College
   Students," Journal of the National Association of
   Women Deans and Counselors, Vol. 24, No. 3, April
   1961.

30. Lewis, J.A., "Harvard Goes Coed, But Incognito,

31. Leyden, Ralph C., "The Stephens College House Plan:
   A New Approach Toward Living and Learning on Campus,
   Journal of the National Association of Women Deans

32. McCuiston, Frederick, Graduate Instruction for Negroes
   in the United States, Nashville, Tennessee: The George
   Peabody College for Teachers, 1939.

33. Meiklejohn, Alexander, The Experimental College, New

34. Meyer, Adolph E., The Development of Education in the

35. Millet, John, "The Impending Crisis in Higher

36. Morison, Samuel Eliot, The Oxford History of the
   American People, New York: The Oxford University

37. Mueller, Kate Hevner, "Challenges to Tradition in
   Student Personnel Work," Journal of the National
   Association of Women Deans and Counselors, Vol. 27,

38. Newcomer, Mabel, A Century of Higher Education for


44. Seidman, Harold, "How Radical are College Students?" American Scholar, Vol. 4, 1935.


CHAPTER VII

A VIEW BACKWARD AND A LOOK FORWARD

The development of American higher education has been closely related to the major events and forces in the national social, economic, and political history (4, p.27; Ch.I, this paper). Since housing has been provided for women since they began attending institutions of higher education, it seemed reasonable to assume that housing for women would also be closely related to these major events and forces in the national history. Thus the purpose of this study was to determine the ways in which housing for women had responded to the national situation as a means of gaining clearer insight into solving present-day and future problems. The study was, therefore, concerned with the following aspects of higher education:

1. The historical development of residence halls for women so as to relate this to the concurrent developments in the nation.

2. The ways that social, economic, and political conditions have influenced programs in residence halls.
3. The method of and the extent to which, under these influences, residence halls for women have served the students.

4. The isolation of those aspects present in former programs which may have some potential toward more effective utilization of present-day housing facilities as an adjunct to the growth of the present-day and future students.

The fundamental aim of the study was to exhibit a continuous sequential development of residence halls for women at institutions of higher education in the United States with reference to the social, economic, and political conditions which prevailed. The primary result was expected to be a clearer understanding of the forces which have led to the development of present-day residence halls and, through this, to note some implications for predicting and solving future problems of housing for women at institutions of higher education which women attend.

A View Backward

In reviewing the national situation from colonial times, it does appear that each period in our history has indeed shown predominant social, economic, and political characteristics and that these have been reflected in the educational philosophy of the
institutions of higher learning and that the philosophy of higher education has, in turn, been reflected in the development of programs in the residence halls for women.

The Colonial period was characterized by the tradition of faculty control which was solidly in effect in England when the first colleges were established by the Colonists. The first American colleges were patterned after the English models of strict faculty control and enforced by the stern Puritan character of the Colonial era. Students were then less widely representative of all levels of the population and, by home and community, were committed to a religious orthodoxy to which the institutions were also committed. The philosophy of these early institutions recognized no divergence between the curricular and the extra-curricular.

During the Colonial era, it was held that woman's place was in the home. The daily reading of the Holy Scriptures which was held to be the true source of all wisdom was a general practice, but mental improvement for women rarely went beyond the ability to do this. The belief was held that "women's minds were not strong enough for learning" and it was further considered unnecessary for them to perform their roles (12, pp. 128-130).

Not until the libertarian influence of the American Revolution was a new attitude evinced toward education for women and it was not until that time that
the writer found reference to higher education for women. A decline of religious orthodoxy at large, the rapid settling of the continent, the great humanitarian and social reform movements of the 1790's and 1850's, the rise of gigantic industrial and commercial forces altered the status of women as the clientele of higher education was drawn from wider segments of the population.

In the early days of higher education for women, the colleges felt strongly that a real part of the obligation to its women students was a continuation of the sheltered life which women of that day lived in their homes and in society. Along with this idea remained the idea that women were instinctively domestic and that this domesticity should be developed to the highest degree. In the early dormitories, therefore, were found arrangements for the women students to do all the household tasks. Thus women's education in the Colonial era was like their life—simple, prosaic, narrow (10, p.334).

The period before and after the Civil War was one of ferment. As women were leaving the home to do work necessitated by wartime conditions, there was a constantly spreading interest in and insistence upon higher learning for women.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw an increase in coeducation especially in the western areas due to the role women played in the westward movement.
In spite, however, of the examples set by Oberlin and Swarthmore, there was still general distrust of higher education for women even with the safeguards which were taken. This accounted for the rise of women's colleges and coordinate colleges for women particularly in the East.

By the latter part of the nineteenth century, the influence of the German idea coupled with the economic conditions of alternate boom and panic which influenced financial ability, led to a decline for a time in interest toward residence halls. There were, however, too many forces still recognizing the values of residence halls. A reawakening of general interest in them was probably most influenced by Harper's establishment of residence halls at the University of Chicago, the investigations which gave rise to the personnel movement, and the recognition that the residence hall could be a means of preserving the American ideal of democracy.

The social and economic influences were significantly pointed up during the twentieth century. Soon after the turn of the century rapid acceleration of cultural change created conditions which proved the traditional concepts of education inadequate. In the more complicated society, characterized by mass production and specialization of labor, new vocations came into being with amazing rapidity. To adjust to this changing and
more specialized society, the educational institutions responded with horizontally and vertically expanded curricula and through more realistic accommodations for students.

In the 1930's, acute financial problems led to the development of cooperative dormitories. The inability to afford staff during this depression period and later the inability to secure labor during the war years led to work programs in many institutions.

Following World War II the great influx of students resulted in the use of temporary structures for housing, accelerated building of residence halls, and the provision of accommodations for married students.

A significant aspect of the development of higher education in the United States which has contributed to the provision of residence halls as well as other services for students has been the unique American belief that all children of all the people should have opportunity for higher education. The total personality of higher education in the United States has been dominated by the political fact and the emotional attitude of the theory that the American campus is open to all because the right of learning is one of the expressions of the strong American drive toward equality (8,p.36).

The historical developments sketched in the preceding pages indicate that, as concerns residence hall
living for women, we have passed through many stages and been molded by many influences. To clarify consideration of the place of residence halls in present-day academic life in America and their desired outcomes in terms of development, it is well to hold in mind Cowley's statement of the three outstanding philosophies which underlie student housing. The first of these philosophies is the British which conceives of the residence hall as the center of the students' formal as well as informal life. Of this Vassar, Mount Holyoke, and most of the early women's colleges are American examples (3, pp. 755-764).

The second of the three dominant philosophies is the German, under which the student outside the lecture room is of no concern to the instructor. Some schools maintained that this philosophy encouraged undergraduates to take more responsibility and was the best training for life. The failure of the German plan to become common in the United States may have been, in part, due to the immaturity of the early American student.

The third and most prevalent of the philosophies is designated by Cowley as the American. It is the resultant of the impact of the first two upon each other under the conditions on this continent and accounts for the dual aspect of our modern universities which provide shelter and social education in residence halls for part of the students and allows others to live in residences
apart from the curricular life of the campus. The problem in
this American philosophy may be, as Dr. Collins
Burnett stated in a lecture on Student Personnel
Services, that "in America, we're half-way caught. We
know our students are adults, but we still feel the need
to be maternal" (1).

What then is the American tradition in women's
housing? Diversity in higher education makes any gener-
alization difficult, as well as inapplicable to partic-
ular situations. However, in the broad sense, the basic
American tradition is that residence halls perform the
function of control over student conduct and living.
Superimposed on this is the newer tradition of student
personnel that the hall is a place where extra-class life
may find healthful, wholesome expression.

The tradition of control stems more immediately
from the Colonial and post-Colonial period. It is most
evident where religious traditions are strongest. It
finds current expression in the planning of both buildings
and programs. The control aspect is evinced by the
"control points" within residence halls and in the regu-
lations carried out and enforced by the head resident
(judicious lady?) in the hall. The social and recrea-
tional tradition is revealed in the kinds of activities
and programs the hall residents are encouraged to carry
out. It is also reflected in the number, size, and furnishings of common-use rooms within the halls.

One reason for this preoccupation with the social rather than the formally educative aspects of life in the residence halls is most succinctly stated by Etta Lee Moulton, who said:

The day is long past when any college can assume that its students all come from a background of cultured homes. The only common denominator may well be that the students are actuated by the same desire for an education.... The students are going to live more hours outside the classroom and the laboratories than within them and these hours outside are fully as potent for the students' future character and contribution to society as are the hours which the institution controls through its course of study. (6, pp. 362-363)

A Look Forward

The influx of great numbers of students into American universities and the resulting problems have, as stated in Chapter VI, caused educational and personnel concerns about the role of the residence hall in the university program. Perhaps the reason for this concern is best exemplified by the statement of Logan Wilson, President of the American Council on Education:

Engulfed by the knowledge industry that American colleges and universities are becoming, today's college student is in danger of becoming the forgotten man of higher education.... Amid the demands made upon colleges by communities, industries, and governments, there is a recurrent need to recall that colleges were created
primarily for the students.... Because others are standing in line to take the place of dropouts, there is a danger of our being indifferent, if not callous, to the sources of discontent and the causes of failure.... The rate of expansion of college enrollment may leave the student with less personal contact with the faculty and college staff members... and this depersonalization, if allowed to continue unchecked or unchallenged, represents a grave threat to the very purpose of higher education. (11, p.7)

Fears such as above, and skepticism of the university's capability to maintain concern for the individual continue to be expressed and this seems inconsistent with the facts that at the present time the federal government is providing support for more adequate counseling and guidance in our schools than ever before and the leaders in student personnel have increasingly emphasized the importance to society of the satisfaction of both personal and intellectual needs.

Perhaps an attempt to alleviate the impersonalization that seems to be growing in universities is the reason why there appears to be a consensus of opinion among educators that there should be integration between the residence halls and the total university program. This consensus is present although there seems to be some contention as to whether the primary function of the halls should be academic or social education.

The salient question then is how to accomplish this integration between the residence halls and the total
university program. As stated in the introduction of this writing, to deal with new problems, the wise person will attack them with a vision provided by the past--not suffering from, but profiting by, past experience and borrowing discriminately. It would appear that now is the time to do this. From this point of view, the writer would like to refer to a concept of Colonial times namely, that the "founders of the American colleges recognized no divergence between the curricular and the extra-curricular" (see page 20). It seems that a rejuvenation of this concept with modern implementation is what educators are really seeking.

To build toward the development of this concept the following suggestions are offered as possibilities to those who share the responsibility of this task--the instructional staff, the personnel staff, and the administrative staff.

In response to the large numbers of students, shortages of staff, expansion of knowledge, and the resultant need to expand curriculum to meet national needs, the problem of finances looms large and obviously must result in determination of priority of need in expenditure of funds. In these circumstances, it is unrealistic to expect any large sums to be allocated to residence halls beyond what will be needed for construction. As is true in most aspects of education, as well as in other
enterprises, financial support can be expected only to the degree that good residence hall programs demonstrate their value in contributing to the total educational experience of the student and to the growth of the university as a whole. It is obvious, therefore, that the personnel staffs, in cooperation with the administrative staffs, of our universities need to seek practical means of showing the significance of the contribution they can make to the educational enterprise. Most of the following suggestions could be carried out without waiting for additional help and, in fact, might possibly be the agents through which both financial and moral support would be received. Some suggestions are:

1. Include residence hall staff members on committees dealing with campus-wide activities and studies so that they may have a better understanding of the problems, needs, and strengths of the university as a whole. This would give them a more realistic view of how the residence halls could fit into the total framework.

2. Include members of the residence hall staff on committees dealing with curricular changes. This would give the residence hall worker a better understanding of student problems, administrative problems, and academic problems as well as offer some bases for incorporating residence hall programs into the curricular objectives.

The writer would like to interject at this point
a clarification of the above mentioned suggestions. It is true that on most campuses a member of the student personnel division is a member of these committees, but that member is almost inevitably from the administrative area of student personnel or from the counseling division. The person referred to above who should be a member of these committees is the specific person who lives and works in the hall and who is in charge of the programming there.

3. Provide encouragement for in-service training for residence hall workers to give them a better understanding of the kind of contribution they could make and the importance of their relationship to the students. This could be provided in several ways depending upon the facilities of the specific university involved. The following are indicative of the possibilities:

   a. Provide opportunities for residence hall staff to take courses on campus in psychology, sociology, guidance, and related subjects.
   b. Conduct summer workshops on campus or at convenient locations at minimal cost to the staff member.
   c. Conduct workshops at convenient times during the year for whatever time periods as are possible. Often times even one day can be inspirational. An example of this is the one day workshop conducted at Lorado Field Campus by a head resident of the personnel staff at
Northern Illinois University. Pre-planning of program around problems which had arisen during the year made this program meaningful and the dinner meeting on the evening before with a member of the dean's staff made this a very realistic and important workshop.

d. Provide printed material for the resident adviser in the form of periodical pamphlets or a handbook which would include information on counseling and group work, current ideas on residence hall programs, suggestions for relating programs to university programs, suggestions for further training opportunities, and news items about the university.

e. Encourage informal discussions through meetings and informal social affairs between faculty and residence hall workers.

4. Provide the resident adviser of the hall with physical accommodations that would be beneficial to her in her work. This should include living accommodations which are comfortable and insure privacy, office space which would allow her to conduct the hall program in a professional manner, and enough free time to allow for personal improvement and recreation.

5. Select staff with the highest qualifications possible and make the positions attractive through consideration of these people as faculty with commensurate rank, salary, and campus acceptance.
Some consideration of many of the above is already being given in some universities and the writer feels confident that the future will see all of them in common usage.

In considering the residence hall program and in attempting to develop the concept that there is no divergence between the curricular and the extra-curricular life of the university, some thought needs to be given to the achievement of professional status for the directors of residence halls. Although, according to Florence Phillips, "the professional status of the position of the residence hall director is by no means established" (7, p.33), much headway has been made. Many universities such as The Ohio State University have training programs leading to a masters degree for residence hall directors. Other universities, DePauw for example, have each hall staffed by a full-time resident counselor who is a member of the dean of students staff and who is actively involved in the determination of policies and procedures initiated through the dean of students office. These staff members hold academic rank and participate in faculty meetings and committees (2,p.37). Still other universities, such as Northern Illinois University, employ people as residence hall directors who have a minimum of the masters degree and encourage them to teach one class whenever it is possible.
In addition to advancements toward professionalization as indicated above, no small amount of research has been done by outstanding educators as can be noted by the bibliography of this paper. More, the writer believes, is needed and will be done in the future. It is a step forward for the resident adviser to have advanced degrees and it is predicted that those who have these degrees will have a greater concern and be in a better position to do research related to residence halls than any other group. The head resident is in a position to view all areas of higher education in relation to the halls and it can be expected that, as people who are trained in student personnel are placed in these positions they will use the skills and insights they possess to further research.

As was noted earlier, there has been some contention about whether the residence hall should be primarily an agent of social education or of academic education. It is concerning this question that the writer feels a university should question the role of the residence halls. Although the residence hall can and certainly should be an adjunct to the academic growth of the students through means as discussed on pages 163 and 164, the writer holds the belief that this should not be its primary function. It is the writer's opinion that the residence hall can offer a unique service to the educational process through
the personal development of the students. Since this is such an important aspect of education, it should not be relegated to chance, but should be the primary objective of the residence hall program. By this is not meant purely social development although that is an important part. Every educated person should have the ability to follow the accepted rules of etiquette, but more than this the hall can be the one place on campus that can accept the responsibility for development of attitudes, values, and the ability to work and live harmoniously with others. In the words of Marion Talbot, dormitory living should serve to establish "standards of conduct, of principle, of social efficiency, of appreciation and discrimination and of moral power.... It should afford an opportunity for training in those qualities of disposition and character which are essential to citizenship" (9, pp. 223-225).

Although these words were spoken during the first years that women were allowed to participate in higher education, it would still appear that these are important to every individual and the area in which the residence hall can give a unique service. What other place on the university campus can better provide opportunity for the development of tolerance, acceptance, and ability to work in groups? The residence hall is a laboratory replete with all the human resources which, if utilized to its fullest, can cause a new attitude on the American campus.
It can be the place where the student can develop those attributes which will aid her to be more acceptant, understanding, and contributing to society. These attributes can be the "frame" for the academic "picture" the individual develops and point it up to greater gratification to herself and to all with whom she lives and works. These personal abilities and qualities can be the means through which she can further the acceptance and meaningfulness of her intellectual development to others.

On the whole, residence halls for women have shown a record of progress. We have seen how the social, economic, and political thought and events of the times have been reflected in the philosophy underlying residence hall programs. We have seen how residence halls have developed from a program furnishing shelter and food, concerned with health and enforcement of rules with strong discipline, to a stage for concern about personal problems and the whole of educational and personal development. We have seen how the past and present are irrevocably intertwined as we refer to the philosophy of the founders of the first American institutions of higher education and their concepts of unity between curricular and extracurricular aspects of the university and note that now, over 300 years later, this is still the goal of university education.
Footnotes


BIBLIOGRAPHY


11. Boothe, Viva, Salaries and the Cost of Living in Twenty-Seven State Universities and Colleges, Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 1932.


27. Chancellor's Report, University of Kansas, 1922.


42. Dall, Caroline H., The College, the Market, and the Court, Boston: Rumford Publishing Co., 1914.


60. Gray, James, The University of Minnesota, 1851-1951, Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1951.


102. President's Report, Oberlin College, 1907.

103. President's Report, Oberlin College, 1914.

104. President's Report, The University of Chicago, 1898.

105. President's Report, The University of Chicago, 1921.


131. University of Oregon Catalog, 1913.


133. Walker, Ernest T., Relation of Housing of Students to Success in a University, Chicago: The University of Chicago Libraries, 1935.


