THE BEGINNINGS OF BASIC BACCALAUREATE
NURSING EDUCATION: 1916-1929

DISSERTATION

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

By

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* * * * * * * *

The Ohio State University
1968

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The research for this study was undertaken with the help of a National Institute of Health fellowship awarded through the Ohio State Regional Medical Program for 1967-1968.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine the beginning and early development of basic baccalaureate nursing education which was established in America in 1916. Since there are several patterns of nursing education in the United States, a clarification of these programs may help to distinguish the particular emphasis of this study.

The first breakthrough in America of the education of nurses occurred at the time of the founding of three Nightingale schools in 1873. Under the Nightingale plan, the superintendent of nurses in a hospital assumed responsibility for the school which had a separate budget of its own for its maintenance. Of the first three hospital schools of nursing, the two which were founded by lay women's committees at the Bellevue Training School for Nurses in New York and the Boston Training School for Nurses met severe opposition and were called "meddlesome and interfering" by the medical men in charge of the hospitals. The school committee of the third hospital, the Connecticut Training School in New Haven, included a number of men in its membership of 30 or 40 and did not encounter the same opposition in the beginning.

It was not long, however, when hospitals learned that a school of nursing had many advantages. In the first place, the patients, who were recipients of care, survived longer as the decreased mortality
rates indicated. Secondly, hospitals instead of being dirty, dank and infested with mice and lice, became clean and orderly. In lieu of entrusting the care of the sick to such personnel as prostitutes and alcoholics who were not jailed at the time, the lay women's committees attempted to secure nursing students who were of fine families but unable financially to live at home because of depleted funds.

Ironically the hospitals, which at first did not want schools of nursing, towards the latter part of the nineteenth century took over the school and more importantly, the control of the school of nursing. This, as mentioned earlier, was in direct opposition to one of Miss Nightingale's chief principles in the establishment of a nursing school.

By the turn of the century, the hospital school of nursing exemplified the typical pattern of nursing education in America for preparing the "trained nurse." The term "trained nurse" indicated a learning experience or training in nursing in contrast to the greater numbers of "untrained" persons who had no educational preparation but who called themselves "nurses" and offered their services for hire in the care of the sick. During the first decade of the twentieth century several states began to legislate for state boards of nursing to govern nursing practice by licensure. A registered nurse is one who has passed the state board of nursing examinations.

The second breakthrough in modern American nursing education, and the first instance of the entrance of the study of nursing into the university, was the establishment of a course in hospital economics at
Teachers College, Columbia University in 1899. The express intent of this new program was to prepare nurse teachers and administrators.

Soon thereafter, in 1907, the first chair of nursing was established at Teachers College and M. Adelaide Nutting became the first professor of nursing in America. The program, although slow to attract great numbers of nurses at first, grew in time to the extent that a post-registered nurse baccalaureate program was offered for the first time in the history of nursing in America. Hereinafter, to avoid confusion, the term, "post-R.N. baccalaureate education" shall be used to describe the program wherein the registered nurse, a graduate of a two-year technical program or a three-year diploma program, may further her professional education by enrollment in a baccalaureate nursing program.

Basic baccalaureate nursing education, which is the major emphasis of this study, refers to four-year nursing programs in degree-granting institutions which offer an upper-division major in nursing. This program is distinguishable from the program for registered nurses, the post-R.N. baccalaureate education, mentioned earlier.

The basic program, as the word "basic" suggests, constitutes the introduction to nursing which today includes three different courses of study: the two-year associate degree, the three-year hospital diploma, or the four-year baccalaureate degree program. All these nursing programs are "basic" introductory programs in nursing in the sense that they prepare the nurse for bedside care of the ill. Graduates of basic programs are eligible, after examination by state boards of nursing to become registered nurses. Graduates of the first two programs
can continue their collegiate studies in a post-R.N. baccalaureate program. When the early nursing leaders spoke of university education for the nurse, they referred to the latter type of nurse education as it was the only baccalaureate program in existence until the founding of the basic baccalaureate program in 1916.

From 1916 to the present time, which covers a span of over half a century, the growth of basic baccalaureate education for nurses appears slow and stunted. In 1921, an Office of Education bulletin listed ten American universities and colleges which offered a five-year basic baccalaureate nursing program. It gave no indication as to the number of students enrolled in or graduated from the programs.¹

A later study in 1937 listed a total of 32 American colleges and universities which at that time offered a basic baccalaureate nursing program. As far as the number of students enrolled, the approximate total was given as 1,832 students "or more than twice the number who completed programs of this type up to 1936."²

Interpreting the figures of the number of students enrolled in 1936 as approximately 1,832, there had been, then, less than 916 graduates of the program since the basic baccalaureate nursing program came into existence.


²Lucile Petry, "Basic Professional Curricula in Nursing Leading to Degrees," American Journal of Nursing, XXXVII (March, 1937), 291.
For the first fifteen years in which nurses were graduated in basic baccalaureate programs, from 1921 to 1936, therefore, an average of approximately 61 basic baccalaureate nurses graduated annually. Even with the additional number of baccalaureate nurses of the post-R.N. baccalaureate program, the paucity of the total number of baccalaureate nurses is striking, because of an increase in the population of the United States at this time, an increase of the number of women into the labor force, and the greater demand for more qualified nurses.

The increased demand was in answer to scientific and technological advances of the early twentieth century with the increasing responsibility of the nurse in the assignment and fulfillment of new nursing tasks in the hospital and in the expansion of nursing functions in public health. America's entry into World War I also multiplied the need for more nurses.

When compared to the rate of increase in the number of two other women's professions, teachers, and librarians, and also to the rate of increase in the number of trained nurses in 1920 and 1930, the scant number of baccalaureate nurses is even more striking. ³

³The following table indicates the number of persons engaged in three selected women's professions in 1920 and 1930.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School teachers</td>
<td>752,055</td>
<td>1,044,916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Librarians</td>
<td>15,297</td>
<td>29,613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trained nurses</td>
<td>149,128</td>
<td>294,189</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures indicate phenomenal growth in all three professions. Both librarians and trained nurses almost double their numbers and the school teachers increased their number by well over a quarter million members. With an increase of 145,061 trained nurses between 1920 and 1930, the average number of annual baccalaureate nurses, as interpreted from Lucile Petry's study, appears to be significantly few in number. See U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistical
Today the overall picture of the small number of baccalaureate nurses continues to persist. In a country where health is no longer considered a privilege but a basic right, the baccalaureate nurses even now constitute only 15.7 per cent of the total number of nurses who graduate annually. The three-year hospital schools of nursing graduate the greatest proportion of nurses which in 1966 was 74.8 per cent.¹

To answer the question why the growth of basic baccalaureate nursing education was, and remains, slow in America requires first an historical investigation of how and why basic baccalaureate nursing education came into existence, of what factors, forces or elements anticipated and led to the establishment of the basic baccalaureate nursing program, and of what factors, forces or elements discouraged or deterred its establishment. This study is intended to initiate such an investigation by presenting an analysis of the origins of basic baccalaureate nursing education at selected institutions.

Concerning the methodology of the study among the group of the first university schools of nursing which offered basic baccalaureate nurse education, three were selected for historical investigation for the following reasons. The University of Minnesota School of Nursing as it is a state university; as it claims to be the first university school of nursing; and because of its two staunch supporters, Dr. Richard


Olding Beard and Dean E. P. Lyon, both of the University of Minnesota School of Medicine wherein the division of nursing was originally located; the Frances Payne Bolton School of Nursing of Case-Western Reserve University, because of its support by the prominent lay leader in nursing for whom it was named; for its history of community involvement and its history of support by many distinguished families of Cleveland; and for the unusual circumstance that its basic baccalaureate program for nurses was established before the institution of its three-year hospital diploma program.

Yale University School of Nursing, because of its endowment by the Rockefeller Foundation and because Annie W. Goodrich, one of the foremost leaders in nursing, became its first dean. Under these fortuitous circumstances, the development of the school might be expected to reflect innovation and creativity in its educational objective, curriculum design and its association with all-male undergraduate university of national and international reputation for excellence.

Yale University School of Nursing and Western Reserve School of Nursing became, in 1923, the first two endowed schools which offered a basic baccalaureate program in nursing in America. With the financial means to establish sound educational programs, came the opportunity to create, develop and implement new proposals and projects in nursing education for the first time in the history of nursing in America.

Lastly, another reason for the selection of two endowed university schools concerns an assumption that if the endowed schools met problems of a deep, fixed nature and were hard-pressed to solve them,
the struggles of other schools on limited university budgets might encounter even greater hardships to meet their educational objectives.

Visits were made to the University of Minnesota, Yale University and Case-Western Reserve Libraries and Archives to examine and review official reports and documents which concerned the establishment of the school of nursing, and to attempt to determine what groups, or forces, encouraged its establishment and what groups, or forces, hindered its establishment. In each case, the ideas, attitudes and actions of the persons and groups involved in the establishment of the school of nursing, such as the president of the university and its faculty, the deans of the school of medicine and directors of the school of nursing, the deans of the school of nursing, the hospital administrators, the practicing physicians and nurses, the lay community and representatives of the foundations, all merited examination and interpretation for the evaluation of their respective roles.

The specific reports and documents of the three selected universities need to be interpreted in the light of the contemporary development of nursing education and of the nursing professions. The sources of the general historical information used for this purpose included the addresses and publications of the early proponents of university nursing schools; committee reports of the professional nursing organizations, such as the American Nurses Association and the National League of Nursing Education, more particularly the early reports when the latter organization was known as the American Society of Superintendents of Training Schools for Nurses; the early editions of the American Journal of Nursing, the Modern Hospital, and other early nursing periodicals;
Reports of the Committee on Nursing of the American Medical Association; the Annual Reports of the Rockefeller Foundation; the Cleveland Hospital and Health Survey; the United States Office of Education Bulletins; and definitive works of early twentieth century American history.

Although the history of medicine contains multitudinous volumes on medical education, there is little extant in the literature of the history of nursing education, and even less in the history of baccalaureate nursing education.

A review of the literature on nursing education just before and just after World War I reveals two striking phenomena in the trend and development of nursing education in America. One is that studies of nursing education itself were of secondary importance and were not the primary purpose of the major studies of nursing conducted in the United States. The studies in nursing education were off-shoots of the primary investigation concerning nursing and nurses, of their number, their functions and their effectiveness.

Second, the discussion of baccalaureate nursing education constituted but a small segment of each study. In other words, not one major study in this period contained an emphasis on baccalaureate education for nurses, nor even on nursing education in general as its primary concern.

The best source of historical materials on nursing education were the Proceedings of the Annual Conventions of the American Society of Superintendents of Training Schools for Nurses of which the first appeared in 1893. In the reports, the bulk of the material, as expected, dealt with the problems and concerns of the nurse educators of that era.
The topics of the annual reports through the era of this study give evidence for one historical fact: that the question of baccalaureate education for nurses constituted the interest of a minor segment of the nurse educators in their discussions at the annual conventions. However, this minority group held in its membership the nursing leaders of its day, and through its work and action, constituted a major influence in the development of baccalaureate nursing education, as this study will demonstrate in a later chapter.

To determine the growth and development of basic baccalaureate nursing education, data were collected to show the number of nursing programs established in America and the number of students enrolled and graduated from the basic baccalaureate program in its early years. The number of women enrolled in colleges and universities, the number who earned degrees, the number of women in other women's occupations, as well as the number enrolled in and graduated from the traditional three-year hospital school of nursing could also offer a basis for many kinds of comparisons and trends. However, as one may suspect from the available literature on baccalaureate nursing education, statistics were difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. Prior to World War I and in fact throughout the first third of the twentieth century, there was no one specific agency responsible for the collection of data on nurses. In the early journals, there were sporadic references to the number of students enrolled in a single or a few leading university schools of nursing. Three studies which deal with nursing education contain some data relating to baccalaureate education.

6 The American Nurses Association through its Nursing Information Bureau printed its first Facts about Nursing in 1935.
The first Office of Education bulletin, referred to earlier, which listed ten universities that offered a basic baccalaureate nursing program, was prepared by Isabel M. Stewart in 1921. The program, then called the five-year combined course, indicated the inclusion of both general education and professional nursing education. She listed the ten universities as "Cincinnati, Minnesota, Columbia, Michigan, California, Colorado, Northwestern, Indiana, Washington, and Simmons College."

The Rockefeller Report in 1923 listed fifteen basic baccalaureate nursing programs in the United States. The schools in addition to those universities listed above were Baylor, Iowa, Nebraska, Ohio State, Mills and Milwaukee-Downer. A closer look at the names of the schools reveals some discrepancies and possible confusions. Evidently, the University of Colorado, as mentioned in a footnote, was not included in the total since the school was in the process of reorganization. Also the entry read, "Leland Stanford, California" and not "California" as listed in Miss Stewart's earlier account. The Ohio State University was not mentioned by name, but referred to as "Ohio." However, Ohio State was the only university in Ohio which offered a baccalaureate degree to nurses at the time.

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7 Stewart, Developments in Nursing Education, p. 13.
8 Committee for the Study of Nursing Education, Nursing and Nursing Education in the United States (New York: Macmillan Co., 1923).
9 N. Paul Hudson, The Ohio State University College of Medicine, 1934-1958 (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1961), II, 181.
A study conducted by Lucile Petry in 1937, mentioned earlier, identified "the first combined liberal arts and basic nursing curricula leading to bachelors' degrees" (italics hers) established between 1916 and 1919 as the University of Cincinnati, Teachers College, Columbia University, Leland Stanford, University of Colorado, Baylor University, University of Texas, University of Nebraska, University of Indiana, University of Minnesota, University of Michigan and the University of Washington, a total of eleven universities. 10

According to her study, the number of schools established which offered basic baccalaureate nursing programs were nine schools from 1916-1919; nine schools between 1920-1924 and 14 schools between 1925-1929, a total of 32 college and university schools of nursing in the United States. Earlier an inference made from this study indicated the small number of approximately 44 basic baccalaureate nurses graduated per year from 1916 to 1937 when the study was completed.

From the three studies cited, discrepancies appeared in the names and the number of universities with basic baccalaureate nursing programs and the number of students enrolled and graduated from the program in its early period of establishment and development.

To pinpoint the studies in nursing and nursing education of this era mentioned earlier, a summary follows of the major ones undertaken in the post-World War I period. The progression of one study to the next, 10


On page 287, eleven university schools of nursing were listed as above whereas on page 291, a total of nine university schools of nursing was tabulated for the same period between 1916-1919.
indicated a series of events which reflected, like a mirror, a study of the history of nursing. The year of the study, the title as well as its purpose and objectives, revealed the most pressing problems and concerns of the nursing profession. This summary is limited to the studies which contained information concerning baccalaureate nursing education. It is notable that no study during the post-World War I era concerned the problem of nursing education alone.

Curiously the one request for a proposal to study the range and scope of nursing education in America was unsuccessful. The request came from M. Adelaide Nutting, chairman of the Education Committee of the National League of Nursing Education. One of the committee's functions was to review the present system and to suggest new plans and proposals to solve some of the problems in nursing education. At the eighteenth annual meeting in 1912, two years after the publication of the Flexner report on medical education, she, as instructed by the nurse educators, had presented a brief report to the Carnegie Foundation in a similar request for a study on "the whole question of nursing education." She reported that the president of the Foundation, Henry S. Pritchett, seemed very interested and although the Foundation had turned to other interests, her impression was that "the matter was not entirely closed." After a delay of months while Mr. Pritchett was away, the secretary of the Foundation repeated the Foundation's interest in nursing education. Finally Miss Nutting reported that reluctantly, she
was "obliged to report that the Carnegie Foundation is unable to respond to the request made by the Education Committee."

The study in nursing education similar to the study of medical education, therefore, under the Carnegie Foundation never materialized.

It was not until 1918 when the primary interest of the Rockefeller Foundation turned to matters of national and international health that the question of a national study in nursing arose. In 1920, the Committee for the Study of Nursing Education, as it was known, decided that in order to understand the problems which it was addressing in public health nursing, and the reasons why a shortage of qualified nurses existed, the scope of the study must be broadened to include the education of the nurse. This study remains a landmark in the study of nursing because of its extensive investigation under the direction of the Secretary of the Committee, Josephine Goldmark, whose distinguished career up to this point included formulation of a report which became a basis for the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Muller v. Oregon case, under which the power of a state legislature to limit the hours of labor for women was confirmed.

The chairman of the Committee for the Study of Nursing Education was Dr. C.-E. A. Winslow, Professor of Public Health at Yale University, so that the study is also called the Winslow-Goldmark report. Out of the 585 pages of the report, it is notable that only 13 pages referred to university education for nurses, but conclusion ten of the report

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stated that endowments for the founding of university schools of nursing "is of primary importance." On this basis the foundation took direct action and with its endowment to Yale University, helped to establish the Yale University School of Nursing.

In 1921, the Committee on Education of the National League of Nursing Education, one of the more influential committees of the League, prepared a minor preliminary report on the development of the basic baccalaureate and post-R.N. baccalaureate program in America. The Committee considered all aspects of university education such as cost, standards of admission, course of study, university credit, organization and control of the program as well as a rationale for baccalaureate education. The report mentioned "a number of universities" which offered a basic baccalaureate nursing program and listed them in this order: Cincinnati, Columbia, Leland Stanford, California, Colorado, Baylor, Texas, Nebraska, Northwestern, Indiana, Minnesota, Michigan, Ohio, Washington, "and a few colleges"--Simmons, Mills and the Milwaukee Downer--a total of sixteen universities and colleges. Again, there was no record of the number of student enrollees or graduates.

12 Committee of Study of Nursing Education, Nursing and Nursing Education, p. 30.
13 Committee on Education of the National League of Nursing Education, "Preliminary Report on University Schools of Nursing," American Journal of Nursing, XXXI (June, 1921), 622.
14 Committee on Education of the National League of Nursing Education, American Journal of Nursing, XXXI (July, 1921), p. 711.
15 Evidently the Rockefeller Report listing the same sixteen American colleges and universities utilized the list prepared by this committee without credit to the committee. The schools were listed in the same order in the Rockefeller Report but with two typographical errors.
Several years later, the Committee for the Study of Nursing Education in Colleges and Universities of the National League of Nursing Education conducted another study using three questionnaires to gather information on (1) the number of schools of nursing which had any connection with a college or university and (2) the number of students enrolled and graduated from each of the three types of nursing programs, the basic baccalaureate, the baccalaureate program for graduate nurses and the three-year diploma program.16

Although questionnaires were sent to 107 schools, only 60 responded. Further investigation by the committee disclosed that less than one-half of the 107 schools, actually between thirty-five and forty schools, offered a baccalaureate degree in nursing. Of these, eight schools which offered a degree program had no students enrolled in these courses. Twenty schools had graduated an average of 12.3 baccalaureate nurses, whereas thirty-two schools had an average of 18.2 enrolled baccalaureate nurses. These figures represented a composite of the number of nursing students enrolled and graduated from university schools in the late 1920's.

In 1927, the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association published a three-part study of hospital services in the United States, the first part of which was devoted to a survey of the nursing schools in the United States.17


17Hospital Service in the United States, Journal of the American Medical Association, LXXXVIII (March 12, 1927), 793.
As the accreditation movement grew in the American educational system from elementary to higher education, and which included education for the professions, the National League of Nursing Education, with the support of other national nursing organizations, such as the American Nurses' Association and the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, approached other national professional organizations, as the medical, hospital and public health groups, to pursue a cooperative study in nursing education. Representatives of the American Medical Association, the American Nurses' Association, the National League of Nursing Education, the American Hospital Association, and the American Public Health Association served as committee members. A committee of seven members at large included four educators and Mrs. Chester Bolton as representative of Hospital Trustees, together with one physician and one nurse educator. The group which was called the Committee on the Grading of Nursing Schools, had Dr. William Darrach as chairman and Dr. May Ayres Burgess, a statistician, as the director of the study.

The Committee identified three problems in nursing. Although primarily concerned with the grading of schools in meeting certain educational standards, the Committee concerned itself with the task of identifying the "supply and demand of nursing service" because it believed only the "very high type schools in the face of overproduction of nurses" were justifiable. It also concerned itself with the problem of what the function of nursing is, and how nurses should be taught.
A five-year study resulted in three books which pertained to the problem of nursing and nursing education.\(^{18}\)

At a national meeting of the Association of American Medical Colleges in 1931, the Committee on Nursing Education was requested to consider the status of nursing education with special attention to the university nursing schools. In 1933 the Committee submitted its findings and recommendations in a report signed by A. M. Schwitalla, Dean of the St. Louis University School of Medicine; E. P. Lyon, Dean of the Medical School, University of Minnesota; and A. C. Bachmeyer, Superintendent of the Cincinnati General Hospital who served as chairman.\(^{19}\)

Among the findings and recommendations was the recognition that nursing education merited the educational opportunities offered in the university and enjoyed by the medical and other professions. The committee agreed there was an over-production of nurses and that this condition in education was synonymous with poor nursing schools. Drawing a parallel with medical education several years back, they urged the closing of the poor schools and adoption of higher standards of student selection and a sounder and more "cultural" educational program in the

\(^{18}\)May Ayres Burgess, *Nurses, Patients, and Pocketbooks* (New York: Committee on the Grading of Nursing Schools, 1928).

Committee on the Grading of Nursing Schools, *Results of the First Grading Study of Nursing Schools* (New York: Committee on the Grading of Nursing Schools, 1931).

Committee on the Grading of Nursing Schools, *Nursing Schools Today and Tomorrow* (New York: Committee on Grading of Nursing Schools, 1934).

university nursing school. Experimental programs in the university nursing school were suggested as a way to upgrade the total curriculum.

In the same year in which this committee reported, the Association of Collegiate Schools of Nursing was created at a meeting of physicians, nurses, and educators who convened at Teachers College, Columbia University, for the purpose of discussing the formation of an organization for communications between university nursing schools and institutions of higher learning. Its proposed objectives in the words of its first President, Annie W. Goodrich, were--

1. To develop nursing education suitable to professional instruction in an institution of higher learning.

2. To promote and strengthen relationships between schools of nursing and institutions of higher learning.

3. To promote study and experimentation in nursing service and nursing education.\textsuperscript{20}

This brief review of the studies in nursing and nursing education shows that there were no major studies conducted in post-World War I era whose primary concern was the education of nurses. In the studies cited, the educational aspect of nursing was an adjunct or secondary concern, not the primary purpose of the studies which emphasized an investigation into the "overproduction" of nurses. The central aims of the studies on nursing concentrated on the supply and demand issues and not the educational preparation of the professional worker needed to perform specific functions in a complex industrial and technological society.

\textsuperscript{20} Annie W. Goodrich, "Association of Collegiate Schools of Nursing," \textit{American Journal of Nursing}, XXXIII (March, 1933), p. 234.
The first study in 1933 concerned solely with baccalaureate nursing education conducted by a committee of the American Association of Medical Colleges was not a major study. The purpose of the study was to investigate baccalaureate nursing education since the education of nurses "affected" the education of medical students which was the association's major concern. The recommendations of the committee, which were to strengthen and encourage baccalaureate nursing education, to work cooperatively with nursing leaders to bring the nursing schools into the university and to experiment for stronger and sounder baccalaureate programs for nurses, were never implemented.

The second of the two major breakthroughs in the history of nursing education in America, the basic baccalaureate nursing program was, in effect, an answer to the challenge for a sounder educational preparation of the nurse because of growing demands, both military and civilian, for more public health nurses, teachers, supervisors and administrators for whom education in the traditional nursing program seemed insufficient, and also because of the increased demands placed upon the nurses by medical and scientific advances.
CHAPTER II

THE CHANGING SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL

ROLES OF WOMEN, 1910-1930

The era in which basic baccalaureate nursing education emerged prior to World War I and through the post-World War I period, constituted the mainspring of change in economic, political and social changes in American life. Changes in the status of women in the search for equal rights manifested even more distinctive features.

Seeds of reform, sown in the last decade of the nineteenth century, began to mature a generation or two later by dint of the efforts of the reformers. By the end of the second decade of the twentieth century, most of the legislation the reformers sought as child-labor laws, hours of work for women and women's suffrage had been adopted by legislative bodies in some form or other.

Since, prior to World War I and through the post-World War I era, nursing was then as it is today predominantly a women's profession, the nature of woman's economic, political and social status before the war contrasted with the same in a ten-, fifteen- or twenty-year period, may reveal some effects of change. For example, the traditional role of women in the pre-war era concerned that of housekeeper and mother. To indicate the shift from the home to the market place by the increase in the number of women workers, their relation to the total number of
workers in 1910 constituted 19.8 per cent, in 1920, 20.1 per cent, and in 1930, 21.9 per cent.¹

According to Woody, though the numerical increase was not surprising, the shift from one occupational group in the decade between 1910 and 1920 on inspection was startling. Women in clerical positions, transportation, mechanical and manufacturing industries increased 140.4, 99.8, 6 and 38.5 per cent respectively, whereas women in domestic and personal service decreased 13.6 percent. As college heads and professors, the women increased from 2,958 to 10,075; as librarians from 5,829 to 13,502; as religious, charity and welfare workers, from 8,889 to 26,927; and as trained nurses, from 76,508 to 143,664.²

A comparison of eight occupations wherein the number of women increased 50,000 or more during the decade from 1910-1920 presented a striking difference to the seven occupations which exhibited a decrease in numbers. The conditions of the war as well as technological and industrial development accounted for these changes as shown in Tables 1 and 2.³ The shift in the numbers and percentages of women's occupations in these tables represents an increase in the commercial and communication areas and a recession in farm labor and domestic categories.


TABLE 1
Eight Occupations in Each of Which the Number of Women 10 Years of Age and Over Increased 50,000 or More from 1910 to 1920, and Number and Per Cent of Increase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Increase 1910 to 1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks (except clerks in stores)</td>
<td>349,493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stenographers and typists</td>
<td>301,429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeepers and cashiers</td>
<td>162,177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers (school)</td>
<td>158,343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saleswomen (stores)</td>
<td>105,834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone operators</td>
<td>90,117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trained nurses</td>
<td>67,156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks in stores$^1$</td>
<td>58,803</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^1$Many of the "Clerks in stores" probably are "Saleswomen."

TABLE 2
Seven Occupations in Each of Which the Number of Women 10 Years of Age and Over Decreased 50,000 or More from 1910 to 1920, and Number and Per Cent of Decrease

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Decrease 1910 to 1920</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm laborers (home farm)$^1$</td>
<td>599,943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General servants$^2$</td>
<td>216,762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory)</td>
<td>212,241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundresses (not in laundry)</td>
<td>134,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm laborers (working out)$^1$</td>
<td>125,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooks</td>
<td>64,818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milliners and millinery dealers</td>
<td>52,849</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^1$The decrease in this occupation, which is primarily due to the change in the census date.

$^2$Except chambermaids, cooks, ladies' maids, nursemaids, and bell girls, chore girls, etc.
One last notable evidence of change in the numbers and types of women's occupations verified another picture of contrast. Twenty years earlier between 1890 and 1900, there were 14 occupations wherein the number of women increased by more than 100 per cent. By the end of the next two decades, there were 77 occupations which had more than doubled the number of women employed in 1920.  

Changes in the education of women during the period reflected one segment of the changing pattern of American education in general. The number of females sixteen and seventeen years of age, who attended school in 1910 were 811,348 or 44.5 per cent; in 1920, the number increased to 876,528, or 45.5 per cent and in 1930, the number increased to 1,347,533 or 58 per cent. The growth in the number indicated not only a phenomenal increase of females sixteen or seventeen years of age in school, but also the prospect that the prolonged years in school offered better job opportunities and preparation for college to enter the professions.

The total number of degrees conferred by American institutions of higher education in 1900 was 39,755 of which women earned 9,039 degrees or about 23 per cent; in 1920, of the 53,516 degrees granted, women earned 18,029 or a little more than 33 per cent and in 1930, out

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of a total of 139,752 degrees conferred, women earned 55,266 or approximately 39 per cent.7

The percentage of the population eighteen to twenty-one years old enrolled in American institutions of higher education in 1910, 1920 and 1930 amounted to 5.12 per cent, 8.09 per cent and 12.42 per cent respectively.8 Therefore, the number of students enrolled in American colleges and universities in the first three decades of the twentieth century represented one twentieth of the population eighteen to twenty-one years of age in 1910, and by 1930, the number increased to one eighth of the population in the same age group.

To compare the number of students enrolled in American colleges and universities in the first three decades of the twentieth century with the number of high school graduates in the same period, the percent of the population seventeen years of age who were high school graduates was 8.8 per cent in 1910, 16.8 per cent in 1920 and 29 per cent in 1930.9

In the reports of the decennial census, listed under the classification of professional services which included categories as actors, authors, doctors, nurses, lawyers, judges and professors, the women numbered 773,891 in 1910; 1,016,498 in 1920 and 1,526,234 in 1930.10,11

Between 1910 and 1920, there was an increase of one-quarter million in the number of women in these professions; between 1920 and 1930, there was an influx of a half-million women in the professions listed above.

The increase in the numbers of women workers, the shift in women's occupations, the increase in the number of women in high school, college and the professions in the first three decades of the twentieth century constituted but one aspect of the phenomenon of change in the status of women. To interpret the meaning of the shifts and changes in American life during the first three decades of the twentieth century, it is necessary to consider American social and political values as well as economic trends.

A definitive work of the first third of the twentieth century entitled, Recent Social Trends in the United States, offered an objective description and interpretation of American life from the turn of the century to the early years of the Great Depression. In two volumes, the report mirrored thirty years of American life in all of its aspects with its chief emphasis on the notation of changes in American life.12

When President Hoover in 1929 appointed this committee, chosen on advice of the Social Science Research Council, its specific task encompassed "finding as accurately as possible which significant changes have taken place in American life since the beginning of the century." The survey reproduced a picture of American life from the turn of the century to the 1930's "to help," in President Hoover's words, "all of us

12President's Research Committee, Social Trends, I, xi-lxxv.
see where social stresses are occurring and where major efforts should be undertaken to deal with them constructively.\textsuperscript{13}

It was highly significant that eminent scholars became investigators in the research of the various components of American life from the arts to occupational patterns, from population studies to public administration. Government, industry, labor, church and family—no segment of American life remained outside of the committee's scope. Wesley C. Mitchell became the chairman of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends.

Among the major social trends, the committee presented in its report the changes and shifts of Americans to new values and new attitudes. As stated in a prefatory note, the aim of the research of the social scientists centered on a "scientific undertaking" of the study of the shifts and trends in American life, with the notation that, "they present records not opinion; such substantial stuff as may serve as a basis for social action, rather than recommendations as to the form which action should take."\textsuperscript{14}

The assignment of the study of women fell to Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Professor of Public Welfare Administration, School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago. Her study, included in the first volume of Recent Social Trends in the United States, was published separately as a monograph entitled, Women in the

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., p. v-xciv.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., p. xciii.
Twentieth Century. For many years her interest centered on the problems of women workers. She was the author of several books and articles; some she wrote in association with Edith Abbott, Dean of the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago, who was her close friend and associate.

The main thesis of her study concerned the changing role of women in America in the first three decades of the twentieth century in the social, economic and political spheres. Each one of these categories comprised a chapter in her monograph. Her method consisted of a description of the status of women at the beginning of the century, followed by an explanation of the trends and movements which affected changes in the traditional position of women in American life through the twenties and early thirties and included, by use of statistical data, substantiation of the social, economic and political changes in the lives of American women at the time of the Great Depression.

In essence, she described the new position of women outside the home as workers; as organizers and joiners of the numerous federated women's clubs; and as voters with the subsequent problems caused by the inroads women made into the three major areas of employment, government and leisure time.

According to Breckinridge, the industrial revolution made a forceful impact on the role of women as it did in all aspects of life. The rise of manufactured goods, new products, inventions and services as

laundering and processing of foods—all these elements changed women's early occupations confined to home and family to occupations outside the home. Under such conditions, more time became available for women to join the work force to supplement the husband's income or for unmarried, divorced or widowed women to assume self-support in lieu of support offered by her father or brother.

She cited comparable statistical data to demonstrate the increase in the numbers of women wage-earners, of women's attendance in high school and college, and of women in the professions. Between 1910 and 1930, she reported, women college teachers, clergymen, lawyers and designers rose 581 per cent, 378 per cent, 507 per cent, and 206 per cent in that order. Although their numbers in 1910 were few, even with the high increase in percentages, their numbers except for teaching and nursing, continued to remain small. She added:

It must be borne in mind, however, that the professions require long and more costly preparation, that the work is often more exacting, and that they are surrounded by attitudes rooted much deeper than is the case with most of the other occupations in which women are finding a place. For all of these reasons progress will probably be slow until women have developed a prestige in professional activities and have further overcome the prejudices which in some fields are still a handicap.\(^\text{16}\)

From the selected statistical data reported by Breckinridge on the economic role of women in the early three decades of the twentieth century, the trend indicated (1) more women in the work force, both married and single, with the number of married women double over the single women, (2) more occupational and professional opportunities

\(^{16}\) President's Research Committee, *Social Trends*, I, p. 723.
available to women and (3) more women earned less than men for the same type occupations. The average earnings of women remained less than fifty-five per cent of men's earnings, she pointed out, and the sum of the average earnings for women and children did not equal the average for men.17 In a cogent observation, Professor Breckinridge in her summary noted that as long as the relation between women and industry affected an association with "aliens, Mexican and Negroes" that the vestiges of old prejudice against women and occupational opportunities would continue to exist with the onus of the resultant loss of women's talents and abilities on industry.18

Nursing, as previously stated, constituted one of the two major professions of the women's work force of this era. Table 3 indicates the number of trained nurses, both male and female, in the first three decades. To offer a means of comparison, Table 4 shows the number of untrained nurses, both male and female, in the first 3 decades.

TABLE 3
The Number of Trained Nurses in 1910, 1920 and 1930 by Sex19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trained nurses</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>5,819</td>
<td>5,464</td>
<td>5,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>76,508</td>
<td>143,664</td>
<td>228,737</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17 Ibid., p. 735.  
18 Ibid., p. 750.  
19 Breckinridge, Women in the Twentieth Century, p. 188. These figures represent extractions from a table of twenty-two professional occupations.
The Number of Untrained Nurses in 1910, 1920 and 1930 by Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Untrained Nurses</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>15,926</td>
<td>19,338</td>
<td>13,867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>110,912</td>
<td>132,658</td>
<td>139,576</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the two general categories of trained and untrained nurses, the untrained nurses, both the untrained male nurses and untrained female nurses, comprised the greater number of the work force from 1910 to 1930 than the trained nurse groups, except one exception noted below. Specifically the untrained male nurses were almost three times the number of trained male nurses in 1910. The number of untrained male nurses rose to nearly four times as high as the number of trained male nurses in 1920. There were approximately 110,000 untrained female nurses in 1910, and although their numbers increased considerably in 1920 and in 1930, there were more trained female nurses than untrained in 1930 which accounted for the one exception noted above. The number of trained female nurses almost doubled in the ten-year period between 1920 and 1930. In 1930, the number of untrained male nurses decreased by about 6,000 to less than the number of untrained male nurses in 1910.

In each category of nurses, both trained and untrained, the women, as wage earners, demonstrated an increase in numbers consistently throughout the three decades.

20Ibid., p. 130. The figures represent extractions from a table of twenty-two domestic and personal occupations.
As the women of the lower socioeconomic families entered the labor force to complement the family's income, the women of families with comfortable means found themselves with more leisure time.

To some women, leisure, in Professor Faulkner's terminology, allowed more time "to fritter away"; but, for other women, it opened the door for "self-improvement and community service" by involvement in sports, in study, in social welfare, in prohibition, suffrage and peace movements.21

As an example, the growth of the General Federation of Women's Clubs disclosed changes in women's interests from inside the home to outside the home. Although the interest of many of the clubs' standing committees centered on art, education, home economics, music or public health, which focused on self-improvement of the individual and better home and family life, many other areas such as civics, civil service reform, conservation, industrial and social conditions, and legislation concentrated on changes in social reforms for the general welfare.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs began in 1890, when 61 out of 97 women's clubs in the United States sent their delegates to New York to discuss various topics which dealt with women's clubs and their overall objectives and organizational structures. The topics included the clarification of the purposes, methods and objectives of the Women's Clubs as well as the evaluation of the club's influence in each

community. In 1902, the Federation reported 211,763 members and by 1910, after twenty years of existence, the enrollment multiplied to almost 800,000, an increase of almost 500 per cent in ten years. The increase in itself represented a phenomenal change in the activities and interests of the women of this era.

Before the inauguration of the General Federation, two of the national women's organizations already in existence were the suffrage associations, the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Women's Suffrage Association founded in 1869, which merged in 1890 to found the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Some other existing associations had a religious base.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union was organized in 1874. The Women's Christian Associations mushroomed all over the country and by 1890 joined for a national conference. In 1866, the Young Women's Christian Association was organized in Boston; other cities followed and by 1877, thirty-six associations gathered for an "International Conference of Women's Christian Associations." There was also the Association of Collegiate Alumnae who met in Boston in 1881 to form an organization now known as the American Association of University Women.

During the period between 1910 and 1930, when the membership of the General Federation continued to expand heavily, many other new women's associations came into existence. The Association of Junior Leagues in America was organized in 1912; the Federation of Teachers in

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23 Ibid., p. 30.
24 Ibid., pp. 14-16.
1916, and the National Organization for Public Health Nursing in 1912. The National Association of Deans of Women, organized in 1916, and the Women's Peace Party, organized in 1914, were but a few examples of the new national women's organizations.  

Altrusa, Quota, Zonta and the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs were organized between 1917 and 1919. From that time until 1932, virtually every aspect of women's life--political, educational, social, economic, religious and civic--boasted an organization from the local chapter to the state, to the national and international arena. For example, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs in 1931 contained 1,100 local clubs in 46 states with approximately 56,000 members.

As Dr. Breckinridge stated, there were so many organizations of such variety and levels that a study to determine overall membership did not appear justifiable because of the number of repeaters in the various associations.

Nurses were no different from other groups of women in their efforts to organize. The first group were superintendents of nursing schools in 1893, and they called themselves the American Society of Superintendents of Training Schools for Nurses. In 1912, the Society became the National League for Nursing Education and since 1952, its name, as known today, is the National League for Nursing.

The Nurses' Alumnae Association was founded in 1896 and it was renamed the American Nurses' Association in 1911. It became the

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official organization of registered nurses in America. The first professional group of women to found an international organization were nurses, as the International Council of Nurses was established in 1899.

In sum, farm women, city women; colored women, white women; trade women, professional women; women doctors, women teachers; Catholic, Protestant and Jewish women, all organized during this period on a national and international scale.

In the political area the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1920 Breckinridge called "the closing of one era in the movement to the equality of the sexes." 27

Surprisingly women were lobbyists long before they enjoyed their right of universal suffrage. Some of the causes to which they devoted their time and energy encompassed the anti-slavery movement, movements for temperance, better treatment of the mentally ill and international agreements for alleviation of the horrors of war. As Breckinridge stated, "What could not be done directly had to be done indirectly," in the belief that legislators who understood the issues would vote in the best interest. 28 The General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1900, as a unified body, resolved "to work for legislation for women and children so that the law of every state will equal the best already enacted." 29

In the election of 1920 when women first voted universally in the United States, there was widespread concern as women did not exercise their voting privileges. The League of Women Voters, with

27 President's Research Committee, Social Trends, I, 737.
28 Ibid., p. 737. 29 Ibid.
particular concern for the woman voter, began its crusade to encourage all women to vote. In the 1924 election, only 51 per cent of the eligible women voters had cast their ballots.\(^30\)

Though the interest and participation of the women were lacking as far as voting was concerned, the same did not hold true for women actively engaged in the political arena known as lobbying. With the advent of universal suffrage, lobbying became a powerful political instrument in the hands of the women.

Most of the federated clubs mentioned earlier, in one way or another, unified their forces in the promotion of desired legislation. The first efforts of unification of the women's national organizations in 1920 resulted in the formation of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee whose primary functions were (1) to keep Congress informed of women's interests and (2) to serve as a clearing house of pending legislation for member agencies.\(^31\)

Some of the ten charter members of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee included the American Association of University Women, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Consumers' League, the National League of Women Voters and the National Women's Christian Temperance Union. By 1924, the American Nurses' Association and the Medical Women's National Association, among others, joined the Women's Joint Congressional Committee.\(^32\)

\(^{30}\) Breckinridge, Twentieth Century, pp. 246-247.

\(^{31}\) President's Research Committee, Social Trends, I, 739.

\(^{32}\) Breckinridge, Twentieth Century, pp. 258-260.
During the first few years after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and the founding of the Woman's Joint Congressional Committee, the legislative achievements of the women proved phenomenal. Within two years, the women's concerted efforts influenced the passage of two important legislative bills, the Maternity and Infancy Law in 1920, for the promotion of maternal and child health care and the Nationality of Women Act in 1922, for citizenship status of married women regardless of the husband's birthplace. 33 By April 1924, within a span of four years, Breckinridge listed a total of eight acts passed by Congress for which the women had consistently fought. The Acts included such measures as appropriations for the Children's Bureau, interstate regulations of livestock and dairy products as well as the Child Labor Amendment. 34

Although the women's achievements gained fruition in the passage of the bills within a few years of each other, the seeds of reform long lay embedded in American soil since the last decade of the nineteenth century.

As an example of a reformer, the life of Florence Kelley reflected a distinguished career in American social history which began with her interest and concerns of the working conditions of women and children. As Illinois State Factory Inspector in 1893 and later, in 1899, as general secretary of the National Consumers League, she traveled over the country, spoke to varied audiences and published articles on the issues which pertained to working conditions of women.

33 Ibid. 34 Ibid., p. 261.
and children for which the outcomes, in the form of legislation, took almost twenty years.

Josephine Goldmark wrote a life story of Florence Kelley. She was a friend of Mrs. Kelley as well as the publication secretary and her associate at the National Consumers League. In the foreword of the book, Felix Frankfurter wrote that the biography gave "an account of a life of a single woman who had probably the largest single share in shaping the social history of the United States during the first thirty years of this century."35

Mrs. Kelley's closest friends and associates at Hull House, where they all lived at the same time, were Jane Addams and Julia Lathrop, and later, Lillian Wald, with whom she lived at Henry Street Settlement House when she moved from Chicago to New York.

Interestingly, the four friends and associates shared many commonalities in their objective of the betterment of man's social life. Each manifested a deep and dedicated concern for their fellow man; each believed and actively engaged in the betterment of the lives and conditions of their fellowman, and each believed and sought education and legislation as the means to that end.

It was no accident that Lillian Wald conceived the idea in 1903 for the establishment of a Children's Bureau; that Florence Kelley fought hard and long to gain the interest and support of the bill by Congress, and that Julia Lathrop became its first chief in 1912 when the Children's Bureau came into existence.

Before Congress passed the Sheppard-Towner Act for the establishment of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor, it took six years of Congressional hearings and debates which centered on the opposition's claims that the Bureau would duplicate services of other governmental agencies as well as violate states' rights and parents' rights.  

In her biography of Florence Kelley, Miss Goldmark reported that the position Mrs. Kelley valued most was her appointment as chairman of a committee of the General Federation on women's and children's industrial problems. To the state and national offices, she mailed endless communications as outlines of programs, questions and suggested readings on various issues to gain further interest and support of the members.

It was in 1907 that Miss Goldmark and Mrs. Kelley visited Louis D. Brandeis, Miss Goldmark's brother-in-law, in Boston, to discuss his engagement as defense attorney in the case known as Muller v. Oregon dealing with a ten-hour law for women which the Oregon court had declared unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment. He agreed to present a brief on invitation of the Oregon state defense attorneys. Known as the Brandeis brief, it became famous in American social and legal history because it introduced the presentation and consideration...
of social, economic and scientific data into legal proceedings in place of the accepted doctrine of precedents. It is reported that Mr. Brandeis' brief contained the customary two pages but the sociological data covered over one hundred pages.

Mrs. Kelley, Miss Goldmark, and her sister, Pauline Goldmark, with the help of a small staff worked endless hours for two weeks in the preparation of the data of employment conditions of women workers, as hours of work, health of workers and hazards of the particular industry. The summary they compiled consisted of foreign and American labor conditions as well as every aspect of industry in relation to the health of the women workers. Mr. Brandeis won the case, and the Brandeis brief's impact on American jurisprudence remains to this day.

As the woman came into the outside world from her home, she became concerned with questions outside her home. When she began to earn money, she no longer turned wages over to her husband or other male member of the family, but she decided herself how to spend her salary. As she became more involved with problems outside her home, her interest concerned not only when and how to spend her earnings, but the conditions of labor such as shorter hours and better wages. Just as she had once controlled her home and its confines, she began now to legislate for control in matters outside her home.

According to Woody, the trend to equal education of women was the primary factor in the awakening of her equality. Without this

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38 Woody, Women's Education, II, 431.
enlightenment, the postponement of her political, legal and economic rights seemed inescapable.\textsuperscript{39} The establishment of the common schools and later the high schools with the increased numbers of women's colleges and normal schools, all contributed to the educational opportunities for women.

Once education became available to women, more occupational opportunities appeared. These two factors, educational changes and economic changes, Woody suggested, "conditioned her entrance into the world of politics." In fact, he claimed, without educated leadership, the suffrage movement might have faced oblivion. Essentially, Curti came to the same conclusion when he credited the early pioneers of women's education as Mary Lyon, Catherine Beecher and Emma Willard in the mid-nineteenth century with their contributions of a broader outlook in women's education which "contributed materially to the important role women came increasingly to take in social, philanthropic and public problems."\textsuperscript{40}

With the changes effected in the political, social and economic life of American women in the early decades of the twentieth century summarized briefly in this chapter, the consideration of changes in the education of the nurse, as viewed by the nursing leaders of the period, will be discussed in the following chapter. The seeds of change in the education of the nurse, as we shall see, indicated the beginning of a movement from the traditional three-year hospital apprenticeship education to university education for the nurse.

\textsuperscript{39}\textit{Tbid.}, p. 436.

CHAPTER III

THE STATUS OF NURSING EDUCATION IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY AS VIEWED BY THE NURSING LEADERS

The origin of the idea of basic baccalaureate education for nurses is difficult to trace. However, from the course of events which occurred, and from the reports and other publications of the early nursing leaders, several salient points begin to emerge. One outstanding fact is that the idea originated from the nursing profession, and specifically, from the nucleus of the nursing leaders of the time. Among these leaders, the names of Isabel Hampton Robb, M. Adelaide Nutting, Annie W. Goodrich and Isabel M. Stewart stand out prominently.\(^1\) For these women were the interpreters and prime movers as well as the innovators of change in nursing education.

To Adelaide Nutting fell the mantle of credit as the first to advocate university education for the nurse. Interestingly, she, in turn, alluded to Isabel Hampton Robb as the initiator of university education for nurses. The articles mentioned below, written by Miss Nutting, contained but a few of the many publications in which she made this allusion.

\(^1\)In order to see how and why she implemented her views on baccalaureate education for nurses, the interpretation of Miss Goodrich's ideas on the matter will be included in Chapter V, The Establishment of the Yale University School of Nursing.
In 1914, when Adelaide Nutting wrote the historical development of nursing education for Paul Monroe, she included a section on the establishment of the university schools of nursing which numbered fourteen at that time. Hopefully, she assumed the trend which offered a sounder preparation for nursing education, would gain momentum. After she described the development of the university schools of nursing, she added:

Much of such educational progress as has been made is due to the efforts of a few leading women in the profession. The most noted and able of these was Isabel Hampton Robb, the first superintendent and principal of the Johns Hopkins Training School connected with Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore,—a woman of exceptional power, initiative and organizing ability.\(^2\)

After the writing of this publication, in an address given before the graduating class of the Lakeside Hospital School of Nursing in Cleveland on May 1916, she attributed the establishment of the Department of Nursing and Health at Teachers College, Columbia University, to the "vision" of Isabel Hampton Robb.\(^3\)

Two years later in an annual alumnae address at Teachers College, Columbia University on February 19, 1920, Miss Nutting recalled the endowment of Mrs. Helen Hartley Jenkins and the subsequent establishment of a Chair in Nursing and Health at Teachers College. About Isabel Hampton Robb, she said:

It is always a deep satisfaction to remember that this life-giving help came while Isabel Robb, to whom we owe


the idea and beginning of this work, was still living to see it accurately established." (Italics mine.)

At the Twenty-ninth Annual meeting of the National League of Nursing Education, Adelaide Nutting, in reporting the work of the Committee on the Department of Nursing and Health, recalled the early beginnings of the nursing program at Teachers College, Columbia University and once again stated that it was Isabel Hampton Robb "from whose idea the work at the College arose."^5

Isabel Robb was an initiator and leader, not a conservator and follower. She became the first superintendent and principal of the Johns Hopkins Training School in 1889 when Daniel Coit Gilman was President of Johns Hopkins University. In fact, he and the Board of Trustees unanimously agreed on her appointment.6

The system of nursing education at that time is difficult to imagine by today's standards. Prospective students entered the school at any time of year. Immediately, they engaged in nursing practice by assignments to wards, with little or no theoretical instruction. They worked twelve hours a day, seven days a week, with one free afternoon a week if no "emergency" arose. The required age for admission to the school ranged from twenty-five to thirty-five years. Instruction consisted of lectures by doctors and by head nurses at the bedside of the

4 Ibid., p. 255.


patients. Students received an allowance of eight dollars a month "for uniforms, text-books and other expenses incidental to their training." 7

With President Gilman's advanced views on educational leadership, and Isabel Hampton's pronounced stand on educational nursing programs, Johns Hopkins Training School became one of the finest nursing schools in the country.

It represented a picture of the better school of nursing, far beyond the goals of the average nursing school in the late nineteenth century. Even under those circumstances, Isabel Hampton undertook to institute many changes during the early years. Among these were suggestions to extend the program from two to three years, to rescind cash payments to students and to shorten the hours of duty. With the last, she was not too successful. In 1891, ten to twelve hours constituted the working day. With the expansion of hospital services to accommodate more and more patients, the board of trustees did not authorize the shorter hours. 8

Dr. John Billings, of Johns Hopkins Hospital, who was chairman of Hospital, Dispensaries and Nursing of the International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy, selected Isabel Hampton as chairman of the sub-section on nursing for the meetings to be held at Chicago in 1893. Through her efforts, seventeen superintendents of training schools from the United States and Canada organized to form the American Society of Superintendents of Training Schools for Nurses. The

7 Ibid., pp. 63-67. 8 Ibid., p. 85.
purpose of the society, according to Article II of its Constitution, read:

The object of this Society shall be to further the best interests of the nursing profession . . . by promoting fellowship among its members by meetings, papers and discussions on nursing subjects, and by inter-change of opinions.  

The early annual reports of the Society offer an excellent documentary on the issues and problems of nursing and nursing education during the early years. These reports are a ready source of the history of nursing, for they contain the early concerns of the standards of nursing education and later, of university education for nurses. Reading the early reports carefully to ascertain who first conceptualized university education for nurses, the earliest references appear to be those by Isabel Hampton, and they related to university education for the registered nurse. This movement into the university, although first concerned with further preparation for the registered nurse, nevertheless, is significant as it became the precursor of the basic baccalaureate programs which began seventeen years after the establishment of the first course of Hospital Economics in 1899 at Teachers College, Columbia University for registered nurses.

The historians of the Johns Hopkins School of Nursing quoted Isabel Hampton Robb's address to the American Society of Superintendents of Training Schools for Nurses in 1899 in which she drew a parallel between the educator of nurse teachers and the education of teachers in

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general. She presented her idea this way:

It is generally conceded by instructors in other kinds of schools, that in addition to the diploma secured it is necessary for those who intend to teach to have a further course in a school of pedagogy or in a normal school. ... Why should not this hold equally well with a woman who elects to become a teacher in a school for nurses?¹⁰

It was Isabel Hampton Robb who, as chairman of the Education Committee of the Superintendents' Society, approached Dean James Earl Russell of Teachers College, Columbia University on the matter of a plan to offer advanced courses in teaching and administration for nurses. M. Adelaide Nutting participated in the formalization of the course. Two students enrolled the first year the course was available in 1899.

According to Nutting and Dock, the move into Teachers College, Columbia University, "had long been a cherished" idea of Mrs. Robb.¹¹

Even though M. Adelaide Nutting credited Isabel Hampton Robb with the concept of university education for nurses in her addresses and other writings, she herself early realized the implication of such a development.

As early as 1908, in an address given before the American Hospital Association, she described the plight of nursing education in its traditional training school system. The lack of qualified applicants for admission, the economic problem in that the hospital controlled the education of the student, and the unqualified and limited staff of

¹⁰Johns and Pfefferkorn, Johns Hopkins Hospital, pp. 146-147.

nurse instructors with limited equipment and facilities for teaching students, all simmered down to "one single problem, and that problem is the relation of the hospital to the training school."\textsuperscript{12}

In her own words, "reconstruction" of that system "is necessary" in order that the school be in a position to undertake the full responsibility of the education of the student nurse. In other words, she further clarified, "that the school of nursing should rest upon a separate foundation not unlike that of the medical school." She believed that the student nurse should pay for her education as did students of other professions. Presenting the difficulties encountered in the present system of education, she concluded her address with--

I confess that nursing, as I see it, seems to me as worthy a place in the scheme of the university as any art or science in it. . . . The question is, what is the very best that we can do for our training schools for nurses? The various classes of people and the institutions in the community which have come to lean upon the trained nurse, and to be dependent upon her services, require of us that we should, in our teaching and training, put her in the way of developing those services to their full power and usefulness.\textsuperscript{13}

According to Miss Nutting, the hospital training school had proved it was no longer an effective institution for the education of nurses under the prevailing conditions. The opportunities for a sound education rested in university education with its libraries, laboratory equipment, qualified faculty and above all, with its primary objective of education.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{12} Nutting, \textit{Sound Economic Basis}, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 39.  \textsuperscript{14} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 31.
Four years later, she reiterated this concept in a bulletin she prepared for the United States Bureau of Education entitled "The Educational Status of Nursing." She wrote that there were "no radical changes" in the method of nurse education, but there were ripples of "substantial evidence of progress."\(^{15}\)

A description of the university nursing schools in existence at the time covered seven full pages of her report. In these pages, she included a summary of advantages of the nursing school with university "connections" written by the heads of several such nursing schools. The advantages included four essential criteria as—

1. The availability of libraries, laboratories and teaching materials for nursing students.
2. The availability of instruction by qualified faculty.
3. The emphasis on theory in instruction.
4. The attraction of the better qualified students because of the above.\(^{16}\)

College instruction for nurses was not a new idea, she explained, in that, as far back as 1874, the State Charities Aid Association, who were instrumental in the establishment of Bellevue Hospital School of Nursing included the idea in their report, from which she quoted:

As the work advances we hope to establish a college of education for the education of nurses which will receive a charter from the State and become a recognized institution of the country.\(^{17}\)


\(^{16}\)Ibid.

\(^{17}\)Ibid., p. 50. For a four-page report of the Committee on Hospitals of the State Charities Aid Association written by Elizabeth Hobson, Chairman, see A History of Nursing (4 vols.; G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907-1912), II, 383-387. The report described a system of control of the student nurses by the college and the sum of $20,000 needed to establish the project.
Above all, she was well aware of the social implication of the public's expectation of the nurse which added new dimensions to the traditional functions of the nurse. The greatest growth and demand for nurses was in social welfare of the public health movement. This entailed some type of postgraduate work in nursing as hospital training school education did not include the social and scientific background necessary for such an undertaking. The public health movement included an increased demand for nurses for the Visiting Nurse Associations which sprang up in large cities over the country, nurses for schools, milk-stations, factories and department stores as well as special areas as tuberculosis and infant care. The development of a new role for nurses, in addition to one as practitioner of the care of the ill, included her function as "a teacher of sanitation and healthful living, and a power for the prevention of disease."\textsuperscript{18}

Society placed more and more demands on the public health nurse and Miss Nutting noted that "the fact that she has not sought them, but they have sought her shows perhaps that education, training and discipline of a nurse do prove a valuable preparation for other work than nursing—a solid foundation upon which to build in many special directions."\textsuperscript{19}

In its social context, the implication evolved from the premise that better educational preparation of the nurse "will make of her an important factor in the progress of the human race."\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., p. 11. \textsuperscript{19}Ibid. \textsuperscript{20}Ibid., p. 12.
M. Adelaide Nutting, who succeeded Isabel Hampton Robb as Superintendent and Principal of the Johns Hopkins Hospital Training School, commuted to New York to deliver the lectures on the History of Hospitals and Nursing. In 1907, she answered Dean Russell's call to head the division of nursing and health at Teachers College, Columbia University. As director of this department and an officer in important national nursing organizations, she held a distinctive position of prominence in nursing education. Educators, physicians and government officials at home and abroad sought her for consultation on matters related to nursing education.

Found in the archives and files of the three universities included in this study were her letters to presidents and other university administrative officers as well as to government officials. She was the acknowledged authority on nursing education in her day. Throughout her many addresses and publications, there were in evidence several common denominators which constituted the main elements of her beliefs and convictions on nursing education. She, it was, who first advocated university education for nurses with carefully outlined reasons. Because of society's ever-increasing demands on the nurse, a sound educational preparation, as in other professions, was a prerequisite.

In an address delivered before the annual convention of the National League of Nursing Education, she discussed four common elements to which she referred often in many of her addresses and publications.
These were--

1. The purpose for the founding and maintenance of a school of nursing should be primarily for education of the student and not the care of the ill.
2. There should be an adequate budget to achieve the objectives of the school.
3. A high school diploma should be required for admission to a school of nursing.
4. The school of nursing should be controlled by an administrative body who will uphold the educational purposes of the school and oversee the financial responsibility attached to it.21

Paramount was the recognition that a sound, economic basis was essential to an educational program. To Miss Nutting, this was the underlying cause for the plight of nursing education and the traditional hospital system of nursing education. Since the students' labor supported the hospital nursing school, and since the hospital's primary function was the care of the sick and not the education of the student nurse, Miss Nutting contended that this placed the system of nursing education in an unwise, unsound, economic and therefore, unsatisfactory state. Her answer to this dilemma was as follows:

For the ideal control of Schools of Nursing in the future we shall, I am confident, turn more and more to the University, just as other professional schools have done, seeking there the educational resources freely available--teachers, scientific laboratories, libraries and other equipment. . . . The whole work of nursing takes on a new status and dignity in the public mind when it is brought among university interests, but the most precious and important gain is that which comes in the new freedom and opportunity to develop the intellectual aspects of the work.22

The year of this address was 1916.

The crux of the problem in nursing education, delivered in an earlier address in 1913 was basically the same: that the hospital

21 Ibid., pp. 226-230.  
22 Ibid., p. 225.
nursing school undertook two separate functions, that of education of the student nurse as well as care of the ill. The imminent failure of the hospital school of nursing in the fulfillment of its educational function was directly attributable to the dual responsibility of the hospital in which resided "an ever-present possibility of conflict."\textsuperscript{23}

As Miss Nutting saw it, one of the most disastrous mistakes perpetrated by the nursing profession, coincident with the misunderstanding of all segments of the population, the public at large, physicians, hospital administrators and nurses themselves, lay in the notion that nursing education "differs from other forms of professional or vocational education."\textsuperscript{24} Adequate financial support was as necessary for the support of nursing schools as it was for "medical, engineering, or any other professional school."\textsuperscript{25} At another annual address for the National League of Nursing Education, she summarized the problem in this manner:

As to an educational point of view, insofar as nurses are concerned, hospitals never did get that and they have not got it yet, though they control one of the largest educational systems in existence. Meanwhile . . . almost all educational systems and theories have changed radically and the apprenticeship method upon which nursing was originally based has been virtually abandoned for years. Obsolete elsewhere, it still survives, however, in schools of nursing, and to this fact may be traced many of those weaknesses in our present methods of training which we ourselves deplore, but are powerless at present to alter materially or permanently.\textsuperscript{26}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{23}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 316. \hspace{2em} \textsuperscript{24}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 296. \hspace{2em} \textsuperscript{25}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 13. \\
\end{flushright}
In these three sentences, M. Adelaide Nutting decried the inadequacy of the apprenticeship education for nurses. In the following paragraphs of the same address, she advocated "a sounder educational and economic policy" as established in the university school of nursing. If nurses were to assume responsibility for the solution of some of the health problems of the nation, she reasoned, the education of the nurse justifiably became a matter of national concern.

In another address entitled, "Thirty Years of Progress in Nursing," she commented on the "decisive moment" of progress in nursing education which occurred when education of the nurse "passed out beyond the hospital and in the University." She noted that the aim of an institution of higher education centered on the education of nurses "which did not need or desire to profit by their services."²⁷

When Isabel Maitland Stewart applied for admission to Teachers College, Columbia University, M. Adelaide Nutting was director of the nursing department. Miss Stewart became the first to earn a Master's degree in nursing at Teachers College. Working as an assistant in the department of nursing, she was later appointed as instructor.²⁸ She, too, early in her career, in her concern with the problems of education for registered nurses, quickly recognized the advantages of university education for nurses.

²⁷League of Nursing Education, Proceedings of the Twenty-ninth Annual Convention, p. 110.
As early as 1911, at the Seventeenth Annual Convention of the Superintendents' Society, she discussed the weaknesses of the apprenticeship system of which nursing conspicuously remained a part. Calling the attention of the group to the new "educational movements which are stirring all around us," she suggested that the nursing profession explore new ways and work with educators in the colleges and universities. She ended her address with a plea for public support of nursing education.

It only remains for us to study out our problem and to present it in such a way that the public, and its representatives in the state will see how inevitably the common welfare is affected by methods of nursing education—only then will we have the regulation and support which is needed to put our professional schools on a universally just, and adequate, economic and educational basis.29

In the same address, she noted that it was the people, not a particular group such as teachers or engineers, who financed the state educational institutions. If state support was forthcoming "according to need, or according to the importance of the public contributions rendered, there are few vocational schools which should receive more ample endowments than the future schools of nursing." At the beginning of the paper, she had defined, in a very broad sense, "vocational" education—a pertinent topic in the second decade of the twentieth century—as any kind of education which prepared students "for some specific occupation or share

in the world's work" including professional preparation of lawyers, doctors or teachers.\textsuperscript{30}

Nursing had always attracted a small percentage of college women. As an example, at the Johns Hopkins Hospital School of Nursing from 1901 through 1930, from 10 per cent to 38 per cent of the students admitted annually were college graduates, some with a master's degree. The peak year occurred in 1918 during World War I when ninety-five students were admitted and 38 per cent of them held at least an earned baccalaureate degree.\textsuperscript{31} The three nursing leaders discussed in this chapter all came into nursing after the completion of their formal training as teachers.

The nursing leaders persisted in their efforts to attract the young women of well-bred families as well as college women into nursing. In 1913, Isabel Stewart, as Chairman of the Collegiate Committee of the National League of Nursing Education, reported at the annual convention that the main objective of the committee was to attract more college women into nursing by the use of planned addresses to college women, printed articles on nursing in college newspapers, contacts with sorority organizations and vocational bureaus for college women.\textsuperscript{32}

A questionnaire to survey all the co-educational and women's colleges revealed that not all colleges kept records of their graduates

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{30} Ibid., p. 183.
\item \textsuperscript{31} Johns and Pfefferkorn, \textit{Johns Hopkins School}, pp. 381-382.
\item \textsuperscript{32} National League of Nursing Education, \textit{Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Convention} (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Company, 1913), p. 36.
\end{itemize}
and that a number of them failed to answer. Of the records which were available, seventy-two students from thirty-two different colleges or universities throughout the country were active in nursing. The committee, aware of the problems of recruitment of college women, cited examples of "the long hours of duty, the needless repetition of purely manual work, the meagerness of the theoretical work offered and the unintelligent application of the old traditions of discipline and etiquette, which are so contrary to the spirit and practice of the modern college." In fact, the foregoing criticisms came from a group of college women who were actively engaged in nursing but who demurred from participation of the recruitment program, because of the prevailing conditions in nursing as they perceived them. Miss Stewart's reaction to their comments revealed her understanding of the situation. She described these nurses as "most loyal to nursing itself" and attributed their disenchantment to disappointment in nursing because of their perceptions of nursing with "all kinds of wonderful possibilities," yet generally leading to unfulfillment. Although they, too, sought "the highly educated" nurse as one like themselves, they balked in the recruitment of college women into nursing, because of their convictions.

In light of these considerations, the committee suggested "special inducements" as the recognition for some of their college work, the introduction of nursing in the third year to decrease the nursing course by one year and also better planned hospital experiences as some were not meeting university standards.

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33 Ibid., p. 37.  
34 Ibid., p. 38.
The following year, Miss Stewart, still Chairman of the
Collegiate Committee, again commented on the major setbacks encountered
in a series of talks to college women. Inevitably, the obstacle was the
factor of time: many women expressed interest in nursing, but when the
question arose regarding credit for their college work and no credit was
forthcoming, interest subsided. To gather data on this problem, a ques­
tionnaire was sent to thirty-nine nurses who were college graduates.
All but three replied that a policy to extend some form of credit for
college work was consistent with the effort to attract college women
into nursing.35

During World War I, when the need of nurses for both civilian
and military duty became acute, innovations to augment the supply of
nurses included proposals as the Army Training Corps and the Vassar
Training Camp. Both of these programs sought to encourage college women
into nursing.

At the National League of Nursing Education annual convention in
1918, Isabel M. Stewart encouraged the promotion of the utilization of
the university as a resource to educate more nurses and particularly the
use of the state university. Seen as an auspicious portent by Miss
Stewart was the interest displayed by many universities in their
numerous inquiries concerning their educational roles in nursing.36

35 National League of Nursing Education, Proceedings of the
Twentieth Annual Convention (Baltimore, Williams & Wilkins Company,
1914), p. 129.

36 National League of Nursing Education, Proceedings of the
Twenty-fourth Annual Convention (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins
She stated:

...all these things indicate that where possible we should try to take some of the work of the over-burdened hospital and our already over-burdened instructors and put it under such educational institutions as are willing to adapt their methods and adapt their facilities to meet our needs.37

She hastened to add that the student bore the expense of his education and in the state universities, the fees were nominal. Therefore instead of the financially burdened hospital assuming the responsibility of nursing education, the university presented greater possibilities educationally and economically for nursing education.

In the presentation of the main issues of the year 1921 with a focus on teaching problems, Isabel M. Stewart enumerated the hopeful signs as (1) the desire of the schools to improve their teaching programs, (2) better teaching facilities and methods because of greater interest in the use of university instruction and (3) more public awareness that nursing "must be paid for and liberally supported as are all other forms of professional education."38

Writing for the Bureau of Education in the same year, she recounted the developments in nursing education in recent years. The outstanding feature of the past decade, she wrote, rested in the diversity of opportunities in nursing because of the rapid growth of hospitals, the expansion of public health services and social welfare work. With the increase in functions and responsibilities in nursing, the apparent shortage of nurses before the war appeared even more severe during and after the war.

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37 Ibid., p. 153. 38 Ibid., p. 199.
A great "contribution"--as she referred to it--of the war experience, was the public's new awareness of the problems in nursing education in its limited financial support:

When so many lives hung on the supply of nurses, people were aroused to a new sense of dependence on the products of nursing schools, and many of them learned for the first time of the hopelessly limited resources which nursing educators have had to work with in the training of these indispensable public servants.39

Covering nursing education in some detail, she wrote of all its aspects from the curriculum, to standards of admission, scholarships, surveys and reports of nursing education as well as the future of nursing. Included in a section entitled, the "Reactionary Movements," she explained the phenomenon in this manner:

The progressive element in nursing has always been supported by the more forward-looking members of the medical profession, but there have always been strong reactionary forces at work pulling down what they have built up . . . and unfortunately, there have also been a number of medical men working against what they have called the "overtraining of nurses." These physicians are not . . . representative physicians but often politically powerful and their opinions carry undue weight with the general public.40

This, of course, referred to the controversy on the length of time and place, hospital or university, as the proper institution for nursing education.

At the Fiftieth Anniversary celebration of nursing education at Teachers College, Columbia University, Isabel M. Stewart honored the early founders, who were prime movers and initiators of the department.


40Ibid., p. 18.
of nursing education at Teachers College, Isabel Hampton Robb and
M. Adelaide Nutting.

Painting a picture of Isabel H. Robb, she described her as
"gracious, enthusiastic, persuasive" with a great deal of charm and "a
flair for interesting people in causes and interpreting these in a way
to secure favorable consideration." When she met with the Committee
appointed by the Board of Trustees at Johns Hopkins Hospital, they were
impressed not only "by her capabilities" but also the "rather advanced
ideas on nursing education that she laid before them." Miss Stewart
said Dean Russell told her that "he had had no ideas about nursing
education before Mrs. Robb visited him, but was so persuaded by her
earnest, intelligent appeal that he could not refuse her request."
Mrs. Jenkins, a trustee of Teachers College for many years, told Miss
Stewart that although the suggestion of an endowment for nurses came
from Lillian Wald, "Mrs. Robb was the person who clinched her
decision."41

About Adelaide Nutting, Miss Stewart said she "was more intel-
lectual and scholarly but equally dynamic and practical." Miss Stewart
attributed the new type of "educational experiment" instituted at
Teachers College to her "gift for administration and foresighted
planning."

Miss Stewart herself was a prime mover in the establishment of
the American Collegiate Schools of Nursing in 1932, an organization

41 Isabel Maitland Stewart, "Tribute to Our Founders,"
Proceedings of the Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of Nursing Education
in Teachers College, Columbia University (New York: Bureau of Publica-
destined to play an important role in the development of university education for nurses.

The advocacy of university education by the three nursing leaders, and by Miss Goodrich, viewed against the backdrop of the first two decades of the twentieth century, caused some of the problems of nursing education, reiterated by each, to emerge more clearly. In a sense, the four nursing leaders were contemporaries and each, at one time or another, identified, clarified or analyzed the major problems in nursing education. The problems, as they saw them, fell into five categories:

1. The selection and admission of students.
2. The curriculum, in both theory and practice.
3. The financial support for nursing schools.
4. The quality of instruction.
5. The relation of the four above to society's expectation of the nurse.

The number of public health nurses grew from a few hundred nurses in 1911 to over 10,000 by 1921. Their functions extended to health teaching for the poor and immigrant families for a cleaner environment, for industrial workers, to tuberculosis and other communicable disease control, to health services for middle class and well-to-do families. Convinced that the public health nurse's teaching aided the community in the reduction of the mortality and morbidity rates as proven by statistical data compiled over a period of years, a national insurance firm underwrote the cost of the visits to insured families. The idea originated with Lillian Wald in the early years of the twentieth century; its practice continued to the mid-century.

\[42\] Stewart, Developments in Nursing Education, 1921, p. 3.
The impact of World War I on nursing education was tremendous and the reverse became equally true. A shortage of nurses became apparent even before the war, and during the influenza epidemics. Medical and scientific advances, the increase in the number of hospitals, the wider scope of public health, civilian as well as military needs compounded the shortage. Posters of the Red Cross Nurse became a familiar sight to the population during the war. The government as well as the laymen became involved in the question of nursing education to meet society's needs. Two proposals, one instituted by a layman, one by the federal government, paralleled a response to meet the emergency situation. Both, interestingly, directed their appeals to the college women to enter nursing.

The Vassar Training Camp was an interesting attempt to attract college women into nursing. One of the persons instrumental in the founding of the Vassar Training Camp was Mrs. John Blodgett, an alumnus of the college and a member of the Board of Trustees. In her own words before the twenty-fourth annual assembly of the National League of Nursing Education, she explained the nature of the "new experiment." The Vassar alumnae desired participation in the war effort and petitioned the Vassar Board of Trustees to appoint a committee for a "plan for the use of the Vassar buildings and grounds." Mrs. Blodgett, chairman of the committee, reported that an "exhaustive study was made of women's activities for war." Since the committee's objectives evolved a two-pronged approach on (1) women as a manpower resource and (2) an effort useful for both war and peace, the committee recommended "an intensive theoretical training school for nurses" for three summer
months. The Committee anticipated an enrollment of 200 college women. The actual number who completed the program was 624. The students came to Vassar for three months. They then chose one of 33 hospitals over the country for their clinical experience for a period of two years instead of the usual three.  

Herbert Elmer Mills, Professor of Economics at Vassar, became the dean of the Vassar Training Camp for Nurses. Writing about the program, he contrasted the nursing situation before and after the declaration of the war. He noted that nursing was struggling for recognition as a profession, but that "the scientifically trained nurse, despite the welcome many have given her, has been too much ridiculed and sniffed at." At the same time, nursing did not offer to college women the "full opportunity for her liberal training, her developed personality, her social vision and obligation." A part of the three-year program which permitted repetition of study for the college graduate, he saw as a "great hindrance" to the possibility of potential selection of nursing as a career by a college woman.  

With the shift in emphasis to health and social welfare, he contended, opportunities and demands for "superior nursing" mounted. For this critical demand, "the force of college women is the supply," a supply which in his words would develop new opportunities for social and welfare work and, at the same time, offer help to the country in a 

43 League of Nursing Education, Twenty-fourth Annual Convention, p. 282.

44 Herbert Elmer Mills, "College Women and Nursing," The Survey, XL (April 27, 1918), 95.
time of need. He cited as advantages of the new proposal, the shorter period of enrollment, the eminent faculty of instruction and the emphasis of the scientific content of nursing subjects. 45

When Annie W. Goodrich presented the plan for the Army School of Nursing at the twenty-fourth annual convention, there followed a long discussion on the advisability of its establishment as still another experiment in nursing education for college women. The purpose of the experiment was to recruit qualified high school and college graduates into nursing. Jane Delano of the American Red Cross believed expediency demanded a short term volunteer aide program whereas Annie Goodrich upheld a long-term goal for the preparation of registered nurses. First of all, to Miss Goodrich, the training of aides suggested a waste of talent and loss to both the individual and society as in the case of a qualified person able to undertake a professional program. Secondly, when the war was over, the aide would have gained nothing but experience whereas the three-year graduate would have acquired skills and knowledge of a useful profession. 46

The actual plan consisted of the recruitment of students into the Army School of Nursing for a three-year period at base hospitals throughout the United States. Its curriculum reflected the standard curriculum approved by the National League of Nursing Education. The military hospitals provided clinical experiences for students in medical

45 Ibid.
46 League of Nursing Education, Twenty-fourth Annual Convention, p. 177.
and surgical nursing. Other hospitals provided clinical experience in maternity and pediatric nursing.

The following year, Annie Goodrich appeared before the same group to report the accomplishments of the Army School of Nursing during the war. In the five-month period between the establishment of the school and the signing of the armistice, she reported, over 10,000 candidates applied to the Army School of Nursing and over 1,000 students were on duty in 25 hospitals. Four essential accomplishments of the school which she discussed were (1) the availability of valuable and unusual nursing experiences, (2) the establishment of a reserve nurse corps ready for military duty, (3) its effect in the maintenance of morale, and most important, (4) the emphasis on "trained service" as noted in other professions. This, she claimed, "has been the almost dramatic demonstration of the value of the steady and unceasing effort for the upbuilding of the educational standards of our profession."47

An eventful undertaking proved highly successful. Because in a few short months the planning and organization of the school, the latest methods of teaching, the instructional facilities, the student records, the student government, the faculty conferences, the eight-hour day, all embodied a sound educational program. A separate budget from federal sources supplied the educational materials and personnel. Since the Army maintained a graduate nurse staff, the education of the student nurse took precedence over nursing service demands. The Army School of

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Nursing continued to exist many years after the war and was a lasting tribute to Miss Goodrich's administrative and creative ability.

Soon after the publication of the Flexner Report on medical education, M. Adelaide Nutting and other nursing educators appealed to the Carnegie Foundation for a similar study on nursing education. 48

Miss Nutting gave the first report at the annual convention of the National League for Nursing Education in 1912, when as Chairman of the Education Committee, she related to the group, her contact with Mr. Henry S. Pritchett, the President of the Carnegie Foundation, to interest the Foundation in a study of nursing education. She reported that "he seemed much interested in the matter, but stated that the Foundation was at that time unable to take the question up" as "all of its energies were centered in work in other directions." 49

Because the matter did not appear to be ended, Miss Nutting rewrote several times to the Foundation. In the absence of the president, a response from the secretary of the Foundation indicated that since the Foundation's new interests concentrated in matters other than hospitals and medicine, the possibility of a return to this area for further study seemed unlikely. Miss Nutting therefore reported to the group that the Carnegie Foundation was unable to respond to their request for a study.

48 Abraham Flexner, Medical Education in the United States and Canada (New York: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1910).

The following year as the chairman of the same committee she reported that one of the main objectives of the committee was to pursue a study of nursing education through the Carnegie Foundation or some other foundation. She revealed her understanding of the significance of such a study in the following statement to the group at large:

Realizing the enormous benefit to medical education resulting from such an investigation of medical schools by the Carnegie Foundation, the committee is confident that similar benefits must result from such an investigation of our much more complicated educational problems.50

A national survey did not begin until the Rockefeller Foundation undertook its study which was published in 1923. Other national surveys began in 1926 by the Committee on the Grading of Nursing Schools, but none had the impact on nursing education as the Flexner report had on medical education in 1910.

The inherent problems in nursing education as the traditional apprenticeship system of education, the financial support upheld by student services, the long hours on duty, the administrative and educational control of the school by the hospital, the emphasis of practice in the curriculum virtually remained untouched after the publications of the surveys and studies.

Though the publications of the reports generated a good deal of discussion in the literature by nurses, physicians and other groups as educators, no concerted effort to initiate recommended changes in the

50 League of Nursing Education, Nineteenth Annual Convention, p. 77.
basic structure of nursing education developed except for the endowment of two schools of nursing at Yale University and Western Reserve University which we shall discuss in some detail in later chapters.
CHAPTER IV

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BASIC BACCALAUREATE-NURSING PROGRAM AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

As mentioned in the introduction, the first breakthrough in nursing education in America came with the establishment of the three Nightingale schools in 1873. The schools were adjuncts to the hospitals and they established the pattern of American nursing education still in existence today. In fact, of the three patterns of nursing education established in this country, as the two-year associate degree, the three-year diploma and the four-year baccalaureate degree, the diploma schools continue to supply the majority (74.8 per cent) of the total number of nurses who graduate annually.

The second breakthrough in American nursing education occurred in 1899 when Teachers College, Columbia University offered its first course in Hospital Economics to nurse teachers and nurse administrators. The enrolled nurses were graduates of diploma schools.

Another breakthrough in American nursing education was an extension of the system in a combination of the two; that is, a new proposal to provide the same three-year diploma program in a university instead of a hospital.

The University of Minnesota, since its Board of Regents on October 1, 1908, authorized the establishment of the first three-year basic nursing program, has claimed its School of Nursing as the first
university nursing school established in America. Its basic baccalaureate nursing program, which is the chief concern of this study, was instituted in 1919. However, the historical background of the origin of the three-year diploma program is presented here as an harbinger of the origin and development of its basic baccalaureate nursing program.

There is evidence that the three-year hospital nursing school moved to seek the services and resources of the university at least fifteen years before the founding of the University of Minnesota School of Nursing. Lavinia L. Dock in Nutting and Dock's *A History of Nursing* wrote:

In the early '90's the University of Texas first recognized nursing by giving a professional chair to the superintendent of nurses in the John Sealy Hospital of Galveston, then Miss Hanna Kindbom. . . . Her title was Professor of Nursing and she lectured to medical students as well as nurses.¹

At a conference in nursing schools connected with colleges and universities held in 1928, M. Adelaide Nutting presented a paper entitled "Historical Summary of the Relations of Nursing Education to Universities." The first university she mentioned was Teachers College, Columbia University and its establishment of the program for graduate nurses instituted in 1899. After her description of this event, she said,

The next definite connection with a College or University is found, I believe, in that created in 1903 between the

Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing in Chicago, and Rush Medical College. The latter cooperated in the educational supervision of the school, and courses in science were given in the College laboratories.2

There were also schools such as Drexel Institute, Pratt Institute and Simmons College, which offered preparatory course for nursing students enrolled in a hospital school of nursing.3

Despite these early claims, the evidence is that the above hospital schools of nursing and institutes utilized some of the resources of the university or college, whereas the School of Nursing at the University of Minnesota was established as an integral part of the University. The plans for the university school of nursing originated at the University of Minnesota, and they included the use of hospital facilities belonging to the University as well as university medical faculty such as Dr. Richard Olding Beard, for the teaching of physiology and other sciences. The plans for the school were initiated, developed and instituted at the University of Minnesota. In a comprehensive translation of the word, "first," therefore, the University of Minnesota did establish the earliest nursing school as part of the university.

Two years after the founding of the three-year program, the Dean of the Medical School of which the school of nursing was a part, wrote a

2 The Department of Nursing Education of Teachers College and the Committee on University Relations of the National League of Nursing Education, Proceedings of Conference on Nursing Schools Connected with Colleges and Universities (New York: National League of Nursing Education, 1928), p. 6.

historical summary of it in a report to George E. Vincent, President of the University. He reported:

The establishment of the University Hospital has given opportunity for the organization of the first School for Nurses, as a Department of University teaching and under direct University control, to be found anywhere in the world. Students to the number of nineteen have been admitted to the School, which maintains an efficient standard of training; training indeed of a type which can only be had in a teaching hospital.4

Dr. Frank F. Wesbrook was the Dean, but the person behind this movement, known as the founder of the school, was Dr. Beard, whose interests and efforts in the school of nursing never wavered but continued long after his retirement from the university in 1925.5

The first class of nursing students entered on March 1, 1909, and on June 9 of that year Dr. Beard delivered his paper entitled, "The University Education of the Nurse" before the American Federation of Nurses.6 In this important and frequently quoted article, Dr. Beard traced the evolution of the nursing profession from the time when it was first performed by domestic servants, mothers or other women in the

4University of Minnesota, The President's Report for the Year 1911-1912 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1913), p. 118.

5Letter, R. O. Beard to L. D. Coffman, June 12, 1930, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing File.


In a historical preface to the proceedings of the second annual meeting of the American Federation of Nurses in 1909, there is an explanation of the composition and the purpose of the federation. The American Society of the Superintendents of Training Schools for Nurses and the Nurses Associated Alumnae merged to found the American Federation of Nurses as the "affiliation" afforded membership in the National Council of Women. In 1905, the federation withdrew its membership from the National Council of Women to join the International Council of Nurses. See page 98 of the Proceedings.
community up to the nineteenth century when the exigencies of the Crimean War proved the necessity of better sanitation. From this period it was but a short time, he claimed, that hospitals realized that the establishment of a training school provided a source of labor without remuneration and subsequently the growth of hospital schools of nursing became phenomenal.

But, said Dr. Beard, "Ordinarily, the nurse has been a source of profit to the hospital and too often has the training school been exploited for its benefit." The schools were founded not for the education of the student, but "for the benefit of service to the hospital." Where the training schools have an association with a college or university, he noted, higher standards of education were evident as, for example, the Johns Hopkins Training School.

His main thesis was that the "cultural" phase of university education was essential as the means to an end, because of the changing social emphasis of the new functions that the nurse was expected to perform. For those who believed that higher education was the transmission of western culture in the traditional patterns of education, he answered, it must adjust to the new demands placed on it by the country's industrial growth and the "increasing complexity of human society."

His rationale, if we paraphrase it, was that in professions such as teaching, medicine and nursing which deal directly with services to the public, the university—and in particular, the state university--

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7 Ibid., p. 117. 8 Ibid., p. 110.
must prepare the practitioner to meet society's demands in the conservation of "human life, human development and human faith." 9

Toward this ultimate goal, therefore, he outlined the characteristics of the new school at the University of Minnesota. These included new ways in the selection of better qualified students and new approaches to the curriculum which included the theory and practice of nursing as well as physical education and recreation. A high school diploma was required. Although many hospital schools of nursing stated in their bulletins that a high school diploma "or its equivalent" was a requirement for admission to the school of nursing, graduation from high school was not adopted as an admission requirement by the majority of the hospital schools of nursing until 1932. In 1909, therefore, this was most unusual in schools of nursing. Another new departure was that the student paid tuition for the first four months of her instruction. This, too, was an unusual feature, as many hospital schools assigned students to the hospital after minimal preparation, and they paid the students a small stipend. At the University of Minnesota, after the initial four-month period, there was no further tuition charge in the early school, and the students received board and room in exchange for hospital service.

The curriculum in the first four months, Dr. Beard pointed out, consisted of the basic sciences, nursing principles, public health, English and physical culture. Only after passing the preparatory examinations successfully would the student be eligible for hospital

9 Ibid., p. 113.
assignment. More graduate nurses were employed in order to insure that the education of the student and not the service demand of the hospital came first. The new program was planned for an eight-hour day which was fairly unusual in 1909. Of the numerous concepts outlined in Dr. Beard's address, the essence of many of them have endured the test of time and reality since many of the characteristics which he described in the early address set the pattern for other schools which followed.

Dr. Beard was born in England and came to America with his family when he was thirteen years of age. He was graduated from Northwestern in 1882 and went to Minneapolis from Chicago to practice medicine. He was one of the founders of the University of Minnesota School of Medicine as well as the School of Nursing. He wrote many articles and addressed state and national conventions of both nursing and medical professions. Several of his addresses, and other articles, too, were published in the American Journal of Nursing and the Proceedings of the National League of Nursing Education from 1909 to the mid-1920's. The central theme of all the articles, which have philosophic overtones, concerns the advancement of nursing education and nursing as a development in the social history of man.

Dr. Beard believed that the expansion of new public health concepts with their greater emphasis on the "value" of human life and

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10 In 1911, 45.4 per cent of the hospitals required ten hours a day or over, exclusive of class and study time. See U. S. Bureau of Education, Educational Status of Nursing, Bulletin No. 7 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), p. 30.

its preservation, and with the increase of numbers of hospitals in America for the care of the ill, the profession of nursing existed "for the public good." Does not the nurse's role, therefore, demand "the best education can bestow?" he asked. Thus it was the prerogative of the university to provide the education of the nurse in order for her to fulfill her social function.

His steadfast interest in nursing education led him to extraordinary commitments. For example, when the recommendations of the Rockefeller Committee were published, he offered to write a review and did in three parts. He heartily agreed with the most notable feature of the report in its recommendation of more endowed university schools of nursing, and he believed that all segments of American society should lend support to further their development.

But he included in his criticism of the report that the composition of the committee with representation only from the nursing and

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12 Richard O. Beard, "The Social Development of the Nurse," American Journal of Nursing, XII (July, 1912), 784.
15 Richard O. Beard, "Nursing Education and the American Hospital," Modern Hospital, XIX (July, 1922), 48-51.
16 Letter, R. O. Beard to A. W. Goodrich, July 5, 1922, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing File.
17 Richard O. Beard, "The Report of the Rockefeller Foundation on Nursing Education: A Review and Critique," American Journal of Nursing, XXIII (February, 1923), 358-360. See also American Journal of Nursing, XXIII (March, 1923), 460-466 and (April, 1923), 550-554.
medical professions had omitted the most important third party, the public. Together with Miss Nutting and Miss Goodrich, he disagreed with the conclusion of the report which recommended that another group, called the subsidiary worker, or "sub-nurse," provide nursing services for the care of "mild and chronic illness and convalescence."\(^{18}\) At the time of the report, there were in the United States a total of 149,128 registered nurses, 54,000 student nurses and 151,996 workers, called "practicals" or experienced nurses with no formal education for nursing.\(^{19}\) The three educators were concerned lest the conclusion of the report sanction the expansion of this lesser educated group to assume the responsibility of nursing care to the American public.

Dr. Beard disagreed also with the basic premise that the addition of more members to this group would relieve the shortage of nurses because the problem was an economic one—that hospitals could not afford to pay graduate nurses and this was the reason why the majority of graduates were active in private duty.\(^{20}\)

When he spoke of the same topic of university education for nurses twelve years after his first address, he recalled that his announcement of the School of Nursing at the University of Minnesota had

\(^{18}\) Committee on Nursing Education, *Nursing and Nursing Education in the United States* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1923), p. 16.

\(^{19}\) Ibid., p. 15.

\(^{20}\) Years later his theory proved correct. As the hospitals grew in their extension of services, and as more people depended on their services, they recruited from the private duty section of nurses for the hospital staff. This branch of nursing service which held the greatest number of graduate nurses, soon began to decrease steadily in number after 1925.
evoked "an electric wave of enthusiasm" and the "spontaneous appreci­ation of a new destiny." The pattern of nursing education appeared to him to follow that of medical education, with more university nursing schools established and the individual nursing schools in the process of merging with a university or else closing.\textsuperscript{21} The university school of nursing which Dr. Beard envisioned in the near future has not materialized even today. Though there seems to be a trend in this direction, the hospital schools still produce annually the majority (74.8 per cent) of graduate nurses today.

One of Dr. Beard's correspondents in these early days of the university school of nursing was Dr. Charles E.-A. Winslow who was a founder of the Yale University School of Nursing.

The projections and views of these two founders of university schools of nursing present striking contrasts in several respects. Both shared the belief that university education for nurses was the ideal; both helped to found a university school of nursing; both understood the economic basis of the traditional school of nursing and both were members of the academic community. Yet the differences arose in matters, perhaps, of interpretation and the degree of acceptance of the philosophy of pragmatism and social Darwinism. Thirteen years after the founding of the University of Minnesota School of Nursing, Dr. Beard believed nursing was at the crossroads, and that university education was the path it would take in the near future.\textsuperscript{22} He saw the hospital's

\textsuperscript{21}Beard, "Nursing Education and the American Hospital," p. 51.
\textsuperscript{22}Ibid.
role as a laboratory for both the medical and nursing students, and on the same basis, as an instrument to accomplish educational objectives. He stressed over and over again the necessity of university education for the nurse as it guaranteed "the fitness of the nurse for service to the public." All of society was entitled to professional care and to him, professional nursing signified university education.

Although Dr. Winslow was a foremost advocate of university education for the nurse, he was more of a pragmatist in his understanding that the three-year-hospital school would be producing the bulk of graduate nurses for a long time to come. Well aware of the economics involved, he identified the aim of the hospital as service and the aim of the school of nursing as education and he stated that though the two were separate and distinct, yet they were both "mutually essential." His answer to this dichotomy was in the form of more endowments for hospital schools of nursing which, as the history of nursing has developed in America, has been insignificant when compared with endowments for the education of other professional workers.

The greatest difference between the two men was in their outlook on the question of utilization of the subsidiary nurse worker. Ever on the alert for the opportunity to expound his views on university education for nurses, Dr. Beard looked askance at any educational program involving less. Dr. Winslow recognized that with the advancement of science and technology, the graduate nurse assumed more complex tasks,

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and therefore, a subsidiary worker, whose education entailed eight or
nine months of preparation, was needed to perform the lesser nursing
tasks.

There was disagreement between them in their correspondence on
the report on nursing education of the American Medical Association
Council on Medical Education. The results of this report, translated by
Dr. Beard, hinged on setting minimum standards for schools of nursing,
over which he believed the doctors had no proper authority. How would
the medical profession react if the nursing profession determined the
medical curriculum, he asked? At the risk of fighting his medical
colleagues, he would stand for the nurses' rights to decide their own
destiny. He believed, too, that a grading classification system such
as the one Abraham Flexner used would accomplish for nursing education
the same as it had for medical education by the elimination of the
"unfit" schools and the improvement of the better schools.

In his answer, Dr. Winslow replied that since he was not a
physician himself, he believed that his view was not a biased one and
that if the National League of Nursing Education decided to reject "an
honest offer of cooperation on the part of the American Medical Associa-
tion," it would seem to him to be "most unfortunate."

Though Dr. Beard was the founder of the School of Nursing,
Louise M. Powell played a highly significant role in the organization

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24 Letter, R. O. Beard to C.-E. A. Winslow, March 16, 1923, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing Files.

25 Letter, C.-E. A. Winslow to R. O. Beard, March 28, 1923, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing Files.
and development of the school for it was she who initiated and organized the basic baccalaureate nursing program. She came to the University of Minnesota when the first three-year diploma school was in its second year. The same opportunity arose when she received a call to the deanship at the Western Reserve School of Nursing in 1924 when that school was in its second year. In 1921-1922 when she enrolled at Teachers College, Columbia University for a baccalaureate degree in nursing administration, she secured a part-time position in nursing administration at Bellevue Hospital School of Nursing under the leadership of Annie W. Goodrich.

According to a short biography, Louise M. Powell exhibited unusual capacity for friendship; she was highly regarded by her students and her colleagues. She was a Southern lady, raised in Staunton, Virginia, the same town which produced Woodrow Wilson. Educated in private schools there, she continued her education intermittently until she was over fifty when awarded her baccalaureate degree.26

The earliest document to be found concerning the beginnings of the basic baccalaureate nursing program at the University of Minnesota would seem to be a request by her through the proper administrative channels for a new proposal which sought to offer the preliminary course in nursing as an elective for the senior students of the College of Science, Literature and Arts. This, she explained, would save time

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26National League of Nursing Education, Biographies of Nurses, n.p., n.d. The same article reported that her maternal grandfather had been superintendent of the Virginia State Hospital and was known for his humane treatment of patients as well as his administrative skills.
and "their whole course might be definitely planned with the Nursing Course in view."27

The request was granted promptly by the Administrative Board of the School of Medicine and sent to Dean John F. Downey of the College of Science Literature and Arts wherein the measure again was promptly passed.28 The swiftness of both administrative actions may signify that some members of the academic community and the medical profession supported the establishment of the new basic baccalaureate program in nursing.

Miss Powell amplified her views of the proposal for basic baccalaureate nursing education at the National League of Nursing Education convention in 1914 when the question of the basis of admission of college women into hospital schools of nursing provided an occasion for a lively discussion among the nurse educators. A group of the educators believed that a seven-year course consisting of the four-year college degree plus the three years of nursing was justifiable. Others agreed with Louise M. Powell, among them Elizabeth Fox, Isabel Stewart and Annie Goodrich, when Miss Powell presented the argument that the college graduate who was considering nursing as a career should be allowed some credit for the sciences she had taken and that the course of study, if

27 Letter, L. M. Powell to E. P. Lyon, April 20, 1914, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing File.

28 University of Minnesota, Minutes of the Administrative Board of the School of Medicine, Vol. 20, May 7, 1914, pp. 153-154.
cut by six or eight months, would attract more college students into nursing.29

During the course of this presentation, Miss Powell reported to the national nursing group that she had approached Dean Lyon concerning the matter of baccalaureate nurse education. She quoted Dean Lyon who said that if a student came to the university for a baccalaureate degree and if she chose to enter nursing, he did not see why the curriculum could not be planned for the student to take four years of study at the university.

Her statement appears to be the first printed evidence of the consideration of the actual establishment of a basic baccalaureate nursing program at the University of Minnesota:

Talking about this question [of the admission of college women into nursing] Dean Long [sic], the head of our medical school, when I spoke of it to him, immediately said, "Why should not the student who is coming in for her B.A. degree, if she is entering for the nursing course, why should not that work be so planned and directed that she would get many of the things that she needs and have them go along for the whole four years; have some definite arrangement or supervision of the subjects that she needs and have her get them in the university?"30

29 National League of Nursing Education, Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Convention, pp. 149-161. Almost twenty years later, a study on nursing education undertaken by the Association of American Medical Colleges recommended that the number of hours allotted for nursing practice was protracted in comparison to the hours of theory and that the length of the program should be adjusted to the same four-year requirement as other baccalaureate programs offered in the university. See footnote 19 in Chapter I.

30 Ibid., p. 155. There is an error in the printing of the name of the Dean of the Medical School. It read "Dean Long" instead of "Dean Lyon."
In this statement, of course, there was no indication as to the length of time involved in the total nursing curriculum as there was no specific mention of the clinical experience. But the intent of creating a baccalaureate degree program for college students interested in basic nursing is clear. Miss Powell's presentation to the group emphasized the interest expressed by the university to undertake the project.

The following year at the twenty-first annual convention, Miss Powell presented a paper entitled, "Existing Affiliations between Universities and Training Schools," wherein she gave a historical summary of ten nursing schools throughout the country who held various cooperative agreements with universities.31

For the college student at the University of Minnesota she outlined two plans whereby the student who wished to enter the school of nursing saved eight months in time. The first plan made available to the student the opportunity to select preliminary required nursing courses as electives throughout their four years; the second plan made available the opportunity to select preliminary nursing courses during the last semester of the senior year.32

The university, she stated, educated teachers, doctors, lawyers and workers for numerous other professions. Her thesis was that the same

31 National League of Nursing Education, Proceedings of the Twenty-first Annual Convention (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Company, 1915), p. 107. The diversity of organizational patterns between the nursing division or school of nursing and the college or university was typical of this aspect of American higher education.

32 Ibid., p. 109.
principle was applicable to women who engaged in health teaching as health restoration.

Louise M. Powell's interest in the establishment of the basic baccalaureate nursing program at the University of Minnesota did not diminish. In a letter which was addressed to M. Adelaide Nutting at Teachers College, Columbia University but answered by Annie W. Goodrich, she inquired about the course of study for the baccalaureate and the required number of credits or points. Attached to Miss Goodrich's letter of response was a rough draft prepared by Isabel Stewart of credits which included the computation of hours and points, in both theory and practice, with a total of 115 points for a baccalaureate degree in nursing. All these activities preceded America's entry into the first world war on April 6, 1917. The war itself had an impact on nursing in that it accelerated the movement of college women into nursing. In August 1917, the Administrative Board of the Medical School at its monthly meeting approved and recommended to the Board of Regents:

The admission of college women with suitable scientific preparation to a two years' course of study in the School for Nurses plus four months of preliminary work, with the understanding that the remainder of the course may be substituted by active nursing service in the war, or in the event of a conclusion of the war, shall be completed in the School for Nurses.

Thus the university attempted to meet the country's war needs for nurses by the recruitment of college women. It participated in the Army

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33 Letter, A. W. Goodrich to L. M. Powell, August 25, 1916, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing File.

34 University of Minnesota, Administrative Board Minutes of the Medical School, August 2, 1917, p. 4.
Training School organized by Annie W. Goodrich by offering eight months of practice in the obstetrical and pediatric services.\textsuperscript{35} About the same time, students with college degrees who entered the School of Nursing at Minnesota could choose in their last term or two to work in another hospital or a public health agency.

By June 1919, the basic baccalaureate nursing program at the University of Minnesota was a reality. The establishment of the program was recorded in the Administrative Board Minutes dated June 5, 1919.

Dr. Beard presented, in behalf of the School for Nurses, the plan for a combined course for Nurses in the College of Science, Literature and the Arts and the School for Nurses to cover a period of five years; program for which was reported to be in preparation by Dean Johnston. He stated that the plan has been approved in principle by the College of Science, Literature and the Arts and it was so approved by the Administrative Board with the understanding that the program would be completed and that the announcement of the combined course would be made upon the approval of the President.\textsuperscript{36}

One week later the Faculty of the College of Science, Literature and the Arts approved the combined course of study in Arts and Nursing which offered a bachelor of science degree.\textsuperscript{37} The minutes specified the three-year course of instruction in nursing theory and practice in the School of Nurses. It was not expected that this program would immediately supplant the three-year diploma program and indeed the latter

\textsuperscript{35}Louise M. Powell, "The History of the Development of Nursing Education at the University of Minnesota," \textit{Alumnae Quarterly} (January, 1937), 9.

\textsuperscript{36}University of Minnesota, University of Minnesota Medical School, \textit{Administrative Board Minutes}, June 5, 1919, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{37}University of Minnesota, Faculty of the College of Science, Literature and the Arts, \textit{Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1918-1919} (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1919), p. 33.
was discontinued only in 1947.\textsuperscript{38} But by this cooperative action of the faculty of the School of Medicine and the faculty of the College of Science, Literature and the Arts, and with the approval of the President and the Board of Regents, the University of Minnesota, therefore, became one of the early universities in America to offer a basic baccalaureate nursing program in 1919.

How and why this institution came into existence and gradually developed at the University of Minnesota, we shall next examine in the actions and reactions of the administrative officers. First we shall review the correspondence and reports of the three presidents of the university who were in office during the founding of the two nursing programs, the superintendent of the hospital and the dean of the medical school in support of the basic baccalaureate nursing program. Then we shall summarize the recorded activities of the three university presidents in office between 1909 and 1929. George E. Vincent became president when the diploma school was beginning its third year; Marion L. Burton was president when the basic baccalaureate program was inaugurated, and Lotus D. Coffman came into office when the basic baccalaureate program was in its first years. From their correspondence files and their university reports, there is evidence that each was well aware of

\textsuperscript{38} University of Minnesota, Bulletin of the School of Nursing, 1967-1969 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1967), p. 3. The established pattern in most of the universities which offered a basic baccalaureate nursing program, as the three universities investigated in this study, also offered a three-year diploma program concurrently. It is a recent movement in the history of nursing in America of the university schools of nursing to support only the baccalaureate and advanced degree programs in nursing. The Ohio State University discontinued its three-year diploma program in 1939.
the problems of the school of nursing; each was interested in the
development of the programs in the school of nursing and each provided
solution in varying degrees as problems arose during his administration.
To capture a glimpse of their interest, the problems in the school of
nursing and the presidents' suggestions for amelioration, the following
incidents will indicate some of their actions, reactions and adminis-
trative decisions.

President Vincent's correspondence and reports from January 1913
to 1917 related only to the three-year diploma school, though the refer-
ences in the President's reports to the school of nursing were scant.
In the President's Report for 1914-1915, it is noted that more clinical
facilities were made available by the addition of sixty beds in Elliott
Hospital. The following year, the president called the attention of
the Board of Regents to the need of more adequate classrooms for nursing
classes and a nurses' residence. Actually many years passed before the
granting of either request.

Though President Burton was in office for a short time from
1917-1920, there was a great deal of correspondence between the presi-
dent and the administrative offices in the School of Medicine and the
School for Nurses, as it was then called.

The correspondence was substantially concerned with the high
degree of involvement of both governmental and volunteer agencies in

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39 University of Minnesota, The President's Report for the Year
40 When the nurses' building was finally granted, it was named
Powell Hall to honor Louise M. Powell.
the recruitment of nurses during the war, and the utilization of the universities to recruit and to prepare students for both military and civilian duty. The following are but two examples of these proceedings.

During World War I, the president of the American Council on Education wrote to President Burton to inform him of the Student Army Training program requested by the Surgeon-General of the United States to attract qualified women into nursing by July of the following year.\footnote{Letter, D. J. Cowling to M. L. Burton, October 30, 1918, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing Files.} A special Committee on War Service Training for College Students was formed to recruit college women into the twelve week intensive nursing course.

As executive secretary of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, Gertrude S. Martin wrote to each state representative of the American Council on Education to begin cooperative plans with colleges and universities for recruitment. President Burton was the state representative of the American Council on Education for Minnesota.\footnote{Letter, G. S. Martin to M. L. Burton, September 21, 1918, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing Files.} The university cooperated in these war-time measures, and several students attended the Vassar Training program which also grew out of the recruitment activities.

At the close of the war, the proposal for the establishment of a public health nursing course was submitted to President Burton. He heartily approved of it stating that he was "very much interested" in
the plan and its implications.  This four-month course for public health nurses included both instruction from the university faculty in various departments as psychology and sociology and supervised practice in public health agencies. The School of Medicine, the School for Nurses and the Minnesota Public Health Association planned the course jointly for registered nurses as well as senior student nurses. The Minnesota Public Health Association paid the salary of the public health nurse responsible for the supervision in the agency. Miss Powell, as Superintendent of the School for Nurses, undertook the overall supervision of the project.

The proposal became the first course at the University of Minnesota offered for the practicing registered nurse. As in the case of many university schools of nursing, the first registered nurse group to request further educational opportunities were the public health nurses.

The success of the short course and the request from many states for public health nurses, prompted another request from Dr. Beard and the Administrative Board of the School of Medicine to President Burton for approval to offer the course on a permanent basis. President Burton's response heartily approved of the plan for the course. He

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43 Letter, M. L. Burton to R. O. Beard, July 19, 1919, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing File.

44 Letter, R. O. Beard to M. L. Burton, September 19, 1918, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing File.

45 Letter, R. O. Beard to M. L. Burton, May 14, 1919, University of Minnesota, Archives, President's File.
added that since the five hundred dollars planned for its budget from university funds "for this or for any other purpose" was not available, he suggested investigation of the matter with the treasurer's office to see if the financial arrangements might be "adjusted." They were. The course proved successful by 1921 and it was extended to nine months of instruction with a certificate awarded on completion.

In his first year of office, President Burton had requested $125,000 for "a nurses' building," out of the $3,000,000 allotted for sixteen buildings in the future plans for the university. Throughout his tenure, in fact throughout President Coffman's, the same request was repeated until the Board of Regents finally acceded. President Burton's concern for nursing education, as expressed in these several ways, culminated in his approval, during his last months in office, of the basic baccalaureate nursing program.

In his inaugural address, President Coffman foretold the greater expansion of services of the state university to the public because of the necessary demands on society "of the most acute political and social questions with which we are confronted" and only through education, he believed, could the challenge be met. His faith in education to solve problems in farming, engineering, and mining and his belief that the

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46. Letter, M. L. Burton to R. O. Beard, July 19, 1919, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Medicine Files.


state university was the institution to provide public education dictated the development of university services through extension courses to reach and to benefit the people of the state.

In his first annual report for 1920-21, there was no mention of the school of nursing. The following year, he carefully outlined twelve changes in the membership and functions of the standing committees of the school of nursing to include the director, the superintendents of hospitals and the superintendent of nurses of the hospital utilized for student experiences. The committees concerned included the one on the rules and requirements for admission, promotion and graduation, and another on the plan of assignment for nursing students to the hospitals with reference to tuition, and board and room costs.\textsuperscript{49} The next year, he requested once again funds for a nurses' building and called the attention of the Regents and the legislature to Michigan's gift of $600,000 and Western Reserve's gift for the same purpose.\textsuperscript{50}

A two-page summary of the administrative changes in the reorganization of the Medical School appeared in the 1925 President's Report.\textsuperscript{51} It carefully defined the School of Nursing as a "Division of the Medical School with its responsible head, the Director, whose rank is Departmental Head." The General Faculty, the Executive Faculty and the

\begin{itemize}
\item University of Minnesota, \textit{The President's Report for the Year 1921-1922} (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1923), p. 80.
\item University of Minnesota, \textit{The President's Report for the Year 1922-1923} (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1924), p. 117.
\item University of Minnesota, \textit{The President's Report for the Year 1925-1926} (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1925), p. 41.
\end{itemize}
Administrative Committee of the School of Nursing, their membership and their function were specifically outlined.

President Coffman delegated authority to Dean E. P. Lyon regarding the administrative and educational problems of the School of Nursing. Their relationship appears to have been one of mutual support in several crises; one crisis specifically involved the Mayos and the Medical faculty. At one time, Will Mayo as one of the Regents, attempted to force the resignation of Dean Lyon, but President Coffman defended the Dean and became "his stubborn advocate."

On their leaving the university in 1925, President Coffman attributed the growth and progress of the School of Nursing "to the broad educational ideals and the sound organization" of Louise M. Powell and Dr. Richard O. Beard, "the two people most vitally interested in its origin."

In the University Archives, there are three documents which illustrate President Coffman's interest and involvement in the development of the basic baccalaureate nursing program. When the director of the School of Nursing in 1929 sent a monograph on nursing education to the President, he indicated his interest and commented on the "more scientific" emphasis he noted in the studies from year to year. His

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53 Ibid., p. 506.

54 University of Minnesota, The President's Report for the Year 1924-1925 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1926), p. 111.

55 Letter, L. D. Coffman to M. L. Vannier, August 2, 1929, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing File.
reply to a letter two years later from the new director of the School of Nursing recorded his interest in the future of the school.\(^5\)

It was during Coffman's presidency that graduate education was established to prepare nurse teachers, supervisors and administrators for hospitals and public health agencies. This action was in direct response to the request of nursing groups which consisted of members of the Minnesota State Board of Examiners, Minnesota League of Nursing and the Minnesota State Registered Nurse Association.\(^5\)\(^7\) Despite the onset of the great depression, graduate programs for nurses who held a baccalaureate degree came into being at the University of Minnesota in 1930 during President Coffman's administration.

The hospital administrator was a powerful figure in the traditional school of nursing as he controlled the budget. He retains a strategic position in the baccalaureate education of the nurse as the teaching and clinical facilities reflect to a great extent the administration's philosophy of the purpose and function of the hospital. Even in teaching hospitals, the care and treatment of patients has priority over its teaching function in many instances. Where medical education has proven its success in the utilization of clinical patients for teaching the medical student, nursing education has not. The reason or reasons for this have never been investigated. This study suggests that some of the forces in American history, as outlined in the earlier

\(^{56}\)Letter, L. D. Coffman to K. J. Densford, February 16, 1931, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing File.

\(^{57}\)Letter, L. D. Coffman to E. P. Lyon, May 28, 1930, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing File.
chapters of the study, and some of its fixed and rigid struggle in the education of the nurse with which the nurse educators grappled, have a significant relationship to the reason why basic baccalaureate nursing education in America was, and still is, slow. Basically the countless problems, with their many ramifications, which the nursing educators faced in the early years in the establishment of basic baccalaureate nursing education and the lack of financial and moral support by an understanding public, still exists today.

At the University of Minnesota, Louise M. Powell recalled her long and close association with Dr. Louis B. Baldwin, Superintendent of the University Hospitals, and she described it as "working together happily and in perfect harmony." In the early annual reports when the first three-year nursing program was inaugurated, it was the hospital administrator, Dr. Baldwin, who reported the policies, requirements and needs of the School for Nurses. In the President's Report for the Year 1913-1914, the Superintendent of the School for Nurses began to write the annual reports of the School for Nurses to the president of the university.

Dr. Baldwin continued, though, to urge for better teaching facilities and housing for the students for the following year or two. After that time, his reports included hospital business only.

In the Bulletin for 1918-1919, a statement read that "The School for Nurses is subject to the general supervision of the Superintendent

58 Louise M. Powell, "The History of Nursing Education at the University of Minnesota," Alumnae Quarterly (January, 1937), p. 5.
of the University Hospital, Dr. L. B. Baldwin, and is under the immediate direction of the Superintendent of the School, Miss Louise M. Powell, a directress of large institutional experience. This item was repeated in subsequent announcements until it disappeared in the 1922-1923 report. This was the first year wherein Miss Powell's new baccalaureate degree from Teachers College, Columbia University was recorded. The significance of this action was that as a nurse administrator better prepared herself educationally, she was delegated responsibilities held by heads of other departments in the university.

Dr. Baldwin was an organizer and administrator of fine ability, as he was instrumental in planning for the hospital's growth and expansion. During the first world war, he was assigned to the Surgeon-General's Office in Washington, D. C. The acting superintendent in his absence was Miss Powell. In later years, she wrote of his "unusual" ability to delegate authority to the department heads, and at the same time, give them support in the search for a solution to a particular problem. Because of the close working relationship between Dr. Baldwin, Dr. Beard and Miss Powell, Gray referred to them as the "triumvirate."

59 University of Minnesota, School for Nurses, Announcement for the Year 1918-1919 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1919), p. 4.
60 Powell, "History of Nursing Education," p. 5.
The early directors of the School of Nursing, Louise M. Powell and her successor, Marion L. Vannier, attempted to transplant the nursing curriculum into the university structure by the utilization of as many educational opportunities as they found available. In the areas which were inadequate and lacking in the attainment of the School's objectives, they both sought help for amelioration through the proper administrative channels. They both referred to their requested demands as pertinent to university education if the nursing program was to prove worthy of the name.

During her first four years, Louise Powell, as Superintendent of the School for Nurses, taught all the nursing classes. Under the prevailing circumstances her inability to teach the students as effectively as she desired, prompted her to ask for an assistant. She argued that "It is only fair" to give the students the best teaching since "we are paying them only in the education we give them." Thus Marion Vannier became her assistant.

When classroom space and equipment were both limited, there were requests for more space and better teaching facilities from the directors of the school of nursing. As the school continued to grow and space became more of a problem, the superintendent summarized her plea with the comment, "if sufficient space and equipment cannot be provided

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we had better close our school and cease claiming that our School for Nurses is a University Department."63

In 1921, there was an agricultural drought throughout the state and all appropriations were cut back. The School of Nursing at that time had no specific budget except for a listing under a heading of hospital costs. When circumstances warranted Louise Powell's request for direct support, she wrote to President Coffman and stated that the University of Minnesota School of Nursing became nationally known as "the first university school" and was "a model for other university schools." Such a school, she argued, deserved financial support from the university.

Apparently Minnesota does not know either the unique educational significance or the economic value of the thing it has begotten. The facts of its history are recognized abroad. The University pattern of nursing education it has set is an acknowledged ideal. It is not to the credit of the University that so far it has made no provision for the proper support of the School.64

She alluded to the necessity for a director of the school to develop, maintain and supervise the entire curriculum. She became the director of the school in 1922.65

Another key figure with Miss Powell and Dr. Beard who worked to support, maintain and advance the School of Nursing was Dr. Elias Potter

63Letter, L. M. Powell to R. O. Beard, September 2, 1914, University of Minnesota, Archives, Powell File.

64Letter, L. M. Powell to L. D. Coffman, May 3, 1921, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing File.

65University of Minnesota, Bulletin of the University of Minnesota, School of Nursing Announcement for the Year 1922-1923 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1922), p. 4.
Lyon, the dean of the Medical School. President Vincent's interest in attracting capable men to the University of Minnesota prompted him to call Dr. Lyon to head the Medical School. Dr. Lyon, who had been dean of the medical school at the St. Louis University, had struggled with the problem of full-time versus part-time instruction and having won, earned a well-known reputation in medical education. Full-time instruction was virtually unknown in this day even at the Harvard and Johns Hopkins Medical Schools. In addition to his medical degree, he had earned his doctorate in physiology at the University of Chicago while studying there with renowned men of the faculty.

Although he delegated to the Assistant Dean of the Medical School, Dr. Beard, the administrative details of the school of nursing, his interest in the school according to his correspondence file never faltered. For as an educator and as a pioneer in the development of basic baccalaureate nursing education, he endeavored to solve many of the problems which persistently beset it.

As a scientist, he attempted to study the problem in a critical manner and to advance new solutions to the educational and financial aspects of the problem. The financial support of the nursing school he defined as the most critical area in nursing education because he believed that until this problem was recognized and the public supported nursing education, nursing would never attain the status of a profession.

His correspondence with Miss Powell and with Dr. Beard, as well as with the President of the University, revealed his awareness of the deficiencies in educational opportunities and the financial needs of the nursing school. Some of his letters and publications indicated his
perception of the cause and the solution to the problems in the education of the nurse. As an example, there is a letter written to a medical superintendent of a hospital in which he outlined his basic philosophy of nursing education and his belief that the "general concepts underlying the education of doctors and nurses . . . are common to both types of education." This involved the study of the scientific basis "of chemistry, anatomy and physiology which should be under the same directives as in medical education," that is, in sound schools as university schools of nursing, because "they are not likely to be found in hospitals." Quite as important, he proceeded to solicit the help of the superintendent of the hospital "to attack this matter as a common problem and work out some plan in its gradual accomplishment."  

In a letter to the President of the University, Dean Lyon quoted the recommendation of the Cleveland Hospital and Health Survey for the establishment of university nursing schools and added that there was great national interest in the basic baccalaureate nursing program at the University of Minnesota.  

Miss Vannier, acting for Miss Powell during the latter's study at Teachers College, Columbia University, safeguarded the standards of admission and graduation in the school of nursing when the school

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66 Letter, E. P. Lyon to W. E. Litz, [1920] (copy of letter sent to L. M. Powell was dated February 20, 1920), University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing File.  
67 Ibid.  
68 Letter, E. P. Lyon to L. D. Coffman, October 17, 1921, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing File.
undertook the evaluation of new admission procedures. In clear and concise terms, she agreed to the new psychological testing for admission of nursing students if it would in no way jeopardize the standards maintained by the School of Nurses into a "subcollegiate" school by the acceptance of lesser qualified students and secondly, if the same policy pertained to other colleges on the campus. The Dean agreed.

Although the three-year and the five-year nursing programs were offered concurrently at the University of Minnesota, Dean Lyon as early as 1930 advocated the expansion of the basic baccalaureate nursing program and the discontinuation of the three-year diploma program. Financially, most of the budget allocated to the nursing school supported the three-year diploma program which Dean Lyon described as "unfortunate" because it in no way advanced nursing education nor "the prestige of the University." He offered a major new proposal whereby the hospitals in cooperative agreement with the University of Minnesota for clinical experience for the nursing student pay ten dollars a quarter, for example, for the student assigned to the hospital. This would strengthen the budget to $10,000 which in turn could be used to improve the basic baccalaureate nursing program. The proposal was never considered.

The question of financial support of the university nursing school intrigued him and he published many articles and addressed

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69 Letter, M. L. Vannier to E. P. Lyon, February 15, 1922, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing File.

70 Letter, E. P. Lyon to L. D. Coffman, July 30, 1930, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing File.
numerous national associations on the plight of nursing education. In the letters to the president of the university and in many of his publications, he submitted several of his hypotheses on the question of financial support of the university nursing school. As stated earlier, his main thesis held the system of nursing education was fundamentally wrong in that the student worked in the hospital for her education, and the hospital, the patients and the public, in general, benefited from this "profit" of the student's labor. The profit, he contended, should rightly be spent on the education of the nurse.

He contrasted the support of dental education and cited the hours of practice out of the total hours of the dental curriculum. As the patients paid for the service, he wrote, and quoting the figures compiled by the Dean of the Dental School at the University of Minnesota, the clinic received about $50,000 plus $47,000 from tuition fees and another $63,000 from university budget and all remained in the dental school for the education of the dental student.\(^7^1\)

The nursing student worked more practice hours in proportion to the total hours in the curriculum, but, stated Dean Lyon, this service went back to the hospital and the hospital paid neither the student nurse nor the university for it. "But let us not fool ourselves into believing that we are supporting nursing education worthy of the University of Minnesota,"\(^7^2\) he said. The practice of profit gains on the part

\(^7^1\)E. P. Lyon, "Taking the Profit Out of Nursing Education," Modern Hospital, XXXVI (November, 1931), 126.

\(^7^2\)Letter, E. P. Lyon to L. D. Coffman, May 31, 1931, University of Minnesota, Archives, School of Nursing File.
of the hospital on the work of the nursing student he condemned. His main thesis was that the profit-making ventures by the hospital's utilization of student services was basically "all that is wrong with nursing and nursing education," and his concept stemmed from the pattern of hospital control of the nursing school and that the hospital operated the school to save money.  

Before the publication of the Flexner Report when the physicians engaged in the same practice, he said, the medical students received an inferior education and the hospitals made money. But when the Flexner Report was published in 1910, the poor schools closed and the number of medical schools declined from one hundred and sixty to seventy-six schools in 1931. Contrast this, he argued, with the 2,000 nursing schools which continue to increase steadily.

In fact, he asserted, nurse educators were unable to control the nursing curriculum to offer a sound educational program "until hospitals give up the unholy profit they are making on student labor." He did not agree that students' labors should "go to lower the patient's bill or save tax-payers or rich supporters of hospitals."

When he called nursing a "sick profession," he did not refer to its function with ill patients, but to its educational system.

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73 Lyon, "Profit out of Nursing Education," pp. 128-132.
74 Ibid.
Nursing is a sick profession. Nursing education is in a bad way. And why? Undoubtedly, I think, because there is profit in it. It costs less to run a hospital with student nurses than it does with graduate nurses. Profit in education inevitably lowers standards, weakens instruction, demoralizes the educational product.\(^{76}\)

To him, the problem was a serious one, and he suggested medical educators help nurse educators to a "satisfactory solution" of the dilemma. Maintaining that this practice perpetuated injustice to the nurses, to the doctors and to the public, he ended his address with:

I submit this wrong must be righted and that it is the duty of all honest men to help right it. That is why I bring it up here in a place where new buildings are being dedicated, new things are being tried, new thoughts are in men's minds and new responsibilities on men's souls.\(^{77}\)

At the time of this address, Dean Lyon was also a member of the Committee on Nursing Education of the Association of American Medical Colleges. The Committee conducted a questionnaire survey of the university schools of nursing. The reason for the study, according to its preamble, stemmed from the belief that the type of instruction of nurses in the university "may affect" the education of physicians. The study pointed out that educational advantages were not available to nursing students as those enjoyed by the medical and other professions. It recommended that schools of nursing conform to admission and graduation requirements, faculty appointment and curriculum coordination as any other college in the university.\(^{78}\)

\(^{76}\) Ibid., p. 232. \(^{77}\) Ibid. \(^{78}\) Report of the Committee on Nursing Education, Journal of the Association of American Medical Colleges, VIII (January, 1933), 28-39. See also the following articles on the report of the study: Report of the Committee on Nurses' Training Schools of the Association of American
The committee to study nursing education in the universities reported that the hospital still controlled the school of nursing, as it had historically in the past when it operated its own school of nursing. The committee recalled the status of medical education prior to the time when the university gained control of medical education. It strongly urged that administrative control of schools of nursing should lie "entirely" in the university.

Now the striking feature of this report at the close of the third decade of the twentieth century was that no longer was the issue: should or should not nurses receive a baccalaureate education, but the issue here was: should the hospital or university have control of the education of nurses?

The raising of such a question at this point in time appears highly significant in that it suggested a trend of a stronger movement in basic baccalaureate education for nurses.

In summary, several elements, or forces, sowed the seeds contributed to the establishment of the basic baccalaureate nursing program at the University of Minnesota. First, the University of Minnesota was known throughout the nursing world as the first university to establish a school of nursing. Second, college graduates had enrolled in the school of nursing since the school's early establishment in 1909. In fact, one of the early proposal's of Miss Powell concerned the

facilitation of the procedure. Third, the impact of the advancement of science and medical knowledge forced the nurse to assume more functions formerly in the realm of the physician. Fourth, a new emphasis on public health concepts concerned with environmental sanitation, control and reporting of contagious diseases placed further demands on the nurse for which the three-year hospital training seemed inadequate. More and better prepared public health nurses were needed for health teaching all over the country, and specifically in large urban centers with their crowded population pocketed in small circumscribed areas. Lastly, World War I saw the need of the recruitment of more nurses. A national call urged college women to enter nursing for military and civilian duty, and the University of Minnesota participated in various programs to recruit them into nursing.

Individuals and small groups of faculty at the University of Minnesota encouraged the establishment of the basic baccalaureate nursing program. First of these, of course, was Louise M. Powell, the initiator and organizer of the basic baccalaureate program, who demonstrated both leadership and untiring efforts in the organization and development of the program. In an early paper read at the annual nursing convention in 1914, she advocated baccalaureate education for nurses because of new medical and scientific advances. Of the two staunch supporters at the School of Medicine, Dr. Richard O. Beard and Dean E. P. Lyon, there can be little doubt of their interest and their action to advance baccalaureate education for nurses.

The hospital superintendent, Dr. L. B. Baldwin, lent his support to Miss Powell as did Dr. Beard and Dean Lyon regarding their mutual interest
in the advancement of the nursing school. The three presidents of the university from the time of the founding of the school of nursing in 1909 exhibited a good deal more than a passing interest in it. The faculty of the College of Science, Literature and Arts and the School of Medicine appeared interested in the establishment of basic baccalaureate nurse education as the minutes of their meetings attest to swift action of approval. However, no new proposal or way was ever devised by the educators to help nursing education develop into another kind of, or perhaps a sounder or more efficient pattern of education. As with most university budgets, financial support, as in many educational projects, was never excessive. There is evidence to support the contention that most of the difficulties which beset the school of nursing since the establishment of its three-year diploma program, and later its baccalaureate program, simmered down to lack of financial support. But, all in all, the presidents and deans of the various colleges and schools, to judge from their correspondence, wanted the school of nursing to succeed, and they made every attempt within their power to steer it in that direction.

Of all the university administrators, Dean Lyon was the only one, outside of the nursing leadership, who devised a new plan to put nursing education on a stronger and sounder educational basis which, to him, signified adequate financial support. His correspondence files and his publications give a glimpse into a scientific probing mind capable of a fresh new point of view, of which his concrete plan for the financial support of nursing education was an example. Unfortunately,
no one then, nor is anyone today, interested in the implementation of his plan.

These, then, were the persons or groups, the forces or elements, behind the establishment of the basic baccalaureate nursing program at the University of Minnesota.
CHAPTER V

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE YALE UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF NURSING

The circumstances which surrounded the establishment of the Yale University School of Nursing four years after the founding of the basic baccalaureate nursing program at the University of Minnesota presented vivid contrasts. Where the principals in the founding at the University of Minnesota Miss Powell, Dr. Beard, and Dean Lyon worked tirelessly toward a common goal and struggled to make the school a success with the limited support of a state university budget, this was not the situation at Yale University. For at Yale, prior to the founding of its school of nursing, was Milton C. Winternitz, Dean of the School of Medicine, whose belief that the quality of medical education could only be as good as the quality of nursing education, made him an architect of a plan for a school of nursing; Charles-E. A. Winslow, professor of public health, whose knowledge of nursing education stemmed from his close contact with nursing leaders on national nursing organizations such as the Rockefeller Committee; Annie W. Goodrich, the future dean of the school of nursing, whose long and successful career in nursing established her as a leader of renown; James R. Angell, president of Yale University, whose interest and involvement in the school of nursing began long before its inception; and lastly, a sum of almost a half-million dollars from the
Rockefeller Foundation whose endowment established the school of nursing at Yale.

Even though the endowment of almost a million dollars for a five-year experiment in nursing education might prove contrast enough, other differences, more or less, stemmed from inherent characteristics of the two universities and their administrative leaders. President Angell, for example, devoted a good deal of time to the study of the possibility of a school of nursing at Yale, and later, to the actual founding and early development of the school.

The climate at the Yale School of Medicine was opportune for the actual founding of a school of nursing for several reasons. In the reports to the president of Yale University as far back as 1914, the Dean of the Medical School had urged the university to establish a school of nursing. The dean who succeeded him, Dr. Winternitz, developed a plan for a school of nursing on a sound educational basis. He believed that the school of nursing should be autonomous and enjoy the same relationship toward the hospital in the education of nurses as did the medical school in the education of medical students. The quality of the work of the graduate nurses, he wrote, fell far short in their fulfillment of new tasks placed upon them by modern scientific advances. He attributed this consequence to an archaic apprentice-type system of nursing education which the hospital administration controlled. He argued that nursing education should be organized and controlled by the university.

With Annie W. Goodrich as its first dean, Yale selected one of the chief nursing leaders of the day as well as one of the great figures
in the history of nursing. By the time she came to Yale, she had
organized the Army School of Nursing, of which she had been dean, was
simultaneously director of nurses of the Henry Street Visiting Nurse
Association and assistant professor of nursing and health at Teachers
College, Columbia University.

With these contrasts, there were also veins of similarities in
the founding and early development of the schools of nursing at the
University of Minnesota and Yale University. Both presidents of the
universities wanted their respective schools of nursing to succeed, both
deans of the schools of medicine cooperated unstintingly with the dean
and director of the school of nursing to encourage the growth of the
schools; both the dean and director of the schools of nursing were
activists and leaders in national nursing organizations and both schools
encountered similar difficulties with the educational aspects of the
clinical experiences of students. The degree to which the two schools
of nursing contrasted and yet shared similarities began with the actual
establishment of the Yale University School of Nursing.

In the Secretary's Report to the President and Fellows of Yale
University for the year 1922-1923, of the five items which were listed
in paragraph I under the caption "The Outstanding Events of the Year,"
the first was the establishment of the School of Nursing.¹

¹Yale University, Reports to the President of Yale University,
On the following page of the Yale Bulletin, the newly appointed Secretary, Robert M. Hutchins, elaborated on the founding of the school:

At the meeting of March 10, 1923, the Corporation voted to request the Rockefeller Foundation to contribute approximately $30,000 a year for not less than five years for the establishment and maintenance of the educational portion of a University School of Nursing. The Foundation acceded to this request; President Angell was authorized to establish the School and to appoint a dean. He appointed Miss Annie W. Goodrich, Assistant Professor of Nursing at Teachers College, Columbia. The School will be the first university undergraduate school of nursing in the United States and it is believed that it will have unusual influence in the progress of nursing education.2

Two references in the above paragraph need clarification. In addition to the $30,000 a year for the establishment and maintenance of the educational features of the school of nursing, there was an added $35,000 a year for equipment, supplies and other expenses for a five-year trial period. In 1929, to insure a permanent school of nursing at Yale, the Rockefeller Foundation awarded a million dollar endowment.

The designation of the Yale University School of Nursing as "the first undergraduate school of nursing in the United States" appeared several times in the records and documents of Yale University. The justification for this claim most likely stemmed from the fact that the Yale School of Nursing was the first autonomous school established with its own dean, budget and also, its five-year undergraduate curriculum based on educational-centered assignments and not hospital-controlled tasks, which was a problem the university school of nursing encountered as well as the hospital school of nursing.

2Ibid., p. 37.
In his own Report to the President for the same year, Dean Winternitz of the School of Medicine wrote:

Toward the end of the academic year, plans were completed for the establishment of the Yale School of Nursing. The need for such an institution has been emphasized repeatedly in previous reports, and for many years it has been the aim of the Medical Faculty to elevate the standards of nursing education. The School of Nursing will start under such splendid auspices that its success is assured. This is hardly a subject to be included in a report of the School of Medicine, but it is felt that the establishment of the School of Nursing is of such moment to the School of Medicine that a word of appreciation is not out of place.  

Later in the same report, he alluded to the Rockefeller report, Nursing and Nursing Education in the United States, as one of the "two notable events of the year," well aware that its influence would bear far-reaching effects.

Toward the end of his report, Dean Winternitz referred to attempts during the past ten years to organize a School of Nursing at Yale which . . . have borne fruit, and on April 25, 1923, President Angell announced the creation of such a school. The new school is an endeavor to combine in a single program the best current thoughts and tendencies in nursing education. It is the first school with its own dean, faculty, and budget. By concentrating on the educational features of the program it is expected that the present period of training for nurses can be considerably shortened and that during the course, a higher grade of training can be given. Moreover, the conception of training is somewhat unique in that an attempt will be made to embody experience in the community as well as at the bedside as part of the basic training, to the end that nurses graduating from this course will have some understanding of the community as well as the bedside aspects of disease and of which contribute both to illness and to its prevention. The University has been fortunate

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3Dean Milton C. Winternitz, Reports to the President of Yale University, 1922-1923 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923), p. 266.
in securing Miss Annie W. Goodrich of Columbia University and Henry Street Settlement, as Dean of this new School, and under her able leadership there is an opportunity for Yale to make a fundamental contribution to the nursing education of this country.4

From the foregoing reports, several important features regarding the establishment of the Yale School of Nursing emerged:

1. That the need for a school of nursing had been documented in the Annual Reports to the president by the two deans of the School of Medicine for the past ten years.

2. That the purposes for which the school was to be established were clearly defined.

3. That the Yale School of Nursing would be created as an autonomous school of the university with its own dean, faculty and budget.

4. That the Yale School of Nursing would be unique in its educational aims and in its implementation of the concept of what nursing education should be.

5. That Miss Goodrich was appointed the School of Nursing first dean.

6. That the proposed new school would be in a position to make vital contributions to Yale and to nursing education in America.

Prior to this official announcement of the establishment of the school of nursing, the first evidence for its need was recognized in 1914 by two outstanding Yale professors, Dr. George Blumer, Dean of the Yale School of Medicine and Dr. Charles-Edward A. Winslow of the Yale

4Tbid., p. 286.
School of Medicine, Department of Public Health.\(^5\) In his annual reports to the President of Yale, from 1914 up to his last report in 1920, Dean Blumer had emphasized the need for a "large fund for the endowment of a modern" School of Nursing.\(^6\)

However, he did not specify the kind of nursing school under university auspices which he envisioned. In the earlier years, 1914 and soon after, he may have referred to the traditional three-year program in a university setting, such as the University of Minnesota School of Nursing, but in the later years since 1916, two basic baccalaureate nursing programs at the University of Cincinnati and Teachers College, Columbia University, had come into existence. The exigencies of World War I had created the Vassar Training Camp which recruited college women into nursing. Also the Army School of Nursing, with its first Dean, Annie W. Goodrich, sought college women and other qualified women to enter the profession of nursing for service in both military and civilian hospitals.

The influence and work of the nursing leaders at Teachers College, Columbia University deserves important consideration as a point of reference here. Teachers College became the first institution to announce a degree-granting program for the graduate nurse in 1899. For many years, it was the only school of its kind to offer a baccalaureate

\(^5\)"Memorandum Relating to an Endowment for the School of Nursing," October 9, 1928, Yale University Archives, Angell Letter File. (Mimeographed.)

\(^6\)George Blumer, *Reports of the President of Yale University and of the Deans and Directors for the Academic Year 1917* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918), p. 211.
degree to graduate nurses. Its fame and esteem had extended throughout the United States as well as many foreign countries whose nurses came to America to study for a baccalaureate degree.

The inference here is that although Dean Blumer may have referred in the earlier years to the traditional pattern of nursing education transposed to a university setting, by the time of his retirement and his later report in 1920, the history of the growth and influence of the nursing department at Teachers College, Columbia, the able nursing leadership ensconced there, and Dr. Winslow's close association with them, may have prompted Dr. Blumer to think of a university school similar to the one at Columbia University.

Dean Winternitz's concept of the Yale University School of Nursing was definitely that of a professional university school such as he described which was quoted earlier in this chapter. In fact, he was the architect of "The Plan for the Development of a School of Nursing in Yale" and "The Prospectus of the School of Nurses of Yale University."7,8

In both of these plans for the establishment of the Yale School of Nursing, Dean Winternitz evaluated the present status of nursing and

7Milton C. Winternitz, "Plans for the Development of a School of Nursing in Yale University," [1921], n.d., n.p., Yale University, Archives, Angell File. (Typewritten.)

8"Prospectus of the School for Nurses of Yale University," [1922], n.d., Yale University School of Medicine, Historical Library, Winternitz File. No signature, but included with letter to President Angell, dated July 18, 1922 which contains same material signed by Milton C. Winternitz. (Typewritten.)
appealed for a university school of nursing on a sound educational basis. He cited the present needs at New Haven, and in the country as well, for qualified nurses to provide better care commensurate with newer concepts of patient care. Because of these concepts, he believed a new profession of nursing was emerging, and he carefully identified five new categorical functions of the professional nurse. His rationale for the need of a university school at Yale was based on the post-war social, scientific and educational developments in American society. Both his plans and prospectus of the Yale School of Nursing cited principles as:

1. Promotion of health and prevention of illness depended almost as much upon the nurse as upon the doctor.

2. The development of the nursing profession entailed the incorporation of more scientific principles as a basis for practice.

3. There was a lack of competent nursing leaders for important nursing positions.

4. There was a great need for nurses in community health agencies.

5. The nursing profession itself was aware of the need for a better system of education according to society's expectation of the functions of the professional nurse.

These two documents reflected the dean's methodical and carefully developed approach to his analysis of the needs of nursing education as a requisite to the establishment of the Yale school of nursing on a firm and educationally sound basis. Unequivocally Dean Winternitz was not only one of the medical profession to encourage the movement of
nursing education into the university, but indeed continued his interest in the implementation of the vital, new basic baccalaureate nursing program at Yale.

About the Dean's participation in the founding of the School of Nursing, Dr. Winslow bestowed the credit to the Dean for his early recognition of "the necessity for transforming the Connecticut Training School into a University School of Nursing on a truly professional basis as an essential factor in the upbuilding of a high-grade teaching hospital for the training of medical students." This statement originated from the pen of one who was considered one of the founders of the school of nursing.

Before the arrival of Dean Winternitz to Yale in 1920, Dr. Winslow described the School of Medicine and its faculty, student body and physical resources and compared the phenomenal growth of the school fifteen years later. In his own words, he described Dean Winternitz's accomplishments in instituting changes to build "a hospital and medical school of the very first rank" and referred to it "as a landmark in the world history of medical education."

At the Conference on Nursing Schools at Teachers College, Columbia University, Dean Winternitz expressed his belief that the two


10 Ibid., p. 21.

11 Ibid., p. 20. See also George Wilson Pierson, Yale University: The University College, 1921-1937 (2 vols.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), II, 260. The author referred to the Dean's administrative and leadership abilities as he "single-handed built up a modern medical school."
professions, medicine and nursing, must work together in order that each will be in a position to benefit from the other.\textsuperscript{12} Calling it "the proper association of nursing and medicine," he stated that it "can only be attained through university affiliation."\textsuperscript{13} The professions of public health, medicine and nursing face "pressing problems" in their scientific efforts to control man's environment to combat disease as well as to promote mental health. He asserted that only by a cooperative venture situated in a university setting with its search for science will this important association take place. With the hindsight of today's world, it is a fair assessment to state that a spirit of "cooperative venture" between medicine and nursing has not materialized. At least, not in the sense that Dean Winternitz, Dean Lyon and many other physicians of the era envisioned.

The best contribution that the School of Medicine will make to the School of Nursing, he advised, was by a spirit of willingness to assist and not by sanction of authority. To his way of thinking, nursing school matters as the curriculum and its administration rested in the nursing school.

Proceeding a step farther in the relationship of the medical and nursing school, he designated, in fact, that the "evolution" of

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{Department of Nursing Education of Teachers College and the Committee on University Relations of the National League for Nursing Education, Proceedings of Conference on Nursing Schools Connected with Colleges and Universities (New York: National League of Nursing Education, 1928), p. 25.}

\textsuperscript{13}\textit{Ibid.}
nursing education "must follow the development of the independent school of nursing."14

In the course of the actual founding of the School of Nursing, the correspondence between the executive heads of these institutions, President Angell of Yale and Edwin R. Embree and George R. Vincent, respectively secretary and president of the Rockefeller Foundation, mounted considerably. A common denominator interwoven throughout their letters was the deep concern of the heads of both institutions of the educational basis of the new nursing program at Yale.15 In fact, the contractual agreement signed by the Rockefeller Foundation and Yale University specified the "establishment and maintenance of the educational portion of the University School of Nursing" to ensure the educational features of the program.16 In this memorandum, President Angell stated his strong conviction that:

Training schools for nurses are in the great majority of instances still conducted on an apprenticeship basis, a method of training now abandoned in practically all of the professional fields and one which for several reasons is no longer satisfactory in the preparation of nurses.17

Therefore, like Dean Winternitz, he proposed a new, experimental program based on sound educational principles in place of the


16 Memorandum, J. R. Angell to Rockefeller Foundation, February 14, 1923, Yale University Archives, Angell File.

aprenticeship task assignments. In addition, the school was to have its own dean, faculty and budget with provision for its own classrooms, library and other necessary facilities.

Throughout its eight pages, the memorandum reflected the recognition of the demands which an educational program required. After its review of the memorandum, the Foundation agreed that in order to endow the School of Nursing at Yale, the University must provide three essential requirements.18 These were as follows:

1. That the emphasis be on education in contrast to mere apprenticeship.

2. That the time allotted for the education of the nurse be decreased as this will appear as "a natural corollary" to increased educational opportunity.

3. That public health concepts as well as institutional care of the ill in the home and community be incorporated into the basic baccalaureate nursing program.

These qualifications became the basis of the new experiment in nursing education at Yale University.

As President of the Rockefeller Foundation, George E. Vincent answered President Angell's letter to the Foundation dated February 14, 1923, and stated that he was personally interested in the new program at the Yale University School of Nursing because (1) much thought had

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18 Letter, E. R. Embree to J. R. Angell, February 26, 1923, Yale University, Archives, Angell File.
been given to methods to improve nursing education and (2) because of
the educational principles on which the school was to be founded.\textsuperscript{19}

Writing of the Rockefeller Foundation's interest in nursing and
nursing education, President Vincent in the Annual Report of the Founda-
tion, announced the annual contribution to Yale University "toward an
experiment and demonstration in the education of nurses."\textsuperscript{20} The report
contained the same three essential features of the School of Nursing as
contained the letter quoted to President Angell.

In a letter to Dean Goodrich, Mr. Embree wrote of his personal
interest in the School of Nursing at Yale.\textsuperscript{21} As a person in a key
administrative position of the Rockefeller Foundation, and a Yale gradu-
ate, his ideas, observations and understanding of the problems of
nursing education were important to consider and to analyze. In later
years, in an address delivered for the lay boards of hospitals and
public health nursing organizations in 1930, he observed that many nurse

\textsuperscript{19}Letter, G. E. Vincent to J. R. Angell, February 26, 1923, Yale
University, Archives, Angell File.

\textsuperscript{20}George E. Vincent, Annual Report, The Rockefeller Foundation
(New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1923), p. 25. President
Vincent, as former president of the University of Minnesota, had had
some administrative experiences with baccalaureate nursing education.
Although he had left the university before the actual establishment of
the basic baccalaureate program in 1919, he was president of the Univer-
sity when women as seniors in the College of Science, Literature and the
Arts had the opportunity to select nursing courses as an elective in the
senior year and also when women, as freshmen, had the opportunity to
select nursing courses throughout the four years as electives.

\textsuperscript{21}Letter, E. R. Embree to A. W. Goodrich, November 20, 1923,
Yale University, Archives, Angell File.
leaders preferred the three-year traditional nursing program rather than the basic baccalaureate nursing program. But, he argued, the work of the public health nurse, the psychiatric and maternity nurse, and other nurses in specialized areas, "which have serious responsibilities for human life and health" needed a "thorough and as rich a training as is humanly possible."22

The main thesis of his address was that a hospital school or nursing cannot serve two masters, service to the sick and education of the nurse, with justice to both. Unless, he added, special educational funds were allocated to the school for that specific purpose. At one time in the 1920's, there were approximately 2,200 schools of nursing with less than a handful which had endowments. To this day, there are but a few endowed hospital schools of nursing.

Not long after his inauguration as President of Yale University, Dr. Angell had become involved in the question of founding a school of nursing at Yale.

George Wilson Pierson, historian of Yale University, has painted a striking picture of Yale life before and after Angell's coming to Yale as President. He describes Yale's growth from a small liberal arts college to what he termed a "university college" during the administration of President Angell which covered almost two decades ending in 1937.23

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22 Edwin R. Embree, "Can the Nursing Program Serve Two Masters?" *Modern Hospital*, XXXIV (June, 1930), 58.

23 A son of a university president, James R. Rowland was born in Vermont and was educated at Michigan while John Dewey was there; studied at Harvard and in Germany under Friedrich Paulsen; then taught at the University of Minnesota and University of Chicago when William R. Harper was president. See Pierson, *Yale College*, pp. 509-19. Before his election as President of Yale, he was president of the Carnegie Corporation.
During his tenure in office as President, the student enrollment, faculty numbers and buildings and value of the physical plant increased from $35,000,000 to $100,000,000. Few of the "enterprising" deans allowed opportunities slip by to strengthen their schools and the Yale School of Nursing was established as well as the drama department of the School of Fine Arts, the Institute of Human Relations, the School of Engineering as a separate school from the Sheffield Scientific School and the Yale Observatory at Johannesburg.

In the actual establishment of the School of Nursing at Yale, President Angell was a prime mover. As he indicated in an address entitled "The Early Problems of the Yale Nursing School," "It fell to my lot as president of the University to hold out a welcoming hand at the time when the Rockefeller Foundation offered financial assistance in the founding of the school or to refuse it." By tradition, he vowed, Yale "has had little sympathy for women on campus even though thirty years earlier former President Hadley, then Dean of the Graduate School, opened Yale's doors to women. The few women at Yale "were regarded, at best, with suspicion, and at worst with active delight" and implied the same held true twenty-five years later as he delivered his address. He said:

Undergraduate Yale, which takes them [women] enthusiastically to its eager arms in social occasions (I am not going to be more specific about this) still holds them in somewhat low

\[24\] Ibid., p. 506.  \[25\] Ibid., p. 509.

\[26\] James R. Angell, "The Early Problem of the Yale Nursing School," Twenty-fifth Anniversary Exercise of the Yale University School of Nursing, Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine, XXI (March, 1949), 287.
esteem as intellectual companions, and like certain savage tribes regards them as agents of subtle poison to be discouraged from permanent presence on the campus. 27 (Italics mine.)

The students in their newspaper and other publications held expressions of ridicule both in print and in spoofing. For example, a cartoon in the Boston Herald, May 6, 1923, entitled "A Reaction to the Announcement of the Yale School of Nursing" showed a young woman sitting on the sofa commenting, "I shall never marry—I abhor household duties," to a man on his knees proposing and saying, "But I'm a Yale nurse." 28 (Italics theirs.)

About the question of the attitude of the Yale faculty regarding women on campus, President Angell commented, "Not a few members of the faculty, to say nothing of their wives, hold similar views to those of the students."

Since he had spent many years in academic life in universities "where women were received on terms of complete equality with their brothers, it did not occur to me to feel any hesitancy in advising the Corporation to accept the financial assistance" to establish the school. 29 By its participation, too, he believed Yale would demonstrate its commitment to public service, a function it avowed from its beginning. He added, "That there would be uncomfortable opposition, I well knew. Some of the groups in opposition other than the Yale

27 Ibid.


undergraduates, Yale faculty and their wives, were some of the prac-
ticing physicians and some nursing groups." The latter group President
Angell called "the old-time nurses."\(^3\) Delivering his address twenty-
five years later in 1947, he intimated that the circumstance "is not
entirely uncontemporary," in that both groups, physicians and nurses,
felt the same in 1947 as they did in 1923. He offered his explanation
as to why many doctors were in opposition to a university school at
Yale.

It deserves repetition here as it describes socially, educa-
tionally and psychologically the situation not only at Yale at a particu-
lar time in history, but for many corners of America and in this era.

I have reference to that fact a good many doctors who have
been schooled to regard the nurse as their purely personal
property to be completely subservient to their every whim
and ready instantly to execute any command, however,
unreasonable, and however remote from her proper duty—men
of this kind were often fearful that nurses trained at Yale
School proposed to do, would be over-educated, would be
rebellious and indisposed to accept dictatorial procedures
of the physician or surgeon in charge. (Italics mine.)\(^3\)

According to President Angell, many of the nurses believed
similarly as the physicians did that baccalaureate education for nurses
was "superfluous (poppycock, I think they designated it generally) and
certainly to be found useless." After a period of time as the doctors
began to work with the new Yale nurses, President Angell said, "they
[the doctors] became, with very few exceptions, cordial supporters of
the program."\(^3\) Letters in the Goodrich file written to Dean Winternitz,

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 292. \(^3\)Ibid., p. 291.
\(^3\)Ibid., p. 292.
who at the time was writing a report on the evaluation of the clinical performance of the Yale student nurses, attest to some physicians of the Yale School of Medicine who supported the basic baccalaureate nursing program and some who did not.\textsuperscript{33}

Another force in opposition to the new nursing program was the Board of Directors of the New Haven Hospital, wherein the Connecticut Training School for Nurses was located. Between Colonel Isaac Ullman, the President of the Board of Directors of the New Haven Hospital and Dean Goodrich of the School of Nursing, there developed a fighting relation which President Angell called "the protracted struggle." Colonel Ullman held the position that the hospital was being "financially ruined" because of the new teaching program. The Yale nurses were assigned patients in their clinical experience under the primary criterion of learning, and not for functional apprenticeship-like tasks.

Traditionally in America, as the hospitals controlled the schools of nursing, the hospital management held a favorable position to exploit the nursing student by the services she rendered in the care of the sick. Financially this was doubly rewarding to the hospitals in keeping their budgets down as the hospitals received service from the student, thereby eliminating the need of employment of a graduate nurse staff which required payment. Under this system of hospital education, the burden of the financial support rested, and still rests today, on the costs assumed by the hospitalized patient. The position of Miss Goodrich and

\textsuperscript{33} Letter, J. P. Peters to M. C. Winternitz, December 15, 1926; Letter, E. A. Parks to M. C. Winternitz, January 5, 1927; Letter, S. C. Harvey to M. C. Winternitz, February 15, 1927, Yale University, School of Medicine, Historical Library, Winternitz File.
the nursing leadership was that the student's educational experiences in the clinical area must center on learning and not repetitive, menial tasks assigned to them because of the unavailability of janitors, maids and other personnel. The basic tenet of education as one of the original essential qualifications agreed upon by the Yale Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation in the establishment of the Yale University School of Nursing was easier to sign into a contract than to put into actual practice in the clinical situation even in an endowed school of nursing. But as Dean Goodrich stood adamant in her belief of sound educational experiences in the clinical area, and as pressure mounted from the hospital administration, President Angell recalled that "she would appear in my office in Woodbridge Hall with wrinkled brow, and I won't say frowning countenance, but something less than cheerful countenance, to explain to me the unreasonable attitude of the hospital and the impossibility of doing business with them."34

The Connecticut Training School of the New Haven Hospital involved in this struggle, on its fiftieth anniversary in 1923 (which coincided with the opening of the Yale School), closed and turned over to the Yale School of Nursing its function of the education of nurses in the traditional three-year diploma program, as well as students who came from other nursing schools for what was then called "affiliates." The Yale baccalaureate students, however, did not attend the same classes; separate classes were held for them. The faculty of the Yale School of Nursing and the part-time faculty of the teaching assistants (head

nurses chosen by the Yale School of Nursing faculty to participate in teaching students) were responsible for the teaching of these three distinct groups of nursing students.

In the total framework of the consideration of the education of the nurses of the three levels, a board of trustees was hard put to understand the differences in the philosophy of education of the distinct groups as well as the differences in the costs of education of the three groups.

Over a period of time President Angell noted, however, a change in attitude of Colonel Ullman. Because, as he became involved with the Yale School of Nursing, he "became increasingly helpful and generous in finding solutions for the always perplexing problems."35

Another person in the hierarchy of hospital administration was Dr. Willard C. Rappleye, who was Superintendent of New Haven Hospital while plans for the Yale School of Nursing were in preparation in the early 1920's. He participated in the planning of the School of Nursing as several letters in President Angell's file indicate.36 In the correspondence files, there does not appear to be any evidence regarding his views on the Yale nursing student. However, when he was Director of Study, Commission of Medical Education in New Haven, he delivered an address before the Institute for Lay Boards of Hospitals and Public

Health Nursing Organizations, in Chicago. In this article, he clearly outlined his views on nursing education.

As Embree and others had done, he, too, called attention to the function of the hospital in relation to nursing education. Knowledge of public and mental health, social service and other functions as administration and teaching, involved a sounder and broader nursing program. His article, sprinkled with terms as "a new viewpoint," "some modifications" and "a different basis" for the education of the nurse was predicated on the concept that the system of nursing education was in need of change because of a wider range in the accepted function of the nurse. Nursing education, too, he said, should be supported financially as any educational program. He added that the nursing and medical professions as well as hospital administrators must get together in search of solutions to the problems of nursing education. Here was a hospital administrator, also a physician, who saw a cooperative relationship between medicine and surgery as a solution to problems in nursing education.

A few years later, Rappleye became Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at Columbia University.

By the time Miss Goodrich was called to Yale University as Dean of the School of Nursing, she had had a long and distinguished career in nursing as lecturer and assistant professor at Teachers College, Columbia University since 1904, director of nurses at Henry Street

Settlement since 1917 and Dean of the Army School of Nursing in 1918 and 1919.

National offices which she held were President of the American Nurses Association and the National League for Nursing Education; she was also a past president in the International Council of Nurses. Mount Holyoke College awarded her an honorary degree of Doctor of Science in 1921 and the War Department bestowed upon her the Distinguished Service Medal.38

She had long been a spokesman for university education of nurses and based her thinking, in the main, on the "social evolution," "the social functions" or the "social significance" of the nurse. If the nurse was to render intelligent nursing care, to undertake public health work and to cope with other demands placed on her by medical and scientific advances, all activities which to Miss Goodrich entailed a professional education in an institution of higher learning. The nurse's function was in line with society's needs, and the nurse, as she cared for the ill and as she taught prevention of disease and promotion of health, was a social agent. In a democratic society as America, said Miss Goodrich, the social agent, that is, the nurse, needed the kind of education which included the "scientific, philosophic and cultural thought."39

38 "Yale Establishes Undergraduate School of Nursing," Nation's Health (June, 1923), p. 395.
39 Annie W. Goodrich, "The Evolution of the Nurse," The Trained Nurse and Hospital Review, LXXIV (February, 1921), 143.
Integrated in her philosophy of nursing education was John Dewey's faith in democracy, his reverence of science, and his philosophy of the reconstruction of society by education. She quoted Dewey frequently in many of her addresses.\(^40\)

The designation of the nurse by Annie W. Goodrich as a "social agent" or of "social value" indicated the means wherein the public's health and welfare was improved by the nurse's intervention. Again, to Miss Goodrich, intervention as a result of professional judgment necessitated university education.

To cite an example or two from Miss Goodrich's addresses on her views of the social significance of the nurse, in 1917 she wrote:

Since 1911 . . . [an] encouraging and even notable advances have been made in nursing education. A more definite recognition of the professional status of nursing has been accorded by educators, the medical profession, and the public at large. The inclusion in health programs . . . establishes without question the social value of this public servant.\(^41\)

In a logical manner, she proceeded to define the function of the nurse and secondly, the kind of nursing program which enabled the nurse to fulfill this function. Her conclusion was that the hospital, because of its primary responsibility which was the care of the ill, cannot "carry the whole burden of the professional preparation that the field of nursing demands today."\(^42\) Curiously, Dean Goodrich was the fourth person

\(^{40}\) Annie W. Goodrich, The Social and Ethical Significance of Nursing (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932), see pages 109, 176, 260.

\(^{41}\) Annie W. Goodrich, "The Trained Nurse," Modern Hospital, IX (December, 1917), p. 431.

\(^{42}\) Ibid., p. 435.
involved in the establishment of the Yale School of Nursing, to record this trend. President Angell, Dean Winternitz and Edwin R. Embree were quoted earlier in the chapter as having made the same observation.

In the same address, she quoted a 1916 university tract which stated that a nurse should have a liberal arts education of the physical and social sciences, languages and history and this necessitated "a comprehensive university training."\(^4^3\)

In 1932, Miss Goodrich published a book entitled *The Social and Ethical Significance of Nursing* which was a collection of her major addresses and publications.\(^4^4\) Dispersed throughout the book were numerous references to the social aspect of nursing. One, in particular, was an address before the International Council of Nurses in 1929, when she spoke of the "university movement" in nursing education. She explained:

> Social necessity certainly created nursing and is now forcing the changes which we are seeking to effect through the university relationship. Upon the nursing profession must and should fall the best traditions of the profession, while formulating a program through which its achievement may keep step with the progress in the medical and other sciences. This is, in effect, to demand a program of education that may ensure to the community the nursing service required in the curative and remedial incidence of disease and the many means now available for its prevention.\(^4^5\)

Thus she was more than aware of the necessity of change in nursing education because of scientific advances; she, moreover, undertook the role of interpreter to her peers. The changes in medicine and the science,

\(^4^3\) Ibid., p. 432.
\(^4^4\) Goodrich, *Social and Ethical Significance*, 1932.
\(^4^5\) Ibid., p. 318.
change in therapeutic care and prevention all indicated changes in the
social implication of nursing and nursing education.

She understood the economic drawback in the support of the
hospital school of nursing and quoted Miss Nutting's thesis on the
importance of sound financial support. Addressing the American
Hospital Association in 1928, she outlined the essentials of a budget
which included cost studies of graduate students and student nurses or a
school of nursing. The main thesis of her article was that the school
should estimate the cost of student experience and the student should pay
for the instruction.

The title of an address, "How the Nurse Can Contribute the
Service the Public Expects," which she delivered to the Institute for
Board Members under the auspices of the Henry Street Visiting Nurse
Service in 1930, stressed once again the social interaction between the
nurse and the public. The main thesis of this article was that the
community had a responsibility for nursing beyond the education, finances
and determination of the function of nursing. No matter how "inconspicuous" the role delegated to the nurse in health work, she maintained,
"almost without exception it is a part of fundamental importance."

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46 M. A. Nutting, A Sound Economic Basis for Schools of Nursing

47 Annie W. Goodrich, "The Separate School of Nursing and Its
Budget," Transactions of the American Hospital Association, XXX (1928),
285.

48 Annie W. Goodrich, "How the Nurse Can Contribute the Service
the Public Expects," Reprint, Hospital Social Service, XXIV (1931), 10.

49 Ibid.
the needs in the community involved direction and coordination of nursing activities for the health of the community, nursing education was of no less importance. Science contributed the greatest gift to the social order, and in her words, "No worker needs that torch more than the nurse." Science, according to Miss Goodrich, would provide the answers to a healthy and happy society. If the nurse had the knowledge of herself, the community and her profession, and under the impact of science, she could well help to promote the development of a healthy society.

Not only did she suggest a study to consider why nursing did not attract the better qualified student, but she also advocated to the group of nurses at the annual convention that they undertake the responsibility of notification of proposed changes in nursing education to the community.

Some of these changes in nursing education called for "a new plan of nursing education" or "a new structure," she said, such as the one instituted at Yale, which encompassed the "ever widening scope of function" of the nurse because of the creative and scientific spirit of man. Historically, she explained, nursing in the past fifty years had developed from its "primitive" stage of menial task-oriented service to a

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50 Ibid., p. 15.


public service which demanded a high form of scientific-oriented education because of "the potential social value of the nurse."\(^5\)

In the establishment of the Yale University School of Nursing, Dean Goodrich met more than the three essential qualifications of the contractual agreement between the Rockefeller Foundation and the Yale Corporation in the administration and organization of the nursing curriculum. The three essential features, to repeat, included the integration of the concept of the prevention of disease into the total curriculum, the shortening of the curriculum and the emphasis of sound educational experiences in place of apprenticeship throughout the curriculum.

To insure an educational experience in the clinical area, Dean Goodrich appointed clinical nurses and head nurses as teaching assistants whose function entailed the supervision of students in the clinical area.

By means of monthly conferences, Dean Goodrich met with both the school of nursing faculty and the clinical nurse faculty to discuss the objectives of the school of nursing, the evaluation of student performances in the clinical area as well as general problems encountered in the student clinical experiences. The teaching assistants, therefore, held both a title and a specific responsibility in the overall education of the student and enjoyed a channel of communication between the school and the hospital personnel directly to the Dean of the School of Nursing.

The Superintendent of Nurses, Effie J. Taylor, the chief nurse administrator of the hospital, attended these conferences and served as a member of numerous school of nursing committees as the general faculty

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 143.
committee. Thus she obtained first-hand knowledge of the objectives of the school. A most capable administrator and teacher, she later succeeded Miss Goodrich as Dean of the School of Nursing.

The university paid part of the salary of the teaching assistants and head nurses who participated in the clinical teaching of students as it recognized the fact that the university, and not the hospital, should assume the financial responsibility of this undertaking.

Two other innovations instituted by Dean Goodrich, designated the Yale University School of Nursing as unique in its contribution to the education of nurses. These were (1) the organization and implementation of the concept of prevention of illness into the nursing curriculum and (2) the case-study method of patient assignment throughout the student's clinical experience.

Thus the Yale University School of Nursing became the first to organize and implement these concepts into the basic nursing curriculum, and since the nursing profession came in the late mid-century to incorporate these same concepts into the curriculum, it is a fair assessment of Dean Goodrich's ability to say that she was, indeed, thirty years ahead of the nursing profession-at-large in her thinking and in the implementation of the basic nursing curriculum at Yale.

Dean Goodrich was research-oriented and early recognized the need of scientific studies in nursing. Her files consisted of many graphs, charts and percentages of costs, student evaluations and plans for future expansion of the school of nursing. Some of the earliest
This page contains a segment of text discussing Annie W. Goodrich's contributions to nursing education and her role as the first female dean of a school of an all-male undergraduate university. It highlights her steady encouragement and her ability to lead nursing education into uncharted directions, which it came to adopt many decades later. The text also describes a conversation between Dr. F. T. Murphy and Dean Goodrich regarding the small enrollment of the school of nursing, and Dean Goodrich's reassurance that made it difficult to justify the existence of the school.
His comment offered more than a little insight into the Goodrich personality.

As for Dr. C.-E. Winslow's participation in the establishment of the school, President Seymour referred to him as "among the founder's of the school." In his introductory statements, President Seymour recalled that Dr. Winslow was "long an outstanding figure in the movement to elevate educational standards of the nursing profession," pointing out that he had been the Chairman of the first Rockefeller Committee in 1918 to investigate the problems of nursing education in the United States. As a result of the Committee's recommendations that more university nursing schools were needed, the Yale School of Nursing was founded. For many years during his tenure at Yale and after his retirement from Yale, he taught public health to Yale nurses.

Dr. Winslow worked with Miss Nutting and Miss Goodrich as they developed the Rockefeller Committee's recommendations; the time period of the study covered as long as five years. On the day of his address at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the School of Nursing, he reminisced to the earlier days when they strove to complete the writing of the recommendations, when a group "sat around a table in the garden behind the Henry Street Settlement, working by candle light."  

56 Charles Seymour, "Twenty-fifth Anniversary Exercises of the Yale University School of Nursing," Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine, XXI (March, 1949), 265.

57 Charles-Edward A. Winslow, "Twenty-fifth Anniversary Exercises of the Yale University School of Nursing," Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine, XXI (March, 1949), 267.
Interestingly in the same address he offered a rationale for university education of the nurse which Miss Nutting, Miss Goodrich and he had long advocated.

In practically every other field of community service, we have recognized the responsibility of public aid to education. We have assumed, as a matter of course, that professionally trained experts were necessary for the welfare of society and that society should help to pay the bill. In the field of nursing, however, our hospital schools are still largely parasitic on the student nurse who—in actual fact—must pay almost the whole cost of her training in cash or service. She is unable to pay for good education and the community, therefore, must be satisfied with a second-rate product. So the community does ultimately pay the bill through the loss of a higher quality of service which it should receive from a better trained profession.58 (Italics his.)

From his long experience and involvement in the problems of nursing education, Dr. Winslow believed that, because of society's expectation of new functions of the nurse, the public should support her education within the same educational system or framework as the other professions. In the same address he designated the university school as the "keystone of the arch of nursing education."

In earlier days, in an address in nursing education at the opening exercises of the Henry Ford Hospital, he summarized the status of nursing education by his observation that "There is something wrong with the training schools, something a little wrong with the best of them, and a great deal wrong with the vast majority."59 As far as the future

58 Ibid., p. 269.

59 C.-E. A. Winslow, "Nursing Education--Its Past and Its Future," Modern Hospital, XXV (September, 1925), 237. Compare with Dean Lyon's statement in an earlier chapter that "nursing is a sick profession." The two men were keenly aware that "something was wrong" with the traditional hospital system of education and presented their solutions to the problem.
of nursing education, the university school was his choice. The issue of nursing education was confused because, he said, the aim of the hospital and the aim of the school of nursing are "separate and distinct."

He called the poorer hospital schools which enrolled students for the primary purpose of nursing service "educational mills" and made a plea for more endowments and more experimental nursing programs as the Yale School of Nursing.60

Throughout his many public addresses was the persistent theme of the concern of the future for nursing education. His advocacy for more endowments for schools of nursing as Yale and Western Reserve was another common element dispersed in many of his addresses. By 1949, when the Brown report revealed the little progress in the establishment of more university schools of nursing, Dr. Winslow described the impact of the report as "a rude awakening in its revelation of our failure on a broad scale to make more than a minor approach to the ideals of 1923" when Yale had established its autonomous school of nursing.61

For Dr. Winslow to use such a term as "our failure" was atypical and unmatched in any other of his numerous publications. In fact, this address delivered on a celebrated occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Yale School of Nursing disclosed a picture of gloom and


pessimism for the future of nursing education as typified in the choice of his title. For the "awakening" after twenty-five years rested in the stark reality that there were so few—three or four—endowed nursing schools at mid-century. Almost twenty-five years later after his address, today in the late third of the twentieth century, the picture of the endowed nursing school remains essentially unchanged.

In the personage of Miss Goodrich, both the Rockefeller Foundation and the Yale Corporation found the ideal "fit" in the implementation of a sound basic nursing curriculum at the Yale School of Nursing. Of itself, a sound educational basic nursing curriculum required innovation in approach, theory and practice since no previous college or university school of nursing had had the financial resources to support such a venture. Dean Goodrich more than met the challenge in the organization and establishment of a new and exciting basic nursing curriculum. She proved, in the process, her far-sighted thinking in her basic philosophy of nursing education, for the Yale School of Nursing's innovations in nursing education slowly gained acceptance into the curriculum of American colleges and universities (and even in the hospital schools of nursing to the degree the program could be implemented) by the mid-century.

As stated earlier, the deans of the Yale University School of Medicine, as well as the President of the University, a professor of public health and two executive officers of the Rockefeller Foundation

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62 Ibid., p. 269. He quoted from the United States Public Health Service Study completed in 1944 of 20 "representative" schools of nursing which showed that 88 per cent of their income came from student services, 11 per cent from student fees and only 1 per cent from gifts and endowments.
supported the establishment of the Yale School of Nursing. Those who were not in favor of the establishment of the school were the president of the Board of Directors of the New Haven Hospital (who later became an advocate of the School of Nursing), the Yale faculty and their wives, Yale students and some practicing physicians and nurses.

All of the administrative officers mentioned above who supported the establishment of the Yale School of Nursing, in their writings and private letters, reflected some common concerns and attitudes in their philosophy of education and its practical application in nursing education. All of them agreed that the hospital school of nursing did not "educate" its graduates to fulfill the nurses' newly developing functions which were changing because of continual medical and scientific advances. All of them agreed that an institution of higher learning appeared to be the place wherein the education of a professional nurse should be located as was the education of members of the other professions. All of them recognized that the new baccalaureate nursing curriculum at Yale was unique, different and challenging in the sense that it would affect the future trend of nursing education. In President Angell's words, the Yale nursing program would bring "unequivocal prestige to Yale University."

There is no question about the illustrious beginning of the history of the Yale University School of Nursing. The Rockefeller Foundation at the end of the first five-year experiment endowed another gift of one million dollars in 1929 to the Yale University School of Nursing.
The nursing profession at mid-century finally accepted many of the innovations of the basic nursing curriculum which Dean Goodrich had instituted at the Yale University School of Nursing in the third decade of the twentieth century. But it was no accident that Dr. Winslow became pessimistic twenty-five years after the founding of the Yale School of Nursing because of his observation that one-quarter of a century later there were so few endowed schools of nursing. Amazingly, the situation of the four or five endowed schools of nursing in America has not changed since Dr. Winslow's address delivered in 1948 which, today, bridges a gap of another twenty years.
CHAPTER VI

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRANCES PAYNE BOLTON SCHOOL
OF NURSING AT CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

Under vastly different local circumstances from those obtaining in Minneapolis and New Haven, the events which led to the establishment of the basic baccalaureate nursing education at Case Western Reserve University\(^1\) involved a series of independent yet inter-locking incidents which took place before, during and after the first World War.

The earliest major factor or influence was the founding of the College for Women later called the Flora Stone Mather College at Western Reserve University in 1888. The purpose for its establishment, as expressed by the Board of Trustees of Western Reserve University, was that it was to be "a college of equal grade for women."\(^2\) It indicated an early interest of the citizens of Cleveland in the education of women although Oberlin had opened its doors to women since 1833. Eventually two decades later when the public health nursing course was instituted at Western Reserve University, it was through the College for Women that the course was established.

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\(^1\) Corporate title of the combined facilities (since 1967) of Case Institute of Technology and Western Reserve University.

A few years after the founding of the College for Women, Isabel Hampton Robb, a nursing leader of renown discussed in an earlier chapter, married and came with her husband, Dr. Hunter Robb, to live in Cleveland. Both she and Dr. Robb were members of the Training School Committee of Lakeside Hospital. In fact, Mrs. Robb was chairman of the committee. She continued her interest and activity as a committee member until her sudden death in 1910.

As early as 1908, the Training School Committee initiated a move from the hospital school of nursing into the university for the use of the resources of the university. Even though the proposal was limited to the preparatory course of the first three months of nurses training, it was an innovation developed by Mrs. Robb. The minutes of the Training School Committee dated October 29, 1908 at which both Dr. and Mrs. Robb were present, read:

A committee consisting of Mrs. H. Robb, Dr. Edward F. Cushing and Miss [Maude] Ellis [Hospital Superintendent] was appointed to consider the possibility of establishing a preparatory course of nursing instruction in the Women's College of Ohio.3

According to the announcement in the early Bulletins of the Lakeside Training School of Nurses, Mrs. Robb taught a course on Nursing Ethics to the student nurses, and Dr. Robb lectured on Gynecology.

As far back as 1893, when Mrs. Robb, then Isabel Hampton, delivered a paper entitled, "Educational Standards for Nurses" to a group of superintendents of nursing schools, she held the beacon of

3Western Reserve University, Minutes of the Meetings of the Training School Committee of Lakeside Hospital, 1898-1923, meeting of October 29, 1908, p. 149. (Handwritten.)
change in nursing education. Her new proposals contained standards in
nursing education as (1) the length of the course of study, (2) the
instruction and supervision of students throughout the course of study,
and (3) the eight-hour day, which were so uncommon in her day that it
virtually required a half-century before their fulfillment.

In regard to the education of the superintendent or principal,
she noted that the superintendent or principal was not prepared for the
responsibility assigned to her in the education of the student nurse.
On this subject she wrote, "... a Normal School for preparing women
for such posts is quite as necessary as those established for other
kinds of teachers."

Only one step removed from this philosophy of nursing education
was the key role, also mentioned in an earlier chapter, which she played
in the establishment of the course in Hospital Economics at Teachers
College in 1899.

The first instance of the entrance of nurses into Western
Reserve University was in 1911 by the public health nurses, who were
first enrolled that year in a new course. According to a report of the
Committee on Training Nurses for Social Work, Miss Belle Sherwin prefaced
her announcement of the course by the statement that the graduate nurses
who came to the agency to work were not adequately prepared to undertake
the work. The frame of reference, she explained, for the care of the
patient and his family in the home was so vastly different from the care
of the ill in the hospital. "The physical care of the patient of the

4Isabel A. Hampton, *Nursing of the Sick, 1893* (New York: McGraw-
visiting nurse cannot be divorced from a consideration of his social and economic condition," she reported.\(^5\)

New ways, therefore, were sought to offer the additional preparation to qualify the visiting nurse to perform the function of the agency. She wrote:

... nebulous plans for equipping future visiting nurses for social work before they plunged into it, took unexpectedly gratifying form through the readiest and most gracious cooperation of Western Reserve University, The Anti-Tuberculosis League, The Associated Charities, and the Babies' Dispensary.\(^6\)

Three important points emerge from the above quotation on the administrative position of the agency: (1) the recognition and plan to seek further educational preparation for the visiting nurse, (2) the provision to implement the educational plan entailed the cooperation of five social and educational agencies in the community, and (3) the area most needed to meet the agency's goal of health teaching and promotion was further preparation in social work.

Miss Sherwin's report continued and described the titles, the professors and the content of the course for public health nurses, which was first offered in September, 1911:

The work of the first semester has consisted in class work, three times a week, in the principles and methods of visiting nursing, family rehabilitation and standards of living; field work every morning for four months with cases chosen for the typical value; two lectures each week in Practical Sociology

\(^5\)Report of the Committee on Training Nurses for Social Work, *The Visiting Nurse Quarterly*, IV (January, 1912), 79. Miss Sherwin was chairman of the Advisory Committee for eleven years, retiring in 1922.

\(^6\)Ibid., p. 81.
by Mr. J. E. Culter of the University, and a course by Mr. Henry Bourne of the University, on the Traditions and Ideals of the Foreign Population of Cleveland, given by the professors of the University and distinguished representatives of the Magyars, the Slavs and Jews of the city.  

The next semester included lectures and field work under the Associated Charities, the Anti-Tuberculosis League, the Babies' Dispensary, and two lectures on Charities and Corrections and American Society by Mr. Cutler. The striking features of the educational program concern its practicality in outlook as well as its ingenuity in the use of sound educational principles. Theory and practice were offered concurrently; the lectures were given by qualified academicians in a university.

Another force or event which exerted its influence in the direction which would eventually lead to baccalaureate nursing education was World War I. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, college women became another source of manpower from which the National Council of Defense could recruit more women into service as nurses. The nursing schools over the country answered the government's request. A typical reaction was recorded in the Training School Minutes of Lakeside Hospital dated July 16, 1917 with the following members present; Mrs. Ireland, chairman, Mrs. Garfield, Mrs. Sheffield, Miss Mather, Mrs. Burke and the Acting Principal of the School.

Action was taken by the Committee that college graduates who wished to enter the Training School should be allowed one academic year [of credit].

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7Ibid.

8Western Reserve University, Minutes of the meetings of the Training School Committee of Lakeside Hospital, 1898-1923, meeting of July 16, 1917, p. 4. (Handwritten.)
Two other moves in the same direction were the establishment of the Army Training School, which recruited both college and diploma school nurses and the Vassar Training Camp which pertained to college graduates only.

Western Reserve University participated in the Vassar Training Camp. The Training School minutes of March 5, 1918, at which many of the members listed above were present, read:

This committee decided that College Graduates who take the three months preliminary preparation of the Training Camp for Nurses at Vassar this summer be admitted to this school and permitted to finish the course of training in two years. 9

Faddis reported that twenty-nine college graduates came from the Vassar Training Camp to study nursing at Lakeside Hospital and though there was "little tangible" evidence, "it is at least possible that their presence helped to stimulate some of the important developments which were soon to follow." 10

Miss Claribel A. Wheeler served as acting director of a third wartime program, a summer course at Western Reserve University. She read a paper at the national convention on the results of the educational experiment in nursing education. After presenting the advantages of better educational preparation because of university resources as well as the enrollment of better qualified students, she raised the question

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9 Western Reserve University, Minutes of the Meetings of the Training School Committee of Lakeside Hospital, 1898-1923, meeting of March 5, 1918, p. 12. (Handwritten.)

10 Margene O. Faddis, History of the Frances Payne Bolton School of Nursing (Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press, 1948), p. 83.
concerning the possibility of permanent programs at the university for nurses. These were the thoughts of a superintendent and head of a three-year diploma school at Mount Sinai Hospital in Cleveland.\(^{11}\)

At the time of these activities at Lakeside Hospital, there was a request made to the university by the public health nurses in Cleveland for courses in public health nursing which eventually led to a baccalaureate degree for nurses in the School of Applied Sciences under Dean James E. Cutler. Its origin, however, began in the department of sociology of Adelbert College, and the College for Women complied with the request for such instruction by the Visiting Nurse Association several years before 1916.\(^{12}\) When the School of Applied Sciences came into existence in 1916, it offered the course in Public Health Nursing with two other major programs in municipal and public administration and public service, and family welfare and social service. The purpose of the school was to offer professional training "for those called upon to organize and direct community work under modern conditions."\(^{13}\) How


\(^{12}\) C. E. Gehlke, "A Review of the Aims and Methods of the School of Applied Sciences Presented to the Faculty by its Committee on Review Policy Approved by the Faculty," November 18, 1925, Western Reserve University, Archives, Cutler File. (Mimeographed.)

\(^{13}\) Western Reserve University, Reports of the President and Other Officers, 1916-1917 (Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press, 1917), p. 9.
The occasion of the founding of this school was a petition addressed in 1913 to the University trustees by a committee representing eighteen social and civic organizations of Cleveland. The petitioners bespoke the serious consideration by the Trustees of the need and the opportunity for a school, organized as an integral part of the University, which should teach the social sciences in direct application to community life and public affairs.\(^{14}\)

The school, therefore, was established in answer to a direct request from the people in the community for the community's needs with the aim of better preparation for the public health nurse as one of the school's objectives.

Even after later developments when the School of Nursing was established autonomously at Western Reserve University in 1923, the public health nursing course remained in the School of Applied Sciences until 1939, when it finally became part of the School of Nursing.

In the 1918-1919 Report to the President, the Acting Dean of the School of Applied Social Sciences described the interest and the need to increase the supply of public health nurses "for which there is a great demand." He also outlined several "new and interesting" features of the public health nursing course. Many of the students were recruited by the American Red Cross and the National Organization for Public Health Nursing. Others were from the Industrial Nurses Club from Cleveland and other manufacturing plants from a distance as far as Akron, Ohio. There was continuity in the trend to come to the university for additional preparation, because as he pointed out, since July 1, 1918, visiting

\(^{14}\) Gehlke, "Aims and Methods," p. 4.
nurses and senior student hospital nurses had participated in the course offered by the university.  

Because of the war and the influenza epidemic, the shortage of nurses seemed more acute and the need for public health nurses even greater.

When Western Reserve University offered the course for the public health nurse in the School of Applied Social Sciences, the area wherein the student participated for field work experience was called the University Public Health Nursing District. It was unique in that the area was set apart for the express purpose of student teaching. The responsibility for the education of the student was assumed by the university as well as the salary of the director of the agency. There was no other teaching district like it in the country.

The history of the University Public Health Nursing District in its early years proclaimed once again the interest and involvement of the citizens of Cleveland for the provision of health care of the people in the community. The Visiting Nurse Association of Cleveland, the Anti-Tuberculosis League and the School of Applied Social Sciences contributed various amounts to meet the cost of expenses for the first year of their cooperation.  

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15 Western Reserve University, Report of the Dean of the School of Applied Social Sciences, 1918-1919 (Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press, 1919), p. 75.

16 See Eleanor Farnham, Pioneering in Public Health Nursing Education (Cleveland: Western University Press, 1964) for a history of the University Public Health Nursing District, 1917-1962.

17 Western Reserve University, Minutes of Meetings of the Advisory Committee, University Public Health Nursing District, meeting
The minutes of the University Public Health Nursing District from 1911 through 1923 reveal an illustrious array of talent and social prominence of its Advisory Committee membership. The minutes for the two years, 1921 and 1923, for example, indicate that Mrs. Charles F. Thwing was chairman. In 1916, when she was a member of the board of trustees of the University Public Health Nursing District, her husband was president of the Western Reserve University. Other members of the committee included Mrs. John H. Lowman, Mrs. Perry W. Harvey, Miss Pansy Ireland, Mrs. Alfred A. Brewster, Dr. James E. Cutler and doctors and nurses from the university and from the public health agency. Of the first five members listed, three served for fifteen or more years as members of the Advisory Committee or the Board of Trustees of the University Public Health Nursing District. The total number of years of service to the university and to the community of the five lay committee members was sixty years.

The committee recommended in 1923 the procurement of another nurse in order that the director "have more time to prepare for her class work." Notably the committees demonstrated their ability to

of February 1, 1917. (Typewritten.) The operating cost of the district the first year was estimated at $12,000. The Visiting Nurse Association contributed $3,500, the Anti-Tuberculosis League $6,500 and the School of Applied Social Science $2,000. The salary of the director was to be paid by the university from this time forward. The director's salary, heretofore, paid by the Visiting Nurse Association was released for scholarships.

18 Western Reserve University, Minutes of the Meetings of the University Public Health Nursing District, meeting of November 28, 1921. (Typewritten.)

19 Western Reserve University, Minutes of Meetings of the Advisory Committee, University Public Health Nursing District, meeting of November 28, 1923. (Typewritten.)
review a problem, make recommendation and if, as above, financial assistance was indicated, to share that responsibility in the solicitation for funds.

The Cleveland Hospital and Health Survey of 1920, in its evaluation of the University Public Health Nursing District, described the agency's nursing services to the community as "of the first order." The survey had been authorized by the Cleveland Hospital Council in the previous year for two major reasons: (1) to outline the existing health facilities available in Cleveland and (2) to determine the adequate number and functions of hospitals and other institutions which could best serve the city at present and in the future.

The Survey Committee considered all aspects of health care of both public and private institutions, their purpose and function, the qualifications of their staffs, the policies of the care of the ill, instruction of students and the various health laws and codes of the city and state. Dr. Haven Emerson of Columbia University was the director of the survey and Miss Josephine Goldmark, secretary of the Rockefeller Committee for the Study of Nursing Education, was the director of the nursing survey in Cleveland.

The most outstanding feature of the report with respect to nursing education was the committee's explicit recommendation for the establishment of a university school of nursing. A preface to their

20Cleveland Hospital Council, Cleveland Hospital and Health Survey (Cleveland: Cleveland Hospital Council, 1920), p. 789.
21Ibid., p. 8.
recommendation explained that their suggestions for desirable changes in
the hospital schools of nursing were "ameliorative" in that they indi-
cated temporary improvements only and "not the fundamental reorganiza-
tion under university auspices, which is needed for the future develop-
ment of nursing education." The report of the committee revealed the
interest on the part of the university in basic baccalaureate nursing
education in a new proposal for a future school or department of nursing
subject to financial support for its establishment. It also commented
on the university's success in the provision of college instruction for
eighty-eight student nurses in 1918 "which set the precedent for an
extension of such a university connection."22

After thirty pages of descriptions and analysis of the organi-
ization, instruction and conditions of work of the hospital schools of
nursing in Cleveland, the committee wrote in its summary of recommenda-
tions:

It is strongly urged that a University School of nursing be
established at the earliest possible date. This school should
be on the same academic basis as are other undergraduate schools
of the University. The instructors should be members of the
University staff. All students should fully meet the usual
requirements for admission, and the combined university and
hospital course should lead to the Bachelor of Science degree.
The didactic instruction, both in class-room and laboratory,
should be given by the school.23

As mentioned earlier, before writing its recommendation for the
establishment of a university school, the committee outlined all aspects
of the traditional pattern of nursing education in the hospital training
schools in Cleveland. These included entrance requirements, organization

22Ibid., p. 710. 23Ibid., p. 741.
of the hospital schools, the nursing curriculum and hours of duty, vacation and the ratio of nurses to patients. The committee reported that although a high school diploma was required, eight out of the 133 students at Lakeside Hospital have less. An eight-hour day was presumably in effect, but class work, meal time and study time were superimposed on the eight hours.

Although night duty was assigned for an eight-week period, many extended beyond that time. Student assignment, therefore, was not educational in nature, but secondary, as for example, in the routine preparation for surgical supplies for a period of six weeks.  

The recommendation for the establishment of a university school of nursing, after the description given above, may not be too surprising in that the committee suggested an educational institution responsible for the education of the student nurse as an alternative to the hospital training which was work-oriented and not education-oriented.

Another feature of the Cleveland survey, described as "one of the most valuable assets for public health nursing in Cleveland," was the Central Committee on Public Health Nursing which coordinated and directed matters pertaining to public health. The committee, whose chairman was always a layman, was composed of two representatives from each of the six participating public and private health agencies. It was not a regulatory but an advisory committee. About this committee, the report stated, "It is not too much to say that the high rank of Cleveland as a center for various branches of public health nursing is

Faddis, History of School of Nursing, p. 92.
due in large part to the existence of the committee and the interest in public health nursing which it reflects."25

Two years after the publication of the first report, a second report was published to answer many questions which were raised about the "needs, values and results" of the first report.26 The foreword of the second report declared that the first survey had served as an impetus in the founding at Western Reserve University of a department of nursing education "which had been discussed for a long time before the Survey, but it seems fair to say that the Survey actually hastened the beginning of this project by re-emphasizing its need."27 On the question of a university school of nursing, the second report reiterated the position taken in the first report:

A University school of Nursing should be established at Western Reserve University on the same basis as are the graduate schools of the University and affiliated with several hospitals for training in specified branches of nursing.28

Although the committee stated that their recommendation for a university school had effectuated the founding of the nursing department at Western Reserve University, it acknowledged, also, other determinants instrumental to its founding. It noted:

There is abundant evidence that for more than twelve years a group of interested lay people and nurses have worked together to bring about a School of Nursing connected with the University.29

25 Cleveland Hospital Council, Hospital and Health Survey, p. 756.
26 Cleveland Hospital Council, Cleveland Hospital and Health Survey: Two Years After, 1921-1922 (Cleveland: Cleveland Hospital Council, 1922). p. 5.
27 Ibid., p. 7. 28 Ibid., p. 25. 29 Ibid., p. 63.
The role of nurses and lay people interested in the founding of a school of nursing will be discussed later in this chapter.

The Department of Nursing Education at Western Reserve University in the College for Women, stated the report, had been established in the fall of 1921 "for the purpose of increasing and improving opportunities for nursing education in this city by utilizing all the agencies in the community." The description of the five-year basic baccalaureate nursing program contained its cultural aims of the first two years, its professional objectives in the following two years and the choice of an elective major program in the fifth year.30

The first evidence of the establishment of the department of nursing education at Western Reserve University had been noted in the Faculty Records. On June 10, 1921, at a meeting of the Permanent Officers, it was voted to recommend to the trustees the establishment of a department of nursing in the College for Women. It was also voted to recommend the appointment of Miss Carolyn E. Gray as Associate Professor of Nursing for one year. A third section of the minutes read as follows:

Voted that the secretary send a letter to the Committee of Citizens expressing our appreciation of their interest in this work--Education of nurses--and their willingness to assume the financial responsibility for it.31

Community interest and support, both moral and financial, was again

30 Ibid., p. 62.
31 Western Reserve University, Faculty Records, Minutes of Meetings of the General Faculty, December 1919-June, 1925, meeting of June 10, 1921.
shown to be an essential element in the founding of the department of nursing in the College for Women.

In the Bulletin of the College for Women, 1921-1922, there appeared an announcement of the five-year nursing program for the degree of bachelor of science. Basic sciences and general cultural subjects as English, history and languages were given in the first two years which were followed by two years of clinical nursing. In the fifth year, the student elected teaching, administration or public health nursing. Miss Gray taught the first eight of the following courses:

1. Hygiene and Sanitation for Nurses.
2. History of Nursing.
3. Current Problems in Nursing Education.
4. Teaching of Nursing Principles and Methods.
5. Supervision in Hospitals and Schools of Nursing.
6. The Curriculum in Schools of Nursing.
7. Practice Teaching.
8. Administration in Schools of Nursing.
9. Home Nursing.32

The last course was taught by Miss Helen R. Landfear. All the courses were taken in the College for Women. The student had a choice of living at the college, her home or at the hospital "in some cases." Both a Bachelor of Science degree and a diploma in nursing were awarded the student at the successful completion of the course.

In the same year, the Bulletin of the School of Applied Social Sciences under the Division of Health Administration, gave a description of the public health nursing course with a list of its instructors. The duration of the course, which included both classwork and field practice,

32 Western Reserve University, Bulletin of the College for Women, 1921-1922 (Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press, 1922), pp. 166-167.
was one year. A certificate was given at the completion of the one-year course. There were no baccalaureate degrees after the names of the seven public health instructors nor the four nursing superintendents who comprised the consulting staff.\textsuperscript{33}

A new proposal to safeguard the student nurse's learning in the clinical area was submitted by Miss Gray in November of the same year before the General Faculty. She requested that a supervisory committee be formed, with one member from the faculty of Nursing Education, and one to be nominated by the Committee of Citizens interested in nursing education. The task of this committee was to oversee that the required standards were met by the hospitals which offered clinical experiences to the student nurse. A description of the standards was reported to the general faculty, which adopted the proposal.\textsuperscript{34} The members of the committee included both professional and lay members as well as faculty representation.

At the scheduled meeting of the Committee on Nursing Education with university officers, trustees and advisory members of the School of Nursing, it was voted that the subject of the establishment of a School of Nursing at Western Reserve University was "worthy of serious consideration at the next meeting of the trustees of the University."\textsuperscript{35} It

\textsuperscript{33}\textit{Western Reserve University, Bulletin of the School of Applied Social Sciences, 1921-1922} (Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press, 1922), pp. 480-481.

\textsuperscript{34}\textit{Western Reserve University, Faculty Records, Minutes of Meetings of the General Faculty, December 1919-June 1925, meeting of November 22, 1921}, p. 95.

\textsuperscript{35}\textit{Western Reserve University, Minutes of the Meetings of the Committee on Nursing Education, meeting of October 26, 1922.} (Typewritten.)
was also voted that the trustees be asked to request the Rockefeller Foundation to establish the same kind of institution as it had at Yale.

Later, at a joint meeting of the trustees of Adelbert College and Western Reserve University, a resolution was passed by the trustees to appeal to the Rockefeller Foundation for aid in the establishment of a School of Nursing at Western Reserve University. The Board of Trustees agreed on the worthiness of the subject of university education for nurses, and, stating that the present program in the College of Nurses benefited not only "this Community but the Country at large," acknowledged the University did not have the finances to support a School of Nursing.36

When the appeal was denied by Mr. Edwin R. Embree, Secretary of the Rockefeller Foundation, because of the Foundation's interest in international health problems, Mrs. Bolton's letter informing the Board of Trustees of her decision to endow the school "as a separate school of the University on equal and inter-dependent basis with the College for Women" was read to the Board of Trustees by the Acting President of Western Reserve University, James D. Williamson.37 Dr. Robert E. Vinson, President-elect, was a guest at this meeting.

In his acceptance of the endowment on behalf of the trustees, President Williamson, in a letter to Mrs. Bolton, acknowledged her

36 Western Reserve University, Minutes of Meetings of the Trustees of Adelbert College and Western Reserve University, meeting of November 8, 1922. (Typewritten.)

37 Western Reserve University, Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Trustees of Western Reserve University, meeting of April 19, 1923. (Typewritten.)
desire to establish the School of Nursing "as an integral part of the University" and "fitting it properly into the University structure."
The President, thereby, appointed a special committee of five trustees "to consider these important matters." In the same letter, the President mentioned that Dr. Vinson would meet in New Haven with President Angell to "learn from him just how a similar school is to be related to Yale, and of course, will give us the benefit of any information he may acquire there."^{38}

At the meeting of the Committee of Five Trustees, the consensus was that the "department of nursing education at the College for Women might evolve into a separate unit of the University under the name "School of Nursing" on the authority of the Trustees at its annual meeting to be held June 12, 1923. The committee also recommended that a Dean of the School of Nursing be elected at the same meeting.^{39}

The Special Committee appointed by the Trustees Committee on Nursing Education met on June 4 and adopted for presentation to the Board of Trustees, the five following points:

1. That the trustees establish at once by formal vote the School of Nursing.

2. That a Dean of the School of Nursing be appointed.

3. That a Committee of Three from the Board of Trustees be selected, and add to the committee members who would further the development of the school, and serve as an

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^{38}Letter, J. D. Williamson to F. P. Bolton, April 30, 1923, Western Reserve University, Archives, School of Nursing Files.

^{39}Western Reserve University, Minutes of Meetings of the Committee of Five Trustees, meeting of April 19, 1923. (Typewritten.)
Advisory Committee to the school and be responsible to the President and Board of Trustees for the development and advancement of the School of Nursing.

4. That the Dean of the School of Nursing and her advisers plan organizational matters pertaining to the School of Nursing, subject to the approval of the President of the University.

5. That the endowment of $500,000 be held in trust for five years for the operation of the School of Nursing and that no additional funds would be forthcoming from the general fund of the university.40

The next day the Committee of Trustees on Nursing Education met and were presented with the findings of the Special Committee. The Trustees Committee approved the findings with a few minor changes, in a form to be presented to the Board of Trustees at its annual meeting one week hence.41 At that meeting, a letter from Mrs. Frances Payne Bolton was read, a part of which stated:

I have notified this committee of my readiness to contribute $500,000 of the $1,000,000 needed for the establishment and endowment of a University School of Nursing, as a separate school of the University on equal and inter-dependent basis with the College of Women.42

This series of excerpts from the minutes of the Special Committee of Five Trustees, the Committee on Nursing Education, the Trustees of Adelbert College and Western Reserve University, and the Board of

40Western Reserve University, Minutes of Meetings of Special Committee of Trustees on Nursing Education, meeting of June 4, 1923. (Typewritten.)

41Western Reserve University, Minutes of Meetings of the Committee of Trustees on Nursing Education, meeting of June 5, 1923. (Typewritten.)

42Western Reserve University, Minutes of Meetings of the Board of Trustees, meeting of June 12, 1923. (Typewritten.)
Trustees indicate the numerous kinds of planning and involvement of a variety of representative groups both within and without the university community and also within and without the nursing profession.

The Board of Trustees included eleven lay members, four of whom were Mr. Newton D. Baker, Judge Samuel E. Kramer, Bishop William A. Leonard and four professors who represented faculty trustees. The Committee on Nursing Education was composed of trustees and by invitation, Dean Helen M. Smith, of the College for Women, and Miss Gray. The Special Committee appointed by the Trustee Committee on Nursing Education included Dr. Robert H. Bishop, Commissioner of Health, Mrs. Bolton, Dean Smith, Miss Gray and Mr. Sidney S. Wilson, Secretary and Treasurer of the University.

One year later the first informal conference of the Committee on Nursing Education with university officers and trustees was scheduled to be held. Miss Gray presented to the Committee on a University Department of Nursing Education (of which Mrs. Thwing was chairman) the developmental plans for three nursing programs and the need for a School of Nursing which was indicated by the growth of the five-year basic baccalaureate program, the baccalaureate program for registered nurses and the public health nursing course.43 A committee of three was appointed to draft such a recommendation to the Board of Trustees. Present at this meeting in addition to Mrs. Thwing and Miss Gray were

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43Western Reserve University, Minutes of Meetings of Committee on a University Department of Nursing Education, meeting of October 22, 1923. (Typewritten.)
Mrs. Chester C. Bolton, Mrs. Perry Harvey, Mrs. John H. Lowman, Dr. J. E. Cutler and nurse representatives from the University Public Health Nursing District.

From the early efforts to found and develop a university nursing school at Western Reserve University, the initiation, the planning, the endowment and the finalization of the plans for the school came from the indefatigable energy and impetus of the interested citizenry in the community. This group, or element, marked the distinctive characteristic of the founding of the Frances Payne Bolton School of Nursing at Case Western Reserve University.

The role of the nursing profession needs investigation at this point to determine its contribution, if any, in the establishment of the School of Nursing at Western Reserve University.

The activities of Miss Gray, as head of the Department of Nursing Education and as committee member of the Committee on Nursing Education and of the Special Committee of Five Trustees, was documented in the earlier part of this chapter. Since, in the establishment of the School of Nursing, her position was a strategic one, her philosophy of nursing education, her proposals and plans for the new school need careful examination, analysis and interpretation. Another aspect of the role of the nursing profession will be the consideration of the desires and reaction of a particular group of nurses as written by the principal of nurses at Lakeside Hospital in her annual report.

Prior to coming to Western Reserve University as Associate Professor of Nursing, Carolyn E. Gray was well known in nursing as co-author of the *Textbook on Anatomy and Physiology*, the revised
edition of which are still in current use. She held office as president of the New York State League of Nursing Education and vice-president of the National League for Nursing Education and had presented numerous papers at professional meetings. She and Annie W. Goodrich were associate editors of Modern Hospital in 1918.

As a short biography of her indicates, she was a remarkable woman in many ways. Early in her career at the age of twenty, she was the supervisory nurse, and the only graduate nurse, in charge of a hospital as well as a teacher of the students at Gouvernor's Hospital, a large metropolitan hospital situated in a crowded waterfront district of New York City.44

After she had accomplished the task of rebuilding the reputation of both the hospital and the training school, she accepted another equally difficult and important position at the Fordham Hospital. Again by dint of hard work and innovative planning, she proved successful in this venture. Prior to World War I, she returned to City Hospital as principal of the school of nursing. While holding this position, she enrolled at Teachers College, Columbia University and earned a bachelor's and three years later, a master's degree. During her tenure as principal of the school of nursing, many innovations, as improvement of the curriculum, organization of the student council and an eight-hour day, were inaugurated.

44 National League of Nursing Education, Biographies of Nurses (New York: National League of Nursing Education), n.d.
As early as 1915, she realized that many changes were needed in nursing education if nursing schools were to meet their objectives "for the highest and best development" of the younger students now entering nursing. The present nursing curriculum, she argued, was based on the admission requirements of the older-aged students. Also it authorized the use of strict military discipline which was no longer necessary, and in fact, should be displaced with a new concept of self-government. She said, in an article on self-government:

My whole approach to the subject of self-government is influenced by the fact that I regard the education of the nurse as the most important function of the nursing school.45

This concept, seen in the light of her dual position as Superintendent of the New York City Training Hospital at Blackwell's Island, New York was provocative in that her responsibilities entailed both delivery of hospital service and education of the student nurse.

The main thesis of this article on self-government was that an innovation to encourage the students to accept more responsibilities for self-education, self-reliance and good judgment, seemed more compatible with the school's educational objectives than strict discipline. Even though she exhibited some reservations about the proposal, in 1915 this was revolutionary thinking in nursing education.

Another paper which held a new and different approach to the education of the nurse, delivered a plea for the use of organized publicity to recruit nurses because of the shortage of nurses created

after World War I. Many nurse practitioners and superintendents considered the use of publicity as "undignified" and therefore unworthy of a profession. Colleges and universities utilized various communication media, she averred, in the competition for better students. As long as the nursing school's primary task was that of education, "the goods we have to sell" were no different from that of the colleges and universities.46

In 1921, she identified the aims of nursing education by tracing the historical development of hospitals and nursing schools from the days of Florence Nightingale to the present nursing situation in the United States. Times were changing, she maintained, and the aims of nursing education should be changing along with them. Since hospital nursing schools educated the nurse to render bedside care only, university education was justifiable in light of the broad cultural, social and scientific knowledge a nurse needed to have in order to function in a democratic society.47

As reported in an earlier chapter, as chairman of the Committee to Study Nursing Education in Colleges and Universities, Miss Gray reported the findings of a study at a nursing convention, to determine how the nursing school had become a part of the university. Unfortunately, the number of the schools, together with their comments, were


47Carolyn E. Gray, "What Are the Aims of Nursing Education," American Journal of Nursing, XXI (February, 1921), 308-313.
not categorized, but generalized as to (1) their position or "professional status" within the university community, (2) conditions necessary "to establish professional status" for a nursing school within the university community, and (3) the benefits incurred from an association within the university community.

The answers to the last question ranged from "greater availability of facilities" down to the "cultural advantages." However, the written answers in the presentation of the first two sections of the study were expressed in terms of moral imperatives, that is, what the nursing school should be doing to attain professional status.

By 1925, after four years at Western Reserve University, she formulated her position on the necessity of university education for nurses because, she noted, the growth in the numbers of hospitals and the fact the public was entitled to receive the care of well-prepared nurses. She compared the hospital training system of nursing education and the university school of nursing as the difference between the horse and buggy and modern transportation and strongly urged the utilization of the resources of the university for nursing education. 48

A contemporary of Carolyn E. Gray at Western Reserve University, Grace E. Allison, Principal of the Lakeside School of Nursing from 1919 to 1923, held essentially many of the same views on the problems and issues in nursing education, but stated them in a different way.

In presenting the needed changes and reforms, she described articulately her perceptions of the financial support of hospital schools

48 Carolyn E. Gray, "The Influence of the University in Modern Nursing Education," Modern Hospital, XXIV (January, 1925), 25-61.
of nursing, the system of student exploitation under the pattern of hospital school nurse education and the disadvantages incurred because of the first two structures. An independent nursing school budget, shorter work hours to allow more hours for class and study and an educational institution responsible for the education of the student nurse were among her recommendations.49

To this end she asked—and answered—three pertinent questions: (1) what qualifications does a nurse need in order to meet the expectations of the public, (2) in what ways can the "educational development" best take place, and (3) how can the demand for the supply of nurses be met?

Asking the question, "Why should the responsibility for filling our schools with students for public welfare rest with nurses themselves?," she offered an answer in the context of society's need for nurses—there was a shortage of nurses then as today—and its "somewhat apathetic attitude in the matter of interest in our fundamental educational work."50

One paragraph merits quoting in its entirety, because it answered the essential questions embedded in it. Although Miss Allison was a graduate of Teachers College, Columbia University and presumably aware of the necessity of a sound educational nursing program, in her key role as principal of the hospital school, her advocacy of the

49 Grace E. Allison, Annual Report of the School of Nursing, Fifty-fifth Annual Report, Lakeside Hospital (Cleveland: The Lakeside Hospital, 1921), p. 75.
50 Ibid.
principle that an educational institution be the entrusted body to
direct this experience seems remarkable for this time and place in
history. She said:

The education of nurses needs to be standardized and
standardization can only be accomplished through placing the
teaching work under recognized authorities who are wholly
responsible for it and who guarantee to the public the adequacy
of its product. This authority should logically be an edu­
cational institution and it is for this reason that we antici­
pate progress for the school through the affiliation with the
University School of Nursing at Western Reserve University.51

This type of arrangement, she continued, will provide better
instruction by more qualified teachers, better teaching facilities,
properly equipped laboratories and better libraries. In the following
paragraph, she buttressed her argument with the announcement that the
"affiliation" with the university was not a new pattern as seventeen
universities and colleges had developed central schools for preliminary
courses. She heartily endorsed this plan and offered the analogy of the
use of the hospital as a laboratory in the education of the nursing
student as well as the medical student.

Such a person in a key administrative post as principal of the
hospital school of nursing and as a potential member of various com­
mittees associated with both the school and the hospital, was in a
position of influence in the promotion or deterrence of the gradual
movement of nursing education into the university.

Her documents revealed, also, the attitude of the nursing
profession on the announcement of the founding of the School of Nursing
at Western Reserve University.

51 Ibid., p. 76.
When she later wrote a thirteen-page history of Lakeside Hospital during the years of her administration from July 1915 to July 1923, she recalled that endowments and "the ambition for a University School of Nursing was discussed frequently by various groups and became a burning question." The Class of 1920 of Lakeside Hospital was the first to contribute to the endowment fund and others, she recorded, as the Alumnae Association added to it. The reference to a "burning question" might indicate dissension in the nursing group, but the following quotation ruled out this possibility.

Legal papers were drawn up and an earnest hope was entertained by all that at some time the dream of a University School of Nursing, free from the sub-ordination of the preparation of the student to the needs of the hospital, could be realized.52

The reference to the legal papers implied concerted action by an authorized majority as well as an interested body of nurses. It substantiated the evidence that an organized group of both nursing leaders and nursing practitioners at Lakeside Hospital supported the establishment of a university school of nursing at Western Reserve University, although it is impossible to learn what percentage of nurse practitioners were speaking for the total number of nurses at Lakeside Hospital.

The brief history also alluded to the Training School Committee, with Mrs. Harvey as chairman, and its invitation to Miss Isabel Stewart and Miss Laura Logan, Dean of the University School of Nursing at Cincinnati, to come to Cleveland for a conference on university schools of

52 Grace E. Allison, Lakeside Hospital School for Nurses, July 1915- July 1923, Western Reserve University, Beaumont Library, School of Nursing Files, 1929, pp. 1-13. (Typewritten.)
nursing. Members of the Board of Trustees of Western Reserve University and "other interested persons" attended the conference.

Miss Allison also indicated that "formal action" to support the university school of nursing which became "the foundation for later developments" was accepted by the group and "as late as ten years ago [1919] there was comparatively little serious thought given to independent endowments for Schools of Nursing." Apparently the group of nurses, university officials and community represented by the board members agreed on the establishment of the school. When the announcement of Mrs. Bolton's endowment was released, she recalled "vivid recollections of that meeting." Pride and joy were two expressed reactions of the nursing group summarized by the author's comment that, "Few have the privilege of experiencing such a moment in the history of one's school."

After the announcement of Mrs. Bolton's endowment for a School of Nursing at Western Reserve University, the Committee on Nursing Education voted that it, the Committee, be dissolved since it was no longer required. Before dissolving, it passed a resolution of its recommendation on the composition of the new committee. It suggested representation from the Central Committee on Nursing, physicians, educators, including the faculty of the College for Women, the Cleveland Welfare Director and "allied interest" groups who would serve as subcommittee chairmen.54

53 Ibid., p. 12.
54 Report from The Committee on a Department of Nursing Education to The Special Committee of the Trustees of Western Reserve University
The nursing profession was not the only group whose opinions were essential in the establishment of the School of Nursing at Western Reserve University. There was also the university administration, the medical profession itself, lay leaders such as Mrs. John H. Lowman, mentioned earlier in this chapter, and certainly Mrs. Bolton, whose philanthropy was indispensable.

Because he was Dean of the School of Applied Social Sciences which offered the public health nursing course and a program in nursing which awarded a bachelor's degree in nursing, the ideas and views of Dr. James E. Cutler on nursing education need consideration in regard to his role in the encouragement or hampering of the establishment of a School of nursing at Western Reserve University. His views were expressed in an address at a national nursing convention in 1918 when the nursing department was located in the School for Applied Social Sciences.  

The new demands placed on nursing by the war necessitated drastic changes in the preparation of nurses, he said. As an educator, he suggested a new institution for the education of nurses to replace the apprenticeship training which, though indispensable at one time, was fast disappearing in all professions but nursing. Comparing nursing

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[1923], n.d. Copy attached to a letter of Carolyn E. Gray to Mrs. P. W. Harvey was dated November 3, 1923, Western Reserve University, Archives, School of Nursing Files.

education with medical education, he noted that no one advocated medical education "as a means of taking care of patients in the hospital" but as a way to use the clinical facilities with instructors provided by the school. He advocated the extension of the same basic principle for nursing students.

With the nursing profession assuming more and more of its social functions in many health services, he said, and with greater emphasis on general nursing instead of private duty nursing, he suggested two levels of nursing in a four-year program in an institution of higher learning. A "first-grade certificate" would be awarded for a four-year generalized nursing curriculum and a "second-grade certificate" for a two-year bedside nursing program. With one major variation, nursing education developed in precisely this way thirty years after his address.

He envisioned the end of the hospital training school because of the following reasons: (1) it could no longer adequately prepare the nurse for her increasing social functions, (2) financially, education was expensive, and (3) a new agency to educate nurses for the two levels would assume the educational function of the hospital school. His prediction proved correct, however, in that the trend each year indicates a decrease in the percentage of nurses who graduate from the three-year diploma school of nursing and an increase in the percentage of nurses who graduate from the two-year associate and four-year baccalaureate nursing programs.

A search of the President's Files reveals few documents concerning the interest and involvements of the Presidents of the University in
the founding of the School of Nursing. All appear to indicate keen interest in the founding and early development of the School.

Dr. Robert E. Vinson assumed office as President of Western Reserve University when the School of Nursing was in the actual process of being founded. As President, he served on the Advisory Committee of the School of Nursing during his tenure in office.

He appeared to be highly interested in the development of an educationally sound School of Nursing. To this aim, he wrote a clear and concise letter in which he clarified not only the role of the Dean and faculty of the School to set and to maintain its educational objectives, but also his responsibility as President in the direction of the total educational program of the university which included the School of Nursing.56

In the same letter, he urged the Dean of the School of Nursing and her faculty that "whenever in their judgment the facilities provided by the hospitals are found to be insufficient to enable the School of Nursing to function properly, to present their criticisms and suggestions to the President of the University" who would then take necessary official action with the hospital administration. The inference here suggests some measure of conflict between the School of Nursing faculty and the hospital personnel.

In another letter, President Vinson wrote of his confidence in the future development of the School of Nursing during the time when the

56 Letter, R. E. Vinson to L. M. Powell, April 7, 1926, Western Reserve University, Archives, President's Office Files.
school functioned in its five-year trial period before its permanent establishment as a School of the University in 1928.\textsuperscript{57}

The year in which he made this recommendation to the Board of Trustees that the School of Nursing be established permanently, President Vinson began his annual report with the plans for the development of the School of Nursing. In fact, the School of Nursing report covered one-third of the twelve-page report.

On the disposition of the School of Nursing at the end of its trial period, he wrote that "the experiment seems to me on the whole to have justified itself." For, he said, "I can see no reason for delaying such action as this for another experimental period." Subsequently, he outlined three major concerns which needed to be reconciled in the School of Nursing.\textsuperscript{58} The first two problems pertained to the relationship between the University and the hospital organization for student clinical experiences, and the third with the question of the school's endowment and its execution of the policies of the school.

His one recommendation to the trustees that they establish the school on a permanent basis appeared to substantiate once again his belief in the purpose of the school.

There were two letters which reveal the attitude of the medical profession towards the establishment of the School of Nursing at Western Reserve University as perceived by President of the University.

\textsuperscript{57}Letter, R. E. Vinson to M. R. Wilson, March 25, 1926, Western Reserve University, Archives, President's Office Files.

\textsuperscript{58}Western Reserve University, \textit{Reports of the President and Other Officers, 1927-1928} (Cleveland: Western Reserve Press, 1928), pp. 3-7.
In a letter to the President of the American Association of Hospital Social Workers, President Vinson explained:

The School of Nursing here being a new venture and at the beginning not having met altogether with favor from the medical profession, was included in the group of University schools by the Board of Trustees somewhat on an experimental basis for a period of five years. Three of the five years have now elapsed and our observation is that the School has constantly been growing in favor, both with the Trustees and with the members of the staff of the medical school so that I feel now much more confident of its future development than would have been possible a year or two ago.59

In this short paragraph, a glimpse into the attitudes and reactions of the President and Trustees of Western Reserve University and the medical profession were seen as "not altogether with favor at the beginning" and a change to "growing in favor" after three years of the school's existence.

The striking feature of the above evaluation, outside of its stark honesty, was that (1) the School of Nursing, as a new experiment, had been established and viewed unfavorably by the medical profession and (2) under such circumstances, the School of Nursing was able to justify itself to attain equal status with the other schools and colleges in the university two years before the end of its five-year trial period.

One of the groups who were prime movers in the establishment of the School of Nursing at Western Reserve University were the laity, especially women who were in positions of prominence. Throughout this

59 Letter, R. E. Vinson to M. R. Wilson, March 25, 1926, Western Reserve University, Archives, President's Office Files.
chapter, references have been made to their contributions of both time and talent, to further the cause of nursing education.

The role portrayed by the laity of Cleveland is well exemplified in the ideas and philosophy of Isabel Lowman, wife of Dr. John H. Lowman, Professor of Clinical Medicine at Western Reserve University. Mrs. Lowman served over two decades as a board member of the Advisory Nursing Committee and the University Public Health Nursing District at Western Reserve University. Through the years of her involvement in nursing education, she published numerous articles and presented several papers to local and national audiences on the role of the laity in nursing education.

As early as 1918, she had stressed the various ways people in the community were in strategic positions to help the nursing profession reach its purpose and objectives. Foremost was the community's role in the stimulation of public support for nursing education, as an "enlightened" public was the "best guarantee," she wrote, for "sound and sure Progress." Equally important was the role of the nursing profession in its cooperation with the community. From her standpoint, she maintained, there was a "wall" which separated nursing education from an "understanding" public. Until the profession attempted to break through the walls and work with the public, nursing, she claimed, will remain a trade with apprenticeship graduate nurses instead of professional nurses. She stated that only nursing education has remained outside the

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60 Isabel W. Lowman, "Opportunities and Responsibilities of Lay People to Cooperate More Fully with the Nursing Profession, Public Health Nurse Quarterly, X (July, 1918), 279.
main stream of education with no endowments and no material public support of its educational system. She identified the weakest link in the chain as the lack of time and money of the National League of Nursing Education to carry on "a vigorous campaign" to reach the general public instead of confinement of its operations to its own membership.  

In another article, she added a new dimension to the interrelationship of the public and the profession. She said:

We of the public are greatly concerned with the promotion and support of schools and universities, but until quite recently we have not acknowledged our responsibility toward schools of nursing, which have had to face a large measure of poverty and misunderstanding largely because of the apathy of the public.  

She equated public support of colleges and universities with public responsibility to support nursing education. This same theme appeared in another address when she commented that "well informed public opinion" is the "treasure" of a community. She drew a parallel between medical education and its many public and private endowments with nursing education which had little or no endowment, "because the public as a whole has as yet hardly realized there is need for such a thing."

Her thesis posed two questions which remain relevant to the problems and issues in nursing education today. (1) Is the public

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61 Isabel W. Lowman, "The Relation of a School of Nursing to a Hospital," *Modern Hospital*, XVIII (February, 1922), 160.


aware of its responsibility for the education of the nurse today and (2) is the public supportive of baccalaureate nursing education today? The significance of her views in her day and today is sharpened when contrasted with the views of Dr. Elliott C. Cutler, Professor of Surgery at Western Reserve University Medical School. In an address in 1925, Dr. Cutler advocated two different types of nurses. One, the generalist, who was responsible for the care of the ill in the hospital; and the specialist, who needed added preparation for teaching, administration or public health nursing. The first entailed three years in a diploma school; the second, university education. He added:

There may be added classes in medical and nursing history, in literature, and in other subjects calculated to give the future teacher a broad cultural aspect towards her profession. We cannot expect nor do we need such an elaborate training in all nurses.64

By "elaborate training" the doctor quite likely referred to baccalaureate nursing education.

Promptly Mrs. Lowman refuted Dr. Cutler's main thesis for nursing education which expounded two levels of education for nurses. Dr. Cutler, she began, paid great tribute to the nursing profession when he stated that if doctors had to relinquish all methods of therapy save one, he would choose "good nursing." "This being the case," she argued, "I believe that no preparation can be too good for those who are to continue to justify this statement." In the day when education as the basis for entrance to many new occupations and professions was coming

64Elliott C. Cutler, "The Present-day Relation of Doctors and Nurses," Modern Hospital, XXVI (January, 1926), 75.
into its own, Mrs. Lowman did not agree that the curtailment of education to one type of task was warranted. 65

Mrs. Frances Payne Bolton, another important layman in Cleveland, shared many of the views and ideas on nursing education with Mrs. Lowman. As remarked, she eventually was the donor of funds to make these ideas a reality. Mrs. Bolton's biographer has written that at the age of nineteen, unannounced to her father because of his probable disapproval, she and her friends undertook a new kind of support of a local charity. They began the project by buying, cutting and rolling bandages, which were not commercially packaged at that time, for the use of the Visiting Nurse Association. Their work later developed to making home visits with the public health nurse by carrying extra supplies and helping her in the home. 66

Frances Payne Bolton climbed flights of stairs, scrubbed children and worked with the poor families in the tenements with the visiting nurse to whom she was assigned. From her interest in the work of the Visiting Nurse Association, she accepted the invitation of her good friend, Kate Hanna Ireland, to attend a board meeting of the Training School Committee of the Lakeside Hospital School of Nursing in 1907. Shortly thereafter, she was invited to become a member of the board, although she was only twenty-two years of age.

Throughout the years, both before and after her election to Congress, she maintained an active interest in nursing. In the first

65 Lowman, "Increased Education for Nurses," p. 76.
World War, two decades before her election to Congress, she played a major role in the establishment of the Army School of Nursing.

At the twenty-fourth convention of the National League of Nursing Education, a lively discussion followed after Annie W. Goodrich had delivered her paper on a plan for the establishment of the Army School of Nursing to train registered nurses for both war and civilian needs. In opposition to the plan, a group headed by Jane Delano of the American Red Cross offered a proposal to train volunteers as aides on a short-term basis. When Mrs. Bolton entered the discussion, she stated that servicemen were entitled to the "best we can give them" which called for the three-year training program. She added, too, benefits would be procured in the availability of the opportunity for some women who might not otherwise enter the profession.67

In later years, during World War II, as a member of Congress, she was author of the Bolton Act which created the United States Cadet Nurse Corps. For nurses in the armed services, she helped to sponsor legislation to change the status of nurses from relatives to full rank as officers and to equalize the pay scale of nurses with male officers of similar rank. She also sponsored legislation to commission men nurses as reserve officers. After the Korean conflict, she introduced a

67 National League of Nursing Education, Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Company, 1918, p. 181.)
bill for federal aid to education in the form of traineeships for graduate nurses.68

In 1924, just one year after she had endowed the School of Nursing at Western Reserve University, Frances Payne Bolton read a paper before the National League of Nursing Education which disclosed her ideas and views on nursing education. She developed a concept for the justification of the university nursing school on the basis that the education of the nurse in an institution of higher learning "will enable her to render more worthwhile service."69 One of the problems in nursing education entailed the enrollment of young, intelligent, "purposeful" women of which the profession was in great need. To Mrs. Bolton, the college graduates of the Vassar Training Camp had demonstrated the high calibre of their contribution to the country. The question arose now, six years after the war, on how to attract this same type of young women into nursing.

The University school of nursing "is the direct and definite answer" to this problem, explained Mrs. Bolton, because by its placement in an educational institution, "it immediately becomes of new interest to the young woman seeking to prepare herself for a broad life and


69 Frances P. Bolton, "The Responsibility of the University School of Nursing to the Individual Student, the Hospital and the Community," Proceedings of the Thirtieth Annual Convention (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Company, 1924), p. 134.
self-dependence and service."\textsuperscript{70} Therefore, her education must be based on what the community expects her to know. University education for the nurse which encompassed proper habits of study and "protection against heavy responsibilities before she is prepared for them" was justifiable in that she will be better prepared to undertake her professional duties.

One of the important roles of the university nursing school, she identified as becoming an agent of change in the attitude of the public towards health. To stamp out ignorance, to demonstrate health principles and to teach the young health in everyday living required a knowledgeable health worker.

Implicit in the responsibility of the university school of nursing in its educational function for the preparation of the professional nurse stood the equal challenge of its educational mission to the community on what nursing is, its ideals, its aims and its principles. For, in this way, Mrs. Bolton claimed, the community can see and define its own role and responsibility in the solution of health problems.\textsuperscript{71}

She recognized the persistent problem of the economic factor in nursing education because of the additional cost to the hospital budget when the educational objectives of the student became the primary task of the hospital nursing school in lieu of service commitments. As the Rockefeller Report concluded, she stated, it was largely because the hospital schools of nursing had heavy service commitments that they graduated inadequately prepared nurses.\textsuperscript{72}

\textsuperscript{70}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 134. \textsuperscript{71}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 142. \textsuperscript{72}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 139.
The most striking note in this address, and its main thesis, was her great concern that the nursing profession had not informed the public sooner of the economic plight of nursing education. In her own words, "the public learned of the inadequacy of professional nurse education when a family member fell ill and a nurse with one week of pediatric experience attempted to care for the children." She said further, And I think . . . we (the public) often hide from ourselves behind the feeling that somehow we should have been informed, that you of the League should have taken us more into your confidence, that we might have helped you bear the burden and so hastened the day that has begun to dawn.73

A statement in this vein from Mrs. Bolton seems relevant to the problems which faced nursing education. The citizens of Cleveland at this time played a dominant role in the establishment of health and hospital facilities as well as provisions for nursing and public health nursing education. As a citizen in Cleveland interested in nursing since the age of nineteen, Mrs. Bolton exerted personal leadership with the citizens of Cleveland in the establishment of the basic baccalaureate nursing program at Western Reserve University. One cannot help but ponder the role of citizens in relationship of the development of nursing education in an interested community like Cleveland and the development of nursing education in other cities throughout the nation where little or no community participation evolved.

In the founding and the development of the basic baccalaureate nursing program at Case Western Reserve University, several unique characteristics of the school begin to emerge. First, the importance of

73Ibid.
the lay community and its influence on the establishment of the basic baccalaureate nursing program cannot be overemphasized. Since the movement into the university first began in 1911 by the public health nurses, prominent Cleveland families had served on numerous boards and committees of the school of nursing. Mrs. Charles F. Thwing, wife of the president of the university, served on the University Public Health Nursing District for over thirty years. Newton D. Baker was a member of the Advisory Committee when the school of nursing was in the process of coming into existence. The Hannas, the Irelands, the Garfields and others were members of both hospital committees and school of nursing committees.

Second, the Rockefeller report influenced the establishment of this school as an endowed university school of nursing. Conclusion 10 of the report replicated the conclusions of Cleveland's own hospital and health survey of 1920 and 1922. From the conclusions of both studies, the interested laity of Cleveland were well aware of the health needs of their city.

The Board of Trustees of Western Reserve University requested funds from the Rockefeller Foundation to establish a school of nursing at Western Reserve University. When the request was denied, a prominent lay leader of Cleveland, Frances Payne Bolton, long active in matters of nursing, endowed the school instead.

Another outstanding characteristic of the Frances Payne Bolton School of Nursing was the leadership provided by its two first deans,
Carolyn E. Gray and Louise M. Powell. The early deans of the School of Nursing provided the leadership to extend the five-year trial period of the school to a permanent basis. Leadership, however, was not circumscribed in the university nursing faculty, but included also the Principal of the School of Nursing, Lakeside Hospital, Grace E. Allison, who reflected a keen analysis and sound philosophy of nursing education in her reports to the Board of Trustees. She maintained as early as 1921 the importance of a baccalaureate education for nurses. Another unique characteristic, therefore, in the founding and early development of the School of Nursing at Western Reserve University was the high educational standards advanced by the nursing administration of the Lakeside Hospital.

The events of World War I played a part, to a greater or lesser degree, in the establishment of the basic baccalaureate nursing program because of two wartime projects, the Army Training School and the Vassar Training program. Western Reserve University participated in both programs for the recruitment of college women into nursing for civilian and military demands, and it also provided a third program, a summer course for nurses.

A distinguishing characteristic of the origin and development of the school of nursing at Western Reserve University was the impetus to seek entrance into the university which came initially from the public.

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*74* Miss Powell, who served for fourteen years as director of the School of Nursing at the University of Minnesota, came to Western Reserve University for two years as dean, succeeding Miss Gray. Miss Powell's concept of nursing education was presented in Chapter IV.
health nurses in Cleveland. First came the one-year course and certificate in public health nursing in 1911 and several years later, the five-year baccalaureate program at the School for Applied Sciences.

Another distinctive characteristic of Western Reserve University was that the university offered a baccalaureate degree in nursing many years before it established its three-year diploma program in 1923.

Dean James E. Cutler of the School for Applied Sciences exhibited both his interest and aid to further the education of public health nurses in the institution of the five-year baccalaureate program.

Totally different in one aspect from the establishment of the School of Nursing at the University of Minnesota and at Yale University, in the founding of the School of Nursing, the medical profession played a minor role in the establishment of the basic baccalaureate program at Western Reserve University. When a surgeon of the Western Reserve University School of Medicine advocated a diploma program for bedside nurses and baccalaureate education for nurse teachers and administrators, a prominent layman disagreed with him by her rejoinder that all nurses, which included the bedside nurse, needed a baccalaureate education because the understandings and skills of patient care involved a baccalaureate education. One reference in President Vinson's letter indicated that the establishment of the school of nursing did not at the beginning "meet with favor" among the medical profession. However, three years later, the Board of Trustees of the Western Reserve University, the medical staff (as viewed by the president) and the president himself admitted the school of nursing was "constantly growing in favor"
and that its future development was more certain than it had been one year ago.

The two greatest contributory factors in the establishment of the school of nursing were the work, energy and efforts expended by the interested citizenry of Cleveland, and the leadership provided by the two early deans of the school of nursing to place the school on a permanent status in the university.
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The two major breakthroughs in the history of nursing education in America were the establishment of the three Nightingale schools in 1873 and the institution of a course in hospital economics for nurses at Teachers College, Columbia University in 1899. The expansion of the course at Teachers College resulted in a post-R.N. baccalaureate program in 1907. By 1916, new proposals and plans in the form of basic baccalaureate nursing education began with the establishment of these programs at the University of Cincinnati and Teachers College, Columbia University.

The primary purpose of this study was to investigate the establishment of early basic baccalaureate nursing programs in America and to identify groups, or forces, which encouraged its establishment and groups, or forces, which hindered its establishment.

The three early university schools of nursing selected for study were the University of Minnesota, Yale University and Case Western Reserve University.

The ideas, attitudes and actions of the groups involved in the establishment of the school of nursing, as the president and faculty of the university, the dean or director of the school of nursing, the dean
and faculty of the school of medicine, the hospital administrator, the practicing physicians and nurses, the lay community and representatives of the foundations, all merited examination and interpretation for the evaluation of their roles.

In each of the three universities, circumstances which surrounded the groups, or forces, which encouraged the establishment of the school of nursing, were different. Although there were common elements which will be discussed later, the unique characteristic in each of the three situations is more outstanding.

In the establishment of the basic baccalaureate program of the school of nursing at the University of Minnesota, the director of the school of nursing, Louise M. Powell, was the prime mover. Both E. P. Lyon, Dean of the School of Medicine and Dr. Richard Olding Beard, Professor of Physiology, supported the new proposal. Dean Johnston of the College of Science, Literature and Arts and his faculty as well as the faculty of the School of Medicine, of which the school of nursing was a part, moved quickly and approved the basic baccalaureate nursing program according to the minutes of the meetings of both schools in 1919. The unique situation at the University of Minnesota regarding the establishment of the basic baccalaureate nursing program hinged on the fact that the University of Minnesota claimed to be the first university to offer a nursing program in 1909. Although this program was, in essence, the three-year hospital program transposed to a university setting, it was only five short years after its establishment that Louise M. Powell initiated the basic baccalaureate program.
The work, interest and energy in the support of the basic baccalaureate nursing program at the University of Minnesota by Dr. Beard and Dean Lyon cannot be overestimated. Their publications and addresses as well as their actions attested to their belief in and support of baccalaureate nurse education. Twenty years before the Board of Regents discontinued the three-year hospital program at the University of Minnesota, Dean Lyon had urged that action with the recommendation that the budget for the three-year diploma school should be extended to support the baccalaureate program which would reap greater benefits to the student, the nursing profession and the community. The presidents of the university wanted the school of nursing to succeed even though the school's budget was never excessive. Many problems arose between the school of nursing faculty and the hospital personnel in the area of the students' clinical experiences.

The establishment of the Yale University School of Nursing was unique in that the Rockefeller Foundation endowed over a million dollars to found the school after a national nursing survey which it also financed. But, at the same time, the circumstances at Yale were fortuitous for the school's establishment in that the two deans of the school of medicine for the previous ten years had reported the need of a "university" school of nursing at Yale to the President and Fellows of the Yale Corporation.

Both the President of the Rockefeller Foundation, George E. Vincent, and its Secretary, Edwin R. Embree, exhibited an interest and desire to facilitate the conditions to insure the establishment of a sound basic baccalaureate program at Yale. President Angell of Yale
University, Dean Winternitz of the School of Medicine and Dr. Charles-E. A. Winslow, Professor of Public Health, were prime movers in the establishment of the Yale School of Nursing.

The Yale faculty and their wives, undergraduate students and the medical community at Yale looked askance at the founding of the school of nursing as did many members of the nursing profession. The hospital administration, in the form of the President of the Board of Trustees of the hospital, Colonel Isaac Ullman, was in continual conflict over the cost to the hospital of the clinical nursing experiences of the students. In time as he began to understand the purposes and objectives of the Yale School of Nursing, he became one of its supporters.

Another distinctive feature of the Yale School of Nursing was its establishment in a largely male, undergraduate university.

In the selection of Miss Goodrich as the first Dean of the School of Nursing both the Rockefeller Foundation and the Yale Corporation found the ideal person. She organized and implemented the basic nursing curriculum at Yale on a sound educational basis, not mere apprenticeship, as the agreement between the Rockefeller Foundation and the Yale Corporation had specified. Among the many innovations she instituted at the Yale University School of Nursing were the following. Thirty years before nurse educators faced the problem of integration of theory and practice in nursing curriculum, Dean Goodrich had instituted its practice at Yale. The basic curriculum also incorporated experience in public health nursing and psychiatric nursing. Administrative and organizational channels, as various school and hospital committees, were
instituted for an exchange between the university nursing faculty and the hospital head nurse instructors called teaching assistants. The graduate nurse employment in the hospital was expanded to insure the educational, and not service, experience of the student. The utilization of case-study method, wherein the student gave complete care to the patients assigned to her, enhanced the understanding of the whole patient and his adjustment to illness and recovery. This method departed from the usual functional practice wherein the student learned nursing of patients by demonstration and practice of certain procedures and techniques.

All in all, Dean Goodrich instituted at the Yale School of Nursing, a basic nursing curriculum fifty years ahead of its day as it was not until the mid-century that nursing schools in America began to adopt many of its features.

Thus the curriculum instituted at Yale by Dean Goodrich about fifty years ago is the "modern" basic nursing curriculum today. Its modern tone which stems from its recent adoption does not alter the fact that Dean Goodrich organized and developed it almost a half-century ago.

The most outstanding characteristic in the establishment of the basic baccalaureate nursing program at Case Western Reserve University and in contrast to the establishment of the School of Nursing at Minnesota and at Yale was the optimum degree of participation of the lay community of Cleveland in contrast to the little involvement by the School of Medicine. In fact the medical profession did not view the establishment of the school favorably.
The most important groups, or forces, which were prime movers in the establishment of the school were—

1. The recommendations of the Cleveland Hospital and Health Survey and the Rockefeller report. In the early bulletins of the School of Nursing, the statement was made that the school was founded on the recommendation of the Rockefeller report.

2. The recommendations of the nursing leaders at both the Lakeside Hospital and the Department of Nursing Education and of the Dean of the School of Applied Social Sciences, as well as of national nursing leaders with whom Mrs. Bolton corresponded.

3. The endowment by Mrs. Frances Payne Bolton and the degree of involvement and participation of the influential citizens of Cleveland.

The baccalaureate nursing program at Western Reserve University was the first and only nursing program in the university, the reverse of the situation at the University of Minnesota. It was not until 1923 when Mrs. Bolton endowed the School of Nursing that the three-year diploma program came into existence at Western Reserve University concurrently with the five-year nursing program in its new School of Nursing.

The president of Western Reserve University, at the conclusion of the five-year experimental period of the School of Nursing in 1928, immediately urged the Board of Trustees to incorporate the School of Nursing, as an autonomous school, into the university. The original opposition to the initial establishment of the school of nursing by members of the medical faculty gradually diminished.
This concludes a description of the unique features of the circumstances which surrounded the establishment of the schools of nursing of the three selected universities. However, as mentioned earlier, elements of commonalities in the establishment of the school of nursing in each university soon began to emerge.

The three university schools of nursing were founded within a four-year period after the end of World War I. The decade prior to their founding paralleled an age much like the one today in the latter third of the twentieth century. In the second decade of the twentieth century changes and reforms were rampant in all phases of American life. Pragmatism displaced social darwinism, science and technology changed the status of women and the family as well as all social institutions as government, industry, labor, education and religion. For the first time in America, in the census of 1920, the population in urban territory exceeded the population in the rural territory.¹

Even though the reformers of the Progressive era favored more federal legislative control of labor, commerce, agriculture, railroads and industry, it was not until the fourth decade of the twentieth century that legislative control for the common welfare became the policy of the federal government. Nevertheless, the reformers in the first three decades were successful in the passage of some legislation

which dealt with early child-labor laws, conditions of work for women and children and women's suffrage.

The early twentieth century was an age of change in the status of women. Advances in science and technology as well as the onset of World War I catapulted more job opportunities for women.

The scientific and technological elements had their impact on nursing. First, because of proliferation of knowledge and manufacturing techniques more women left the home for the factory. Second, more scientific knowledge enhanced sanitation and communicable disease control which assigned greater responsibilities to nurses for health as well as sick care, for community as well as hospital care. Third, the onset of World War I created a greater need for a supply of nurses for both military and civilian service.

Two proposals to attract college women into nursing during World War I were the Army Training School of Nursing and the Vassar Training Camp. Both caught the attention of the public, and college women enrolled in both programs.

If the entrance of college women into nursing was not new, why did not the movement into the university gain a stronger foothold? In fact, why did the opposite reaction take place in stultification? From 1928-1935, even though they were years of the Great Depression, only two per cent of the women graduates of 30 colleges studied entered nursing, 48.6 per cent entered teaching with the remaining 50.4 per cent in other professions and trades.  

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By 1936, there were 70 basic baccalaureate nursing programs in American colleges and universities according to Petry; the number of basic baccalaureate nurses enrolled since the founding of the program was "about 1,832" to which, she added, that "the figure is more than twice the number who completed this type [of program] up to 1936."\(^3\)

With the phenomenal growth in numbers of graduate nurses from the first through the third decade of the twentieth century, the growth of the general population in the United States, the growth in numbers of women in the labor force, the advances in science, medicine and technology, the unalterable fact stands that the development of basic baccalaureate nursing education moved very slowly.

The question remains pertinent today. With the proliferation of knowledge and an unprecedented expansion of nursing function into specialization as research, teaching and health planning, no one questions that basic baccalaureate education is the foundation for graduate study in these areas. Yet the number of nurses who graduated in 1964-1966 with a baccalaureate degree constituted 15.7 per cent of the total number of nurses who graduated.\(^4\)

Other commonalities shared in the establishment of the schools of nursing at the three universities were the mutual interest and concerns of the presidents of the university, which prompted them to

\(^3\)Lucile Petry, "Basic Professional Curricula in Nursing Leading to Degrees," American Journal of Nursing, XXXVII (March, 1937), 291.

facilitate and utilize as many opportunities as they could to bring success to the school. The establishment of the two endowed schools of nursing at Yale and Western Reserve universities on a five-year trial basis may be the only examples in the history of American higher education. Both schools of nursing met with success and became permanent autonomous schools in their respective universities.

Another common feature concerned the struggles which beset the three university schools of nursing in the clinical area. A constant conflict between the hospital administrative staff and the university faculty of nursing existed in each university, although there is no such evidence between university nursing faculty and the hospital nursing administration. In fact, at both Yale and Western Reserve there is evidence that supports cooperation between the two nursing groups. Curiously, the two endowed nursing schools with substantial finances to support the expansion of a graduate nursing staff to insure educational and not service tasks for student learning experiences, met the same opposition as did the state university school of nursing on its limited budget. In each situation, the student nurse, unlike the medical student in the same situation, was perceived by other hospital personnel as a worker and not as a student-learner.

Still another common characteristic shared by the three university schools of nursing in their establishment of the basic baccalaureate nursing program concerned the ideas, attitudes and philosophy of nursing education of the prime movers in each university. Dean Lyon, Dr. Beard and Miss Powell of the University of Minnesota; President Angell, Dean Winternitz, Dean Goodrich and Dr. C.-E. A. Winslow of
Yale University; President George E. Vincent and Secretary Edwin R. Embree of the Rockefeller Foundation and Dean Cutler and Dean Gray of Western Reserve University and two of their influential lay collaborators, Mrs. Bolton and Mrs. Lowman; all of these key people, in one form or another, addressed themselves to the problem of the hospital-apprenticeship education system and stated that because of changing functions of nursing brought about by modern science and technology, the education of nurses belonged in an institution of higher learning as did the other professions.

The hospital, as an educational institution, was unable to serve two masters, in Edwin R. Embree's phrase, in education and in service since its primary function was the care of the sick, not education. In fact, this concept was the basis of agreement between the Rockefeller Foundation and the Yale Corporation in the establishment of the Yale School of Nursing. The contract clearly specified that the basic nursing curriculum at Yale must stress educational experiences, not apprenticeship tasks, for student learning.

At Western Reserve University, the interested lay citizenry accomplished the same feat in another way. They participated in the Cleveland Hospital and Health Survey which recommended the establishment of a university school of nursing in Cleveland in 1920. They also waited for the publication of the Rockefeller report with its same recommendation.

By the time of the Rockefeller report, the basic baccalaureate program at the University of Minnesota had been in existence for four years. The prime movers at the University of Minnesota, aware of the
importance of the study, looked forward to the publication of its findings.

In a way it was no accident that the key figures in each of these three universities involved in the establishment of the school of nursing not only believed that basic baccalaureate education was requisite to the practice of nursing to fill the demands of society, but interestingly, each one took direct action and participated in the actual establishment of the basic baccalaureate nursing program.

There is a volume of correspondence in the libraries and archives of each of the three universities which attests that the channel of communication between the three universities was an open one. For example, there are letters of correspondence between the various deans of the three schools of nursing; of the two presidents when President Vinson went to Yale to see President Angell; between Dr. Beard and Dr. Winslow and between Dr. Beard and nursing educators at other universities.

An examination of the correspondence files in the various libraries and archives of the three universities gives the impression that through this communication, the situation was analogous to the interlocking directorate, a feature of American industrialism of the era.

Some generalizations can be drawn at the conclusion of this study dealing with concepts related to the beginning and early development of basic baccalaureate education for nurses. Of the first ten university schools of nursing established between 1916 and 1919, two were established in the east, New York and Massachusetts; two in the
west, California and Colorado; and the remainder were situated in the midwest, Ohio, Minnesota, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana and Missouri. It was in the midwestern states from Ohio to Minnesota where basic baccalaureate nursing education took hold in the early years of the development of the program. Of the ten, four were established in private institutions, five in state universities and one in a municipal university. The second is that baccalaureate education of nurses from 1916 to 1929 constituted the interest of a small segment of the nurse educators who, in turn, were a minority of the nursing profession. In the literature in the early nursing journals as well as in the Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the National League of Nursing Education only a small portion of the topics and discussions contain allusions to baccalaureate education for nurses.

In the beginning in the association of the nurse educators, there were groups of members who, as today, believed that a three-year hospital diploma education provided adequate preparation for a professional nurse. In the early volumes of the Proceedings, there are countless reports and discussions by members who adhered to this position. This unfavorable reaction to the establishment of basic baccalaureate nursing programs by some members of the nursing profession constituted a deterrent to the growth of the movement. President Angell's, Edwin R. Embree's and Dean Goodrich's publications note this reaction.

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5 National League of Nursing Education, Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Convention (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Company, 1914), pp. 149-161.
Prior to America's entry into the first World War, the system of nursing education in hospital schools of nursing was over forty-four years old. Pressing problems plagued the nursing profession as standards for professional practice, standards for the nursing curriculum, licensure, a World War, followed in the next decade by the Great Depression. The problem of nursing education, in itself, was a giant of a problem. The students worked long hours, there were no qualified clinical instructors, standards of admission were low as, for example, a hospital of 25 beds or less operated a school and admitted students without high school preparation because of its service needs. Too many rigid and fixed problems in the education of the nurse needed attention and resolution before a change in the system such as the baccalaureate education could be instituted. Only a minority of nursing educators had the foresight to see the relationship between the two.

Another generalization is that the education of nurses played a secondary role in the history of nursing of the early decades of the twentieth century. There is a great deal of historical evidence to support this conclusion. First of all, in addition to the above, no nursing studies conducted in the post-World War I era concentrated primarily on the question of the education of the nurse. Instead, education was an offshoot of secondary import to the chief purpose of the study of the function of nursing. There was not one major study whose primary purpose was an investigation into the problem of nursing education itself, as, for example, the Flexner report on medical education.
The Rockefeller report, in the history of nursing, constitutes a landmark in nursing education. The purpose, however, of the study on nursing and nursing education by the Rockefeller committee was—

The investigation on which this report is based was, in the first instance . . . , prompted by the desire to obtain authentic, impartial information on public health nursing in the United States; to study its calibre and function in typical communities of our country, urban and rural; and to deduce, by scrutiny of workers in the field, the type of training needed for successful accomplishment.  

From the above statement, it was clear that the interest of the study concentrated on the practice of public health nursing and then "to deduce" the kind of "training" needed to accomplish that objective. Deduction is not an investigation and reporting of data compiled on the educational system of the nurse. On the following page, the same writer, Josephine Goldmark, admitted:

This study of nurses and their training in the United States could not be a pure study in education or vocational training. For owing to the position of nursing in the world of education, as one of the few professions still actually in the stage of apprenticeship, the writer has of necessity been confronted at every turn by the genuine claims of service often in conflict with education.  

Thus, in her own words, the Secretary of the Committee on the Study of Nursing Education explained why the study was not a "pure" study on the education of the nurse, and the difficulties she encountered in her attempt to separate education from service commitments of students for the study.

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Still another generalization, in the history of nursing of the same era, concerned the unfruitful request by Miss Adelaide Nutting to the Carnegie Foundation in 1912 for a study of nursing education similar to the one completed by the Foundation on medical education. The study never materialized. To this day, nursing, without the benefit of a study, clings to the same apprenticeship hospital education for nurses in contrast to the Flexner study which completely changed medical education in this country. The point is this: the lack of a substantial study in nursing education during this period, hampered the establishment of the basic baccalaureate nursing programs in this country.

There were common threads interwoven in the publications and addresses of the prime movers of the establishment of the three university schools of nursing. All of them were more than aware of the difficulties involved when the hospital school of nursing undertook the function of education of nurses. By use of the printed word and by action, they, therefore, subscribed to the new "experiment" in nursing education, basic baccalaureate programs. Whether the traditional system of nurse education was perceived as "unholy profit of student labors," or as not being capable of serving "two masters, education or service," or inadequate because of "changes in the function of the nurse," or because "the quality of medical education could only be as strong as the quality of medical education;" all saw the need of a change in the system and the use of basic baccalaureate nurse education as an answer to the problem.

Another common development of which all the prime movers were well aware was the necessary changes in function of the nurse because of
scientific and technological advances of the second decade of the twentieth century. To them, these changes in the function of the nurse signified an educational program for the nurse in the university.

Essentially, each in turn believed that society, as the recipient of nursing service in the care of the sick and the promotion of health, would support baccalaureate education of the nurse as it did the education of other health professionals. Prominent laywomen interested in nursing upheld this belief, adding that society would support the education of the nurse if the nursing profession shared their views and problems with the public.

It is of historical significance to note that the same reasons employed by the prime movers in the establishment of the three university schools of nursing are, in essence, the same as those offered by the American Nurses Association in its position paper on nursing education. Being the first position paper prepared by the American Nurses Association, it was published but three years ago. The paper describes, in language strongly reminiscent of the early leaders who organized the three university schools of nursing, the "essential components" of professional nursing as requiring "knowledge and skill of high order . . . which can only be obtained through a rigorous course of study in colleges and universities. Therefore, minimum preparation for beginning professional nursing practice at the present time should be baccalaureate degree education in nursing."8 (Italics theirs.) In the

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American Nurses Association statement, fifty years after the nursing leaders first proposed baccalaureate education for nurses, not only, in substance, is the ideology the same as those of the early leaders, but the selection of words and terminology, in many instances, is almost identical, viz., "knowledge and skills" or "of high order" and the definition of the nature of "professional nursing."

The conclusions of this study in the beginnings of basic baccalaureate nursing education show the groups, or forces, who were in favor of the establishment of basic baccalaureate nursing education and those who discouraged their establishment. In addition to the two deans and the director of the three university schools of nursing, those in favor of the establishment of the schools of nursing were the university presidents and the boards of trustees of the three universities (although at one university, the board, at first, did not look "with favor" on the founding of the school of nursing); the deans and the faculty of the School of Medicine of two universities, whereas in one, the dean and faculty played little or no rôle in the establishment of the School of Nursing. In two of the three universities, deans and faculty of other schools, as the School of Applied Sciences, College for Women and the College of Science, Literature and Arts (where nursing students were to receive instruction), also favored the establishment of the School of Nursing. There is evidence of only one hospital administrator, of the three, who supported the establishment of the basic baccalaureate nursing program; and evidence of two hospital nursing administrators, of the three, who strongly supported the establishment of the basic baccalaureate nursing program. In one of
the three universities, prominent laymen were instrumental in the founding of the School of Nursing; in another, two executive officers of a national foundation supported the establishment of the School of Nursing.

Those who opposed or discouraged the founding of the Schools of Nursing in the three selected universities were groups of nurses in at least one university, and groups of physicians in at least two universities; faculty and their wives and undergraduates in at least one of the universities; and hospital administrators, in part, because of "conflicts" with the School of Nursing faculty in the clinical situation, in all three of the university schools of nursing studied.

The outstanding features which contributed in great measure to the establishment of basic baccalaureate nursing education in the three selected universities were the ideas and leadership extended by the two deans and the director of the three university schools of nursing; the impetus provided by the two faculty members of the School of Medicine in the state university studied; the interest and involvement, in another university, of the president of the university, the dean of the School of Medicine and two executive officers of the Rockefeller Foundation; and in the third university, the work and support offered by the prominent laity, exemplified by two outstanding laywomen who saw the relationship between the public and its support of basic baccalaureate education and the responsibility of the nursing profession to gain that support.
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