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The mission of women's colleges in an era of cultural revolution, 1890–1930

Leone, Janice Marie, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1989

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THE MISSION OF WOMEN'S COLLEGES
IN AN ERA OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION, 1890-1930

DISSERTATION

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

By

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* * * * * * *

The Ohio State University

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To George and Eleanor Leone
and in memory of Ione Louk
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

By 1900, women's enrollment at coeducational institutions in the United States was increasing at a significantly faster pace than was their attendance at women's colleges, with at least 55% of women students attending coeducational schools. As women moved into the public sphere and especially into formerly all-male institutions, officials at women's colleges could no longer justify the existence of their schools on the grounds that women had no other educational opportunities. This study addresses the question, how did women's colleges see their roles when they were no longer necessary for compensation? Furthermore, how did officials of women's colleges view the mission of their institutions at a time when increasing economic, political, and social opportunities were influencing and changing women's traditional roles? Did supporters of these schools attempt to create institutions to prepare women to move into new and nontraditional roles, or did
they seek to enhance women's traditional roles by making them better wives and mothers?

Approximately 35,000 women attended institutions of higher learning in the United States at the turn of the nineteenth century. While the majority of these students were in coeducational schools, about 15,000 were enrolled in women's colleges, many of them founded as the result of women's exclusion from well-established men's schools. But as doors to higher education opened for women and educators accorded them an education similar, if not identical, to that of their male peers, the original purpose of women's colleges--to provide education in the absence of any alternative--disappeared.

Educators and supporters of women's colleges, in attempting to justify the existence of these special schools when they appeared to be no longer needed, found themselves struggling with the question of whether to educate women for their traditional domestic roles or for lives of independence outside the home. This dual nature of women's education created a tension that American educators and students dealt with in various ways as women gradually gained access to educational institutions in this country.

This tension is evident throughout the history of American women's education. Historian Thomas Woody's exhaustive account of women's education during the
colonial period reveals the haphazard attempts to educate children, with more emphasis placed on the education of boys than girls. As Woody notes, women's education received little attention either in theory or practice. The predominant belief in women's mental inferiority as well as the necessity to prepare women for their allotted sphere, the home, greatly hindered the development of women's schooling. Training in reading, for example, could enhance the religious activities of women, while preparation in domestic duties would make them acceptable to prospective husbands.

If women did receive formal schooling, they usually acquired it by attending a dame school. Women of varying abilities, who might have turned to teaching as a needed source of income, often ran these schools, which both girls and boys attended. The standard curriculum was limited and consisted of the alphabet, some spelling, writing, reading and numbers; the ability of the teacher usually determined the success of the school. Girls also received instruction in knitting and sewing.

As the colonies grew, town schools appeared. Founders of these schools designed them primarily to educate men to serve the church and state. Since occupations in these fields were not open to women, girls' failure to receive adequate education was hardly a public concern. The few girls who did gain access to town schools usually attended
when boys were not present during the early morning or late afternoon hours. Some schools were open to girls only in the summer, also a period when boys did not attend. Boys and girls all learned to read, but boys, in addition, practiced writing while girls improved their sewing skills.¹

In the larger cities, particularly in New England, girls whose parents could afford the cost had access to adventure schools, where students had opportunities not available in the town schools. Masters or mistresses of adventure schools offered girls instruction in the "social accomplishments such as music and dancing and fancy needlework."² Some schools combined instruction in these subjects with reading, writing, and ciphering.

This sporadic pattern of women's education existed throughout the colonies, with the exception of areas in the South. Southern plantations precluded the growth of town schools. Instead, wealthy planters hired tutors to teach their children—girls and boys—at home. While tutors offered the basics of reading and writing, the focus of girls' education was often on social accomplishments, especially music and dancing. In this way, Southern women became "agreeable embellishments of society and attractive ornaments of the home."³ Yet, even in the South, some private schools, similar to the adventure schools in northern colonies, supplemented the
work of the tutors within the home. Woody identifies these schools, both in the North and the South, as the forerunners of the academies and seminaries that appeared in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, since these schools gradually came to offer subjects that the later institutions would expand. And so despite the continued emphasis on preparing women for the domestic sphere, these early colonial schools contained the beginnings of expanded educational opportunity for women.

As American education continued to develop, particularly after the Revolution, educators recognized the tension inherent in the conflicting nature of women's education. Founders of the early nineteenth century academies for women believed strongly in the need for women's education. Those founders included educators such as Emma Willard, Mary Lyon, and Catharine Beecher, who shared the belief that women should be educated not only for their own sakes but also for the improvement of the country. As mothers of future citizens, women had a prominent role to play in educating their children, especially sons, to be worthy members of society. Historians, however, disagree as to whether academy education was, on the one hand, a truly revolutionary concept that allowed women to broaden their roles by moving into new fields, especially teaching and the woman's rights movement. Or was such education, on the
other hand, simply an attempt to answer the call for good "Republican Mothers," challenging the notion of women's inferior intellectual status while still seeking to preserve the traditional social and political status of women.\(^9\)

Emma Willard, one of the best-known women educators of the nineteenth century, founded Troy Female Seminary in 1821 "to educate women for responsible motherhood and train some of them to be teachers." Willard accepted the idea that women and men occupied separate spheres and that woman's sphere was confined to domestic concerns. Yet historian Anne Firor Scott argues that seminaries like Troy were important agents in the spread of feminist values and helped women develop a new self-perception that led eventually to more women seeking education. Willard was able to accomplish what she did because of her ability to integrate these new feminist values with the prevailing traditional values pertaining to women's roles.\(^{10}\) In this case, Willard saw clearly the dual nature of women's education and used it to her advantage.

Mary Lyon, another nineteenth century educator, founded Mount Holyoke Seminary in 1837 on the basis of ideas similar to those of Emma Willard. Lyon stated clearly in all discussions of her proposed academy that she had designed the school to be comparable to those institutions catering to the young men of the country.
Lyon held the basic assumption that young women were intellectually equal to young men and were as capable of higher education. The curriculum of Mount Holyoke reflected this belief: Seminary teachers offered courses in grammar, geography, psychology, arithmetic, and chemistry. Yet, though Lyon attempted to offer an equal education, she had no misconceptions about what women were to do with that education. In an 1837 appeal for support for the Seminary, Lyon stated that she was training women for jobs that men would not accept, i.e., teaching, and even then her intention was not to prepare women to devote their entire lives to the profession. She simply wanted them to be able to contribute to society in the years between the end of their formal education and their marriages.\textsuperscript{11}

Whether Lyon felt the need to couch her appeal in these conventional terms in order to be successful is uncertain, but the difficulties she encountered in first establishing her school were likely a clear indication to her that the general population would not readily accept her proposal for women's education. The form that these early appeals took might indeed have been the result of the dual nature of women's education. Would Mount Holyoke send women into nontraditional fields even though Lyon proposed simply to make women better suited to fulfill the domestic role? As historian Sally Schwager notes, the
academy experience emphasized the major paradox in women's educational history. Women's education, as a conservative force, preserved dominant cultural values of domesticity and subservience. But at the same time, this educational experience provided women with "the skills, the insights, and the desire to advance nontraditional values and, in some cases, even radical change."¹²

For those women who used their academy training to move into the teaching field, the experience could be liberating. Even though few women stayed in teaching long enough to make a "career" of it, a woman's teaching job provided work that was outside the home, was away from her family, and paid a wage. While this move into teaching can be interpreted as a step forward for women's expanding roles, some historians nevertheless view it as a very conservative development for women. David Tyack notes that the training for most women who became teachers, even by the late nineteenth century, consisted of a grammar school education, and only about one fourth of the "cream of the crop"—those teachers in the cities with graded schools—had earned a normal school diploma. This level of education, even though higher than that of the general population, nonetheless put women in a subordinate position relative to the more highly educated male superintendents. According to Tyack, as the teaching profession developed, the hierarchy created to control it
kept women in subordinate positions, accountable to male administrators. In this sense, women's education may have expanded roles for women and provided new opportunities, but it did not radically change or challenge that role.  

The work of Catharine Beecher is an apt example of this phenomenon. Beecher, well-known for her efforts to promote women as teachers during the mid-nineteenth century, petitioned Congress in 1853 for free normal schools for women. Yet Beecher used the argument that women would teach for half the salary men expected, because women needed to support only themselves should they remain single and could expect support for their families from husbands should they marry. Beecher's insistence that teaching would prepare women to be better wives and mothers also promoted teaching as a mere extension of home duties. Thus Beecher, often credited with carving out a new profession for women and offering new opportunities for work, nonetheless did this by reinforcing women's roles within the domestic sphere.

The gradual movement of women into higher education was another outcome of women's academy experience. Oberlin is usually recognized as the first college to accept women along with men in the 1830s. In part because Oberlin trustees could not afford to maintain separate schools for men and women, faculty taught all students
together, offering them a similar education. But close study of Oberlin reveals the existence of very specific roles for men and women. Perhaps best known was the division of manual labor tasks that students performed. Oberlin employed a manual labor system not only to keep the school financially sound but also "to keep the student in strong and vigorous health." Young men worked on the college farm, while women students labored in the domestic department doing the cooking, washing, ironing, and general housekeeping for themselves and the male students.

In addition to these clearly defined, practical tasks, Oberlin's early curriculum also distinguished between female and male students. In keeping with the customs of the day, college officials prohibited women students from speaking in public gatherings of men and women. Educators refused to offer courses in public speaking to women, since, according to Biblical authority, a speaker's role was improper for women. As Oberlin historian Robert Fletcher suggests, assigning women students to perform women's tasks and expecting them to remain in respectful silence during public assemblies served to keep them subservient to men, the superior sex. In this way, college officials prepared Oberlin women for educated motherhood and submissive wifehood.
In spite of these restrictions, however, the life stories of such Oberlin graduates as Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown Blackwell attest to the fact that graduates might use their Oberlin education to broaden the traditional woman's sphere. Both women went on to become leading proponents in the woman's rights movement, and Blackwell became a Protestant minister in New York. Once again, the potential for a liberating experience for women existed alongside the more confining expectations of the domestic role.

With passage of the Morrill Act in 1862 and the coming of the Civil War, women's opportunities for higher education increased. State officials established the land grant universities with charters that included women as part of the student population. Women took advantage of these developments, and gradually their enrollments at coeducational institutions increased. In 1870, for example, 30% of college officials who responded to the annual survey of the Commissioner of Education described their institutions as coeducational. Thirty years later, the percentage of coeducational schools increased to 71.6%. The number of women students at these schools increased from 3,044 in 1875 to 19,959 in 1900. (The male student population at coeducational schools for the same time period increased from 26,352 to 81,084.) Officials in the midwestern states, particularly Wisconsin and
Michigan, led the way in establishing public coeducational institutions. At the University of Wisconsin, for instance, by 1906 women students comprised 50.8% of the entire student population.\textsuperscript{18}

The number of women attending institutions of higher learning was still relatively small in the second half of the nineteenth century: women students in 1870 comprised less than 1% of all women between the ages of 18 and 21. In 1900, the percentage was still less than 3%.\textsuperscript{19} Even these low enrollments did not prevent critics from voicing objections to women’s higher education, especially coeducation. Dr. Edward Clarke, a Boston physician and Harvard professor, caused a furor with the 1873 publication of his book, \textit{Sex in Education}. Clarke argued that because women and men had different physiological structures, they should not be subject to the same education. Since the primary function of women was to reproduce children, females’ education should be geared to that end. According to Clarke, coeducational institutions and women’s colleges patterned after men’s schools offered a curriculum aimed at male students. Because of this, Clarke argued, these schools were too strenuous for women and did not offer them the proper education for their expected roles as wives and mothers. The result of this type of education for women, he said, was often either physical or mental breakdown with little hope of a happy domestic life after graduation.\textsuperscript{20}
Clarke’s work spurred proponents of women’s education to conduct their own studies showing that women could indeed successfully cope with the traditional curriculum offered by most colleges. But whether advocating or opposing women’s education, the discussions that followed publication of Sex in Education indicate that the issue of women’s education, especially higher education, was far from settled. The question remained whether or not women should be educated at the college level, and, if so, what kind of education they should receive. In this case, we see the tension that existed between a curriculum that would socialize women for traditional roles, on the one hand, and, on the other, the curriculum offered male students. Would the impact of an identical curriculum on women be negative, as Clarke proposed, or positive, as several women educators maintained?21

Recent studies of the experiences of women in coeducational institutions at the turn of the century suggest that these colleges and universities may not have been the best places for women to get an education, but not for the reasons Clarke proposed. Historians of several coeducational colleges and universities suggest that female students, usually denied access to clubs and organizations dominated by male students, often led marginal existences on the campuses. One result of this exclusion from campus life was the development of separate
spheres comprised exclusively of female students. Women created their own clubs, held their own social activities, and, in some cases, even campaigned to create their own dormitories and social centers on campus. Such a women’s culture was even more prominent at the women’s colleges created in the mid-to late-nineteenth century, the result of women’s exclusion from many of the older, private men’s colleges, especially in the northeastern section of the country. In this separate culture, women students naturally comprised the membership of campus organizations, held leadership positions, competed with and supported each other in academic pursuits and formed life-long friendships.

Many questions remain to be answered about this women’s culture. Did this homosocial sphere grow out of women’s exclusion from men’s academic activities? If a women’s culture did exist at most schools, but especially at women’s schools, what were the consequences for women students? Did participation in women’s culture encourage students to challenge women’s traditional sphere by allowing them access to nontraditional roles and providing the opportunity for full participation in not only the academic subjects but also all extra-curricular activities? If this were the case, then it is possible that opportunities for women to challenge the confines of the traditional woman’s sphere grew out of the limitations
placed on women's education. Indeed college women who created separate spheres during their tenure on college campuses attested to the important role that women's culture played in their success as students. 24

If, however, the woman's culture that developed at women's colleges focused on women's traditional roles as wives and mothers, then the conservative element of education more likely influenced women's lives. Did these colleges then produce educated wives and mothers in the tradition of the Republican Mother? 25

The dual nature of women's education therefore created tensions within schools as trustees, presidents, deans, and faculty sought to provide women with a suitable education. What constituted a suitable education, however, was often a point of contention among educators, especially as economic, political, and social opportunities increased for women in the early decades of the twentieth century. Women took advantage of changing conditions and improving occupational opportunities, increasing their place in the labor force from 20.4% of the female population over 14 years of age in 1900 to 24.3% in 1930. Census analysts attributed this increase in employed women to a decline in the birth rate, the urbanization of the population, and a trend toward smaller homes and use of mechanical appliances that resulted in lighter housekeeping duties. 26
Besides occupational opportunities, women participated in numerous reform movements aimed at improving society. With women such as Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Lillian Wald, and Margaret Sanger involved in various reform causes, countless other women could follow their lead in contributing to the improvement of society at the turn of the century. Women's reform activities ranged from settlement house work to campaigning for suffrage and child labor laws. Clearly women no longer confined their activities solely to the home, as the lines blurred between the public and private spheres and women's roles became less defined.

The significance of this study lies first of all in its contribution to women's history and the history of women's education. My findings help clarify the ongoing debate in women's history over the relationship of the private, domestic sphere to the public sphere and the role that women's institutions played in helping women function in one or both spheres. In addition, the outcome of my research should encourage a study of the ways in which prevailing notions of gender have influenced the education offered to women, a topic to which historians of education in the past have paid little attention. Historian Geraldine Joncich Clifford makes a good case for a "gender-informed history of higher education," noting that awareness of gender plays a significant role in shaping
human institutions, including education. She maintains that at least some consciousness of gender by "historical participants" was present during the development of educational institutions in this country. But to date, few historians have considered its impact. Because the role that gender played in the development of women's colleges is a focal point of this study, its findings should add to information about gender that historians are just beginning to assess.

Specifically, this study examines four women's colleges founded in the U.S. in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a time when educators were grappling with the question of the nature of women's education. The schools are: Spelman College, founded as a school for black women in Atlanta, Georgia; Saint Mary's College, a Roman Catholic college in Notre Dame, Indiana; Texas Woman's University (TWU), a publicly-funded school in Denton, Texas; and Milwaukee-Downer College (now part of Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin), a private school that catered to middle-class, white women in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

In selecting these colleges, I sought non-elite institutions representing a diversity of schools. Because researchers in the past have focused their studies of women's educational institutions on the Eastern colleges for women known as the Seven Sisters, historians of
women's education have recently begun to call for studies of schools where the majority of women received their education. To understand the educational experience of as many women as possible, it is necessary to study the non-elite institutions—normal schools, teachers' colleges, Catholic women's colleges, small, coeducational schools, and women's colleges of the South. This study attempts to fill some of this void. Because Downer, Spelman, Saint Mary's, and TWU educated thousands of women who used their educations in numerous ways, these institutions are in some ways, then, typical of the kind of school most women attended.

In addition, these institutions embody religious and racial diversity. This study therefore contributes to an understanding of the impact of race and religion on the mission of these schools, a perspective not usually considered in previous studies of women's colleges.

Finally, these schools represent the range of experience of American women's colleges that were founded and grew into fully-accredited schools during the years from approximately 1890 to 1930, a period of tremendous cultural change for women in this country. In tracing the development of these institutions during this time period, I considered the ways in which college officials responded to societal changes outside the schools.
While supporters of women's education founded numerous educational institutions at the turn of the century, only a select number of schools survived long enough into the twentieth century to accumulate a body of records of significant volume to allow for research and analysis. Downer College, Spelman College, Texas Woman's University, and Saint Mary's College all have archival material dating back to the founding of each school in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. Although I did not have access to all sources at each school, I was able to trace the development of these institutions by examining college histories, school newspapers, literary magazines, yearbooks, presidential and trustee reports, and annual bulletins and catalogues. The evidence also speaks to the mission of these colleges.

The following chapters focus on various aspects of college life. Chapter II deals with the origins of each school and traces their development into full-fledged educational institutions by 1930. Chapter III explores the intentions of the founders in creating these schools as well as their expectations for the young women who enrolled in their colleges. Chapter IV examines the curriculum in each school, focusing on the way in which college officials grappled with the issue of combining classical studies with practical courses. Educators at Downer College and Saint Mary's College found themselves
modifying the liberal arts curricula at their schools to include practical courses in domestic science, business, and medically-related fields. In contrast, Spelman and TWU officials expanded their original emphasis on practical fields by adding liberal arts courses to the curriculum. By 1930, these curricular developments allowed officials to offer students preparation for either the home or the workplace.

Chapter V focuses on the rules and regulations that officials implemented at these schools to ensure both the successful operation of the institution and acceptable student behavior. While administrators expressed the view that they maintained as few rules as possible, college officials nevertheless monitored student actions closely, encouraging students to take on the part of daughters in the college family. Student reactions to college life and the activities in which they participated are the subjects of Chapter VI. Although students in some cases resisted, for the most part they accepted guidance from faculty and administrators in both the classroom and extracurricular activities. Finally, Chapter VII concludes this study by suggesting that these institutions were sources of stability rather than change and, as such, the mission of these women's colleges at the turn of the century was ultimately the enhancement of women's conventional roles.
NOTES

1 Women in coeducational schools increased from 3,044 in 1875 to 19,959 in 1900 (a six-fold increase). Students in women's colleges increased only from 9,572 to 15,977. See Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, vol. 2 (1929; New York: Octagon, 1980) 252.


3 Woody, vol. 1, 106.

4 Woody, vol. 1, 140.


6 Woody, vol. 1, 149.


10 Scott 19-20.

11 Green 116-19.


14 Sklar 182.

15 Robert Fletcher, A History of Oberlin College from its Foundation through the Civil War, vol. 1 (Oberlin, Ohio: Oberlin CP, 1943) 350.

16 Fletcher, vol. 1, 291.


20 Edward H. Clark, Sex in Education; Or, a Fair Chance for the Girls (Boston, 1873).

21 See Julia Ward Howe, ed., Sex and Education: A Reply to Dr. Clarke's "Sex in Education" (Boston, 1874); Annie G. Howes, Health Statistics of Women College Graduates (Boston, 1885).


23 For studies of women's colleges see Liva Baker, I'm Radcliffe! Fly Me! (New York: Macmillan, 1976; Elaine Kendall, "Peculiar Institutions": An Informal History of

24 Solomon 96-102;
25 Kerber 11-12.


CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDING OF WOMEN'S COLLEGES

Of the approximately 12,600 women who attended college in 1870, about three-fourths were students at women's colleges. By 1900, however, this pattern had changed: 15,977 (44% of female students) were enrolled in women's colleges, while 19,959 women attended coeducational institutions. Persistent efforts on the part of both individual women and taxpayers had gradually established the right of women to attend state-supported schools, often in the face of school administrators' reluctance.

It was under these circumstances that the original purpose of the women's colleges—to provide education in the absence of any alternative—disappeared. Why, then, did women's colleges continue to exist and, indeed, to expand? The histories of the four schools that make up this study show that women's colleges continued to fill a need even though educational opportunities had become available to women in coeducational institutions. Critical to understanding the role that women's colleges
played was their struggle to maintain a balance between the traditional liberal arts curriculum and the more job-oriented curriculum that became popular as employment opportunities, especially in the professions, began to open up to women. Throughout the existence of each school, the conflict between education for domesticity and education for employment remained an unsolved issue for school officials and teachers.

By the mid 1890s, the number of women's colleges in the United States had increased significantly since officials at Vassar, the first women's educational institution to gain collegiate status, welcomed their first 353 students in 1865.² Despite the appellation, most women's institutions were not full-fledged colleges. According to the U.S. Commissioner of Education, 166 colleges for women existed in the early 1890s. Of this total, 16 institutions made up the Division A category--that is, those schools which represented "a class of institutions similar to the coeducational colleges and to the colleges for men." These colleges enrolled a total of 3,986 students, although approximately 13% of those students did not pursue courses leading to a degree. The remaining 150 colleges comprised the Division B category and reported a total attendance of 19,721. This number included students enrolled in primary, preparatory, collegiate, and graduate departments. Only
10,395 of those students were classified as members of collegiate departments, and of this number, only about half were reported pursuing courses leading to a degree. Obviously the small numbers indicate that administrators at many of these early schools depended on more than just college enrollments to keep their institutions viable.

The presence of preparatory departments helped to offset the cost of the degree programs but also provided the preparation needed by many students in order to do college level work. At the same time, these preparatory departments and, in some cases, primary departments kept schools from being classified among Division A institutions, since maintaining these departments meant that resources were often not available to encourage the growth of the collegiate department. Thus many women’s colleges began as schools with relatively large non-collegiate units and only gradually developed into full-fledged collegiate institutions as resources permitted.  

Statistics also show that many schools did not make the transition. For example, the Commissioner of Education noted in his 1900 report that St. Louis Seminary in Jennings, Missouri, and Columbia Athenaeum in Columbia, Tennessee, were two women’s schools that had closed in the previous year. By 1910, the Commissioner reported that 16 colleges still made up the Division A category but only 92
colleges remained in Division B. Although more women were attending college by this time, clearly the founding and successful operation of a woman's college was still a precarious venture. 4

Milwaukee-Downer College, Texas Woman's University (TWU), Spelman College, and Saint Mary's College were not exceptions to this pattern of change. All four housed preparatory or seminary departments, which school officials eventually phased out or distanced themselves from in some way. Milwaukee-Downer College trustees removed the school's seminary as a department of the College in 1910, choosing instead to establish it as a separate institution across the street from the College. By 1920, the Milwaukee-Downer College program had earned recognition from the major educational accreditation agencies. 5 In a similar fashion, officials at Saint Mary's College in Notre Dame, Indiana, changed the name of the school from Saint Mary's Academy to Saint Mary's College in 1903. Although college officials did not eliminate the preparatory or high school department until 1945, Saint Mary's name change nevertheless reflected the growth of the institution as a college. 6 The North Central Accrediting Agency recognized Saint Mary's as a standard institution of higher education in 1922. 7
Likewise, Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia was known as Spelman Seminary until 1924, when trustees changed the name and legally amended the school charter to reflect the change. Spelman High School, a part of the institution since the school's founding in 1881, ceased operation in 1930, and by 1931 Spelman College was recognized by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.\footnote{Thus the history of the development of these institutions is characteristic of the evolution of women's schools from multi-purpose educational institutions to regular colleges.}

Finally, TWU underwent a similar growth pattern. The school, chartered in 1903 as the Girls Industrial College, offered both literary and industrial subjects. In 1905, however, trustees felt compelled to change the name to the College of Industrial Arts (CIA), because many people confused the original name with an industrial school for delinquent girls and therefore thought of it as a reform school rather than a college. Evaluators for the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools awarded membership to the College in 1923. In 1926, the high school connected with CIA was eliminated, and in 1934 trustees made another name change, this time to Texas State College for Women. College officials retained this name until 1957, when they renamed the college Texas Woman's University, reflecting the progress of the school as an educational institution.\footnote{Thus the history of the development of these institutions is characteristic of the evolution of women's schools from multi-purpose educational institutions to regular colleges.}
The evolution of these institutions reflects demographic changes in the larger society. Prior to the Civil War, certain young women—those with parents who could afford the expense or who had the inclination—attended the private female academies, which were usually of high school caliber. But female high school attendance increased significantly as the public school system grew in the U.S., particularly after the Civil War. In one six-year period, from 1889, when the U.S. Commissioner of Education began collecting information on high schools, to 1895, the number of high schools reporting to the Commissioner increased from 4,158 to 6,892. During the same time period, student enrollments grew from 297,894 to 468,446. Of these students, 267,015 or 57% of the total high school population were females. Women outnumbered men in high schools because of several factors, not the least of which was the low cost of secondary education. The push for child labor laws at the turn of the century also meant that fewer children were working in factories and more going to school. In addition, the growing number of consumer industries increased the need for high-school educated personnel, especially department store clerks and saleswomen. Opportunities for clerical work expanded significantly as businesses adopted the use of the typewriter and other office machinery. Because male
students often had more opportunities for remunerative work without a high school education, it was women who tended to stay in school to earn the diploma that would qualify them for these new jobs in the service sector.\textsuperscript{11}

This increased high school attendance also had positive ramifications for women's higher education. Not only were women better prepared to attend college, but the spread of education at the public school level increased the demand for teachers. That women were getting teaching jobs in the schools is evidenced by their increasing numbers in state school systems. According to Commissioner of Education reports, the percentage of female teachers increased from 59% in 1870 to 71% in 1900-01.\textsuperscript{12} Although most teaching jobs did not require a college degree, the possibility of obtaining a position in the growing profession encouraged many women to continue their education at the college level.\textsuperscript{13}

It was in this context that Milwaukee-Downer College, Saint Mary's College, Spelman College, and TWU were founded. Although they shared common characteristics, each had an individual history that contributes to understanding the mission of women's colleges in the early twentieth century. In this chapter I shall provide an historical sketch of each institution before considering in later chapters the purpose of women's colleges during this period of transition both for American women and for the educational institutions that served them.
MILWAUKEE-DOWNER COLLEGE: "WELLESLEY OF THE MIDWEST"

Milwaukee-Downer College, located in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was the product of the merger of two women's colleges whose origins went back to the mid 1800s. In 1855, members of the Wisconsin Baptist Education Society received a charter to found a school in Fox Lake, a small town about 60 miles northwest of Milwaukee. They named the school the Wisconsin Female Seminary and welcomed 58 students to the first session in 1856. Instructors at the school, according to the first circular announcing the school's opening, offered both "moral and intellectual discipline" to the students. Courses included Latin, algebra, geometry, physiology, chemistry, astronomy, geology, natural philosophy, intellectual philosophy, moral philosophy, logic, Evidences of Christianity, and Natural Theology, a curriculum fairly representative of the first women's seminaries and colleges. 14

In spite of a promising enrollment and continued support from the citizens of Fox Lake, Seminary trustees had to struggle throughout the second half of the nineteenth century to keep the school operating. Early in the history of the school, Baptist Education Society members withdrew their support from the seminary to concentrate all their resources on Wayland College for
men, another Society venture. The biggest problem the trustees faced, however, was the lack of a capable and consistent administrator. In general in the United States, strong and continuing leadership seemed to characterize a successful women's college. But between 1856 and 1891 at Fox Lake Seminary, 12 people served as principal, usually for a period of no more than two years at a time. As Ellen Sabin, the last principal of the Seminary, stated in reflecting on the development of the institution: "What college that has attained large usefulness and success does not record the name of one devoted life or the history of a band of consecrated persons to whom the institution is a monument?"15

One person who did show an intense and prolonged interest in Fox Lake College was Judge Jason Downer, a Milwaukee attorney who served as an Associate Justice of the Wisconsin Supreme court during the 1860s. Downer showed a genuine interest in securing higher educational opportunities for women and was particularly interested in the moral and religious aspects of education. He became president of the Board of Trustees of the College in 1866 and managed the school in a capable manner. When he died in 1883, he left over $65,000 to the school on the condition that the College remain open to women only and also that three-fourths of the board of trustees be members of the Presbyterian or Congregational
Churches. (The early Baptist influence on the school had by this time disappeared.)

In 1889, trustees renamed the institution Downer College. Two years later, Ellen Sabin became principal of the newly-named school and quickly raised the requirements for graduation to the level of the better men's colleges. An able educator with a forward-thinking approach to education for women, Sabin recognized that Downer College, to be successful, would have to expand. But Downer's location in rural Fox Lake could not attract support outside the town, and the student population remained too small for effective work. Even though Downer College trustees oversaw an institution that was financially stable and headed by a competent educator of some renown, the future of the college was uncertain in the early 1890s.  

In the city of Milwaukee itself, another institution for women's education developed over the same time period. In 1848, Lucy Ann Seymour Parsons, wife of the Reverend W.L. Parsons, a Congregational minister, announced the opening of the Milwaukee Female Seminary. Parsons had been a schoolmistress in upstate New York before moving to Milwaukee, and so it was not surprising that she was concerned with the educational growth of Milwaukee's young ladies. She aimed for high educational standards, stating that the purposes of her school were
character building and physical, mental, and moral discipline. Her goal was to fit young women not only "to adorn the higher circles of society, but to meet the varied and practical responsibilities of life." Courses included trigonometry, natural and mental philosophy, logic, and Evidences of Christianity and Butler's Analogy. The curriculum was of high school grade, and primary and grammar-grade pupils were also accepted.  

As an educator, Parsons was aware of the educational theories of Catharine Beecher, and in 1849 she invited Beecher to Milwaukee. Apparently Parsons had given serious thought to adapting the Beecher Plan for her Seminary. When Beecher arrived in Milwaukee in 1850, she herself began reshaping the Milwaukee Female Seminary according to her ideas. The Beecher Plan called for raising the level of instruction for women to truly collegiate level and for placing primary emphasis on teacher training. Beecher, believing that women by nature were suited to the fields of child care, school teaching, nursing, and homemaking, advocated necessary training in these fields for women. This was a move away from the ornamental instruction that women had received in many of the seminaries of the day. In addition, the Beecher Plan called for a faculty of co-equal teachers, each being head of a department and none having authority over another. Instruction in a Beecher school was to be strictly
non-sectarian, and boarding schools were unacceptable, since Beecher felt they were too large a financial burden. Finally, the school was to serve not only as a training center but also as a placement bureau for teachers.19

Beecher's early association with the Seminary resulted in several significant changes. She renamed the school the Milwaukee Normal Institute and High School and set up a board of co-equal teachers. The school received a charter in 1851, which authorized its instructors to grant collegiate and secondary diplomas, and the first collegiate class graduated in 1853. In 1852, teachers and students moved into a new building that Beecher designed. The following year Beecher's original name for the school was replaced with yet another name, Milwaukee Female College. Enrollments steadily increased during the 1850s, but most of these students were in departments other than the collegiate or normal departments. The need for more teachers meant increasing funds for salaries and other resources. The combined fundraising efforts of Beecher and the trustees eliminated the debt incurred with the new building, but the school was never on firm financial ground.20 In 1856, Beecher withdrew her support from the college when trustees refused to build a house on the college grounds for her retirement years.21
That the College survived at all is probably due to the capable administrations of Mary Mortimer, who served as principal from 1852 to 1857 and from 1866 to 1874, and Charles Farrar, who served from 1874 to 1889. While both administrators failed to follow the Beecher Plan, they did manage to build fairly stable student populations and strong faculties, although money remained a problem. Mortimer oversaw the addition of gymnastics, art, and music courses, while Farrar emphasized science in the curriculum and offered extension courses for members of the Milwaukee community. When he resigned in 1889, however, trustees realized that Farrar had spent more time on outside activities and adult education than on the instruction of College students. The number of students in the upper classes had dwindled significantly, and enrollments continued to decline in the years immediately following Farrar's departure. By 1895, College trustees were looking for a capable principal to restore the stability of the College.  

Perhaps it was due to Milwaukee's proximity to Fox Lake or perhaps to Ellen Sabin's success as an educator that her name was put forth as the next president of Milwaukee College. (The "Female" in the name was dropped in 1874.) While negotiations to hire Sabin away from Downer College were under way, trustees of both schools discussed the possibility of merging their institutions.
Milwaukee College trustees believed or thought that they would gain from Downer not only the financial stability of Judge Downer's bequest but also the able administration of Sabin. Downer College officials realized the importance of being located in a city the size of Milwaukee with its cultural offerings and larger pool of potential students. All trustees agreed, however, that the Milwaukee College buildings were inadequate for housing both institutions and were also in an unfavorable location, since Milwaukee's business district had spread into the surrounding land. The trustees agreed on a proposal for the construction of new buildings to house the College on a site on the outskirts of town. In July 1895, the trustees took the necessary steps to effect the merger of the two schools. First they actually moved Downer College to Milwaukee, and the two schools began the 1895 school year as one institution under the name of "Milwaukee and Downer Colleges." Then in January 1897, under the general statutes of Wisconsin, school officials formed a new corporation named "Milwaukee-Downer College" with 32 trustees.

Both the physical plant and the academic offerings expanded at Milwaukee-Downer College from 1895 to 1963. In 1895, the trustees purchased 10 acres on the northeast outskirts of Milwaukee and added more land to the campus after 1905. A recitation hall, two dormitories, and a
boat house comprised the first buildings of the new institution. Students had access to library, gymnasium, and dining facilities and could socialize in a drawing room that Mrs. T. A. Chapman, a wealthy Milwaukee woman, furnished with English furniture, imported rugs, and rare works of art. The second group of buildings erected included a library, power plant, laundry, infirmary, music hall, home economics building, and three seminary buildings. By 1915, the college campus comprised 40 acres and several buildings, and assets totaled nearly a million dollars.  

Prominent Milwaukee citizens contributed money to the College throughout this time period, and members of the Milwaukee College Endowment Association, founded in 1890, decided to use these contributions to endow chairs at the College and to elevate "the standards of education for women in Milwaukee." In the following years, donors contributed money to endow chairs in history, art, English, religious studies, mathematics, German, occupational therapy, and botany. 

Academic offerings expanded constantly during the school's early years. In the mid-1890s, students could earn one of two degrees, a bachelor of arts or a bachelor of letters. Both courses of study required the traditional emphasis on humanities. By 1914, the bachelor of arts, bachelor of science, and bachelor of science in
home economics and bachelor of music were all available to students. The curriculum reflected a move in the direction of non-classical courses with the elevation of such classes as physical education, art, and music to the status of departments by 1915.27

During World War I and into the 1920s, no new buildings appeared on campus, but the College endowment continued to grow. The war did affect enrollment, although not in a major way. The average enrollment had been slightly above 300 before 1915, but by 1919 that number fell to 243. By the 1921-22 school year, the enrollment increased to 382 students. Downer's enrollment was never very large, as President Lucia Briggs noted in 1946 when she reported 440 students in attendance, the largest number ever.28

Additional curricular modifications resulted from a change in the administration that took place in 1921. In that year Sabin retired as president of the College after a thirty-year tenure. Lucia Briggs succeeded her and held the position until 1951. Briggs, a thirty-four-year-old native of New England, was the daughter of LeBaron Russell Briggs, professor of English and dean of Harvard College and president of Radcliffe College. Briggs earned her bachelor's and master's degrees from Radcliffe College and was teaching at Simmons College in Boston when Sabin informed her of the pending opening at Downer
During her time in office, Briggs oversaw the steady growth of the endowment and other resources. By 1931, 336 students were in courses leading to degrees, 33 were in diploma courses, and 117 were taking extension classes. Students could work for one of three degrees that included the bachelor of arts for those majoring in academic subjects, music, or art; the bachelor of science for students in home economics or occupational therapy; or the bachelor of science in nursing. The founding of a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa at the College in 1940 attested to Briggs' ability to maintain adequate scholastic standards.

Briggs retired in 1951, the same year that trustees, teachers, students, and community members celebrated the centennial of the College. John B. Johnson succeeded Briggs as the first male to hold the office of president. He remained in the position until 1964, when Milwaukee-Downer College merged with Lawrence College of Appleton, Wisconsin. The merger occurred after several years of financial difficulties, the result mainly of dwindling enrollments. Downer became the undergraduate women's college of Lawrence University while the undergraduate men's department retained the name of Lawrence College. Officials at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee purchased the Milwaukee-Downer campus in 1964 and incorporated the buildings into the University campus.
Thus Milwaukee-Downer developed from a religious-oriented seminary, under the influence of strong leadership and the educational theories of Catharine Beecher, to a regular college that offered both liberal arts and vocational education. Although eventually merged with a men's college, Milwaukee-Downer survived into the mid-twentieth century as a women's college with a special mission for women's education.

TEXAS WOMAN'S UNIVERSITY: "WE LEARN TO DO BY DOING"

While officials of Milwaukee-Downer College sought continuously to combine a liberal arts education with a practical education, the founders of Texas Woman's University (TWU) in Denton, Texas, never saw this issue as a major stumbling block to the development of the college. Curriculum builders at TWU prided themselves on their ability to meld successfully both kinds of education into well-rounded course offerings. They offered not only literary studies but also practical courses in subjects ranging from sewing and cooking to poultry raising and vegetable growing. In fact, founders of the school first put major emphasis on the industrial or practical courses, only later striving to strengthen their offerings in the liberal arts. So just as officials at Milwaukee-Downer College responded to changing conditions in society by
offering more practical courses, so, too, did TWU regents and administrators move to equalize the balance between the practical and the liberal arts. This ability to modify the intentions of the founders was just one reason that school officials successfully guided the growth of this Texas institution during the twentieth century.

In the late nineteenth century, members of The State Grange and Patrons of Husbandry voiced concern that Texas girls were not receiving adequate educational opportunities. They worried that the founding in 1876 of Texas A & M, an agricultural school open only to the young men of Texas, signaled the neglect of women's education. Not until 1889, though, did A. J. Rose, Worthy Master of The Grange, recommend explicitly the establishment of a similar college for Texas women. He advocated a practical education for women that would prepare them for some vocation in life "in order that they may not work in the cotton fields from necessity." Although Rose may have exaggerated the future for uneducated, white Texas women in order to win state legislators over to his idea, they continued to turn down his requests for such a school throughout the 1890s. He was not, however, without his supporters. In 1893, members of the Texas Woman's Christian Temperance Union, led by Helen Stoddard, joined the campaign for the school and yearly petitioned the state legislature until the school became a reality. Even
though Stoddard rewrote the original bill, broadening its scope and supplying the outline of a curriculum, legislators still rejected the bill. But when the Texas Democratic Party adopted a plank favoring the establishment of a women's college in 1900, legislators finally gave in. The governor signed it into law on April 6, 1901, creating the "Texas Industrial Institute and College for the Education of the White Girls of the State of Texas in Arts and Sciences." The school opened in 1903.

Legislators still needed a site for the school, and so the governor appointed a locating commission comprised of one representative from each of the state's 13 congressional districts. After a month of traveling all over Texas and evaluating 14 different sites, commission members chose Denton. The decision obviously was not an easy one, since the commission members went through 76 ballots before finally settling on Denton. But Denton residents had offered 70 acres of choice land, a cash bonus of at least $16,500, and an agreement to dig an artesian well on college land to ensure an adequate water supply.

Commission members found the town itself pleasing because it was located about 35 miles north of Dallas "in a healthful, prosperous, agricultural region." College officials in the early school bulletins described Denton
with its 5,000 residents as "a city of good homes, intelligent people, and an elevating moral and social atmosphere." Each major religious denomination had a church in Denton, and the townspeople could boast of having not only a good public school system, including a high school, but also the John B. Denton College and the North Texas State Normal School. In addition, Andrew Carnegie had recently given $10,000 to build a Denton library. Residents could argue justifiably that their town was a good place to locate the new college for Texas girls.

The governor appointed the first board of regents for the College of Industrial Arts (CIA) in 1902. At the initial meeting, board members elected A. P. Wooldridge of Austin, president; Mary Eleanor Brackenridge of San Antonio, vice-president; Helen M. Stoddard of Fort Worth, secretary; and John A. Hann of Denton, treasurer. The significance of this early board lies in the fact that, along with Mrs. Cone Johnson of Tyler, Brackenridge and Stoddard were the first women appointed as regents of a Texas educational institution. Both Brackenridge and Stoddard remained active in the school's affairs throughout the remainder of their lives.

Board members looked outside the state of Texas, however, in choosing the first president for the college. In 1902, they selected Cree T. Work, a graduate of
Columbia University who, at the time, was supervisor of manual training in the San Francisco schools.\textsuperscript{38} One of Work's first duties was to select a faculty for the College, which was scheduled to open in 1903. Work's faculty, 14 teachers including himself, was made up of 10 women and 4 men. In an early college bulletin, Work described these teachers as "persons of the most thorough training and of successful experience." Besides educational qualifications, Work also evaluated this first faculty on "the matters of personal moral character, culture, tact, general disposition, habits, social qualities and special fitness for teaching girls."\textsuperscript{39}

Work next turned his efforts toward creating a curriculum for the College. He based his plan on the general curriculum that Helen Stoddard outlined in an early revision of the original bill for the College and then formalized in Article 2683 of the Civil Statutes of the State of Texas.\textsuperscript{40} In addition to literary education, the curriculum included a heavy emphasis on practical courses ranging from knowledge of kindergarten instruction to drawing, painting, cooking, and caring for the sick.\textsuperscript{41} Stoddard's suggestion for a school motto—"We learn to do by doing"—was a reflection of this first curriculum and would serve the College well throughout its growth in the following years.
Courses were grouped into five departments: English-Science; Domestic Arts; Fine Arts; Industrial Arts; and Commercial. In the early years of the College, students could enroll in a three-year program of studies. The first year and sometimes the second were actually preparatory years, and courses were the same in all departments. Some students in the second year and all students in their third year began concentrated study in their major fields. In effect, then, CIA was actually a junior college during the first years of operation.42

Prospective students had to meet certain admission requirements. Only white girls of "good moral character" who were at least 16 years old could attend. They had to have a knowledge of the common school subjects and a desire "to acquire a higher education which includes a thorough practical training for life." The faculty also devised an entrance examination that entering students needed to pass to be accepted into the College. Provision for entering without taking the examination was made for girls who might have studied at other institutions.43 Because CIA was a state-supported institution, tuition was free. Students paid only a one-time entrance fee of five dollars.44

The first term of the College began in September, 1903 with 173 students in attendance. Most were Texans and the daughters of farmers or stockmen. Only one student
enrolled in the senior class, while 22 were in the junior class, 33 in the second preparatory class, 65 in the first preparatory class, and 52 in the "irregular" class of adults not seeking a diploma. Because the College had no dormitories, students boarded in private homes in Denton. The lack of adequate living facilities for students remained a constant problem until legislators appropriated $60,000 to build the first dormitory in 1907.45

Nevertheless, the first year in the history of the school was a successful one, and the enrollment increased even before the year was over. By the time President Work resigned in 1910, the College had made significant gains. Work helped to define the faculty role in running the institution by establishing a system of faculty committees to make recommendations on matters pertaining to the curriculum, student classification, graduation requirements, literary societies, athletics, and boarding regulations. During Work's administration, the regents, based on faculty recommendations, raised the academic standards of the College and added a third year of college-level study to the curriculum. Faculty also offered additional advanced work in the senior year and strengthened the attention given to practical studies.46

When William Bennett Bizzell took over the presidency in 1910, enrollment at CIA had reached 340. By the end of his third year in office, the number of students had
almost doubled, the result of several changes that Bizzell instituted during his four-year tenure. He oversaw the construction of the Household Arts and Science Building along with several smaller facilities, including a laundry and gymnasium. He strengthened the admission requirements and gained approval from the legislature to add a fourth year of study leading to the bachelor's degree. Bizzell also obtained legislative approval for the validation of the CIA diploma as a "first-grade" state teachers' certificate issued by the state Department of Education. The CIA certificate was now equivalent to the certificates issued by the state's normal schools. Although courses remained essentially the same, Bizzell worked to bring some academic organization to the college. By 1914, courses were grouped into 18 departments ranging from domestic science and rural arts to music and expression. Bizzell also oversaw the implementation of an extension program aimed at promoting the college and fostering the welfare of rural women in their farm homes across the state.47 As a result, Bizzell managed to leave his successor a solid base on which to continue building the school.

During Francis Marion Bralley's decade in office, from 1914 to 1925, the college grew in enrollment, facilities, number of faculty, and course of studies. In 1914, the total enrollment of the college, including students taking
summer courses, was 899. By the 1924-25 school year, 2454 students were in attendance. The increase in enrollment reflected the growth and development of several areas. For example, Brally implemented the fourth year of study, which legislators had approved during the previous administration. This continued curriculum development gained recognition for the college in 1916, when officials at the State Department of Education designated the school a "college of the first class."48

Bralley also strengthened academic standards, raised admission requirements, and issued a formal statement of stringent attendance regulations pertaining to classes and chapel exercises. These changes all helped in garnering further recognition for CIA, this time from the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. In the fall of 1923, officials of the Association voted to accept CIA as a member institution based on improved academic standards. Membership meant that CIA was now established as a liberal arts institution even though technical and industrial courses remained a significant part of the curriculum.49

Bralley also guided the expansion of the physical facilities of the college. During his presidency, the main college building, erected in 1903, was expanded to double its capacity. In 1916, Bralley oversaw the construction of a new residence hall, followed by two more
dormitories two years later. A new gymnasium replaced the old one in 1921, and an auditorium–music hall was completed in 1922. The expansion of the college laundry and major renovations in the Household Arts Building completed the building boom under Bralley. The result was that during Bralley's administration, the value of campus property grew from $300,000 to more than $2 million. Bralley did not live to realize his dream of building an adequate library for the college, although shortly before his death the legislature appropriated the money for the structure. His successors would oversee its construction.50

The man who took over the presidency in 1925, Lindsey Blayney of Rice Institute, served for only a year, the shortest tenure of any CIA president. He became embroiled in political controversies with the governor and members of the board of regents and as a result resigned in 1926. But he was able to move CIA forward nonetheless in his brief time in office. He managed to prevent the governor's veto of the appropriation for the new library, eliminated the CIA preparatory school, and sought to upgrade the academic credentials of the faculty. These actions contributed to the acceptance of CIA into membership of the American Association of University Women in 1925, further recognition that the college was developing into a sound educational institution. Blayney
also oversaw the creation of the Department of Journalism with a four-year program leading to a bachelor’s degree.51

Blayney’s successor, Louis Herman Hubbard, formerly Dean of Students at the University of Texas, held the position of president for 25 years, giving him ample time and opportunity to influence the growth of the college. He was responsible for a tremendous expansion of the physical facilities on campus. During the 1930s he took advantage of Public Works Administration grants and loans to oversee the construction of buildings for the sciences and arts, music and speech, a hospital, dormitories, classroom and laboratory facilities, and a new chapel. Although construction slowed during the war, by 1943 Hubbard managed to increase the total value of all property belonging to the college to $4,700,764.66.52

Hubbard also worked consistently to upgrade the academic offerings of the college. Shortly after becoming president, he adopted the policy that faculty must have at least a master’s degree to be hired. Whenever possible, he hired people with doctorates.53 He added several academic majors during his tenure in office, including library science, nursing, recreation, psychology, and social work. One of his most significant initiatives was the addition of graduate studies in 1930; students earned the first master’s degrees from the college in 1931. Many
of these curricular changes were the result of Hubbard’s attempt to shift the emphasis of the college from technical and vocational to liberal arts.\textsuperscript{54}

Enrollments during Hubbard’s tenure fluctuated as he guided the college through both the Depression and World War II. During the early 1930s, the enrollment dropped from 2,549 in 1929-30 to 1,737 in 1932-33. A combination of loans, scholarships, relaxed admission requirements, and cooperative housing allowed college officials to stop the decline in attendance; by the mid 1930s, enrollments were almost at pre-Depression levels. In 1938, it was necessary for regents to limit enrollment to 2700 because of the dormitory shortage.\textsuperscript{55} But enrollment continued to expand, and by the mid-1940s the number of students at what was by this time Texas State College for Women (TSCW) had increased by 10\%, the only Texas student body to increase during the war.\textsuperscript{56} Once the war ended, however, Hubbard again had to deal with falling attendance. By 1947, enrollment had dipped to 2414 students, almost 300 fewer than in 1944. While Hubbard attributed the decline to various causes, he began recruiting efforts to offset the drop. But by the time he retired in 1950, declining enrollment was one of the difficult problems he left for his successor.\textsuperscript{57}
John Guinn would serve as TSCW president for 26 years, even longer than Hubbard. In his first years in office, Guinn faced not only declining enrollments but also attempts by the Texas legislature to combine TSCW with coeducational North Texas State College, the former normal school. College officials managed to thwart the attempts at merger, but later presidents would face the same threat.  

In spite of dire predictions about declining enrollments, TWU continued to grow throughout the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Several new buildings were added to the campus during this time to accommodate the increased number of students. Academic changes included the development of Ph.D programs in several fields as well as the admittance of men to graduate programs in the 1970s. And, finally, with Guinn's death in 1976, the TWU board of regents elected Mary Evelyn Blagg Huey the first woman president of the institution. Unlike Milwaukee-Downer, TWU officials maintained the status of the school as a single-sex institution as it developed over the years from a vocationally-oriented to a more traditional university designed to provide an appropriate education to women.
While the founders of TWU were struggling to put the institution on a firm footing, another college for women was taking shape far to the north. Saint Mary's College in South Bend, Indiana, originated in the mid 1800s. The Sisters of the Holy Cross, who operated the school, traced their roots to France, where Abbe Basile Antoine-Marie Moreau founded the order of Fathers and Sisters of the Holy Cross in the 1830s. The sisters first came to the United States in 1843 at the request of Father Edward Sorin, founder of Notre Dame University in South Bend, Indiana. He had a specific role in mind for them, however, which he revealed in a letter to Father Moreau in 1842. Father Sorin wrote that the sisters "must be prepared not merely to look after the laundry and the infirmary, but also to conduct a school, perhaps even a boarding school."60

Besides doing the Notre Dame laundry, which the priests sent to the convent in the early years, the sisters apparently fulfilled Father Sorin's other expectations as well. Because Bishop Celestine de la Hailandiere of Indiana would not permit the sisters to set up a novitiate in South Bend, in 1844 they opened a school six miles north, just across the Michigan-Indiana border, in a small town named Bertrand. Eleven years later,
because the distance from Notre Dame caused much inconvenience, school officials moved Saint Mary's Academy to a 185-acre parcel of land across the street from Notre Dame. The move brought no objections from Bishop Maurice de St. Palais, the second successor of Bishop de la Hailandiere, and school officials received a charter and articles of incorporation from the state of Indiana in 1855.61

By 1865, the enrollment was 265, but the school remained essentially at the academy level for the next 30 years. Not until 1895, when Sister Pauline O'Neill became "directress of the academy," did the school begin to take on the characteristics of a college. Mother Pauline's tenure as head of the institution ran from 1895 to 1931. In the school catalogue of 1900-01, she described a Saint Mary's education as being practical and comprehensive in character and "intended to train the heart as well as the mind, to form women who will grace society with their accomplishments, and honor and edify it by their virtues."62 Still an academy, the school offered a Preparatory Course in which those students in the "minim" department (students under the age of 12) enrolled until they became well-grounded in the essentials of basic education; an Academic Course designed for students in the junior department (students between the ages of 12 and 15) and covering a period of four years; and a
Post-Graduate Course of advanced study. Graduates completing the first year of "post-graduate" work were entitled to the degree of bachelor of arts. Completion of two years of the advanced course entitled students to a master of arts degree. In fact, however, the first college degree awarded at Saint Mary's was a bachelor of letters.

Mother Pauline had reorganized the post-graduate work on a regular undergraduate basis by 1903. She added new courses, including the first bacteriology course offered in Indiana, as well as other courses leading to a degree in pharmacy. In 1907, Mother Pauline introduced the first home economics class at the institution. Reviewers for the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools recommended in 1903 that the name of Saint Mary's Academy be changed to Saint Mary's College by state charter to reflect the status of the school as a degree-granting institution. School officials made this change in 1903, although they retained the name "Academy" for the four-year secondary curriculum. At the same time, officials upgraded Mother Pauline's title from "Directress" to "President," also a reflection of the changing status of the College.

Still seeking to distinguish the College from the academy, Mother Pauline proposed the building of a new college dormitory in the mid 1920s. She reasoned that the
need for housing space provided an excellent opportunity for officials to separate completely the College from the academy and argued further that failure to establish autonomy for the College would retard the growth of the institution as a first-rate women's college. In 1924, after some difficulty in convincing her superiors of her plan for the new building, Mother Pauline finally presided over the groundbreaking of Le Mans Hall, designed according to her specifications.67

By the time Mother Pauline retired in 1931, Saint Mary’s was a stable, growing institution. In 1922, reviewers for the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools accredited Saint Mary’s as a standard institution of higher education.68 College officials gained further recognition for Saint Mary’s through their membership in the Catholic Education Association, the North Central Association, the American Council on Education, the American Federation of Arts, and the International Federation of Catholic Alumnae.69

Following the retirement of Mother Pauline, Sister Irma served as an interim president from 1931-34. During her tenure in office she dealt successfully with declining enrollment and scarce resources, both the result of economic hard times in the larger society. Although she was unable to expand the physical plant in any way or introduce innovations into the curriculum, Sister Irma did
manage to maintain the intellectual life of the college. The drama and classics departments remained strong, and invited lecturers added to the academic environment of the campus. But reviewers for the American Association of University Women (AAUW) criticized the college in the early 1930s for poor library service and equipment and intellectual inbreeding—too many Notre Dame graduates among the faculty.70

In the years following the Depression, Saint Mary's grew and expanded in several areas. Under the guidance of Sister Madeleva Wolff, who served as president of the college from 1934 to 1961, enrollment increased from slightly more than 300 in 1936-37 to 1100 by 1960-61. Faculty numbers also grew in the same time period from 25 to 122. College officials took steps to add diversity to the academic credentials of the faculty by hiring graduates from a variety of educational institutions.71 In addition, the curriculum underwent significant revision after the Depression years. Courses were classified according to lower and upper division categories and specific classes were developed for freshman, while a comprehensive exam became a requirement for graduation.72

By the 1960s and 1970s, the curriculum reflected the attempts of faculty and administrators to respond to fiscal restraints and a desire to become more involved in
the world around them. Thus some programs, such as home economics, standard at the college for years, were phased out, some survived for only a short time, while still others, such as African studies, found a permanent place in the curriculum. The administration of the college underwent change during this time also as the college trustees, for the first time in the history of the school, elected Edward L. Henry in 1972 as the first of several lay men to fill the presidency. Perhaps due to the diversity of administrators with their varying talents, the college continued to grow in the 1960s and 1970s despite financial problems, student unrest, and a declining population of religious teachers.

Besides curricular changes, College officials in the late 1960s and early 1970s had to deal with a move toward merger with Notre Dame University. Students at the two schools, situated across the street from each other, had shared religious and social activities for a number of years. In 1968, a coordinating council made up of members of the administrations and faculties of both schools began to discuss a possible merger and to clarify the position of each school. A year later, the council members released a statement of principles announcing that the two institutions would remain autonomous but would continue to collaborate and share programs whenever possible. Two years later, an attempt to bring the schools officially
together in a merger failed. In the spring of 1971, trustees of both schools signed an agreement that would have essentially unified the schools into one institution with a "single student body of men and women, one faculty, one president, one administration and one board of trustees." Although the name of Saint Mary's would appear on the diplomas of women graduates and Saint Mary's faculty would retain their rank and tenure, in effect the unification would have meant the end of Saint Mary's in all but name. But the agreement failed in the fall of 1971 when officials at both schools were unable to solve "financial and administrative problems." Instead they pledged continued cooperation within the framework they had established.

In spite of the actions of Saint Mary's trustees, then, the school survived as an autonomous women's institution. Yet almost immediately, College officials faced another threat to Saint Mary's continued existence. At the same time that College trustees from both schools cancelled the merger agreement, Notre Dame trustees announced that the university would admit its first women undergraduates as freshmen in the fall of 1972. But dire predictions that this meant the end of Saint Mary's, since women would choose coeducational Notre Dame over a women's college, failed to materialize. In fact, by 1974, Saint Mary's had its largest freshman enrollment in history--534
students from over 40 states and 8 countries. College officials ultimately limited the total college enrollment to 1600 students in an effort to provide a quality education with the resources available. Thus Saint Mary's, founded as an adjunct to Notre Dame, maintained an independent existence throughout the years as the school grew from an academy to a full-fledged college.

SPELMAN COLLEGE—"OUR WHOLE SCHOOL FOR CHRIST"

Religious principles played a significant role in the founding of a school for a different group of young women in the late nineteenth century. Sophia Packard and Harriet Giles were both members of the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (WABHMS) when they founded Spelman Seminary in 1881 in Atlanta, Georgia. In an effort to ascertain the effects of the religious and charitable work of the WABHMS, Packard and Giles had traveled to the South in 1880. They returned with the desire to start a school for young black girls and women in Georgia, since state officials there, like their counterparts in Texas, had made no provision for black women's education. Packard and Giles pointed out to WABHMS members that Georgia had the largest southern black population, a significant number of whom were Baptists. After overcoming the initial reluctance of WABHMS members
to support them financially, Packard and Giles returned to Atlanta in the spring of 1881 to open their school. With the support of Atlanta's black pastors and particularly the Reverend Frank Quarles, the women opened their school to 11 students in the basement of the Friendship Baptist Church on April 11, 1881. When the first term closed in July, they had an enrollment of 80 students. Conditions in the church basement were hardly conducive to successful teaching and learning. In reference to the "school," Packard entered the following description in her diary: "'floor broken away and perfectly uneven--benches high and straight--glass broken from the windows..." Adding to the discomfort of the basement was the fact that the enrollment continued to increase steadily in the next two years. By the end of 1882, the number of students totalled 201. Packard and Giles were well aware that, if they were to enroll any more students, they would have to move the school. The solution to this problem came in late 1882, when the American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS) purchased nine acres of land and five frame buildings formerly used as barracks for officers of the Union Army in Atlanta during the Civil War. Packard and Giles moved their students into these spacious facilities in February 1883. Unlike the basement, the barracks allowed students to live at the school, and about 30 of them enrolled as boarding
students. In addition to increasing the teaching staff, Packard, as head, started a "Model School" for the purpose of training student-teachers. She also initiated an Industrial Department in 1883.81

From the beginning of the school, Packard and Giles fought to preserve Spelman as a women's institution. Packard resisted attempts of Henry Morehouse, field secretary of the ABHMS, to merge the school with the Atlanta Baptist Seminary, founded by the ABHMS to train black ministers. He wanted the girls' school to be called "The Girls' Department of Atlanta Baptist Seminary" rather than the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary. Packard would not consent to reducing the school to the status of a department, since she felt that a separate school for girls was absolutely necessary. She had the support of the women of the WABHMS, who wanted the school to be an example of "women's work for women." Bowing to Packard's resistance and outside pressure, Morehouse changed his mind on the issue in 1883 and agreed to let the school remain open exclusively to women if Packard would take over the mortgage on the property. She readily agreed to this plan and, with the help of financial contributions from John D. Rockefeller, managed to pay off the mortgage in 1884.82
John D. Rockefeller's interest in the school had begun in 1882, when he heard Packard and Giles speak at the Wilson Avenue Baptist Church in Cleveland, Ohio, about their work in Atlanta. After an initial donation to the school, he promised to do more if Packard and Giles could show that they intended to continue with the work they were doing in Atlanta. That he gave more than half of the $11,500 necessary to pay off the mortgage in 1884 attests to the fact that he believed in what Packard and Giles were doing for the education of young black women. In response to his generous gift, Packard and Giles suggested that the school be named in honor of his wife's parents, Lucy Henry Spelman and Harvey Buel Spelman. Both Lucy and Harvey Spelman had been abolitionists, and they had made their home in Cleveland a station on the Underground Railroad.

Over the next 80 years, the Rockefeller family, either through personal contributions or through the General Education Board (GEB) established in 1903, gave more than $3.5 million to Spelman College. School officials used most of the money to expand the physical plant, although they also purchased furniture and artwork. In addition to monetary contributions, family members often served on the Spelman board of trustees, with John D. Rockefeller being the first to serve, from 1888 to 1907.
With the help of the Rockefeller donations, Packard was able to move the institution forward in a number of ways. The academic courses—including mathematics, English grammar and literature, geography, and natural philosophy—expanded in scope as student preparation improved. Packard in 1883 instituted the elementary normal school course, providing the opportunity for students to observe and teach young children in the Model School. In addition, the construction of a new school infirmary allowed students to study nursing. In the Industrial Department, students took courses in cooking, sewing, general housework, and laundry work. Besides taking laundry work as a course offering, students also did their own laundry once a week. And so when John D. Rockefeller donated money in 1890 to construct a new laundry building, school officials and students viewed it as a significant addition to campus facilities. Packard considered the establishment of a printing office as an opportunity for students not only to learn type-setting and composition but also as preparation for possible employment outside the school. Clearly Packard was concerned with both the literary component of education as well as the practical or vocational. That students were also satisfied with this combination was indicated in one of the first editions of the school newspaper, the Spelman Messenger. In 1885, the paper’s
editor commented: "The curriculum of study is that given in all the higher normal and academic schools of the North, and the progress of the students is something wonderful." In addition to the academic curriculum, teachers emphasized the importance of religious training and Bible study in students' daily lives. The first graduates of Spelman Seminary, six young women who had completed the Higher Normal and Scientific Course, received their diplomas in 1886.

When Packard, her staff, and students moved to the site of the former army barracks in 1883, the need to replace the wooden buildings left over from Civil War days with proper school classrooms became an immediate concern. During her tenure as principal, Packard realized the construction of several new buildings on campus. Both faculty and students emphasized that these new buildings were constructed of brick, a construction material that students and staff at other schools took for granted. To people at Spelman, however, the brick signified not only an improvement in facilities but also the permanence of their institution, a characteristic not necessarily recognized by most people in Atlanta at the time. In 1886, school officials dedicated the first brick building on campus, named Rockefeller Hall in appreciation for the more than $13,000 that John D. Rockefeller donated for construction of the building.
In 1888, the state of Georgia granted Spelman Seminary officials a charter that established an independent, self-perpetuating board of trustees. While the ABHMS and the WABHMS both had representation on the board, the charter clarified that they did not own the institution. The granting of the charter and incorporation of the school furthered the development of Spelman as an educational institution.

Three years later, in an effort to advance the school academically, Malcolm MacVicar, Superintendent of Education for the ABHMS, spent 10 weeks on the campus studying the curriculum and determining future needs. As a result of his study, he proposed the creation of a Collegiate Department; an Academic Department with a thorough English course for prospective teachers or missionaries; a college preparation course with foreign languages; a Training School Department with a normal course; a missionary training course; a nursing course, and an industrial course. That this ambitious plan required more resources than Spelman had at the time did not stop MacVicar. In particular, he stressed the need for a new building to house the normal course, since school officials viewed teacher training as one of the most important areas of study. Thanks to another Rockefeller donation of $35,000, the dedication of Giles Hall, designed to house the Normal Department, took place.
in 1893. With the new building and the aid of a grant from the Slater Fund, Spelman teachers were able to enlarge the normal work and the practice school. Joining with the Atlanta Baptist Seminary, they set up a program to train young women and men as teachers. But the young men would work in the practice school for boys on their own campus.94

With the death of Sophia Packard in 1891, a reluctant Harriet Giles took over as Principal of the Seminary. In her 18 years as head of the school, Giles witnessed several changes and improvements. In 1892, seven students enrolled in the first Missionary Training Course. These students spent summer months in various communities where they started Bible and temperance bands, Christian Endeavor societies, assisted in Sunday schools, visited homes, and held mothers' and children's meetings.95 In addition to the successful Missionary Training Course, another improvement in the academic standing of the school occurred in the fall of 1897 when two students registered for the first time in the college department. Four years later, the first two students earned bachelor of arts degrees from Spelman, even though they took most of their courses at Atlanta Baptist College. In spite of this development, however, Giles refused to change the name of the school from "seminary" to "college." She thought it unwise to make such a change until the school had an endowment.96
Although Rockefeller was generous in his contributions to the school, he refused to provide a permanent endowment. Instead he arranged for an annual appropriation to cover operating expenses only, ensuring that the various agencies providing money to Spelman would see the need for continued funding of the school in other areas and not withdraw their support. And, indeed, Giles continued to receive funding not only from Rockefeller, but also from the Slater Foundation for the normal and industrial departments and from the WABHMS for teachers' salaries.

During the term of office of Lucy Hale Tapley (1910-1927), the Spelman Seminary curriculum emphasized vocational education. The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Building for Home Economics, completed in 1918, contained a model home of four rooms, a chemical laboratory, rooms for millinery and dressmaking, and a model laundry. The new building allowed faculty to offer a four-year, high school level course in home economics leading to a diploma rather than a degree. Similarly, the Bessie Strong Nurses' Home, which provided housing and work facilities for student nurses, resulted in the strengthening of courses in nursing; by 1920, graduate nurses were qualified to take the examination for state certificates.
Tapley’s emphasis on the vocational curriculum rather than literary education affected enrollment. The number of students increased steadily, but the largest number, excluding the high school students, were registered in the Teachers Professional Department and the Nurse Training Course. The College Department usually had the fewest number of students. While there were 18 students registered in the College Department in 1912, by 1920 the number had dropped to 14. During the same time period, the Teachers Professional Department and the Nurse Training Course together increased from 45 students to 65 students. The focus on vocational training rather than literary study in the 1910s and 1920s reflected the ongoing debate as to the appropriate education for blacks—vocational or cultural—but also the lack of opportunities for black women in the white-dominated labor force. Historian Barbara Solomon suggests that black educators faced difficult dilemmas in training black students without raising their expectations beyond levels allowed by the larger white society. Even though Solomon notes that black educators attempted to transmit the importance of aspirations along with the need for realistic preparation in vocational fields, Tapley, as a white educator, apparently chose to emphasize the practical studies. She believed, along with Booker T. Washington, that this was the way for blacks to uplift
their people. Not until the mid-1920s, with the renaming of the school as a "college" rather than "seminary," did the enrollments in the College Department begin to increase significantly. By 1926, Tapley reported that four times as many students (56) were enrolled in the college course as had been registered in 1921.

Although Tapley was apparently moving in the direction of collegiate education by the end of her presidency, she still tended to view the school as vocationally oriented. For example, in an article for the 1923 Messenger, Tapley wrote in reference to the seminary's name change that Spelman would open in the fall of 1924 as a teachers' college, offering work in secondary, elementary, and home economics education. During Tapley's tenure, Spelman College and Spelman High School became charter members of the Association of Georgia Negro Colleges and Secondary Schools. In addition, the Georgia State Department of Education recognized Spelman as an "A" grade institution. Nevertheless Tapley's successor, Florence Read, found that one of her initial tasks as president was to develop the institution into "a strong liberal arts college."

Read, a graduate of Mount Holyoke College and Executive Secretary of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, became the fourth president of Spelman in 1927. Like her predecessors, she was a white woman with a New England background. Unlike Tapley,
however, she moved quickly to shift the emphasis of Spelman from vocational to liberal arts. In 1927, Spelman College, along with the high school, offered five levels of work including college, senior high school, junior high school, elementary high school, and nurse training. Within the span of a few years, Read had eliminated the areas Tapley had emphasized. Read and the college trustees in 1927 closed MacVivar Hospital, located on the College grounds, to all outside patients, and the Nurse Training Course ended. Read then discontinued the elementary school and in 1930 closed Spelman High School.

According to Read,

> From 1928 onward, the declared aim of Spelman College was to provide, within a limited scope and with a relatively small number of students, as good educational facilities as were available in any college of liberal arts. The emphasis was to be on quality.103

With this goal in mind, Read oversaw a curriculum revision designed to offer more courses in the humanities, science and mathematics, history and the social sciences, and philosophy and fine arts.

Read also sought to increase the number of black faculty members. A former Spelman student who attended the school at the turn of the century, noted in a later interview that she was inspired just by looking at the one black teacher on the Spelman campus at that time.104
Until the mid 1920s, most of the Spelman teachers on both the high school and college levels were unmarried white women from New England. In 1925, college officials hired Margaret Nabrit Curry, the first black member of the Spelman college faculty. By 1937, black faculty members outnumbered white professors by a two-to-one margin, and in 1952, the ratio had increased to three to one. The question of hiring more black faculty members came up on several previous occasions. Apparently Lucy Tapley felt the need to increase the number of blacks on the faculty, but was unsuccessful; in 1927, she reported that she was "unable to find competent persons." Several years earlier, Spelman alumnae reminded Tapley of the paucity of black faculty and of the need to remedy the situation. Although Tapley failed to meet their requests, Read began to improve the racial balance of the faculty during her term as president.

In addition to changes in faculty and curriculum, Read initiated another development that enhanced the status of Spelman as a liberal arts college. When Spelman trustees offered the president's position to Read in 1927, she would not accept until the trustees established an endowment. A permanent endowment would provide the stability that she needed in planning for the future of the college. Trustees met this condition, and by 1987, according to President Johnnetta B. Cole, the Spelman
College endowment was "'one of the most solid of the historically black colleges.'"\textsuperscript{109} As money from the endowment became available, grants from the Rockefellers, the ABHMS, and the WABHMS eventually ceased, as did Spelman College's dependence on these agencies. Clearly Read's insistence on the permanent endowment helped make Spelman independent and encouraged the growth of the College.\textsuperscript{110}

Spelman was not the only educational institution in Atlanta that was growing during this time. In the late 1920s, officials at Spelman, Morehouse College, and Atlanta University, all located in the Atlanta area, reached an agreement establishing the Atlanta University System, later known as the Atlanta University Center. In effect this plan affiliated the three schools in a university structure with the graduate and professional work carried on at Atlanta University and the undergraduate work conducted at Spelman and Morehouse Colleges. The colleges retained their own boards of trustees and officers and management, while all three colleges combined membership on the Atlanta University board of trustees. Presidents of the three institutions officially accepted this Agreement of Affiliation on April 11, 1929, Spelman's 48th Founder's Day. That the affiliation had a positive effect on Spelman's development is indicated by Spelman's election to membership in the
Association of American Colleges in 1930. Two years later, all three colleges received "A" ratings from the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.\textsuperscript{111}

Academic progress continued throughout the 1930s; by the end of the decade, Read had organized the curriculum into the pattern of most liberal arts colleges. During the first two years, students took required courses that made up a core curriculum. There was a foreign language requirement for the bachelor of arts degree, and a three-hour course in philosophy was required after 1935. By 1940, every student was required to take either a course in political science or a course called Political Orientation, a response to conditions in the larger society at the time. Students during their junior and senior years occupied themselves with their major fields and elective subjects. According to Read, new courses were added when need and resources allowed, although "novelty in the curriculum pattern was not sought for the sake of novelty."\textsuperscript{112}

Enrollment at Spelman College increased as a result of the Second World War. The larger number of students led to the need to expand the resources of the institution. Because black colleges had been particularly hard-hit financially during the war, Frederick D. Patterson, President of Tuskegee Institute, suggested a united drive
to secure operating funds. Read was among the first of the college presidents to endorse the plan, which became the United Negro College Fund. During Read's tenure, the UNCF campaign provided approximately 10% of the minimum budget requirements of the member colleges.113

In the years following Read's retirement in 1953, Spelman underwent significant changes, including the election of the first black men to the presidency in 1953 and 1976, and the election of the first black woman in 1988. These administrators guided Spelman students and their college through the civil rights years of the mid 1950s and 1960s and implemented curricular changes resulting, in many cases, from student and faculty agitation. The Non-Western Studies Program, begun in 1961, focused on the study of China, India, and Africa. Eight years later, the Black Studies Program was officially incorporated into the curriculum. Other curricular changes included the establishment of Freshman Studies, a new major in philosophy, new programs in continuing education and urban studies, interdisciplinary courses in all divisions, and the creation of intern programs in the community. School officials amended the college charter during these years to delete the word "Negro" from the description of Spelman's constituency. In recognition of many of these innovations, the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools accepted Spelman College into full membership.114
Spelman, which originated as a special institution for black women, followed much the same path of development as the other women's colleges, growing from a vocationally-oriented seminary to a regular liberal arts institution. But because Spelman's white administrators' notions about race placed limitations on the expectations of their black students, the Spelman curriculum remained vocationally and practically oriented longer than did those at the other three schools catering to white women. Tapley in particular, with her emphasis on industrial courses such as laundry work as well as teacher training and nursing, perpetuated the idea that black women could expect to find work only in certain fields. In addition, Spelman graduates were expected to contribute to the uplift of blacks either through teaching young black children or by establishing their own stable families. Thus the vocational and practical courses remained the core of the curriculum for a longer period than they did at the schools where "racial uplift" was not an issue.

The histories of Milwaukee-Downer College, Spelman College, Saint Mary's College, and TWU, despite differences, reveal certain significant commonalities. Two factors, in particular, local boosterism and religion, played a role in the founding of the colleges. Downer College and TWU were the result, at least in part, of the active support of local citizens who viewed the schools as
a way to enhance their communities. Historian Daniel Boorstin has written of the "booster college" that proliferated in this country, particularly between the Revolution and the Civil War. According to Boorstin, these colleges were the result of a rapidly growing American West where every settlement claimed the name of "city." The easiest way to prove that one's "city" would be successful was to provide it not only with a newspaper and a hotel, but also an institution of higher education. Unlike European universities, which tended to be located in large, established, metropolitan centers, American colleges were more likely to spring up in newly-founded towns with small populations. Boorstin proposes two reasons for this pattern of college building. First, the optimistic expectations of settlers in the West, or the booster spirit, encouraged them to consider their town an "'Athens of the West.'" Second, members of religious denominations viewed the unsettled West as a place where religious influence had an important role to play.

Fox Lake, Wisconsin citizens, in their support of the founding of Wisconsin Female College/Downer College, followed this pattern of institution building. In 1855, when Wisconsin legislators granted the school's charter, Fox Lake was a "tiny hamlet, on the border of the Indian lands." Milwaukee, the nearest urban settlement, was a
three-hour railroad ride away. The transportation and communication facilities within Fox Lake itself existed on paper only.\textsuperscript{117} But since townspeople looked to an institution of higher education as a way to boost their community, Fox Lake residents offered a site for the school and pledged $5000 for initial support of the school. At the laying of the cornerstone for the three-story college building in 1855, most of the village residents attended in a show of support.\textsuperscript{118} Even after members of the Baptist Education Society withdrew their financial assistance to the school in 1857, Fox Lake citizens continued to support the College throughout the Civil War. They managed to complete the third story of the College building to house 80 boarding students and also added a fence and landscaping to improve the appearance of the grounds.\textsuperscript{119} Until Jason Downer bequeathed his money to the College in the late 1880s, community members and college trustees kept the school running, at one point even forming a College joint stock company and selling shares to the school’s supporters. Obviously, townspeople understood the importance for the success of their community of maintaining this institution.

Boosterism played a role as well in the early years of Milwaukee Female College. Lucy Ann Parsons, as the school’s first administrator, was able to gain the support
of a board of trustees comprised of some of the most prominent Milwaukee businessmen and developers. These were the men who supported Catharine Beecher, once Parsons brought her to Milwaukee. The trustees who served on Parsons' seminary board were Whigs, while Democrats controlled the politics of the city. In an effort to set themselves apart from the masses, these Whigs adopted "eastern aristocratic" life styles.

One way to maintain this privileged social position was to send their daughters to school in the East. But this was expensive and not always successful, for these young women failed to learn in eastern schools how to function well in the frontier city of Milwaukee. Beecher, however, chose to associate with these status-conscious people when she arrived in Milwaukee with her Plan for women's education. They quickly accepted her proposal that she would provide a thousand dollars and a teacher for a school if the Milwaukee citizens would erect a new building and allow her to formulate the school's policy. The prospect of having their own women's college appealed to the civic leaders of Milwaukee. Not only would a college enhance their city in the eyes of outsiders, but the school would also allow their children to retain their status as the community elite. Although the drive for women's education came from outside the community--in this case from Catharine Beecher--Milwaukee
civic leaders, like those in Fox Lake, saw this institution as a way to boost their community.

Likewise, the people of Denton, Texas, viewed the College of Industrial Arts or CIA (Texas Woman's University) as a positive acquisition for their community, as evidenced by their willingness to contribute choice land and a sizeable cash donation toward the creation of the school. In addition, college officials often referred to the importance of the institution when boosting the entire state of Texas. In an early bulletin, President Bralley noted that CIA was the only state institution of higher education dedicated to the women of Texas, who made up half the population. Their training determined the "moral wholesomeness, the industrial efficiency, and the intellectual status of the homes in Texas." Ten years later, President Lindsey Blayney reminded readers of the school newspaper that one of the reasons for the success of the college was that Texas residents did not regard CIA as belonging to a particular region of Texas but instead to the whole state. He noted further that in the long run the state of Texas would become a better place in which to live because of the existence of CIA, where women were trained for the "highest citizenship which will consequently inspire them to make their contributions as future citizens, not merely to the economic and domestic, but also to the spiritual life of
Thus the founders and early officials of CIA, creating their own form of boosterism, promoted the college as a way to improve the entire state of Texas.

In addition to the booster spirit, religion was also a motivating factor in the founding of these institutions. Traditionally, participation in religious organizations had allowed women to expand their sphere of activity. Women's involvement in church-linked endeavors was justified on the grounds that religion was important in maintaining the perception of true womanhood. Not surprisingly, then, the female founders and early administrators of these schools often turned to religion as partial justification in founding these institutions. In the case of Wisconsin Female College, for example, the Wisconsin Baptist Education Society provided not only the school's first president, the Reverend H.G. Parker, corresponding secretary of the Baptist Education Society, but also the principal, the Reverend J.W. Fish, a local clergyman. The religious bent of the school was clearly indicated in one of the early catalogues: "It is the aim of the Officers and Teachers in connection with the discipline of the intellect, to inculcate a pure morality, and the great truths and duties of Evangelical Christianity." Although the Baptist influence on the college had waned by the mid 1860s, the religious influence had not. Congregationalists and Presbyterians
came to dominate the board of trustees and many of the faculty members were Congregational. The emphasis on religion and the building of Christian character was important to the survival of the school, since these were the characteristics that attracted the attention of Judge Jason Downer in the later 1860s. Through the conditions he attached to his bequest, Downer sought to ensure the continued influence of religion in the College.\footnote{\textsuperscript{126}}

What is ironic about the religious leaning of the College is that, while trustees clearly created and maintained the school as a denominational institution, they nonetheless used the early catalogues to assure prospective students that "nothing sectarian is designedly taught." In later years, Downer College trustees would also describe their school as "a Christian institution...not in the interest of any sect."\footnote{\textsuperscript{127}} This denial of any sectarian teaching was similar, however, to many denominational colleges founded in the nineteenth century. In a community as small as Fox Lake, a religious denomination could not rely on members to keep a college solvent and to provide the needed students. As Boorstin noted, members of each denomination attempted to make their college as attractive as possible to all consumers. One way to do this was to maintain the Christian atmosphere of the college while still offering a curriculum free of any particular sectarian doctrine.\footnote{\textsuperscript{128}}
Milwaukee Female College followed much the same pattern of development as Wisconsin Female College, although the location of the school in an urban area and also the ideas of educator Catharine Beecher lent distinctive characteristics to its founding. The religious beliefs of Lucy Ann Seymour Parsons also influenced the creation of the school as she sought to establish a "seminary for young ladies" in Milwaukee in 1848. She aimed to provide, among other things, a "delightful Christian home" to those students who boarded at the school.  

The early catalogues of Downer College reveal that President Ellen Sabin's ideas were not far removed from the earlier influences of the predecessor institutions. The role of religion changed very little at the College, which remained a "Christian" institution where teachers offered a nonsectarian approach to instruction. Sabin led daily prayers in the chapel, required her students to attend Bible class on Sundays either at the College or at some church, and taught a required class on the Bible as history and literature throughout her tenure as College president.  

Although Sabin was a religious woman, there are no indications that she tried to impose any particular sectarian belief on her students. In fact, she was instrumental in removing from the College charter the requirement that at least three-fourths of the trustees
belong to either the Presbyterian or Congregationalist
denominations. According to Sabin, religion was "an
essential element in a rightly developed character,"
certainly one of the persistent goals of the College. And
so while the inculcation of a particular Protestant
denomination was not a goal of College officials, correct
character development was and the religious influence was
one way to attain this purpose.

Saint Mary’s College, as a Catholic institution, was
of course heavily influenced by religious principles.
Because the overriding purpose of the education at Saint
Mary’s was the perpetuation and extension of the faith,
religion played an integral role in the everyday workings
of the college. A 1944 centenary publication of the
Sisters of the Holy Cross attests to this influence:

Through this long span of years and through all
the schools under the direction of the Sisters of
the Holy Cross a unifying ideal has actuated
their labors. It permeates the circular letters
of the highest superiors...it is fulfilled in the
humblest sister who strives to walk worthy of her
holy calling. Everywhere, always, it is to live,
to teach, to do all, that souls may come to
Christ.

One way to bring souls to Christ was through religious
instruction. All Saint Mary’s students, from the girls
who were less than 12 years old in the minim department to
the the young women doing college level work in the
"post-graduate" course, studied the catechism in regular,
graded classes, the first recitation of the day. Special
religious instruction, aimed primarily at the children of Catholic parents, was offered in each department as well. In an early catalogue, College officials wrote that "anything like an attempt to force the religious convictions of non-Catholics is scrupulously avoided." Yet, "for the sake of uniformity and the preservation of discipline," all Saint Mary's students were required to attend the public religious exercises. Catholic and non-Catholic students alike were "taught to appreciate religious principles and moral worth."133

This pervasive spirit of religion is what set convent schools apart from secular schools. According to the author of an article in the school newspaper, convent school training provided more than intellectual growth. "Heart culture" or training of the soul was also developed in Catholic schools.134 Speakers at the College emphasized the importance of training the heart as well as the mind. The Right Reverend Bishop Glennon, addressing the graduates in 1900, noted that every woman ought to be a queen but that her crown should be of virtue rather than of gold. According to Glennon, purity, truth, and goodness should grace her court, while faith and love should be her throne. Above all the spirit of religion must continue to be the dominant influence in her life.135 Eleven years later, the Right Reverend Thomas Hickey told graduates that a woman possesses natural grace
and gifts which ennoble her and place her high in the estimation of man, and "with the coming of Christianity she was placed on her proper plane." Hickey told students to go forth into society to exercise the strong influence that only Christian women could exert. These advocates of convent schools maintained that training in the Catholic faith would give Saint Mary's students an advantage over students in secular colleges who had not been trained in both heart and head. Implied also is the belief that the larger society would benefit from the education that the convent school provided.

The motto of Spelman College, "Our Whole School For Christ," reflects the original purposes behind the founding of the institution and provides further evidence of the influence of religion on these schools. Harriet Packard and Sophia Giles, as members of the Woman's American Baptist Home Missionary Society (WABHMS), were motivated by their mission to instill "Christian character" in the young girls and women who attended Spelman. With the moral and financial support of both the WABHMS and the larger American Baptist Home Mission Society, Packard and Giles established a school in which religion played a major role. Spelman trustees confirmed this purpose when they wrote into the 1888 charter of the college that the "object of the said corporation is the establishment and maintenance of an institution of
learning for young colored women in which also special attention is to be given to the formation of industrial habits and of Christian character." Packard and Giles used the early school catalogues to reiterate this purpose for the general public. In explaining their aim in founding Spelman, they described the school as "distinctly Christian, as its founders willed it to be..." They welcomed "those of every faith to its advantages. The aim is to build character. Christianity and morality are the foundation of all our teaching, for, if these are neglected, all else is vain." Packard and Giles certainly did not neglect religion in developing the curriculum and activities in the early years of the school. As in other small, sectarian U.S. institutions, Spelman founders included in their academic course classes entitled "Christian Doctrines," "Evidences of Christianity," "Bible History," and "Moral Science." All students took Bible study and listened to a Bible reading each day at morning devotions. They met together at frequent prayer sessions, weekly Sunday school and social purity meetings, and monthly missionary and temperance gatherings. The religious influence continued as the school expanded. By the early 1900s, students established on campus the Young Women's Christian Association, the Christian Endeavor Societies, and several mission bands.
Packard measured the success of this religious focus in various ways. Most often, she considered the religious conversion of her students and their acceptance of Christ as their spiritual Savior to be the most prominent indicator of religion's positive effect. She tended to use the number of student conversions in any given week as the basis for judging the success of the school. In a letter to a New England minister, Packard wrote,

> for the past few weeks the school has been greatly moved by the power of the Holy Spirit. Many have been brought to confess their need of a Saviour...Some of our brightest and most advanced have taken this stand for Christ during the past week and we are greatly encouraged.

Packard's diary contained several entries enumerating conversions on the part of her students. She counted about 70 conversions for the 1887-88 school year alone, with many more having taken place in the first years of the school's operation.

When Lucy Hale Tapley became president of Spelman in 1910, she maintained the founders' emphasis on religion. In the early 1920s, in her report to the trustees, Tapley reiterated the original purpose behind the founding of Spelman when she wrote that the aim of training for Christian womanhood still held and that religious and moral training still formed the center around which all other instruction gathered. As late as 1929, students were still required to attend Sunday services,
daily morning devotions in Sisters Chapel, and the mid-week prayer meeting. In the 1930s, however, Spelman administrators reviewed and revised the religious policy of the school's founders to give students more responsibility for their own religious lives. And so while the emphasis on religion waned by the mid twentieth century, it had nevertheless played an important role in the school's founding.

In identifying both boosterism and religion as reasons for the founding of these women's colleges, it is important to note that while men's colleges were also influenced by these factors, boosterism and religion tended to play different roles in the case of women's colleges. In supporting the establishment of local women's colleges, community members were in fact promoting the importance of higher education in women's lives, an indication that women's roles, or at least the public perception of these roles, were changing. It is doubtful that prior to the late nineteenth century many citizens would have touted a woman's college as a positive factor in promoting the growth of their community. But the fact that Milwaukee and Denton residents freely promoted their respective colleges is evidence that they accepted the expansion of women's roles through an education that offered knowledge and preparation for certain fields whether in the home or in the limited number of professions open to women at the time.
At the same time, however, these college boosters relied on the religious foundations of the schools to reassure parents, students, and the public that students would still be trained in an appropriate manner, that is, as Christian women. The religious training offered at each school, particularly at Saint Mary’s, assured parents that women students would not stray far from woman’s traditional role as wife and mother, since in most cases religion reinforced this role as the proper aspiration for women. In combining boosterism with religion as a means of promoting these colleges, local residents actually dealt with two conflicting forces that together allowed them to extend women’s sphere through education while still relying on religion to prevent any real challenge to women’s traditional roles.
NOTES


3 Administrators at many men's colleges and coeducational institutions also found it necessary to provide preparatory departments for students. During the decade of the 1890s, approximately 30% of all students attending such schools were enrolled in preparatory departments. Officials at the older men's colleges and the larger state universities, however, reported no students in preparatory departments during this time period. Among these schools were Harvard, Princeton, Yale, Dartmouth, Columbia, Cornell, and the universities of Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Iowa. See Commissioner of Education, 1890-91, vol. 2, 817; Commissioner of Education, 1893-94, vol. 1, 100; Commissioner of Education, 1897-98, vol. 2, 1848-67.


5 These agencies included the Association of American Colleges, Association of American Universities, Association of Collegiate Alumnae, and North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. See Ellen Sabin, "Commencement Address," June 16, 1920, Series 1, Box 2, Milwaukee-Downer College Papers. Milwaukee-Downer College material is taken from the Milwaukee-Downer College Papers (hereafter referred to as M-D Papers), housed at the Milwaukee Area Research Center at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Primary materials pertaining to Spelman College, Saint Mary's College, and Texas Woman's University, unless otherwise noted, are housed in the archival centers at the respective colleges, and are hereafter referred to as Spelman College Archives (SCA), Saint Mary's College Archives (SMCA), and Texas Woman's University Archives (TWUA).


7 Sister Mary Immaculate 65, SMCA.

9 *Texas Woman's University--A Summary History of the University, 1901-1961* (Denton, TX: Texas Woman's University, 1961) 1-5, TWUA.


12 *Commissioner of Education, 1902*, vol. 1, LXXX-LXXXI.


15 *Cumtux*, 1898, 35, Series 7, Box 14, M-D Papers.

16 Kieckhefer 47, 51-52, M-D Papers.

17 Sabin began teaching in the rural schools of Wisconsin when she was sixteen years old. In 1870, at the age of twenty, she became principal of the Fourth Ward School in Madison, Wisconsin, where she remained until 1872. From 1873 until 1890, she taught in the Portland, Oregon schools, advancing from classroom teacher to superintendent of the Portland school system. Early in her career, she so impressed Oregon educators with her teaching ability and public presentations of her educational principles that they suggested she be named state superintendent of schools. She refused the

18 Kieckhefer 1-2, M-D Papers.
19 Kieckhefer 8, M-D Papers.
20 Kieckhefer 10-14, M-D Papers.

22 Kieckhefer 29, 33, 36, 38, M-D Papers.
23 Kieckhefer 65-66, M-D Papers.
24 Cumtux, 1898, 36-7, Series 7, Box 14, M-D Papers.
25 Kieckhefer 67-82, M-D Papers.
26 Kieckhefer 73, M-D Papers.
27 Kieckhefer 82, M-D Papers.


30 Kieckhefer 95, M-D Papers.

32 Qtd. in Joyce Thompson, Marking a Trail (Denton, TX: Texas Woman's UP, 1982) 1, TWUA.

33 Thompson 2, TWUA.
According to Bellamy, the cash bonus was $30,000. See Bellamy 5, TWUA.

Girls Industrial College Bulletin Feb. 1903, 7, TWUA.

Thompson 3, TWUA.

Bellamy 7, TWUA.

Girls Industrial College Bulletin, June 1903, 16, TWUA.

Bellamy 5, TWUA.

The Texas legislature agreed in 1903 to provide the following courses and areas of instruction for students at the Girls Industrial College: literary education, kindergarten instruction, telegraphy, stenography, photography, drawing, painting, design, engraving, needle work including dressmaking, bookkeeping, scientific and practical cooking, housekeeping, nursing, and the care and culture of children. See Girls Industrial College Bulletin, Feb. 1903, 1, TWUA.

Girls Industrial College Bulletin, June 1903, 14-15, TWUA; Edward Bates, History and Reminiscences of Denton County (Denton, TX: McNitzky, 1918) 250, TWUA; Thompson 7, TWUA.

Girls Industrial College Bulletin, June 1903, 8, TWUA.

Thompson 13, TWUA.

Thompson 13, TWUA.

Thompson 25, TWUA.

Thompson 29-34, TWUA.

Thompson 40, TWUA.

Thompson 40, TWUA.

Thompson 46-50, TWUA.

Thompson 63-66, TWUA.

Thompson 77-81; 90-91; 114, TWUA.
53 Thompson 69, TWUA.
54 Thompson 70, 83, TWUA.
55 Thompson 77-78; 82, TWUA.
56 Thompson 106, TWUA.
57 Thompson 122, TWUA.
58 Thompson 132-33, TWUA.
59 Thompson 150-51, 164, 176-77, 200, 206-10, 216-227, TWUA.
60 Sister Mary Immaculate 8, SMCA.
61 Sister Mary Immaculate 10-28, SMCA.
62 St. Mary's Academy Catalogue, 1900-01, 5, SMCA.
63 St. Mary's Academy Catalogue, 1900-01, 6-9, SMCA.
64 Sister Mary Immaculate 50, SMCA.
65 St. Mary's Catalogue, 1903, 1904, 1907, SMCA; Sister Mary Immaculate 58, SMCA.
66 Sister Mary Immaculate 46, SMCA.
67 Sister Mary Immaculate 67, SMCA.
68 Sister Mary Immaculate 65, SMCA.
69 Sister Mary Immaculate 70, SMCA.
70 Sister Mary Immaculate 71-75, SMCA.
71 Sister Mary Immaculate 86-87, SMCA.
72 Sister Mary Immaculate 86, 100-02, SMCA.
73 Sister Mary Immaculate 139-40, 155, SMCA.
74 Sister Mary Immaculate 210, SMCA.
75 Sister Mary Immaculate esp. sections 4-7, SMCA.
76 Sister Mary Immaculate 156, SMCA.
77 Sister Mary Immaculate 198-201, SMCA.
78 Sister Mary Immaculate 204, SMCA.


80 Read 50, SCA.

81 Read 72-73, SCA.

82 Read 77-81, SCA.

83 Read 64, SCA.

84 Read 80-81; 175-76, SCA.

85 "Contributions from Rockefeller Sources," January 14, 1957, Rockefeller Family archives, Record Group 2, Educational Interests, Box 89, Envelope 3, Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC).

86 Untitled summary of Rockefeller connection to Spelman College, Family, R.G. 2, Ed. Interests, Box 89, Envelope 3, RAC.

87 Read 113, SCA.

88 Read 86-87, SCA.

89 Qtd. in Read 88, SCA.

90 Read 114, SCA.

91 Read 89, SCA.

92 Read 90-93, SCA.

93 Read 103-05, SCA; "Charter and By-Laws," Family, R.G 2, Ed. Interests, Box 90, Envelope "Re: Charter," RAC.

94 Read 114, 124-25, SCA.

95 Read 126, SCA.

96 Read 135, 140, SCA.

97 Read 151-52, SCA.

98 Historical Sketch and General Catalogue, 1881-1921, 19-20, SCA; Read 190-94, SCA.


101 Read 198, SCA.

102 Read 210, SCA.

103 Read 214-16, SCA.


105 Guy-Sheftall 55, SCA.


107 "The Spelman Graduates Club," 12 Feb. 1921, General Education Board Collection, Series 1.1, Box 40, Folder 364, RAC.

108 Read 310, SCA.


110 Read 212-14, SCA.

111 Read 232-35, 241, 243, SCA.

112 Read 306-07, SCA.

113 Read 329-31, SCA.

114 Guy-Sheftall 82, 88, SCA.


116 Boorstin 153; For further discussions of the role that boosterism played in the founding of American colleges see John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition—An American History: 1636-1956*


118 Kieckhefer 43, M-D Papers.

119 Kieckhefer 45, M-D Papers.


121 College of Industrial Arts--Annual Announcement, 1915-16, 17, TWUA.


125 Kieckhefer 44, M-D Papers.

126 Kieckhefer 52, M-D Papers.

127 Catalogue of Milwaukee-Downer College, 1897-98, 6, Series 10, Box 1, M-D Papers.

128 Boorstin 154.
129 Kieckhefer 3, M-D Papers.
130 Catalogue of M-DC, 1897-98, 41, M-D Papers.
131 Ellen Sabin, "Annual Report of the President of Milwaukee-Downer College," 15 June 1909, 7-8, Series 1, Box 1, M-D Papers.
132 Blue Mantle, 1944, 95, SMCA.
133 St. Mary's Academy Catalogue, 1900-01, 6, 9, SMCA.
134 "A Desirable Reaction," St. Mary's Chimes Sept. 1900: 9, SMCA.
135 "The Church and Woman's Education," Chimes Sept. 1900: 12, SMCA.
137 "Charter and By-Laws," 2, Rockefeller Family archives, Record Group 2, Educational Interests, Box 90, Envelope "Re: Charter," Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC).
138 Spelman Seminary Circular, 1892-93, 22, SCA.
139 Spelman Circular, 1892-93, 25; Spelman Circular, 1905-06, 10, SCA.
141 Excerpts from Sophia Packard's diary, n. pag., Read's notes, Folder: Book 1, SCA.
142 Lucy Hale Tapley, "Annual Report," Spelman Messenger Apr. 1923: 2, SCA.
143 Spelman College Bulletin, 1928-29, 14, SCA.
144 Spelman officials maintained the religious focus at the college slightly longer than officials at other colleges and universities. For example, a 1913 study of 60 representative U.S. colleges revealed that administrators at 32 of these schools still required chapel attendance of their students. At 15 of the colleges, however, attendance was voluntary, and officials at the remaining schools either held no services or provided a "rather weak substitute." Survey results showed that even where chapel attendance was compulsory,
students were allowed from zero to 50 "cuts" each year. In addition, college officials often used chapel as an opportunity for the daily gathering of students and as a disciplinary measure rather than as a religious meeting. According to the results of a study conducted ten years later in 1924, the trend toward non-religious use of chapel exercises continued. College officials listed "tradition, social unification of the student body and administrative convenience" as the chief reasons for chapel attendance. This decrease in religious emphasis was in part the result of student protests against religious requirements and disciplinary rules in general during the 1920s. In particular, Spelman officials and students were slower than their counterparts at other black colleges who modified strict behavior and religious codes at their respective schools during the 1920s. The impetus for these reforms came from a belief that strict behavior rules at these schools were maintained to appease white southerners and northern benefactors, rather than to benefit students. Whether the failure of Spelman officials to join in these reforms during the 1920s was due to students' not viewing the disciplinary rules in the same way as their counterparts at other schools or whether students simply failed to organize a successful protest, even though they may have realized the need for reform, is unclear. See Henry T. Claus, "The Problem of College Chapel," Educational Review 46 (1913) 177-87; R. H. Edwards, J. M. Artman, and Galen Fisher, eds. Undergraduates (Garden City; Doubleday, 1928) 252-309; Elaine Kendall, Peculiar Institutions (New York: Putnam's 1975) 178-79; Raymond Wolters, The New Negro on Campus (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1975) esp. 1-28.
CHAPTER III

WHY A WOMAN’S COLLEGE?

Although boosterism and religion motivated the founding of both men’s and women’s colleges, administrators at women’s institutions faced a particular conundrum in defining their purpose: for what were they educating their students? In designing a curriculum, college officials grappled with the issue of whether women should be educated for traditional female roles or for employment in new fields. Because they failed, for the most part, to resolve this conflict, the result was constant tension between the roles that liberal arts and vocational education would play in the college curriculum.

Certainly Ellen Sabin’s academic aims for Downer College were less clearly defined than was the role of religion. She was, however, very strong in her support of the liberal arts tradition in education. Until her retirement in 1921 and even in the years following, she emphasized the importance of giving her students a liberal arts training. She reminded listeners in her 1920
commencement address that she had constantly fostered "sound academic studies" and that she "would allow nothing to impair the cultural disciplines of the languages, literature, social sciences, pure science and philosophy." And, indeed, Sabin had placed much importance on developing Downer College as a sound academic institution. As she stated in one of the early College bulletins: "To make thorough, earnest scholars, women fitted in mind and heart to advance the best interests of the world, and to build a college of the first rank are the only ambitions of the guardians of this institution." In 1900, she considered a suggestion to replace the freshman math class, presumably because it was too difficult for new students. But she feared that doing so would put Downer in an unfavorable position in comparison with other institutions in the state. For Sabin, great importance lay in maintaining a reputation for demanding sound and thorough scholarship.

At the same time, Sabin refused to accept it as a compliment when a friend referred to Downer as the "Wellesley of the West." She pointed out that Downer officials had not simply adopted the curricula of men's colleges nor had they made some women's colleges of reputation their pattern and guide. In reference to these other colleges, she stated in 1909 that she would not "limit the future woman's college of this most progressive
part of our country to the standards they have attained, the ideals they appear to hold.⁴ Revealing her own form of boosterism, Sabin argued that the policy of the school had always been to meet the needs of the locality. Therefore, no other college could set the standard for a Milwaukee institution.

Yet Sabin's denial that Downer was the "Wellesley of the West" revealed more than just loyalty to her home state of Wisconsin. For all her emphasis on the liberal arts and the production of scholars, Sabin was adamant that a Downer education did not create "recluses or bluestockings." According to Sabin, Downer students were trained to take their places at the head of homes as well as to be self-supporting if necessary.⁵ As one of Sabin's biographers wrote, she was most interested in what constituted "special education" for women and so was a "gradualist" in her promotion of women's higher education.⁶ What this meant for the Downer curriculum was an emphasis not only on the liberal arts but also on courses designed to prepare women to be self-sufficient both in the home and in the work world.

As Downer grew as a college in the early twentieth century, Sabin responded to women's increasing labor force participation, especially as World War I affected working conditions. One of the consequences of the war for the curriculum was the introduction of the department of
occupational therapy in 1918. The courses, closed to undergraduates, were available to a limited number of adult women and graduate students with nursing or social service backgrounds. College officials also added a bachelor of science degree in nursing at this time. The curriculum reflected changes in other areas as well. Whereas the catalogue had once listed several courses in Latin and Greek, the emphasis shifted to the physical and biological sciences, the social sciences, and to the fields of education and psychology. These changes reflect a movement away from the traditional liberal arts courses to those more directly related to the professional fields into which women were moving during the early years of the twentieth century.\(^7\)

By revising the curriculum in this way, Sabin managed to retain the liberal arts emphasis while incorporating into the curriculum "concepts of utility and service to the broader civic community."\(^8\) But the main purpose of Downer, for Sabin, remained the preparation of women to take their places within the home. She believed that "woman's education should prepare a woman for women's chief vocation, and that the science and art of homemaking...should form a recognized part of her training for life."\(^9\)
While this emphasis on woman's role in the home may have been the result of Catharine Beecher's influence on the earlier Milwaukee College, Sabin was also affected by the concerns of parents who sent their daughters to Downer College to receive training in manners and social graces. Although founders of all four schools perceived their institutions as different from the finishing schools prevalent in the eighteenth century and in the early years of the nineteenth century, occasionally similarities between the two types of schools arose. Educators such as Catharine Beecher and Emma Willard had attempted to design women's education as preparation for homemaking or teaching by mid century, but remnants of the finishing school curriculum, with an emphasis on "artificial graces" and "superficial knowledge," remained in the course of study at women's schools even at the turn of the twentieth century.10

At Downer, the influence of the earlier finishing schools was reflected in the importance that Sabin placed on teaching her students proper social skills. In an early report to trustees, Sabin noted that Downer College compared favorably with the best women's colleges in the "quality of instruction and in social advantages."11 Social education at the school included Friday evening entertainment where pupils sat at tables presided over by teachers, who encouraged suitable and cheerful
conversation. In addition, students assisted at receptions and special occasions. Sabin used assemblies for talks on conduct and believed that the beautiful furnishings of the drawing room were a "good influence on social life and culture." Sabin also relied on numerous social events to instill in her students the principles of good conduct, correct taste, and good manners. Furthermore, she was indebted to the "hospitable and gracious ladies of the city" who opened their homes to Downer students and who acted as patronesses to them.

Sabin reminded trustees that these women represented the best social life in the state and asserted that parents of students appreciated this opportunity given their daughters. She defended women's education and, incidentally, revealed the type of student Downer attracted when she insisted in 1899 that even though it might not be necessary for a girl to be educated for self-support, she should still be educated for her place in society, for which a college education fits her best of all. A girl born to high social privileges should not be deprived of the opportunity to develop the best within her. She should be equipped to lead in society or to lead in the great philanthropical and charitable enterprises which fall to the hands of the society woman and so the college offers as much to her as to the woman who must put her college training to other use.

Sabin came to realize later in her tenure of office that a Downer education was going to have to serve more than one purpose, but this early statement reveals that
she did not have a broad view of women's education in the first years of the college. Her focus was on serving the community, and what the community needed was educated women who would take their places not only as wives and mothers but also as society women, running the "philanthropical and charitable enterprises" of Milwaukee.

Furthermore, because Sabin retained her belief that woman's true vocation was marriage and motherhood, she did not advocate a curriculum identical to that provided at men's colleges that prepared their students for the professions. In the later years of her presidency, when Sabin acknowledged the need for practical education that would train women to hold jobs, she still thought in terms of "special education" for women that focused on the fields of nursing, home economics, occupational therapy, and teaching. Even these fields, she felt, were easier to teach than was woman's true vocation, since they could be "narrowed and specialized and reduced to a formula almost." It was much more difficult to educate women "to meet the responsibilities of home and social life."  

Yet Sabin believed that her defense of the traditional liberal arts curriculum and the practical education to which she exposed Downer students provided this "special education" that women needed. In reference to educating a student to be self-supporting or to be a homemaker, Sabin stated that "we have striven at all times to educate our
girls in both directions. It is our hope that every graduate is prepared to do some definite thing in life and able to be independent should occasion require that she be so.\textsuperscript{16} While Sabin, therefore, did not expect most of her students to support themselves, she acknowledged nevertheless the dual purpose of a Downer education even if she was ambivalent about the nature of proper education for a woman in the early twentieth century.

"We Learn To Do By Doing" is the motto still inscribed on the pillar of the first building erected at TWU.\textsuperscript{17} The suggestion of Helen Stoddard, member of the first board of regents, the phrase is a reflection of the primary purpose of the institution as the early founders defined it. The first supporters of the school intended to create an industrial college for women with the focus on practical education.\textsuperscript{18} When Stoddard joined the drive for the creation of the school in 1893, she outlined a college curriculum that relied heavily on vocational education, including kindergarten instruction, telegraphy, stenography, photography, drawing, painting, designing, engraving, bookkeeping, domestic arts, and any other subjects that "tend to promote the general object of said Institute and College, towit: fitting and preparing such girls for the practical industries of the age." \textsuperscript{19}
Stoddard's curriculum was not so one-sided, though, as to exclude instruction in the liberal arts. Besides the practical courses, students were also to receive a "literary education." Stoddard did not bother to define what she meant by "literary education," but early bulletins indicate that students were exposed to basic courses in English, history, mathematics, science and art. Languages were optional. It is not surprising that Stoddard did not feel the need or possess the desire to outline in detail the requirements for a literary education. In speeches she gave promoting the college, she argued that the system of education available to women at the time was "one-sided, tending to instill a distaste for domesticity; this is abnormal and fatal." According to Stoddard, education should be three-fold, "developing the head, the heart, the hand." Stoddard felt that most education for women emphasized the head, "stir[red] the heart perhaps, and let the hand hang useless down." The Industrial Institute was meant to correct this situation, combining practical courses with literary education.

Stoddard herself exhibited some ambivalence about the role that education should play in women's lives. On the one hand, she wanted a woman to be educated for "woman's realm," the home. On the other hand, she believed that a woman "must be fitted for an independent life" since she
might never have a home of her own. Obviously Stoddard hoped to cover both possibilities with her proposed curriculum. She tended to use the domestic rationale, though, in selling the College to prospective supporters throughout the state. She pointed out that much of the education for women "educated them away from the real life that most women follow." Women were prepared for society rather than for the home. The Industrial Institute and College curriculum emphasized domestic lines of education because, according to Stoddard, "every woman is connected with some home whether that home be her own or not." Furthermore, women needed to be trained for motherhood. The "blind love of the mother for the child" was not enough to prevent a large percentage of the population from dying in infancy. A mother's love needed the direction that a good, practical education could give to a woman. The result would be children "better born and reared."  

Yet as president of the Texas Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), Stoddard encountered the WCTU perspective on women at the mercy of alcoholic husbands. This experience likely prompted her to argue for the need to educate women for the independent life. In addition, realizing also that some women, "from choice or otherwise," would never have homes of their own, Stoddard insisted that the ability to be self-supporting would lend
self-respect to women. Going a step further, she pointed out that because women had traditionally been economically dependent on men, marriage had been little more than a commercial contract in many cases. According to Stoddard, the most pitiable object in this world is a person untrained in an art, trade or profession whereby the needs of the body and soul may be provided...To approach the duties of life with ignorance and untrained capacity has hitherto been the wretched portion of many a woman, aye, of most women.23

Economic independence for women, gained through a practical education, would also enable women to make intelligent choices when selecting a husband, Stoddard argued. They would no longer be forced to turn to men they did not love, because they needed economic support. Stoddard argued further that economic independence would eliminate the double standard existing between the sexes, resulting in "but one standard, the pure, righteous standard of 'a white life for two.'"24 Although Stoddard usually tied the importance of practical education to traditional roles for women, she also allowed that the economic independence made possible by such an education could truly change the lives of many women.

The first three presidents of CIA were not as extreme as Stoddard in their hopes for the institution and its impact on students. But they all agreed that practical training was a necessary component of women's higher education. President Cree T. Work first articulated his
ideas about the purposes of the new college in an address he delivered at the laying of the cornerstone in January 1903. According to Work, the founders of CIA had designed it "to meet the need of our times in training women who will be competent, intelligent and refined." Work believed that the classical education derived from the European model that was offered at most institutions of higher education was not meeting the needs of the time. Although he doubted that classical education could fulfill all the needs of the school's students, he did not approve of commercial or other specialized training as the focus of the curriculum. Using the language of his time, Work advocated a course of study that would "produce efficient men and women for the future." This same education should prepare young men and women "for immediate, well-directed action in the practical affairs of life." For these reasons, Work sought to design a curriculum that incorporated both kinds of education, classical literary and practical.

Furthermore, Work felt that he had to tailor this education to the special needs of women. Criticizing both co-educational institutions and women's colleges for offering men's education to women, Work argued that these schools led women to believe that they could either attempt to move into men's occupations or else do nothing at all, having no proper role to fill. Work rejected both
of these alternatives. Clearly he was not an advocate of training women for the professions, especially those in which men had traditionally dominated. Indeed he felt that the professions were "overstocked" and that people should be prepared "for higher living in the home, in the office, in the field, in the industries of the times." But he also rejected a narrow, commercial education, which, he argued, neglected "culture, efficiency for home duties, and thought or preparation for the home life."^27

While Work was clear as to what the content of the CIA curriculum should be, he nevertheless displayed some ambivalence as to its overall impact on women. He acknowledged the existence of a "woman's sphere" but he declined to define it, saying only that woman's sphere was as large as man's sphere but certainly not the same. Given this statement, it would seem that Work supported efforts to prepare women for special roles within the woman's sphere. And the curriculum itself reflected this intent, with an emphasis on all aspects of domestic arts, ranging from housekeeping and cooking to child care and home esthetics. Yet Work also stated that the purpose of a CIA education was to train women to be

well fitted for self-support if this should be necessary; thoroughly prepared for woman's work in the industrial and commercial world if they so choose to labor; well trained for companionship with worthy manhood and for motherhood, when this is desired.28
Obviously Work did not go so far as Stoddard in suggesting that education could significantly change women's lives, but he did allow that CIA training would provide women with choices that they had not had in the past. Whether the CIA course of study was the result of deliberate action on his part or the ambivalence in his own mind about the changing roles of women is not clear. But the consequence was a curriculum that had at least the potential for encouraging women to move beyond the traditional woman's sphere.

William Bizzell, president from 1910 to 1914, acknowledged years after his own tenure in office that Work's ambivalence was not surprising, given that educators knew little at the time about the "functional aspects of education, particularly those aspects of education that related to the training of young women for their dual responsibility as home makers and bread-winners." College officials now, he said, were aware that women had more than one role to play in society, and Bizzell admitted that the college was a reflection of the "feministic movement" of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. According to Bizzell, the college was based on the belief that women should have an even chance with men. College officials put this belief into practice, however, by designing a curriculum "adapted to the intellectual, vocational and
spiritual needs of the womanhood of the state and nation."31 Officials prepared CIA students for "woman's work in the industrial and commercial world..." or groomed them "to be leaders among women."32 During his tenure as president, Lindsey Blayney argued that because every CIA student was encouraged to take practical courses as a major part of her elective studies, the result was the avoidance of "the sad spectacle so often witnessed of 'college bred' women, when confronted by disaster in later life often with dependent children, being wholly unable to save themselves or their families from dire want."33

Thus while the founders and first officials of the college were aware of the disadvantages that women faced in society, their attempt to correct the situation was still defined by the belief that women had special roles to play. Consequently, throughout the first 25 years of operation, college officials talked about the need to produce self-sufficient, independent women, but their goal was to produce graduates who would be successful within the world of women. And, indeed, they often reiterated the traditional notion that a woman's true calling was as wife and mother. Students themselves showed an awareness of this purpose when they wrote in an early edition of the school newspaper that the "education of a student at C.I.A. is an all-around education for the meeting of problems in home-making which confront the girl who lives
on the farm, as well as the girl who lives in the confines of a city apartment. And college officials used the early bulletins to remind students and parents that "the life work of home-making will forever remain the most important vocation for women. And so even though college founders were aware that their school had the potential to create entirely new roles for women, they found themselves confined by the traditional notions of woman's sphere.

The founders of Saint Mary's College also sought to provide a solid academic training in addition to religious education. Mother Pauline, directress and later president of the college, had perhaps the greatest influence in determining the program of academics at Saint Mary's during her thirty-six year tenure in office. In an early school catalogue she noted that the education available at Saint Mary's was "practical and comprehensive." Her later writings indicate that she sought to avoid preparing young women only in the ornamental subjects so typical of women's finishing schools of the past. As she wrote,

Saint Mary's aims to make its students women of ideas rather than women of mere accomplishments, to bring them into personal relations with wider worlds, larger life, by placing before them truth as far as it may be apprehended, truth in its various aspects—literature, history, science and art.
To Mother Pauline, exposing students to "truth" in all its forms was the most practical way to prepare them to live in the world. In this way, then, the education at Saint Mary's was both "practical and comprehensive."

For Mother Pauline, however, practical education was not synonymous with vocational training. Because a Saint Mary's education was designed to train the intellect, Mother Pauline distinguished between the cultural and the vocational. The "cultural," or the traditional liberal arts curriculum, was what students needed to be prepared in the largest sense for living in society. And, according to Mother Pauline, the college years "cannot give both a cultural and professional training." While she conceded that "within limits, election is allowed," clearly Mother Pauline sought to maintain a curriculum based on the tradition of the liberal arts.

Yet in her writings Mother Pauline noted that a Saint Mary's education combined the "advantages of old methods which long experience has proved beneficial with the best that modern notions of education suggest." That she clung to some of the old methods is clear in her refusal to follow in the footsteps of contemporaries such as Charles Eliot, president of Harvard. In his support of the elective system of studies, Eliot advocated leaving subjects such as Latin, Greek, and mathematics to the choice of the student. Mother Pauline, however, felt that
Latin had served to make scholars in the past and would continue to do so in her time. Therefore, she kept Latin as a required subject in the Saint Mary's curriculum throughout her tenure. Furthermore, she opposed John Dewey's premise that students learned best through activity. She maintained that young women should be "docile and reverent" to those teaching them lest their receptivity be hindered. She recognized a hierarchy of order not only in the church but also in the classroom. Her students, as members of the younger generation, were naturally to learn from the older, experienced teachers.

While Mother Pauline's educational philosophy was heavily weighted toward the traditional, she did make some concessions to the "modern notion of education." Physical education, for example, became a required course at the college in 1899. Although Mother Pauline wanted special attention given to teaching correct posture and walking, she did provide a well-equipped gymnasium and a full-time instructor. She contributed to the growing interest in science at the turn of the century when she installed a new chemistry laboratory and increased the equipment of the physics room. The curriculum also included a course in stenography. While appearing to be a concession to the growing need for vocationally trained women in the business world, the course, according to Mother Pauline, was to help students in taking notes at lectures and
sermons. Not until 1926 did the school catalogue contain an article drawing attention to the increasing number of occupations open to college women and the importance of the pre-professional training offered at Saint Mary's. It was left to Sister Madeleva to approve the implementation of the department of nursing in 1934. By combining two years of liberal arts courses at the College with three years of professional training at various hospitals, College officials attempted to produce nurses with well-rounded educations.

During her tenure in office, Mother Pauline made it clear that the emphasis at the College remained on the liberal arts, since a student needed a "thorough and general education" if she were "to occupy a position of leadership in her chosen occupation."

As president of the college, Mother Pauline retained the emphasis on both religion and the liberal arts education throughout her long tenure in office. As her biographer notes,

Mother Pauline inherited a Catholic convent school with French and aristocratic American traditions. She wanted to keep it as Catholic and aristocratic as possible. She cherished the music, painting, and other fine arts, the insistence on reverence, politeness, neatness, and self-denial, of the old discipline.

While Mother Pauline played a significant role in the growth of the institution from an academy to an accredited college, her term as president also served as a bridge
between the finishing school course of earlier years and
the development of college level curricula at women's
institutions by the turn of the century. Perhaps
because, as her biographer suggested, Mother Pauline would
have been satisfied to preside over an aristocratic
convent school rather than a college, she left to her
successors the task of expanding the scope and purpose of
a Saint Mary's education.

By contrast, Spelman students were always the
recipients of an education designed to prepare them for
specific roles in their post-graduate years. In 1900,
school officials described one of the aims of Spelman as
being to "send forth graduates who shall be home-makers,
educators, leaders in social reforms, church workers,
servants of Christ." Not surprisingly, officials felt
that women would be most effective in the areas of home,
school, church, and local community. Twenty years later,
Lucy Tapley maintained that the aim of Spelman remained
the same: "To train home-makers, teachers and nurses and
to cultivate Christian character." To support these
purposes, Tapley emphasized domestic training, normal
courses, and nursing education during her tenure in
office. For Tapley's students, homemaking and teaching
were effective ways to perform their part in the elevation
of the black community. Similar to the views of Booker T.
Washington at Tuskegee Institute, a Spelman student wrote
in 1927,
the Negro is handicapped in many ways in America. Only through the attentive home training will he be better fitted to demand his place in the world. We as Negro women must strive for a college education since we know that through the knowledge we obtain we will be the means of uplifting our fellowmen.

Another student, noting that Spelman graduates trained either as homemakers or as teachers, asserted that both roles were important. Tapley and the early founders of Spelman established an institution with the publicly-stated aim of educating Christian women. They were aware, however, that this purpose had implications for all blacks, namely the elevation of both women and men. But the educational program they designed for Spelman prepared women to play important roles within the traditional woman's sphere. It was left to Florence Read, Tapley's successor, to broaden the scope of the Spelman educational program beyond the traditional women's fields of teaching, nursing, and domestic science.

The academic program established at Spelman was shaped, however, by a purpose not found in the other three schools studied. This intent, to "uplift the race" through education, was as important as religion in the founding of Spelman College. Early administrators and supporters of the school tended to assume that an education heavily influenced by religion would naturally result in improving the lives of blacks in the South. For instance, Tapley noted in a 1913 article in the *Messenger*
that Spelman graduates were busy scattering the seeds of Christianity, thus helping to produce better homes and improve social conditions for the entire black population. For Tapley, the elevation of the black community was a natural outcome of Christian education.

For other Spelman administrators and benefactors, the "uplift of the colored race" was paramount. In an early letter to John D. Rockefeller, Packard wrote of her belief that "the salvation of the race and our country depends upon the Christian training of these girls who are to be the future mothers and educators." Other supporters of the school shared Packard's views on improving living conditions in the black community. Reverend T. J. Morgan, Corresponding Secretary for the ABHMS, wrote an article for the school newspaper, the Messenger, outlining the aims of Spelman Seminary. According to Morgan:

Spelman aims to be the center and source of good influences, seeking to ennoble and purify the lives of its individual pupils, to reform their homes, to permeate churches and Sunday-schools with a new and uplifting force, to supply the public schools with competent teachers, and to enrich the whole life of the Negro race, industrial, social, religious, political, with higher ideals, improved methods, and trained and qualified leaders.

Representatives of the ABHMS and Spelman trustees alike concurred with this aim. They noted with satisfaction the influential position that Spelman held in the "work for the elevation of the Colored people." In
their estimation, Spelman could not be surpassed by any other institution in "its work for good and uplifting of the colored people." 44

In offering a Christian education to black women, Spelman founders and supporters hoped to alleviate not only the oppression of the black community but also to better relations between blacks and whites, thus improving society in general. In an early letter to the Messenger, the father of one of the Spelman students explained his support for the school. He noted that the education provided at Spelman and at other institutions like it was "the only lever that will remove the veil of ostracism, hatred, and antagonisms that exists between the two races to-day, and bring them to a true realization of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man." 45 Rev. J.T. Morgan went so far as to argue that a Spelman education was an expression of patriotism, because such an education, by improving conditions in Georgia, would improve conditions for the entire nation. According to Morgan, the quality education offered at Spelman "will quicken every educational enterprise in the whole of the South land." He believed that Spelman would serve as an incentive for the improvement of the education of white children, implying that whites would not stand for blacks having better school facilities than whites. 46 A few years earlier, Henry Morehouse had argued the same point when he wrote in the Messenger that the
higher education of the colored people is affecting the poor whites, who are getting uneasy lest they be left in the rear. The fear that the Negroes may become the superior element will force them sooner or later to bestir themselves in the race for the survival of the fittest. Thus this school through its students will provoke these whites to good works for themselves. 

Through the uplift of the black community, then, Spelman would have a positive impact on whites and on the relations between blacks and whites.

In keeping with the intent to uplift the black population, founders of Spelman were adamant that they should educate only girls and young women, the traditional civilizers of society. In a letter to John D. Rockefeller, Sophia Packard wrote of the importance of keeping the school for women only. She noted that she and other women working with Spelman students knew "full well that the elevation of this race depends emphatically upon the education of these women. For tis woman that gives tone and character to any people." In other letters to Rockefeller, Packard argued further that the salvation of the race and of the country depended on the Christian training of the girls and women attending Spelman.

Henry Morehouse, who had suggested merging Spelman with the Atlanta Baptist Seminary in 1883, argued 13 years later that women were the world's greatest civilizers and that the Spelman educational program prepared women to make better and brighter homes.
Spelman founders tended to view the education of women as crucial to the uplift of the black population, because black women had access to certain professions that not only were unavailable to black men but also that played a major role in improving the living conditions of blacks in the South. Teaching, for example, was viewed as a way to "lift the people's standard of living" especially in the rural areas where the lack of good schools was "distressing." Tapley preferred that Spelman students from rural backgrounds go back to their home communities to teach and "gradually raise to higher levels the life of all the Negroes in those communities." Tapley also supported a strong nursing program as a way of improving health conditions of blacks. Nursing, too, provided a remunerative occupation for Spelman graduates who would in turn be able to help in supporting stable families of their own and in contributing to the uplift of the race. Thus preparation for teaching and nursing, two professions open to black women and both of which could help in community uplift, was a major component of the Spelman curriculum.

The response to local boosterism and the influence of religion in these schools was not unlike that found in other early colleges. But in defining their schools as being dedicated to the education of women, founders set these schools apart in purpose from the coeducational
universities and colleges for men. Although founders and early administrators and trustees did not often identify the need for a special education of women as the primary purpose behind the founding of each institution, this omission was perhaps the result of their belief that to articulate such an obvious fact was unnecessary. Each school's charter indicated that the institution was to be devoted to the education of women. On this point the founders seemed to be in complete agreement. Why they supported single-sex institutions, however, is less clear.

Historian Anne Firor Scott, in a discussion of women's education, identifies three assumptions about women's intellect that guided the founding and development of most women's educational institutions in this country. The first assumption held that women's intellect was inferior to men's intellect and, therefore, women had the capacity to learn only a limited amount of information. Their primary purpose in life was to serve men, and the education offered them should reflect this purpose. A second proposition suggested that intellectual ability was not sex-related and that women could and should study anything they wanted. They should expect to use their educations, however, in the sphere to which God had appointed them--the home. The third assumption also maintained that intellect was sex neutral, but added that because this was so, women should be able to study
whatever they wanted and to use their knowledge in whatever way they chose to do so.

Scott notes that the idea that women's intellect was not sex-related was the predominant view in this country beginning about 1820. This notion influenced the thinking of the leading educators of the day and resulted in seminaries and colleges where women received a mixed message about their own education. On the one hand, educators encouraged women to take advantage of the expanded educational opportunities to gain knowledge and train their minds. But on the other hand, educators advised women to use their training and knowledge within the domestic sphere and not to strive for achievements on their own. This confusing message was the result of ambiguities on the part of the founders of many of the nineteenth century institutions as to the exact purpose of women's education.53

The question of the purpose of women's education became more complicated by the late nineteenth century, when "woman's sphere" had expanded in many ways. The expansion of the female labor force and especially the opening of careers to women put pressure on women's institutions to respond to these changes. This development is reflected in the uncertainty of the founders and early administrators at Downer College, TWU, Spelman College, and Saint Mary's College regarding the
mission of women’s institutions. All responded in some way to the possibility of women’s pursuing work outside the home.

Yet the conflict between women’s traditional domestic roles and women’s changing societal roles affected the notion of the purpose of women’s colleges in a number of ways. Founders and administrators at all four of the colleges exhibited continuity in their thinking about the proper roles for women in the home and in society. Whether it was Sabin’s aversion to turning her students into "recluses or bluestockings," the courses for the home offered at TWU, or Spelman’s emphasis on creating stable homes and families, educators at these schools all clung to the idea that a woman’s proper role in life was as wife and mother. Yet they acknowledged that in order for women to take their places at the head of households or to create stable families, education was necessary to make them better wives and mothers. The result was that administrators at all of these women’s colleges maintained the importance of the traditional domestic role for women and sought to provide an education to enhance this role.

But these same educators also recognized the growing opportunities for women in the labor force as new fields of work slowly opened up to women. The resulting curricula at these colleges reflected the need to prepare women for work outside the home. The preparation,
however, was usually in traditional women's vocations such as teaching and nursing. In particular, Spelman educators, who steered women into these fields, were good examples of college officials who failed to view women's traditional roles as changing significantly. They offered teacher training and nursing as occupations to help their students establish stable homes and families. And so while educators responded to increasing work opportunities for women outside the home by providing vocational courses, these college officials still managed to place most of their graduates in traditional women's fields as better preparation for eventual life within the home.

Finally, all of the founders and administrators recognized the need to prepare women for self-sufficiency in the case of singlehood, divorce, or widowhood. Although they assumed for the most part that their students would become wives and mothers, they realized that there would be exceptions to this pattern. College officials created vocational courses more as economic protection for women than as preparation for self-sufficiency, although independence might have resulted in some cases.

This conflict between education for domesticity and education for employment and the resulting tension between the liberal arts and vocational education was one that college administrators and teachers were unable to solve
satisfactorily. This is evidenced by the often contradictory message students received from the stated purpose of their education compared to their actual experience as students. In exploring the curricula, rules, regulations, and student clubs and organizations of these four institutions, it becomes clear that this ambiguity of purpose pervaded all areas of college life.
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1 Ellen Sabin, "Commencement Address," 16 June 1920, Series 1, Box 2, M-D Papers.

2 Catalogue of M-DC, 1897-98, 6, Series 10, Box 1, M-D Papers.


4 Sabin, "Commencement Address," June 1909, M-D Papers.


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16 "Inspiration," Free Press, M-D Papers.

17 Joyce Thompson, Marking a Trail (Denton, TX: Texas Woman's UP, 1982) 9, TWUA.

18 Thompson 1, TWUA.
TX, House, An Act to create and establish an Industrial Institute and College in the State of Texas for the education of white girls in the arts and sciences, HR 35, 3 Apr. 1901, 3, TWUA.

Helen Stoddard, address, "Location of the College of Industrial Arts," Twentieth-fifth Anniversary and Home-Coming of CIA, Denton, TX, 28 June 1928, 5, TWUA.

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For text of Work's speech see Girls Industrial College Bulletin, June 1903, 23, TWUA.

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Girls Industrial College Bulletin, June 1903, 23; College of Industrial Arts Catalogue, May 1910, 1, TWUA.

College Bulletin--C.I.A., June 1925, 13, TWUA.

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C.I.A. Catalogue, June 1915, 26, TWUA.
In the early 1800s, educator Emma Willard sought to improve the boarding or finishing schools for young women, arguing that the instructresses of the schools taught their pupils "showy accomplishments" rather than subjects that were "solid and useful." Although the New York state legislature did not readily accept Willard's plan to improve female education, the consistent growth of women's academies in the years from the Revolutionary War to the Civil War indicated that the finishing school education was losing ground to the more rigorous academy instruction. A study of women's higher education in the South before 1860 revealed that although some ornamental courses still existed, the curricula at most schools focused on subjects such as geometry, Latin, natural history, political economy, and English grammar. See Ezra Brainerd, ed., A Plan for Improving Female Education (1918; Marietta, GA: Larlin, 1987) 10-14; I.M.E. Blandin, History of Education of Women in the South--Prior to 1860 (New York: Neale, 1909) Woody, vol. 1, 109-11; 409-22.


52 Sophia Packard, letter to J. D. Rockefeller, 7 Nov. 1888, Family, R.G. 1, Series C--Office, Box 30, Folder 233, (RAC).


54 H. L. Morehouse, letter to J. D. Rockefeller, 27 March 1902, General Education Board, Series 1, Subseries 1, Box 39, Folder 359, RAC; F. H. Peck, letter to Wallace Buttrick, 1 Apr. 1902, GEB, Series 1.1, Box 39, Folder 359, RAC; See also H. L. Morehouse, letter to Starr J. Murphy, 29 Mar. 1906, Family, R.G. 2, Ed. Interests, Box 89, RAC; Spelman Messenger Jan. 1908: 5, SCA.

55 J. J. Jackson, letter to Spelman Messenger Feb. 1890: 6, SCA.

56 Morgan, Spelman Messenger Dec. 1901: 6, SCA.


58 Sophia Packard, letter to J. D. Rockefeller, 29 Dec. 1883, Family, R.G. 1, Series C--Office, Box 30, Folder 233, RAC.

59 Sophia Packard, letter to J. D. Rockefeller, 3 May 1887, Family, R.G. 1, Series C--Office, Box 30, Folder 233, RAC; Packard, letter to Rockefeller, 7 Nov. 1888, Family, R.G. 1, Series C--Office, Box 30, Folder 233, RAC.

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CHAPTER IV

WHAT WOMEN LEARNED: THE DEVELOPMENT OF CURRICULA

College faculty and administrators usually reveal the mission of their particular schools in the curricula that they offer to students. In examining the development of the curricula at Downer, Saint Mary's, Texas Woman's University (TWU), and Spelman, we see the consequences of the founders' ambivalence about the mission of women's colleges. On the one hand, officials at all four schools sought to develop and maintain a liberal arts curriculum, and, on the other, they realized the importance of offering their students a practical education as well. In addition to courses in home economics as preparation for homemaking and teaching, school officials expanded the curricula to include courses in fields such as business, nursing, and journalism.

Even though the resulting curricula prepared women for traditional female roles, administrators nevertheless responded to increasing occupational opportunities for women. The curriculum that officials developed, then,
reflected not only a desire to preserve classical courses, but an awareness of the need to prepare their students for changing roles in society. In addition, trends in women's higher education from 1850 to 1900 help account for the manner in which educators at women's colleges shaped the curriculum. This chapter examines the major questions about women's education during the later nineteenth century, the impact of these discussions on college officials, and the efforts of officials at Downer, Saint Mary's, TWU, and Spelman to defend the liberal arts curriculum at the same time that they broadened the course of studies to include practical courses.

The rationale behind the founding of the first women's colleges in the nineteenth century—women's exclusion from the established men's colleges—demonstrates that founders of these early schools felt compelled to show that women had been unjustly treated in barring them from the higher education offered to men. In attempting to disprove the generally held notion that women were intellectually incapable of doing college level work, administrators at these first women's colleges maintained that offering women a curriculum identical to that available to men was the only way to determine women's true educational abilities.
Studies of the courses offered at some of the first women's colleges show, however, that this intention was easier to articulate than it was to implement. For example, the Georgia Female College, chartered in 1836 and described by historian Thomas Woody as the first experiment in women's collegiate education, failed in several areas to match the education offered at men's colleges of the day.¹

Vassar, chartered in 1861, was the next school to come close to duplicating the male curriculum. Although historians disagree as to how successful Vassar administrators were in achieving this goal when the school first opened, most agree that the Vassar curriculum moved closer to those at the men's colleges as the school developed.² With the founding of Smith College in 1875, women had the opportunity to attend a college that from the outset offered them an educational program nearly identical to the men's curriculum. Woody characterizes the successful implementation of the Smith program as the end of a period of experimentation, when female college officials' earnest efforts to reach male college standards met with varying success.³ Just 15 years after the founding of Smith College, the Commissioner of Education accorded 15 women's schools collegiate status in his annual report, an indication that women's colleges were offering programs that were very close, if not identical, to those in men's schools.
For those women who chose to attend co-educational institutions, the question of whether women could do college work was quickly answered, since they were subjected to a similar, if not identical, curriculum offered to male students. Oberlin College is perhaps the best early example of a school touted as providing the same education to both female and male students. In fact, however, women's and men's roles were clearly distinguished both inside and outside the classroom. Most women students, for instance, enrolled in the Female Department where the intent was to furnish instruction in the same useful subjects offered at the female seminaries. School officials also prohibited women students from taking courses in public speaking, since women usually did not speak in public mixed gatherings anyway. Likewise, women students contributed to the upkeep of the school by working in the domestic department, while male students labored on the college farm. Educators at coeducational schools, as well as outside observers, noted that women students enrolled in collegiate studies were equal to their male peers, and at many schools women won more than their share of academic honors. By 1900, the question of whether women could do collegiate work was no longer cause for speculation. Women's colleges founded around the turn of the century, including Downer, Saint Mary's, TWU, and Spelman, faced a different kind of challenge.
Accepting the evidence that women could handle college-level study, critics of women’s colleges took another tack by questioning the appropriateness of the material that women were studying. Both critics and some alumnae of women’s schools questioned whether the traditional liberal arts curriculum as found in men’s colleges was, indeed, the proper preparation for women who were likely to fill either traditional women’s roles in the home or take advantage of expanding professional opportunities in limited fields of paid employment. The result of this criticism was a movement to provide women with an education centered on practical courses rather than the traditional liberal arts program. This curriculum revision brought into question, of course, the validity of the entire liberal arts tradition in education by raising the issue of whether or not women should be subjected to a course of study that failed to prepare them for vocational opportunities open to them once they completed their educations. As long as woman’s traditional role remained basically intact in the larger society, the classical curriculum offered at women’s colleges would continue to create discontent among graduates who found little use for Latin and Greek in their daily lives as wives and mothers.
Some educators answered this criticism by instituting the elective system, which allowed students a limited opportunity to shape a curriculum suited to their interests and needs. But educators at women's colleges, for the most part, resisted the implementation of the elective system, feeling that women had to prove that their intellectual capabilities were comparable to men's abilities. The only way to do this was to have women pursue an academic program identical to the course of study offered to men.\(^7\)

In the women's colleges, the argument over practical versus traditional studies manifested itself most often in a discussion of whether "culture"--that is, the classical curriculum--was to be sacrificed for "service"--that is, a growing awareness of the problems of the society and a desire to solve them. Because education based on a cultural ideal suggested that educators would train the intellect for activity and discipline and provide facts and principles to interpret experience, it did not actually prepare the individual for daily life. Culture, according to the critics, was a passive rather than an active attainment and did not prepare graduates to deal with societal problems. But even though women college graduates had by the turn of the century begun to take an active role in societal reform, officials at women's colleges were still reluctant to sacrifice the classical tradition for one of service.\(^8\)
The demand for domestic economy or home economics and professional training presented an even bigger challenge to the classical, liberal arts curriculum than did the need for preparation to serve society. Since most women college graduates would find themselves managing families and homes throughout their lives, it was these alumnae who argued that a college education should provide women with the knowledge necessary to be successful homemakers. But educators at women's colleges were reluctant to support home economics, and the subject was usually not offered. M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr from 1895 to 1922, was one of the most outspoken opponents of domestic education as a subject for study in itself. She argued that domestic science generally "lacks the wider outlook of the more general sciences and belongs rather in the technical school." If anything, she maintained that home economics should be studied only as a supplement to the standard curriculum. Educators at women's colleges made half-hearted attempts to include some form of domestic economy, but they often had a difficult time reconciling home economics with their programs of liberal arts and rigorous study.

The second challenge to the liberal arts curriculum, professional training courses, affected the first women's colleges only minimally. Although Catharine Beecher had consistently advocated throughout her long career the
training of women not only as homemakers but also as teachers, educators at the first women's colleges did not move willingly in the direction of any professional training. A few exceptions to this general trend did exist, most notably at Wellesley College, where administrators and faculty actually encouraged women to go into the profession of teaching. In 1888, at Byrn Mawr and 1894 at Vassar, officials introduced courses in social work. These courses, however, tended to prepare women more for volunteer work than for a position in the developing profession.

In spite of such challenges to the curriculum, educators at most of the women's colleges continued to imitate the long-established institutions for men. This meant that the liberal arts program remained the core of the educational offerings, and the response to changing conditions for women in the larger society was slow and often reluctantly undertaken, if at all. The results of a 1918 Bureau of Education study confirmed this resistance to change at women's colleges when the author denounced the curriculum in these schools for lack of originality. Although women's colleges could have benefited from the experience of the older men's colleges, they had, according to the study, incorporated "little which could be designated as their original contribution"; yet this "safe imitation" of men's schools had contributed to the
success of women's colleges as measured by their increasing size and wealth. Obviously, educators could conclude that they had chosen the correct path. The safe route may have been conservative, but, as a result, the schools survived.

In choosing to imitate men's colleges and avoid originality in the curriculum, however, officials at women's schools may have missed the opportunity to pioneer in developing programs of study to prepare women for increasing professional roles in the larger society. For the most part, the more vocationally-oriented programs originated at the coeducational institutions, where women had the opportunity to prepare themselves for work not only in the traditional women's fields such as teaching and home economics, but also in newly developing areas including social work and psychology. Although officials at some women's schools tried to address the challenges to the curriculum through half-hearted attempts to implement courses in domestic economy and teacher education, on the whole such officials continued to express ambivalence about how to bring together successfully the liberal arts curriculum and the vocationally oriented training required for the new fields opening up to women in society.
By the turn of the century, then, when administrators at Downer College, Saint Mary's College, TWU, and Spelman College began shaping their schools, the public discussion about women's education, within which faculties formulated their goals, focused on the question: what was the appropriate educational program for women? The curricula of these schools show that college administrators struggled in actual practice with the ambiguities that resulted from the desire not only to create an educational program with the rigor of the classical studies and the safety of tradition, but also to provide students with the practical skills necessary for life in the home or in the larger society.

Variations in both the founding purpose and the subsequent program of study in each of these schools appear in a general comparison of the curricula. For the most part, officials at each school sought to provide a solid liberal arts curriculum for students. This meant that languages, particularly Latin, were offered to all students. With the exception of TWU, where all languages were optional, Latin and sometimes Greek were required of students in the collegiate course throughout their college years. Latin, perhaps because of its symbolic importance as part of the classical curriculum, remained indefinitely in the educational program of each of these schools, although by the third decade of the century the subject
usually became an elective. Science was also an important component of the curriculum in the early years, with faculty teaching botany, chemistry, and physics more often than other science courses. Spelman and Saint Mary's both offered courses in geology, and eventually zoology and biology became standard elective courses as well. Required mathematics courses ranged from algebra and geometry to trigonometry and calculus, and required history courses varied from school to school. For example, Saint Mary's offered courses in the history of England and France, while TWU's history courses focused on the United States and specifically Texas. Saint Mary's curriculum also contained a course on church history. With the exception of TWU, each college required students to take courses in either the Bible or some other form of religious instruction. In addition to a few courses particular to individual schools, philosophy and logic rounded out the curriculum.18 The basic curriculum at these schools, then, at least in the formative years, came very close to imitating the classical studies of the men's colleges.19

At all four colleges, administrators and faculty defended the traditional liberal arts curriculum in spite of the growing pressure to provide a more practical education for women students. That college officials came to the defense of the classical tradition of education
may, indeed, be an indication that they hesitated about the direction in which women's education was headed. In the face of such uncertainty, what had worked in the past may have appeared to be the safest route to the success of a women's college.

Mother Pauline, first president of Saint Mary's College, showed the strongest tendency of the college administrators to hold onto classical studies. Her attempt to preserve the liberal arts curriculum may have been as much as anything the result of her general conservatism. As her biographer points out, "Mother Pauline was not quick to follow radicalism of whatever kind," believing that "what had made scholars in the past would still make them, since man does not change essentially." In the second decade of the century, she resisted the move, spearheaded by Charles Eliot of Harvard as early as 1869, to shift the traditional studies, including Latin, Greek, and mathematics, to the list of elective studies available for student choice. Thus Latin remained a required subject for all Saint Mary's students until almost 1930. It can also be argued, however, that Latin, in addition to being part of the classical curriculum, was a practical course that prepared college students for teaching, since Catholic high schools usually required Latin. Mother Pauline, however, asserted that the college years could not provide
both cultural and vocational training; given her own
classical training, it is not surprising that she sought
to preserve the traditional liberal arts curriculum in its
purest form. That she was successful in this endeavor is
suggested by a South Bend Times article on the occasion of
her retirement in 1931, which noted that

> While other schools have flourished in a flood of
new and contradictory theories, while other
schools cast aside their right sense of values
and such basic principles as to them seemed out
of step with the vaunted march of progress, Saint
Mary's has clung to the rock of truth. Yes, even
tied herself to it, lest the chance winds of
compromise prove too sharp for her.

The reporter's intimation that experimentation in
education might have led to the failure of Saint Mary's
was not accidental and underlines the fact that
administrators at women's colleges did not have the same
luxury of indulging in new methods of education as did the
educators at the more established men's colleges or at
some of the larger coeducational institutions.

Ellen Sabin at Downer College also supported classical
education, but she was more flexible in her thinking about
the role it would play at Downer. Although she allowed
electives in the curriculum from the beginning, she
instituted the "group system" in which students could
elect courses from planned groupings of subjects. In
essence, this practice was similar to the present-day
system of majors and minors and by design allowed students
some selection while at the same time guiding them in correctly structuring their educational programs. The actual courses offered within each group varied little, with mathematics, language, science, philosophy, and history forming the core courses, since they were "recognized as necessary to a liberal education." According to Sabin, the aim of the group system was "to secure broad culture rather than early specialization." These classes supplied students with a solid academic base if they chose to specialize in a particular field after completing the college course.²⁴

Although Sabin clearly recognized the place that specialized training would come to occupy in the women's college, she still supported the need for liberal arts courses. Later in her presidency, when asked her opinion on the introduction of vocational courses in the liberal arts college, she replied that certain forms of vocational training, but only those subjects that were based on science or art, had a place in such an institution. She warned that the cry for utility in education, which became stronger with the onset of World War I, should not "rashly displace the long process that has been considered essential--that is essential--to a truly liberal education." She asserted that it should be the mission of a college such as Downer "to serve the present age by an enlightened sense of its immediate need, and also to hold
fast the best ideals that the past has bequeathed to us of liberal education." To the time of her retirement in 1921, Sabin continued to reiterate the importance of the classical curriculum as the center of Downer's educational program. Her reaction exemplified the fact that the "specialized" courses were actually coming to play a prominent role in college life at the same time that the liberal arts tradition continued to lend credibility to women's education. It is, therefore, not surprising that Sabin, who saw the need certainly to preserve the reputation of Downer as a viable woman's college, would emphasize the role of classical education.

At Spelman College, officials did not emphasize the importance of liberal arts education until well into the third decade of the twentieth century. From about the turn of the century, however, students could concentrate their studies on literary subjects, but only because college instruction was carried on jointly with that of nearby Atlanta Baptist College, later to become Morehouse College. Because Spelman students attended classes at the neighboring men's school, liberal arts courses did not have to occupy a prominent position on the Spelman campus. This connection with Atlanta Baptist College, along with Lucy Tapley's emphasis on vocational training during her presidency, may help account for the focus at Spelman on the industrial arts courses.
Spelman's founders also found themselves caught up in the ongoing discussion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as to the proper education for blacks in this country. The central question, as debated by Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois, became whether blacks should be provided with industrial training and hence jobs, or whether they should be taught classical studies in preparation for taking leadership roles in the black community.\(^{28}\) In commenting on this issue in 1901, Harriet Giles noted that most blacks of her acquaintance favored the industrial training provided at Spelman, indicating that she received support from the black community for her educational program. Perhaps more telling, however, was the attitude of the white people to whom she deferred. According to Giles,

> The prevailing sentiment among white people regarding our industrial training is that of approval. They would like to have us emphasize it to the cutting off of some of our literary work, as they think of Negroes in the character of servants rather than as teachers or leaders in their own race.\(^{29}\)

Although Giles provided no response to this observation, her work at Spelman from its founding certainly attests to her belief in the need to educate the black population. But since Spelman officials struggled constantly to put the school on sound financial footing, Giles accepted whatever support she could find. The reality of the situation at Spelman in the early years
meant that a large number of the students first had to be
taught to read before they could even think of tackling
the classical curriculum. Giles likely realized this
better than anyone else, and so her emphasis on vocational
training rather than the liberal arts is understandable.
She was not, however, willing to side with those who
advocated an exclusively industrial training for all
blacks. In a 1901 letter she wrote, "It seems to me that
in connection with missionary schools whose primary
purpose is to educate teachers and preachers industrial
training should be insisted upon, but that it should held
(sic) a secondary place." Given the situation at
Spelman, Giles was able to advocate a strong liberal arts
program at the school as a goal to be attained only in
future years.

Spelman differed from Downer and Saint Mary’s Colleges
not only in its early curricular emphasis but also in the
ongoing development of the educational program. Lucy
Tapley, Spelman’s fourth president, continued to stress
industrial and teacher training throughout her tenure from
1910 to 1927. Tapley did not favor providing higher
intellectual training through the liberal arts curriculum
for the ablest students who might have gone on to fill
leadership roles. The work of the literary departments
received little notice in her annual reports to the
college trustees."
At about the same time that Downer and Saint Mary's officials noticed the need to incorporate more practical courses into the curriculum, Spelman officials faced the challenge of changing the school's focus from industrial and teacher training to liberal arts. This shift in emphasis actually did occur in 1924, when Spelman Seminary trustees officially changed the school's name to Spelman College, the result of increasing resources that allowed Spelman students to take courses required for a college degree on the Spelman campus rather than on the Morehouse College campus. Then when Florence Read took over as president in 1927, she moved to develop Spelman College into a "small, liberal arts college of high quality." In effect, officials at all three schools—Downer, Saint Mary's and Spelman—dealt with the changing curriculum during these years. But Spelman was unique because Spelman officials began to concentrate on the liberal arts just at the time that officials at the other schools shifted to a focus on more practical, specialized courses.

Officials at TWU also stressed the importance of the role that literary work played at the school. Perhaps in part because of the plethora of practical courses available from the time of the school's founding, administrators emphasized the importance of literary education. In the college catalogue, they noted that literary work held a prominent place, since industrial
training, taken by itself, was insufficient. Their planning of the curriculum reflected current discussions as they made an attempt to provide industrial and literary work "in proper proportions for the best, all-round, practical training for life's work." They warned prospective students that they should not come to the school with the idea that books were unimportant: "books are among the tools of all the departments of the College of Industrial Arts." And so even officials at this school, founded for the purpose of teaching industrial skills, defended the liberal arts curriculum to the extent that it existed there.

In addition to their support of classical studies and literary work, officials at all four schools advocated practical education as well. Although on the one hand they clung to the notion that the liberal arts would prepare women to live life to the fullest and would also lend credibility to their respective institutions, on the other hand they admitted that many of their graduates would have to support themselves financially and should be provided with a method to do so. Of course, this meant modifying the curriculum. But creating the proper curriculum was not necessarily an easy process, since officials faced the problem of combining the liberal arts and vocational education without losing sight of the original purpose of each institution.
To a certain extent, the use of electives allowed administrators to shape a curriculum geared to the individual needs of students without having to give up the basic requirements of liberal arts studies. Electives also allowed educators to avoid having to develop a specifically "feminine curriculum," since students could take courses in those fields which most interested them, thereby taking care of their own needs as women. But administrators at the four schools implemented the elective system only to a limited degree, hampered by budgets that did not allow for numerous courses and by their own reluctance to give students unlimited freedom in choosing classes, lest they move too far away from a basic classical course.³⁵

At least in the first decades of the century, administrators, particularly at Downer and Saint Mary's, tended to implement change in the curriculum in a haphazard manner, usually in response to changing conditions in the larger society and so in a more "practical" direction. In the case of Spelman and TWU, officials were moving toward liberal arts rather than toward the practical, and so the curricular modifications at these schools tended to be the result of change within their own institutions. Nevertheless, whatever the motivating factor, the outcome for each school was a curriculum that by 1930 gradually blended the liberal arts and the practical.
The developing mix of liberal arts and vocational training lends credence to the notion that educators at these schools had, indeed, learned from and were influenced by the discussions of women's education that had preceded the growth of their respective colleges. In addition to designing the basic liberal arts curriculum to imitate that in the men's colleges, educators at these women's colleges also devised for their students specialized courses to prepare women for their future lives. Home economics was one of the first practical courses implemented at each of the schools; early descriptions of these courses tended to emphasize preparation for homemaking after college, while at the same time tying home economics to the liberal arts tradition. An example of this early rationale for domestic science is found in one of the first bulletins printed at TWU. In a plea for the teaching of domestic science, Mrs. W.D. Gibbs, a former professor of domestic science at The Ohio State University, wrote:

Our brightest, most capable, most brainy and most hearty women are those who are educated both in books and in practical things...Domestic Economy claims more than that it can make deft fingers. It aims to cultivate memory by awakening interest; to build up scientific minds, minds which will reason and plan; to develop artistic instincts which will appreciate, beautify and elevate; to care for and train the body that it may respond to the will; to awaken a feeling for humanity which shall be far-reaching and ennobling.
This grandiose goal for domestic science quickly gave way to more practical outcomes. Unlike M. Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr, who was adamantly opposed to the inclusion of domestic science in the women's colleges, administrators at Downer, TWU, Saint Mary's and Spelman all agreed that training in household arts was a valuable component of women's education. As a result, students at each of these schools had the opportunity to take classes in domestic science. In an effort perhaps to preserve the credibility of the classical curriculum, courses in household or domestic science tended to be housed in separate departments or programs for students who chose to specialize in such study. The inclusion of home economics as a special program not accorded full academic recognition may have been the compromise that these educators reached in trying to deal with the unsettling question of the proper education for women. Whatever the reason for setting domestic science courses apart, administrators at each school approached the implementation of the program in slightly varied fashion, but all of them saw the subject develop into a viable department by the second decade of the century.

This approach to the domestic science program is evident in one of the first bulletins of Saint Mary's College, in which administrators set apart the description of 'Domestic Economy and Sewing' from that of the "solid
studies," which they regarded as the "most important" course offerings. Obviously, although the emphasis was on the liberal arts, the sisters at Saint Mary's were unwilling to ignore the necessity of teaching "the great and useful art of Domestic Economy in all its branches."

In practice, however, students of the graduating class were required only to spend a certain amount of time in the college kitchen acquiring a practical knowledge of cooking, although all students spent regular hours in sewing lessons so that they could keep their clothing in "perfect order." These early efforts at offering home economics were limited, but by 1910 the College had a department of domestic arts that included several courses in sewing, cooking, and household arts. Cooking courses in particular were based on "scientific instruction," giving students the opportunity to learn both the "theory and practice of cookery." While administrators acknowledged the important role of domestic science in women's education, they did not accord it equal status with the "solid studies" of the academic program. In the early decades of the century, domestic science remained classified as a special course and required only three years for completion. Not until the 1920s could students earn a bachelor of science degree for majoring in home economics at Saint Mary's.38
Administrators at Downer College handled the issue of domestic science in a similar fashion. As early as 1898, Ellen Sabin supported the application of a woman who had applied to the College to teach a class in sewing. Sabin maintained that the value of manual training for brain development could not be overstated, and she stressed its importance in furnishing students with much-needed discipline. Although Sabin hoped to use the sewing class as an "entering wedge" for the development of an accredited home economics department, students earned only "extra" credit for attending the class two hours each week. In 1901, Downer trustees did authorize the introduction of a department of domestic science because of the "great practical importance of the subject, and because of its valuable discipline." This early domestic science course was designed both for regular students of the Seminary and College as well as for students preparing to teach the subject. The program was usually no more than two years in length, and students earned a diploma rather than a degree upon completion of the work. The domestic science department continued to grow, however, and in 1909 trustees approved a four-year course leading to a bachelor of science in home economics. This relatively early elevation of home economics to department status led Sabin in later years to tout Downer College as being a leader in introducing home economics as a program
worthy of academic recognition. Even though trustees and alumnae feared domestic science would belittle the college degree, Sabin, relying on Catharine Beecher's ideas, promoted home economics by arguing that women's education should be both cultural and practical. In attempting to link the two branches of women's education, Sabin noted that courses as varied as the sciences, history, pedagogy, music, art and religion were all valuable in running efficient households and in properly rearing children. Although Sabin claimed to have no objections to the introduction of domestic science, she still felt the need, as her arguments show, to defend the inclusion of practical courses in a liberal arts college.42

At Spelman College, home economics began as the Industrial Department in the early years of the school. Founders Harriet Giles and Sophia Packard adamantly supported the department as a "prominent feature" of the College. They were convinced that "labor of the hands for a part of the day, directed by skilled instructors, promotes good discipline, good morals, and good mental energy as nothing else can. Every woman should be a good housekeeper, for her own honor and the progress of civilization." Because Giles and Packard believed in practical education, they required boarders at the school to learn all branches of domestic science.43 Nevertheless the home economics courses did not become
part of the regular academic curriculum until the mid 1920s. Up to that time, students earned diplomas rather than degrees, whether they completed a two-year course or a four-year course. By 1925, the home economics course served mainly to prepare students for teaching. At the same time, however, administrators sought to assure students that such a course afforded them the opportunity to receive "informational and cultural advanced studies of such a character and in such proportions as [would] secure well balanced training." 44

From the school's beginning, Spelman administrators lauded domestic science as an important part of the curriculum, maintaining the program as a separate department for a number of years. At the same time, however, officials felt compelled to convince students that they would also receive a well-rounded education through exposure to the liberal arts curriculum. This ambivalence reveals the difficulty educators had in reconciling the classical curriculum with the growing demand for practical courses to prepare women for roles in either the home or the labor force. In addition, Spelman administrators faced a particular problem in that the school did not receive recognition as a viable liberal arts college until the 1920s. And so, while it is not surprising that they tried to balance the curriculum between the classical and the practical, they tended to
push the literary side of the curriculum, since the practical courses were well-established from the school's founding.

Administrators at TWU took a different approach to domestic science than did their counterparts at the other three schools, in part the result of the founding purpose of TWU, to establish a school to provide a literary education along with a knowledge of the industrial arts. In this context, domestic science and industrial arts had played a major role at the college from the beginning. The curriculum reflected this emphasis, as students could choose from four different courses of study—the English-Science Course, the Domestic Arts Course, the Fine and Industrial Arts Course, and the Commercial Arts Course. Only the first course focused on literary subjects, and even the students who chose this course took both commercial and domestic science classes.

Because the original purpose behind a TWU education was significantly different from that of Downer College and Saint Mary's College, TWU officials, in a fashion similar to administrators at Spelman, found themselves in the 1920s and 1930s shifting the emphasis of the curriculum from a focus on domestic science and industrial training to liberal arts. By the 1930s, TWU students could earn bachelor's degrees in several liberal arts subjects as well as in the more "practical" fields such as...
journalism, home economics, art, and music. In this way, later administrators recognized the need to revise the curriculum as women's educational needs changed in the early twentieth century, despite the fact that TWU founders intended from the beginning to focus on domestic science and industrial training.

One indication of change in the twentieth century was the shift in home economics itself from training for homemaking to preparation for teaching. Ellen Sabin was the most vocal in promoting the preparation of home economics teachers. The department of domestic science at Downer had from its inception covered two lines of work—for regular students of the College and for those preparing to teach the subject. Sabin went so far as to advocate teaching domestic science in the elementary schools where "it would reach that large mass of poorer scholars who go no further in their studies than the primary schools and who above all others need this knowledge." She feared that many mothers who would be the natural teachers of domestic science within the home were "employing their time in more congenial and possibly more profitable ways," and so children would have to be taught homemaking in the schools. Sabin expressed not only a concern for these "children" (read "daughters"), but also a recognition that women were turning to occupations other than homemaking. Given this early awareness on her part,
it is not surprising that the Downer curriculum came to include other practical courses.\footnote{47}

Likewise, at TWU officials designed their domestic science department with a dual function—to train for skill and efficiency in home life and to prepare students for teaching home economics in Texas schools. Students not only took courses in teaching methods but could elect courses in marketing, institutional management, and demonstration cookery, an indication that the home economics diploma might mean jobs in fields other than teaching. Indeed, administrators noted that they aimed not only to equip young women for the home and its most intimate concerns, but also to meet the demands of the modern conception of the essentials in education, not least among which is the ability to earn a livelihood through the acquiring of some useful art.\footnote{48}

Officials at Spelman College and Saint Mary's College shared the same expectation that domestic science would provide their graduates with remunerative occupations, if necessary. By 1920, students at both schools could enroll in a home economics course that offered either a general education or a teacher preparation program. Those students who selected the normal course in home economics at Spelman took classes in teaching methods, selection of equipment, and course planning. A similar program available at Saint Mary's offered students courses in bacteriology, physiology, and chemistry as applied to domestic science.\footnote{49}
In addition to home economics, graduates of these schools prepared themselves to teach in other fields as well; in fact, the curriculum reflected the growth of education as a suitable area of employment for women. Each school offered a course in pedagogy, usually with the intention of preparing students to teach elementary education. Officials at Spelman, in particular, emphasized this pedagogical training, since it prepared students not only for an occupation open to black women but also allowed these graduates to make a contribution toward the elevation of the black community. In an article printed in an early edition of the Messenger, the state school commissioner of Georgia advised Spelman students that no field of labor or service was more important to women than teaching school children.\footnote{50} Apparently students accepted this idea, since approximately 80\% of Spelman graduates went into teaching at the turn of the century, and this figure remained constant into the 1920s.\footnote{51} The organizational structure of the teacher-training programs at the various schools suggests that administrators assumed that students would put their knowledge of a particular subject to use as classroom teachers. Only at Saint Mary's was pedagogy established as a separate school, where students pursued a two year program after completing their freshman and sophomore years.\footnote{52} At Downer College and TWU, students
simply took courses in education, usually methods courses, along with a concentration in a particular subject. At TWU, students took education courses in addition to regular courses, while at Downer, faculty included classes in teacher preparation within each field of study.53

Regardless of the method by which students learned to be teachers, administrators at each school could boast of success in moving students into teaching. In addition to Spelman's record, Downer officials also noted that teaching was the favorite vocation of graduates. In the 1925 class of 41 students, 23 graduates went into teaching. Likewise, at TWU in 1930, almost all of the 50 students placed in professional positions went into teaching.54

Teaching had been a "woman's profession" almost from the days when Catharine Beecher advocated such training in the nineteenth century, and as such teaching remained the field of professional employment most hospitable to women in the first decades of the twentieth century. Yet college officials were not unaware of a growing number of occupations slowly becoming available to college-educated women. Despite figures proving otherwise, administrators perceived a trend away from teaching in women's choice of occupation. In 1925, the president of TWU noted that the school's graduates were avoiding the teaching profession and instead were demanding jobs in "all walks of life."
Since TWU officials by the mid 1920s were attempting to strengthen the liberal arts offerings at the school, it is not surprising that the president would connect the movement into new occupations with the "well-rounded training" offered at TWU. He suggested that the liberal arts provided students with "an angle so broad" that they could "forge ahead to places of leadership and service in their calling and community."\textsuperscript{55} Downer officials of the same era also pointed to the same trend among their graduates, noting that although teaching was still the favorite vocation, it was "losing its monopoly of the graduating classes." After teaching, chemical laboratory technical work and social work were the preferred occupations of Downer graduates.\textsuperscript{56}

In spite of statistics to the contrary, college officials did perceive and respond to a movement of women into fields other than teaching. For example, the percentage of women working in clerical fields, including bookkeeping, accounting, stenography, and typing, increased from 25% in 1900 to 46% in 1920. The largest increase came in the occupations of social and religious workers, with women accounting for 3% of the total workers in these fields in 1900 and 65% by 1920. Overall, the percentage of women in the labor market in all occupations increased in 30 years from 17.7% in 1900 to 21.9% in 1930.\textsuperscript{57}
In addition to the increasing occupational opportunities for women in the larger society, graduates also responded to changes inside their respective educational institutions that encouraged them to look to fields other than teaching. Within the colleges, two of these changes that influenced women's occupational choices were the addition of practical courses to the curriculum and the implementation of vocational guidance programs.

The practical courses that began to appear in the curricula of these schools during the early decades of the twentieth century fell generally within the larger fields of medicine and business. As early as 1904, officials at Saint Mary’s College offered courses in pharmacy and bacteriology, the latter the first such course in the state of Indiana. Students received diplomas, rather than liberal arts degrees, upon completion of their studies. Nursing as a degree program was not available to Saint Mary’s students until 1934, suggesting either that officials hesitated to implement such an obviously vocational program or that they simply lacked the resources to carry out such an endeavor. But even this very practical course was designed to fit into the tradition of Saint Mary’s as a liberal arts institution. Students took two years of basic liberal arts courses, followed by three years of professional training in nursing. In this way, Saint Mary’s officials combined both branches of education into one program.\(^{58}\)
Students at TWU and Spelman College could take courses in nursing long before they were available to Saint Mary's students. In 1914, TWU students could take classes in the department of hygiene and home nursing. In keeping with the founding purpose of TWU, many of the degree courses focused on preparing students for teaching jobs. The vocational training programs, by contrast, tended to be two-year or one-year courses, with students earning a diploma upon completion of the required work. Not until 1940 did TWU officials institute a bachelor of science degree in nursing. But by 1930, students could major in science and medically-related fields such as bacteriology, pathology, and chemistry, all courses that served to lay the groundwork for the later nursing degree.\(^{59}\)

Spelman administrators opened that school's nursing department in 1886, only a few years after the founding of the school itself. Although they offered two courses of study—professional and non-professional—officials clearly expected that graduates would be qualified for professional employment upon completion of the course. They noted that this profession was "far more remunerative than any other employment open to women, ten dollars a week being paid to a trained nurse." The lack of a hospital to train students hampered Spelman's programs, since black nurses could not train at the local hospital. Nevertheless, between 1889 and 1899, 64 graduates earned
certificates in nursing. Lack of resources, however, prevented the program from gaining degree-granting status, and in 1927 college officials eliminated the nurse-training program. Yet the experience of the nurse-training program at Spelman lends support to the argument that students were indeed moving into fields other than teaching. During the 40 years of the program, students earned 117 diplomas, more than the combined number of B.A. and B.S. degrees and about half the number of the teaching degrees awarded during the same time period. Although these figures may be in part the result of the early weaknesses of the liberal arts program at Spelman, nonetheless they indicate students' willingness to take advantage of the opportunity to move into a professional field other than teaching.

Downer College officials implemented a bachelor of science degree in nursing immediately following World War I. Similar to the program later instituted at Saint Mary's College, the Downer nursing degree also attempted to combine the liberal arts with the practical, since students were required to earn 60 academic credits at the College and complete the full nurse-training program at an approved two-year school of nursing.

It is unclear whether the nursing program was a response to the war experience and the need for medically trained personnel, but the department of occupational
therapy, created in 1918, was the direct result of the war service of the College. In response to the request of the U.S. Army Surgeon General for trained "reconstruction aides," the director of the College art department created an occupational therapy program of 18 weeks of intensive study at the College and three months of hospital practice. Although this first program was open only to graduate students or to "mature women with nursing or social service backgrounds," gradually all students gained the opportunity to earn a degree in the field. Even though numbers remained small, graduates used their occupational therapy degrees to move into this professional field. In the midst of the Depression in 1935, five graduates found jobs in occupational therapy, second only to the number of graduates who went into teaching.

Besides the teaching and medical fields, business was the other major area for students at each of these schools. Although there is little indication that faculty groomed students to take over leadership positions in business, college officials showed an awareness of the growing opportunities for women in commercial endeavors. As early as 1905, the commercial arts course was one of the four programs available to students at TWU. The course was rather broadly defined, intending to prepare students for general clerical work. Graduates, TWU
officials claimed, would "meet the demand for more broadly intelligent and more accurate office workers in commercial lines." And perhaps to assure students and parents that this vocationally-oriented program was worthy of study, officials noted in the bulletin that "the work ranks with that of other courses in extent and grade." Ten years later, students could enroll in an expanded commercial arts course to prepare themselves for office work as bookkeepers, stenographers, accountants and typists. College officials encouraged students in this course when they commented on the increasing numbers of young women who were finding jobs in these fields, "a work for which they are specially adapted." These courses tended to be one-year programs, and students earned diplomas or certificates rather than bachelor's degrees. TWU administrators structured the courses in this fashion, because the demand for such classes, according to officials, came from "mature, serious-minded women" who found it impossible or inconvenient to take regular college courses. High school and college graduates who had not had the opportunity to pursue such courses in their own schools also enrolled in the TWU commercial courses. In this way, then, TWU faculty prepared a wide range of students to enter business-related occupations. Yet by 1930, when students could earn a degree in business administration, school officials still
designed the business major primarily to prepare students as teachers of commercial subjects or as secretaries, both traditional roles for women. In the early days of Downer College, Ellen Sabin also appeared to favor the inclusion of commercial courses in the curriculum. In describing the curriculum at Downer in 1895, she noted that science would play an important role in the future, just as it had in the past. But among the courses she considered to be scientific were stenography and typewriting. According to Sabin, the large number of "excellent girls engaged in business life" created the demand for such courses at Downer, and for the previous two years, faculty at Downer had obliged by teaching courses in stenography and typewriting. Sabin continued to recognize the need for such "scientific" or commercial courses, recommending to the trustees in 1909 that the school offer a secretarial course when they could fit a class into the academic schedule. No evidence exists, however, that officials ever offered the course, and Downer faculty continued to prepare most of their students for fields other than business.

Students at Saint Mary's College could also take business classes but not until the mid 1920s. These elective courses included bookkeeping, typing, commercial law, and shorthand. By 1930, however, officials brought these courses together and founded the department of
secretarial training. In keeping with the classical educational tradition of the College, the department combined courses in liberal arts and technical business procedures. The business courses were electives, and students did not specialize in the field until their junior and senior years. Students earned a bachelor of arts degree as preparation either for a general business occupation or for teaching commercial courses in secondary schools.72 Once again, by combining the liberal arts with the practical business courses, Saint Mary's officials maintained the tradition of the classical curriculum while still responding to the growing demand for professional preparation of students.

The approach to business education that officials at Spelman College took was slightly different from that of administrators at the other three schools. Probably as a result of limited opportunities for black women in the expanding field of business, Spelman officials did not develop a comprehensive program of commercial courses. Instead, being well aware that most of their students would seek remunerative employment of some kind, Spelman faculty tended to prepare them to work in specific fields open to black women. For example, printing and dressmaking were two of the first commercial courses offered at Spelman. Being a compositor in a printing office, according to an early bulletin, was "one of the
pleasantest trades open to women." Not only did students contribute to the successful operation of the school by printing the necessary catalogues, envelopes, programs, cards, and labels, but they also learned how to transfer their skills to jobs outside the school. Students in the dressmaking course, in addition to the plain sewing required of all students, learned fancy needle-work and fitting methods. According to school officials, dressmaking was a trade that students would be thoroughly qualified to take up upon completion of the dressmaking course at Spelman. Faculty continued to offer these courses as preparation for a trade until the mid 1920s, when printing disappeared and dressmaking became part of the larger household arts department within the growing College.

Journalism was another field that college officials, at least at two of the schools, encouraged their students to pursue. Both students and faculty at TWU and Saint Mary's College recognized growing opportunities for women in journalism. Writing in the school newspaper in 1916, a TWU student noted that women such as Ida Tarbell, Kate Field, and Margaret Sullivan had proven that women were as "capable of writing as pungent and forceful editorials as men." Yet this same student argued that women had special qualities to bring to the field. As she suggested,
through journalistic work women can interpret, from the feminine standpoint, the various phases of modern social, economic, and political life, and thus enable her [sic] sisters whose lives are more restricted to come in touch with and to understand more thoroughly the problems of the outside world.74

By 1930, school officials expanded the journalism courses into a major that combined formal classroom instruction with practical experience working on the school newspaper.75

Saint Mary's College officials added journalism to the curriculum by 1915, and in the following 10 years they expanded the program to take advantage of the growing opportunities in the field for women. Students could earn a bachelor of philosophy degree in journalism by the late 1920s. But once again, officials demonstrated their need to tie this professional course to the liberal arts tradition of the school. The description of courses in the 1930 yearbook grouped English and journalism together, noting that the fine arts of reading and writing can never be pushed aside no matter how professional a school becomes...Saint Mary's always was and always will be a school devoted primarily to the liberal arts, her courses in literature and in literary composition have prime importance in her curriculum.76

Thus officials hoped to justify the inclusion of this very practical and professional course in their liberal arts college by aligning it with a recognizable classical course such as English. Obviously, they were still
dealing with the problem of combining the two branches of education even into the fourth decade of the century. 77

In addition to the inclusion of practical courses in the curriculum of these schools, officials began to turn their attention to the need for formal vocational guidance programs by the second decade of the century. While officials at each of the schools promoted, in varying degrees, occupations for their graduates, not until the professional opportunities for women expanded in the general labor market did they increase their attempts to guide students into particular jobs. The first attempts at Downer College usually took the form of chapel talks and guest lectures focusing on various occupational opportunities for women. For example, Dean Mina Kerr gave a general talk in 1912 on the demand for women college graduates to fill responsible positions and noted the establishment of bureaus of labor in some of the larger cities, presumably to deal with women's labor force participation. 78 Other talks dealt with opportunities in nursing, the YWCA, and the local Legal Aid Society as well as industrial and war work for women. 79 In 1915, Dean Kerr organized an "occupation day" at Downer when she made a special attempt to encourage freshmen and sophomores to make plans early in their college careers for occupations after graduation. According to Kerr, these younger students had consulted her from time to time
during the year about preparing for different lines of work, and her "occupation day" was one way to guide them in their choices and preparation. Kerr, in 1920, headed the Appointment Committee, created to aid students in finding positions after graduation. Ten years later, a new Dean was in charge of the College Vocational Conference, where students listened to women from a variety of occupations talk about their work.

During the 1920s, Saint Mary's officials were also developing their ideas on professional training and guidance for their students. In an article in the 1925 college bulletin, they sought to draw attention to the increasing number of occupations open to college women and to the pre-professional training that Saint Mary's courses offered. While these officials admitted that in the past they had steered the curriculum away from vocational training, their new purpose was to correlate cultural and vocational education. To this end, they required freshman students to enroll in a course focusing on vocational education, to attend lectures by "professional persons," to make use of the special vocational guidance section in the library, and to receive counseling from a board of guidance counselors. Officials did not intend, however, to lessen the students' respect for the liberal arts. As administrators noted, "special emphasis is placed on the importance of a thorough and general education if one is
to occupy a position of leadership in her chosen profession."^82

While officials at both Downer and Saint Mary's Colleges developed formal vocational guidance programs, administrators and faculty at Spelman College used a different system. Almost from the time of the school's founding, they reported in school publications the various occupations of recent graduates. For example, occupations listed for the late 1880s included mission work, teaching, nursing, and marriage. Officials continued this practice well into the 1950s and often included letters from former students who were "out in the field." Not only did these graduates serve as early role models for undergraduates, but they gave students an opportunity to learn of the various professions open to them after graduation.^83 Even though job categories expanded over the years, graduates themselves tended to promote certain jobs, particularly teaching, as being especially suited to women. But by 1936, Spelman officials formalized the school's vocational guidance system, and students and alumnae could take advantage of the services of the College Appointment Office, designed to help them secure new positions in the labor market.^85

An examination of the curricular developments at these schools reveals that administrators, in seeking to establish stable educational institutions, benefited from
the ongoing debate throughout the second half of the nineteenth century over women's educational needs. For example, their defense of the liberal arts curriculum at a time when many educators and some alumnae questioned its appropriateness indicates that they themselves realized the important role that the classical tradition played in lending credibility not only to their respective institutions but also in proving the existence of women's intellectual capabilities. Although the question of women's ability to do college work was no longer a major issue by the time these schools qualified as women's colleges, administrators nevertheless did not dare to risk too much experimentation with the curriculum. Thus they relied on what had worked in the past to ensure each school's continued existence in the future.

Administrators also clearly learned from the earlier controversy touched off by the publication in 1873 of Dr. Edward Clarke's book, *Sex in Education*, in which he maintained that women did not have the physical stamina to endure higher education. One consequence of the ensuing debate over the issue was that officials at women's colleges required students to participate in physical education programs to prove that they could not only withstand the rigors of education but could also improve their physical stamina while at school. Thus administrators at these four schools knew they could not
neglect the health and physical development of their students lest critics accuse them of overtaxing students' intellectual abilities at the risk of their physical well-being. To avoid such accusations, administrators included some form of physical education in the curriculum. Students at Downer and Saint Mary's had access to well-developed programs in the early years of the schools. Women trained in physical culture headed both programs, which focused on calisthenics and gymnastics. Students also participated in outdoor exercise, usually in the form of long-distance walking. At TWU, outdoor activities made up the basis of physical education, perhaps due to the Texas climate. Students played tennis and basketball. Because Spelman students had only a room in one of the classroom buildings to serve as a gymnasium, they, too, spent much of their physical education time outside, where they engaged in various games such as dodge-ball, baseball, volley ball, and relay races.88

Although the existence of these physical education programs was in part the legacy of Edward Clarke's contention that traditional higher education harmed women physically, administrators also justified physical culture on the grounds that it enhanced the "womanly attributes" of their students. At Saint Mary's, in particular, students used the various physical education equipment to
develop not only healthy bodies but also grace. Use of the vertical ladder, for example, not only encouraged graceful movements but also helped the plump student become "slender and lithe." And while the physical culture teacher admitted that the fencing instruction she offered was very close to a "manly sport," she noted that "'a girl never loses the beautiful self-control so essential to womankind.'" Even exercise with the bow and arrow was especially suited to women students, since it taught them "quickness of sight, add[ed] grace to the standing position and elasticity to the walk." Downer officials, similar to their counterparts at Saint Mary's College, also viewed physical culture as adding to the feminine attributes of their students. The aim of gymnastics at Downer was to "overcome faults in growth and posture, to develop respiratory and circulatory functions and to make the will the master of the body." Physical measurements and strength tests helped determine the results of the program.

Although the presence of physical culture classes at these schools indicates that administrators had indeed learned from the educators who had dealt with women's education before them, their assurances that women's femininity would be enhanced through physical and higher education in general also reveals that they were still dealing with some of the same issues as their
predecessors. For example, their uncertainty as to what women's roles would be in the future, given the many changes that were taking place in women's lives in general in the early decades of the century, led them in some cases to attempt to prepare women for new roles, especially in the work force. Hence they included in the curriculum courses of a very practical and vocational nature. But they also tended to rely on the traditional concept of women's roles and so offered women an education based on the cultural ideal that trained the intellect but provided little preparation for "life in the concrete." This reliance on past practices, on the one hand, and the need to accommodate the changes taking place in women's lives, on the other, resulted in a constant tension, which was revealed most often in their attempts to defend the liberal arts curriculum while at the same time instituting practical courses as vocational preparation. In effect, these educators had still not resolved the question of the proper education for women.

The evolution of home economics courses, in particular, reflects the ambivalence educators felt about women's education. Domestic science at each of these schools actually came in "through the back door" either by adding courses in a piecemeal fashion or by offering an entire program separate from the rest of the curriculum. In designing most of the first domestic science courses as
preparation for home management, educators acknowledged the need for specialized education to prepare women for their expected future roles as wives and mothers. In this context, women's education served as preparation for traditional roles. Yet these educators gradually came to view home economics as offering women opportunities for employment outside the home, most notably in teaching. In this way, they responded to the increasing number of women moving into the labor force while at the same time preparing students for traditional roles as teachers. And so although the inclusion of practical courses in the curriculum at these women’s colleges came to resemble that of men’s colleges and coeducational institutions, the preparation nonetheless led to traditional female occupations. Medical courses served as background for degrees in nursing, while business courses focused on preparation for stenography, bookkeeping and secretarial work. The concern of college officials with providing the appropriate curriculum for women students at a time of transition in women’s lives often resulted in a conflict between reliance on the classical tradition of the past and gradual accommodation of the new, practical courses in the curriculum. These officials, in turn, passed on to their students an ambivalent message as to the proper and expected roles for women, the outcome of college officials’ attempts to deal with the tension between women’s roles in the past and those of the future.
NOTES

1 According to Woody, women's schools failed to meet the standards at men's schools for the following reasons: 1) early age of admission; 2) low entrance requirements; 3) sacrifice of standards of work and classification in order to get students whose fees would help pay expenses; 4) failure to require Latin and Greek; 5) granting of a diploma more like contemporary seminary certificates than those of male colleges. See Thomas Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States, vol. 2 (1929; New York: Octagon, 1980) 161, 166-67.


6 Woody, vol. 2, 150.

7 Debate over the classical curriculum was not exclusive to the women's colleges. Officials at men's schools and coeducational institutions also argued the merits of a traditional curriculum that included Greek and Latin and that was grounded in faculty psychology, i.e., the actual process of learning to think took precedence over acquiring particular knowledge. Debate came to center on the role that electives would play in college, with opponents fearing the loss of the classical curriculum as students elected to take practical, vocationally-oriented courses. Although officials at women's colleges in some cases used electives to allow students to shape their own "female curriculum," limited resources prevented the implementation of large numbers of electives and contributed to officials' arguments in defense of the classical curriculum. For an

8 For an enlightening discussion of culture versus service, see Antler 63-84.

9 Herman 154.


11 Newcomer 83.


13 Newcomer 99.


17 Woody, vol. 2, 210-12.


19 Rudolph 126.

20 Sister Francis Jerome, C.S.C., This is Mother Pauline (Notre Dame: St. Mary's College, 1945) 163, SMCA.
Throughout much of the first half of the twentieth century, educators at women's colleges and land grant institutions grappled with the issue of what should be the place of home economics within the liberal arts curriculum. Related to this problem was the role that home economics education should play—preparation for family life and the community or vocational preparation


38 St. Mary's Catalogue, 1890-91; 1910-11; 1919-20; 1929-30, SMCA.

39 Ellen Sabin, "Annual Report of the President of Milwaukee-Downer College," June 1898, 4-5, Series 1, Box 1, M-D Papers.

40 *Catalogue of M-DC*, 1901-02, 52; 1902-03, 48, M-D Papers.


43 *Spelman Seminary Bulletin*, 1892-93, 20, SCA.

44 *Spelman Seminary Bulletin*, 1917-18, 36, SCA.

45 *Girls Industrial College Bulletin*, June 1903, 7, TWUA.

46 *C.I.A. Catalogue*, 1 Jan. 1930, TWUA.


Harriet Gilec, "Annual Report to Trustees," Apr. 1906, 3, General Education Board Collection (GEB), Series 1.1, Box 39, Folder 360, Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC); Lucy H. Tapley, "Annual Report," Spelman Messenger 8 Apr. 1921: 6, SCA; Black female college graduates, of course, may have "chosen" teaching in the absence of other career options, since census figures from 1910 indicate that, of the professions in which black women worked, they still made up only a very small percentage of all women employed in these fields. For example, they were less than 1% of stenographers and typists, 2.5% of college presidents and professors, 2.8% of the total number of nurses, and 4.7% of teachers. Writing in 1923, an administrator of the YWCA noted a changing trend in black women’s professional employment. While the largest number of black women were still teachers (22,528 of 30,074 professional black women), other black women were slowly moving into the fields of social work and administration in various community organizations. See Alba M. Edwards, Comparative Occupation Trends in the United States, 1900 to 1940, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (Washington: GPO, 1943) 171-72; Eva D. Bowles, "Opportunities for the Educated Colored Woman," Opportunity 1.3 (1923): 8-10; Stephanie J. Shaw, "Black Women in White Collars: A Social History of Lower-Level Professional Black Women Workers, 1870-1954," diss., Ohio State U, 347-62.

St. Mary’s Catalogue, 1915-16, 33, SMCA.

C.I.A. Annual Announcement, 1915-16, 29, TWUA; Catalogue of M-DC, 1900-01, 23, M-D Papers.

"Over Fifty Students Have Been Placed for Coming Year," Lass-0 25 June 1930: 1, TWUA.

College Bulletin--C.I.A., 115, June 1925, 17, TWUA.

57 Margery W. Davies, *Woman's Place is at the Typewriter* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1982) appendix, table 4; Edwards 98)


59 Joyce Thompson, *Marking a Trail* (Denton, TX: Texas Woman's UP, 1982) 33, 107, TWUA; C.I.A. Catalogue, Jan. 1930, 63, TWUA.

60 *Spelman Seminary Bulletin*, 1892-93, 19, SCA; "Our Nurses and Their Need," *Spelman Messenger* Nov. 1899: 1-2, SCA.

61 Read 214, SCA.

62 *Spelman College Bulletin*, 1930-31, 89, SCA.

63 Kieckhefer 85, M-D Papers.

64 *Catalogue of M-DC*, 1919-20; 1920-21, 55, M-D Papers.


66 C.I.A Catalogue, June 1905, 15, TWUA.

67 *Daedalian*, 1914, 90, TWUA.

68 Edward Bates, *History of and Reminiscences of Denton County* (Denton, TX: McNitzky, 1918) 250, TWUA.

69 C.I.A. Catalogue, 1 Jan. 1930, 61, TWUA.


71 Ellen Sabin, "Annual Report of the President of Milwaukee-Downer College," June 1909, 7-8, Series 1, Box 1, M-D Papers.

72 *St. Mary's Catalogue*, 1925-26, 11; 1929-30, 37-38, SMCA.

73 *Spelman Seminary Bulletin*, 1892-93, 21, SCA.

74 "Women in Journalism," *Lass-O* 18 Feb. 1916: 2, TWUA.
In a study of physical education at women's colleges, historian Dorothy Ainsworth identified three periods of development for women's physical education. In the first women's colleges, educators used physical culture to cure possible deformities resulting from higher education. By 1890, physical education was looked on more as a preventive measure, since study was no longer considered the cause of ill health. Finally, in the third period of development, although educators still considered physical education a preventive measure, they included the subject in the "broader field of education." That is, they trained students in areas of conduct and behavior in addition to health issues. As a result, the presence of sports, games, and dancing increased at women's colleges by the first decades of the twentieth century. See Dorothy Ainsworth, The History of Physical Education in


89 Julia Cochrane, "Physical Training," Chimes, June 1901, 162-64.

90 Catalogue of M-DC, 1907-08, 66-67, M-D Papers.
Chapter V

Regulating College Life

In analyzing the purposes behind the founding of Downer College, Texas Woman's University, Saint Mary's College, and Spelman College, it becomes evident that founders and early administrators struggled with the conflict between education for domesticity and education for employment. Because, as their public statements show, they were unsuccessful, for the most part, in resolving in their own minds the resulting tension created between the liberal arts and vocational education, educators at these schools gave students an ambiguous message as to the intended purpose of their education. Likewise, the rules and regulations implemented at each school embodied the same ambiguity of purpose. College officials credited their students with learning increased independence, self-reliance, and the ability to govern their own behavior. Yet officials designed rules affording students little opportunity for self-regulation. The resulting contradiction between what officials said about the role
of students in monitoring their own behavior and what they, as administrators, actually did to regulate student activities was an indication of the ambivalence these college officials showed in trying to determine proper student regulation.

When spring came to Milwaukee-Downer College each year, for example, it was the custom of President Ellen Sabin to gather the students together so that she could read to them Rudyard Kipling's poem, "The 'Eathen."

According to one Downer alumna, Sabin placed particular emphasis on the following lines:

"Keep away from dirtiness, keep away from mess, Don't get into doin' things rather-more-or-less"

This poetic method of admonishing students to resist the temptation to succumb to spring fever with all its negative aspects was only one of many ways in which Sabin sought to control the behavior of her students. Since Sabin considered one of the foremost objectives of a Downer education to be the molding of character, it was imperative to provide an environment in which students would be encouraged to develop not only academic potential but positive social and moral traits as well. She monitored the behavior of students very closely, if not on a personal basis, then through an extensive system of rules and regulations. Yet Sabin maintained that her discipline was not extraordinary and suggested that Downer
students had a great deal of discretion in determining their own behavior. In writing to the mother of one of her students, Sabin commented:

...We have as few rules as are consistent with proper care of the students. We do not intend to accept any student who can not be trusted out of sight, and we do not expect that a student needs a chaperone to do the kind of things in the day-time that she has done for a number of years before coming to us. She is treated as one who is responsible for her conduct.¹

A close study of Downer's rules and regulations reveals that Sabin's contention that a student was "responsible for her own conduct" was misleading. Sabin's ambiguities about behavior expectations at Downer created a tension between encouraging students to take advantage of the potential freedom of movement that the college experience offered and attempting to treat students in a more traditional manner by regulating their behavior and, in essence, providing them with a protective environment. Sabin's statements to parents were in keeping with the discipline practices at men's colleges, where college officials monitored male students only minimally.² Even though all college students, men and women, were subjected to certain regulations, the women students at Downer College, Saint Mary's College, Texas Woman's University, and Spelman College were affected in particular ways by these regulations designed to guide their behavior. Sabin's creation and implementation of numerous rules, for
example, shows that she never actually moved away from the more traditional approach of regarding women as in need of protection and close guidance, despite her statements to the contrary. The result for students was a confusing message as to their expected behavior. Sabin was not alone, however, in manifesting this ambiguity. A review of the policy statements and the actual practices at the four colleges in this study shows that administrators and faculty at these institutions all suffered this same contradiction between encouraging freedom for their students in the form of self-regulation and providing protection through the implementation of strict rules.

The concept of in loco parentis, whereby school officials attempted in varying degrees to monitor the behavior of students, influenced the creation of rules and regulations at these early women's colleges. Although little historical literature exists on the actual practice of in loco parentis, educators at both men's and women's colleges developed some system of regulation designed to take the place of parental discipline within the home. But while officials at most men's colleges tended to limit their role to that of "moral policemen" with respect to student behavior, educators at women's colleges assumed a larger role in both encouraging and discouraging certain attitudes and activities among women students.
Historian Liva Baker, in a study of the Seven Sisters schools, suggests that this increasing concern with behavior at women's colleges was in part the result of Dr. Edward Clarke's publication of *Sex in Education* in 1873. According to Baker, Clarke's premise that woman's physiological make-up made her unfit to withstand the rigors of the traditional college curriculum encouraged college officials to pay undue attention to the health of their students. From there they extended their concern to the well-being of the whole student, setting standards in areas well beyond the academic curriculum. Similar to parents with children, educators at women's institutions gradually came to assume responsibility for students' physical, spiritual, and mental growth during the formative college years. Thus what began as an attempt to reassure parents, students, and the public that higher education was not physically dangerous for women became the practice of parenting women students while they were away from their own homes, ensuring in the process that they would stay within a protective, family-like environment.

Administrators at all of the schools in this study manifested the tension between independence and protection, but they varied as to the degree to which they experienced the contradiction. The most rigidly controlled school was Saint Mary's, where Mother Pauline
gave little pretext of providing an atmosphere of freedom for her students. In one of the early bulletins, Mother Pauline noted that as soon as students entered the institution, "they become the children of the house, and the Sisters watch over their best interests with the solicitude of mothers." School rules touched on everything from visiting hours to supervision of student correspondence. One indication of the confining atmosphere of the school is a reference in the same bulletin to the need for well-defined rules in order "for a house of education to effect any good for its inmates." Indeed, Mother Pauline inadvertently referred to the lack of freedom when she painted a picture of student life at Saint Mary's that was analogous to her own life within the confines of the convent walls. In describing the results of students' observing the rules, she wrote:

Every one rises at the first signal; silence is strictly observed; all descend in order from their sleeping apartments; prayer is said in the most edifying manner, and studies are commenced without losing a moment. All pass in silence from study-hall to refectory, thence to recreation, thence to classes, without confusion. It matters not how great may be the number of pupils, every duty is accomplished with perfect order.

While this procedure may have resulted in an orderly, well-run institution, it is unlikely that students developed an independent spirit or feeling of autonomy regarding their own behavior.
Yet Mother Pauline nevertheless displayed an ambivalent attitude toward student behavior. She noted that students were trained to think for themselves and "to use their resources of knowledge, reason and wit with good sense and good taste." But through the implementation of strict regulations, she created a confining, protective environment where "every attention is given to the moral and religious culture of the pupils," and "teachers fail not on all occasions, to point out, and take means to correct faults committed against polite, lady-like deportment." She defended the strict conduct code on the grounds that in the absence of rules, "every one would act according to her own caprice, preventing others from improving, and gaining nothing for herself, and the house would be disorder personified." Even 15 years later in 1905, despite the development of Saint Mary's as a college, students received a copy of the printed regulations that Mother Pauline expected them to follow. She asked parents not to grant permission to their daughters for such activities as going home, visiting friends, or dropping or taking courses without first consulting with her since she, rather than parents, knew all the circumstances of her students' lives. Despite Mother Pauline's contention that Saint Mary's students developed the ability to think for themselves and then presumably could govern their own behavior using good
sense and taste, she enacted strict rules of conduct designed to ensure that students would behave according to her standards. This contradiction between her statements supporting students' abilities to monitor their own activities and her fear that the absence of a standard of conduct would lead to chaos was indicative of her ambivalence about student behavior.

Although founders and early administrators at Spelman College took a somewhat less restrictive approach than Mother Pauline, like her they attempted to cultivate a family environment for their students. Sophia Packard and Harriet Giles both received praise from various sources for their attempts to duplicate the family lives of their students, not only to ensure the smooth running of the school but also to prepare students for their anticipated roles as wives and mothers. In 1891, Dr. A.D. Mayo spent two weeks at Spelman evaluating its merits as an educational institution. He responded to Packard and Giles with the claim that he had found no Seminary "better organized, more admirably governed, so like a great family in all its arrangements..." Ten years later a Spelman alumna offered a tribute to her alma mater when she stated that Spelman was incomparable and had "more perfectly blended home and school together than any other school..." She wrote further that "Spelman gives the impression of one vast, busy, inspiring, God-fearing
family, with the beloved Miss Giles, a veritable model of motherly interest and painstaking over-sight of every individual beneath its sheltering roof. The primary way in which Packard and Giles promoted this family atmosphere was by dividing the school's boarders into several groups, each under the supervision of a hall teacher. This teacher had "full personal care of each member of her family," monitoring her work, general habits, study hours, recreation, exercise and health. In their capacity, then, as the "mothers" of this "family," Packard and Giles and later Lucy Tapley managed to influence the behavior of their students.

The nature of Spelman College as one of the few schools devoted to black girls and women in the South also allowed Packard and Giles to use the mother image to enhance their position in the lives of their students. In the early years of the institution, many Spelman students came from low income homes to a school lacking financial stability. Packard and Giles, with their belief in the role that a Spelman education could play in the elevation of the black community, focused much of their initial energy on improving the home lives of both the students who boarded with them and of the students who lived in Atlanta. To this end, they felt compelled to visit the homes of students to try to improve the living conditions of their families. Both women spent much time
distributing clothing sent from the North to students and members of the black churches.16

As both "friendly visitors" and nurturing teachers, they offered their guidance in matters beyond academics and perceived a positive response from students. In correspondence with John D. Rockefeller, for example, Giles referred to the gratitude that students expressed for what was being done for them and for the privileges that they enjoyed.17 An entry in Packard's diary noted that students were anxious to learn and "very ready to do as we want them to."18 No doubt this willingness to cooperate in the Spelman educational endeavor was in large part due to the rare opportunity afforded these young black women to be educated. But it is also likely that part of their response was the result of the efforts of Giles and Packard to establish a family atmosphere in which children were obedient and respectful toward the head of the family, in this case the mother.

In addition to the family image, Giles and Packard relied heavily on religion to guide the behavior of their students. In a fashion similar to that at the other schools, Giles and Packard established the practice of conducting daily gatherings. At Spelman, these took the form of Bible readings and devotional services at which Giles gave scripture lessons to the students. Students also attended Sunday school each week and missionary and
temperance meetings each month, along with frequent prayer meetings. Giles, Packard, and early administrators placed much importance on the religious conversions of students, one of the major purposes behind all the religious activity at the school. Once students had "brought Christ into their lives," school administrators could rest easier that converts would conduct themselves in a proper manner. In this way, Spelman officials resembled those at Saint Mary's College in their use of religion to guide the behavior of students. But in her history of Spelman College, Florence Read noted years later:

it was from their daily living rather than from their words that the most abiding lessons were learned by Spelman students from their teachers. The Founders, and certainly most of the teachers, were genuine Christians with love in their hearts and without cart. The students 'caught' Christianity from the contagion of their spirits...

The religious example that Packard, Giles, and other Spelman officials set for students to follow, along with the family environment that they created, did not allow these students much autonomy in determining their own actions and behavior. In fact, early bulletins noted that "No students are wanted or retained, who have not sufficient character to appreciate their advantages, and to listen to reasonable advice and admonition." Either they obeyed the regulations as outlined or they
could be expected to be dismissed from school. While it was not unreasonable for college officials to expect obedience to the rules, the behavior pattern determined by Christian living left students with little opportunity for behaving in a way that did not meet the Spelman standard. Indeed, students themselves seemed to accept the need for guidance in their lives. For example, an article in the student newspaper focused on the question of why Spelman Seminary should appeal to friends of education for support. Of the many reasons presented, one in particular noted that since young girls needed "special protection and guidance," they could not "be set adrift in the world to earn and save money for their own education."

Although the approach to student behavior at Spelman was similar to that found in the three other schools studied, Spelman officials likely felt the added responsibility to protect students from factors caused by racism in their lives. One such example of racism's impact on Spelman officials and students was the discussion that surrounded the construction of a fence to enclose the school grounds. In 1899, Reverend Thomas J. Morgan, corresponding secretary for the American Baptist Home Mission Society, took up the cause for improvement of the Spelman campus grounds. In correspondence with John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Morgan noted that "a Negro school serves as a blight to real estate wherever it is located,
and almost invariably there gathers around the school a mixed population of degraded people," most of them being either "Negro families or the poorer class of whites." Because of their presence, Morgan argued that the more than 200 girls and young women who boarded at Spelman needed "to be carefully looked after and guarded," especially since most of them were young, inexperienced and from country homes. Not only did the students need protection from the undesirable people who lived near the school, but, Morgan also argued, the school grounds needed to be protected from trespassing. With no fence surrounding the school, "many of the people would make the campus a common highway and destroy its beauty." Morgan pointed out to Rockefeller that schools such as Chicago University and Rochester Theological Seminary did not have to contend with a neighborhood population such at that surrounding Spelman, suggesting that the difference resulted from Spelman's identity as a black school. In expressing his low opinion of Spelman's immediate neighbors, Morgan asserted that it was "essential for the present at least that the grounds should be protected from trespassing." Hence the effect of racism in this situation added to the responsibility that Spelman officials felt for protecting Spelman students.23
In addition, the precarious economic condition of the black community in Atlanta created a situation in which students at Spelman, unlike those at the other schools, did domestic work at the College. Spelman officials established a work program at the school whereby they expected boarding students to give at least one hour daily to house-work. This unpaid work included taking care of their own rooms, school rooms, halls and dining room as well as doing their own washing and ironing. Although they explained this practice as part of a larger plan "to educate girls for home life," school officials must also have been aware of the financial advantage of having students do some of the maintenance work necessary to the successful running of the school.24

While students may have viewed this obligation as an opportunity not only to make a contribution to Spelman but also to learn household skills, the practice nevertheless reinforced the idea that students were part of the college "family," the members of which all helped in keeping Spelman afloat financially. Part of the family, students were under the supervision of faculty members as they performed their daily work assignments. This practice further restricted student action and allowed faculty to influence student behavior and contribute to the confining, protective atmosphere of the school. With increased financial support from Spelman benefactors and
local, white Atlantans, this work situation might not have developed to the extent that it did. Of the schools included in this study, Spelman is unique in that its students performed this type of work.

Students at Downer College had somewhat more freedom, despite the fact that Ellen Sabin, like Mother Pauline and Sophia Packard and Harriet Giles, managed to maintain close contact with her students in a number of ways. In a letter to her successor, Lucia Briggs, Sabin noted that she expected faculty members to be "good members of the College family," an indication of the way in which she viewed the relationship between faculty and students. The relatively small enrollment of approximately 400 students allowed Sabin to maintain a close relationship with her students, and she took definite measures to ensure contact with these young women. For example, at the time of her retirement in 1921, school rules required that the president live in the dormitory with the students. Although Sabin did not indicate who had established the requirement, she clearly agreed with the arrangement, since she maintained that it had given her "valuable opportunities for contacts" that she would not have had living somewhere else.

Sabin also favored walking as a form of exercise not only for herself but also for her students. She apparently seldom walked alone, however, choosing instead
to invite students to accompany her. Although there are no records of the conversations she had with students during these walks, she likely used the opportunity to keep informed about students' activities and opinions on various issues. She no doubt also offered her thoughts on numerous topics including the academic and social behavior of students.27

Further, in an attempt to keep daily contact with all of the Downer students, Sabin maintained the practice of holding required, daily, twenty-minute chapel exercises. She presented Scripture readings, prayers, hymns, and comments on "any subject, religious, educational, political" that she considered "pertinent." She also used the time to give College announcements and conduct general College business. But Sabin noted that she found a "routine for chapel very difficult" and so resorted to "such deviations" as she found "advisable."28 The reading of Kipling's poem, "The 'Eathen," was perhaps one such deviation that she found useful for influencing the behavior of her students. Poetry was likely one of the more gentle ways Sabin guided student behavior. According to one of Sabin's biographers, the students "remember her too for her rich voice which they learned to love as they listened to her memorable daily scripture readings in chapel followed with exhortations as stern as the Old Testament prophets."29
Sabin also used the academic work of the College to keep in close contact with students. Because she employed no dean of students, Sabin personally performed most of the course planning with students. At the beginning of each year she assigned courses to all students and then monitored their progress throughout the year. During the first week in May she discussed each student's work with her and laid out the academic plan for the ensuing year. Sabin believed that this individual attention was a major reason why students attended Downer. While her counseling work may have given them what they wanted, it also allowed her to guide their academic progress.  

Sabin also dealt with parents of her students directly, choosing personally to answer their inquiries about various issues. One question that came up during 1913 was whether the "new dances" would be permitted at Downer. Apparently Vassar officials had allowed students to dance the tango at commencement, and Sabin was queried as to whether such "suggestive" dances would be permitted at Downer. In replying to a parent's concern about the issue, Sabin assured her that she had considered the "new dances" for months and had decided that "it was best to permit them, to have dignified and beautiful dances taught, to debar from the floor all who do not dance with propriety." She felt that prohibiting dances would have resulted in a loss of training in character, while giving
permission to students meant that they would have the responsibility to use the privilege with "perfect propriety." Sabin's handling of this issue exemplifies the authority that she possessed to make decisions regarding the behavior of her students without feeling obliged to consult faculty or students as to their thoughts on the matter.

Her decision to allow the "new dances," however, also reveals the attempt on her part to teach students to take responsibility for their own actions. In replying to this parent, Sabin stated that she believed character developed through making right choices and that she wanted to give Downer students the opportunity to make choices whenever possible. What she did not admit was that she used her authority to set up the decision for students, since they were left with the choice of either dancing "with propriety" or not dancing at all. Once again, Sabin demonstrated her conviction that she knew what was best for her students. She advocated the learning of responsibility but was obviously willing to give them only limited opportunity to do so.\(^{31}\)

In establishing the rules for student behavior and in monitoring their enforcement, Sabin acted as the "mother figure" in the "college family" that she sought to create. Because of Sabin's direct intervention in their daily lives, students tended to view her as both the
strict disciplinarian and the caring nurturer, a woman who sought to protect them through stringent regulations but who also attempted simply to guide their behavior as they developed into responsible young women.  

Students at Texas Woman’s University (TWU), at least at the outset, had the least regulation, despite the fact that the strong authority figure in their college family was male. The founders of TWU overlooked the need for rules to guide student behavior, so Cree T. Work, the first college president, provided them shortly after the school opened. The TWU system of regulations was based on the belief that "independence grows out of self-dependence and self-control," a standard not unlike the one that Ellen Sabin advocated at Downer College. By the time Work left office in 1910, students and parents read in the school bulletin that it was the aim of the faculty "to be reasonable with students and to lead them to self-control and reliability in all conduct as contributory to the best character."  

These policy statements with regard to behavior expectations at TWU suggest that Work attempted to encourage the independence of students by allowing them a great deal of freedom in deciding their own standards of behavior. Yet Work, in fact, developed a strict standard of student conduct and by 1905 listed 18 regulations pertaining to student behavior in the college bulletin.
By 1908, conduct rules had grown in bulk and complexity and were distributed to students in folder form. College officials in 1922 incorporated the rules into a student handbook. While college records show that students gradually gained more autonomy in governing their own behavior, the process was slow and suggests that during the first decades of the school's existence both the college president and the faculty closely supervised students.

Unlike the women administrators at the other three schools, however, Work seemed not to be a strong presence in the daily lives of students. Whether this situation was due to his perception of himself as publicity agent for the college working closely with the state legislature to promote the school, or whether as a male administrator of a woman's school he obviously did not have the same opportunities to associate with students that Sabin, for example, had is open to speculation. But the result for the college was that Work tended to share much of the responsibility for student behavior with his faculty. It was the faculty, for example, that demanded and received from the regents in 1905 the power to discipline and expel students when necessary. And according to the 1905 college bulletin, students were to obey the rules as listed along with "such other regulations and instructions as may be given by the Faculty from time to time." 34
In addition to publishing extensive rules in the bulletins, Work and his faculty monitored the behavior of students in various ways. Like the students at Downer, Saint Mary's, and Spelman, TWU students attended compulsory chapel services each day. Although there is no indication that Work himself conducted the services of songs, prayer and Scripture reading, it is likely that the programs received his sanction. It is also probable that both Work and faculty members used these occasions to mold student character by emphasizing desired behavior on the part of students.35

One area in which Work and his faculty were particularly interested was the living conditions of students. Because legislators at first did not provide money for dormitories for the college, students who were not residents of Denton were expected to live in boarding houses in the town. Work, who established strict regulations for student conduct in boarding houses, had to approve conditions at all homes. He admonished students to follow rules that ranged from keeping their rooms neat and clean to advising the college physician should they become ill. Work specified when students should study, attend religious services, seek entertainment and exercise, or run errands. Later administrators made it a practice to visit each boarding house frequently to monitor living conditions and to see that rules were
followed. College officials refused to approve boarding houses that required a student to walk through the business section of Denton to get to the college.\textsuperscript{36} In 1906, the school's board of regents went so far as to ask faculty to locate themselves in the boarding district so as "to accomplish the largest possible measure of supervision."\textsuperscript{37} These actions reflect the obvious uneasiness administrators felt about women students living outside the family environment even though state legislators were responsible for the lack of college dormitories.

When dormitories became available, school administrators and faculty continued to monitor student behavior closely. From 1909 to 1911, a dormitory director supervised students in everything from telephone use to social ethics. When the director's position was eliminated in 1911 for financial reasons, college officials asked a faculty member to take over the running of the dormitory.\textsuperscript{38} And so Work's actions in establishing strict rules of conduct and in monitoring student behavior closely contradicted his stated policy of providing students with freedom to be responsible for their own behavior. This ambivalence on his part is evidenced by the statement he made in the first college bulletin issued in 1903. Despite his later claims that "self-dependence and self-control" were his expectations
for students, he noted in the bulletin that "parents will appreciate supervision of their daughters by a Faculty selected with special care as to their fitness for properly overseeing and directing the lives of maturing young women." 39

A consideration of the role that founders and administrators played in molding and monitoring the behavior of students reveals, then, the tension between independence and protection. And so, too, does the content of the rules implemented at each institution. The various rules of the four schools can be grouped into two general categories--those necessary to the successful operation of an academic institution and those designed to influence the behavior and character development of students. In the first group are the academic standards each student was expected to meet before either being admitted to the college or to a particular course of study. With the exception of Saint Mary's College, officials at each school required that potential students pass an entrance exam before being admitted. Downer College also accepted high school diplomas and certificates from other colleges in lieu of an entrance exam. Saint Mary's simply put each student on probation until she had proven her degree of academic ability. Then college officials assigned her to the appropriate level of study.
Daily schedules for students were also listed in the bulletins. The earliest schedules usually dealt with study hours and visiting times, although as the schools developed, the schedules became more detailed and complex. Regulations prohibited the students at each of the schools from visiting or attending social gatherings on Sunday. College officials encouraged attendance at some sort of religious service on Sundays, but the day was usually considered to be a day of preparation for the coming school week. Visiting was also banned during study hours, and nothing was to interrupt classes and other required exercises.

A prerequisite for admission to each school was agreement from each student that she would obey the rules of the college. The policy at Downer College, as outlined in an early bulletin, is representative of the expectations of officials at the other schools as well. According to Downer officials, they would welcome only those students who would make "faithful use of the educational opportunities" offered at Downer.

Those who are unwilling to do this, whose spirit is found to be antagonistic to the methods of the institution, or who fail, through indolence, to maintain a respectable standing in scholarship, will be dropped whenever the general welfare may seem to require it...
While these rules and regulations obviously had an impact on student behavior, they were designed for the most part to ensure that as few interruptions as possible affected classes and other required exercises. In observing the rules, each student contributed to the efficient and successful operation of her respective college.43

While this first group of rules was necessary to the smooth running of any educational institution, regulations in the second category guided student behavior. Just as students were expected to acquiesce in following the first category of rules, so, too, were they supposed to comply with regulations in the second. Although these regulations tended to restrict students' freedom to determine their own behavior, they nevertheless were supposed to encourage students' development as proper women. What appears a contradiction may perhaps be explained by the fact that the role of "proper woman" did not include individual autonomy.

This second group of rules can be divided into those that pertained to student behavior within the institution and those that regulated student contact with the outside community, including activities with parents and acquaintances. College officials usually outlined their general expectations for student behavior in statements included in the college bulletins and catalogues. Spelman administrators, for example, expected their students to be
"courteous and polite to their school-mates and respectful and obedient to their teachers." The Downer student was "expected to be exemplary in manners and morals," while students at TWU were "expected at all times to conduct themselves as cultured young ladies" as befitted a "refined home." Although the nuns at Saint Mary's did not include such a pronounced statement in their publications, they still noted in the early bulletins that pupils who disregarded school rules or who, "by their influence in manners and conduct, prove to be undesirable or in any way hurtful to their companions," would be asked to withdraw from the college.44

If students failed, however, to live up to these general expectations, officials at each school outlined in varying degrees of detail rules to help students attain the proper standard of behavior expected of them within the institution. For example, chapel attendance was mandatory for all students in the early years of each college. While school officials and invited speakers usually touched on religious topics, they often used these daily gatherings to encourage proper behavior on the part of students. Whether Ellen Sabin read a Kipling poem or Harriet Giles at Spelman explained the important points of a scripture reading, these college administrators did not pass up this opportunity to influence student actions at daily chapel exercises.45 Other rules spelled out
student responsibility with regard to absences, tardiness, and illness. In most cases, students needed excuses from administrators, faculty members or physicians to be forgiven for these infractions. While this practice encouraged order and efficiency within the institutions, it also reveals how closely college officials could monitor the actions of students if they decided to enforce the rules.

The implementation and enforcement of a student dress code at each school was a less obvious method of influencing student behavior and shaping character. Two of the colleges, TWU and Saint Mary's, designated specific uniforms for students. Although students did not wear uniforms at Spelman and Downer, they were advised to wear clothing that was not only "plain and substantial," but also "sensible, neat, and simple." Regulations prohibited students from wearing jewelry, since Saint Mary's officials did not want to be responsible for its loss and Spelman administrators noted that it was "out of place and in bad taste for school girls." Students at TWU received the most extensive guidelines as to required uniforms, with pattern numbers and suggested materials listed in the yearly bulletin. Even with these precautions, TWU officials still felt obliged to warn parents "not to make up, or have made up, a number of elaborate dresses preparatory to starting a student to the
College." If parents disregarded this suggestion, college authorities would send home clothing that was "too elaborate or inappropriate for the use of a college girl."48

Use of these dress codes and uniforms allowed college officials to project a certain image of their respective schools and the students in attendance. The several references to the inappropriateness of certain styles of clothing for "school girls" suggests that administrators and faculty wanted students to realize the importance of education and to take themselves seriously as students. Hence the white blouses and dark, heavy skirts suggested for wear at these schools projected a more serious image than did "loud, inharmonious colors, extreme styles, and inappropriate styles."49 Officials at Spelman and TWU also viewed simple dress as a way to teach students the importance of frugal living and may also have been an attempt to play down class differences among students. According to an early TWU bulletin, the college was not a "society school," and it was faculty policy "not only to discourage needless expenditures, but to forbid conspicuous evidences of extravagance." Furthermore, the uniform promoted the "democracy and the congeniality of student life."50 Likewise, Spelman administrators and faculty sought to instill in their students an appreciation for the sacrifice that parents and other
members of their families made just to meet the necessary costs of sending a daughter to college. The Spelman dress code discouraged students from asking for unnecessary and undesirable articles of clothing.\textsuperscript{51}

In addition to instilling in students an appreciation for themselves as serious scholars and an understanding of the importance of frugal living, dress codes also allowed administrators to cultivate in their students the image of "proper young women." One Downer alumna, in reminiscing about her earlier years as a student at the College, used the word "elegant" to describe her image of Downer. She recalled that Downer students attended teas served by a staff who wore crisp uniforms and displayed perfect manners. At college dances, which she also described as "elegant," students introduced their dates to administrators and faculty who stood in a formal receiving line. In particular, she noted that "symbols of elegance were the white gloves and hats we were expected to wear on our shopping trips. Everyone recognized a Downer girl."\textsuperscript{52} Obviously students not only projected this image of proper young ladies through what they wore, but community members also learned to identify Downer students by this style of dress. In this case Downer administrators used the dress code to reinforce not only the role of student but at the same time a conventional feminine role using traditional symbols of
femininity—white gloves and hats—recognizable to students and community members alike. School officials, then, expected students to project this dual image of the serious scholar as well as the elegant lady.

Spelman College administrators, more than those at the other three schools, elaborated on the important role that proper dress played in developing student character. In the 1917 school catalogue, Lucy Tapley, president of Spelman, addressed to parents and guardians her concerns about the "growing tendency toward extravagance and lack of good judgment in the matter of dress." She solicited parental cooperation in helping students "develop a taste for simple, suitable, and healthful clothing." Accordingly the "cultured and virtuous" woman would always choose clothing that was "quiet in color, style and material." Tapley was clear about the role that dress played at Spelman. As she explained:

We are bending all our energies toward developing the character of our girls and we expect the result to reveal itself in the way a girl dresses and conducts herself. A truly cultured girl does not consider outward adorning of first importance.  

Tapley's emphasis on culture and virtue may be explained by the need to counter racist mythology that painted black women as being "'loose' in their morals" and therefore deserving of "none of the consideration and respect granted to white women." The legacy of
slavery meant that Spelman administrators could not focus on simply maintaining and further cultivating the image of proper womanhood as could their counterparts at the colleges for white women. Officials at Spelman, as white women, felt the need to create the image of True Womanhood, since they knew of no tradition of black women as ladies on which to build. In describing acceptable student apparel, Tapley, like Packard and Giles before her, also managed to impose her own white, middle-class standards on Spelman students. Her detailed descriptions to parents of proper student dress included warnings that "thin crepe or silk, net, lace, all-over embroidery or any other transparent waists" could not be worn. Furthermore, skirts were to be neither too short nor too narrow, while necklines on dresses were to be "high enough to avoid any appearance of immodesty."55 In attempting to produce a "truly cultured girl," then, Spelman administrators had the added burden of dispelling the racist stereotype of the black woman.

Residency requirements also allowed administrators to monitor student behavior within each institution. While administrators at none of the schools required that students live on campus--at Spelman and TWU dormitories were unavailable in the early years of operation--all of them stressed the importance of student participation in the college community. Saint Mary’s bulletins addressed
students as though they all lived in the college dormitories, leaving open to speculation the number of students who resided in town with their parents. Given the strict rules limiting student activity off-campus, it is safe to assume that Mother Pauline would not have allowed students to live on their own in town.

Ellen Sabin was more explicit with Downer students, stating in the early catalogues that students not living at home or with relatives must live in residence halls. City students, however, were still cautioned to "sacrifice city interests for those of the College," since their happiness depended on being able to take part in college activities. 56

By 1915, when dormitories were available for some TWU students, administrators had approved numerous boarding houses and private homes for student occupancy within the college community. Although students had the option of living in these various facilities, all students whose homes were not in Denton were required to file a formal application to board at the college. And so even the administrators of the school that had the least adequate living facilities for its students required that they live within the college community. 57 Finally, although Spelman officials did not insist that students live on campus, they did warn prospective students that they should not come to Spelman expecting to enter as
day-pupils, since limited space meant that officials gave preference to boarders. 58

The emphasis placed on boarding at each of these schools was the result of administrators' efforts to create and maintain the family atmosphere within the college community. Living together under the watchful eyes of faculty and residence hall monitors, students were likely to feel not only a loyalty to their college but also the obligation to behave in a manner necessary to keep all "family members" content. Thus residence restrictions played a major role in regulating student behavior within each institution.

Within the second category of rules implemented at these institutions were the regulations that dealt generally with student contact with the community, including family members. Not only did rules outline how students were to spend their time each day, but they also limited the time to be spent outside the school setting. Each school, of course, established a yearly calendar of breaks and vacations, and college officials strongly advised students to adhere to the schedule and not to spend undue time away from school. Administrators at all the schools allowed students to go home for Christmas vacation, and most could also take advantage of the Easter break. Only at Saint Mary's College did students have a single break during the year, at Christmas. Any other
absences excluded students from receiving honors at the close of the year. At each school, officials expected students to travel directly to their homes once they released them from their respective colleges. Administrators prohibited any stopovers in town at either the beginning or end of vacation.

Even though administrators discouraged personal visits home, they encouraged students to maintain contact with their families through letter-writing. Saint Mary's rules went so far as to require that students write to parents or guardians weekly. Further, college officials closely regulated the correspondence of students. TWU administrators expected students to limit their correspondence to a reasonable amount, while students at Saint Mary's wrote to as few people as possible outside their immediate families, since letter-writing could take up too much of students' time. Indeed, it is likely that college officials easily discouraged students from excessive correspondence, since at each school the dean or the president routinely scrutinized students' letters. Spelman officials regularly inspected student mail and express packages. Likewise, TWU administrators required students whose homes were not in Denton to have their mail addressed in care of the College so that officials could keep track of at least the number of letters each student received. And at Saint Mary's and Downer, all
Their insistence on students spending as little time away from the colleges as possible not only allowed administrators to emphasize the importance of each day's class work, but also lessened the chances that any unnecessary outside influence would interfere with the character development that these school officials tried to effect in their students. Close supervision of student correspondence served much the same purpose. College officials clearly felt the need to protect students from unwanted outside influences that might hinder their development as proper young women.

The restrictions placed on student visiting both on campus and off campus also reflect an attempt to monitor student behavior. As noted previously, each school outlined hours during which students could visit with each other and with family members and friends on campus. These visiting times were designated so as not to interfere with classes and study periods. Only Saint Mary's officials specified that visitors must be members of a student's immediate family. They apparently rigidly enforced this rule since, according to one faculty member, Notre Dame students who tried to pass themselves off as cousins or brothers of Saint Mary's students were not successful and "wondered whether the thick lenses of
Sister Claudia, the vigilant prefect of discipline, gave her extrasensory perception.60

College officials also closely monitored students' movements off campus. As the institutions grew over the years, so, too, did the rules governing students' off-campus activities. For example, officials at Saint Mary's College, seemingly the most rigid in their control of student behavior, simply stated in the early catalogue that students were "not permitted to leave the premises unless accompanied by parents or guardians."61 Perhaps because of the close proximity to Notre Dame, the sisters at Saint Mary's may have felt a particular need to establish and enforce regulations pertaining to student actions both on and off campus. The result for Saint Mary's students was very little heterosocial life. At the College, girls danced with girls, and when plays were presented, women played the men's roles. Not until 1920 did Notre Dame students attend a dance at Saint Mary's. Even that was the result of gentle bribery on the part of the sisters, who in 1920 began a major building fund and asked students to contribute to the fund by holding a bazaar in the spring, promising as a reward the opportunity to invite Notre Dame men to a formal dance at Saint Mary's. It was the success of this dance that paved the way for other dances and social functions with Notre Dame students. A year earlier, Saint Mary's students
attended their first football game at Notre Dame, but not without being well-chaperoned. Although the two schools steadily increased the number of shared academic endeavors and social functions following these first events, at least in the early years every attempt was made to keep the two student populations apart.

Although the early bulletins of Spelman College do not focus specifically on students' outside activities, a detailed account of daily life at the school in 1908 suggests a very circumscribed student existence. Friday night appeared to be the only time during the week when officials allowed students any diversion, and this was usually in the form of a lecture or concert. Of perhaps most importance to Spelman students was that these social occasions were often shared with the male students from Atlanta Baptist College. As noted in the description, "these evenings are exceedingly popular, made especially so by a few moments social time following the entertainment." Even though Spelman officials increased the number of joint activities between Spelman and the neighboring men's schools over the years, by 1925 boarding students were still prohibited from visiting friends in Atlanta. While Spelman officials accepted interaction between female and male students, they were nevertheless intent on monitoring not only the type of men with whom Spelman students could associate but also the amount of time they could spend together.
In a similar fashion, the early bulletin of Downer College simply stated that students needed written consent from parents to spend time away from the College. In 1909, Ellen Sabin felt comfortable discouraging Downer students from attending a production of the "Dancing Doll," a University of Wisconsin play that she apparently felt was inappropriate for college students. Twenty years later, the Downer handbook contained a detailed listing of acceptable places for lunch, dinner, and entertainment if students were unchaperoned. But the regulations allowed evening entertainments only if students were accompanied by chaperons or escorts.64

The administration and faculty at TWU also increased their control over the outside activities of students as the institution developed. The second bulletin of the school contained the statement that outside of school, students would be subject to the supervision of teachers. While in 1903 this policy may have been sufficient to cover all student activities, by 1915 officials created rules to deal with specific student behavior off campus. Students needed permission from either the president or the dean to go home or elsewhere or to visit in Denton. And usually administrators did not grant this permission without the additional approval of parents or guardians. As was the case at Spelman, TWU officials also regulated student contact with men. These officials did not allow
students "to receive gentlemen callers" without written
permission of the young women's parents or the dean of
women. And then visits were limited to Saturday evenings
and to places that the dean of women designated.\textsuperscript{65}

An examination of the rules and regulations enforced
at these institutions reveals that college officials
implemented them with more than one goal in mind. Not
surprisingly, administrators justified the rules on the
grounds that they were necessary to run efficient,
successful educational institutions. A statement in one
of the early bulletins of Saint Mary's College is
representative of the policy at the other schools with
regard to the necessity for rules. According to Saint
Mary's officials, "the disciplinary government is
conducted with such vigilance and energy as always to
secure order and regularity."\textsuperscript{66} At the same time that
college officials developed rules to ensure the efficient
operation of their institutions, they noted that little
supervision of students was actually necessary. As
administrators, they assumed that the young women
attending their schools had already been taught proper
rules of conduct. Because of this attitude toward student
behavior, officials argued that their rules and
regulations were implemented only to provide the best
learning environment for students. As Ellen Sabin stated
at Downer College, the only restrictions made were those
"necessary to secure for each pupil the opportunity for study under the best conditions." Again, this justification for a system of regulation is understandable given that these students entered colleges to be educated and that an environment conducive to learning was therefore essential.

Had these administrators been concerned solely with providing a comfortable academic environment for students, however, they might not have found themselves enforcing as many rules as they did. But most policy statements dealing with the need for rules went a step further than just concern for students' academic opportunities. TWU officials noted that it was the goal of the faculty "to be reasonable with students and to lead them to self-control and reliability in all conduct as contributory to the best character." Likewise, the nuns at Saint Mary's not only enforced rules necessary for successful work and the general good of the school, but also those needed for "better mental, moral and physical development of the student." And Lucy Tapley stated that the character development of her students was of utmost importance to Spelman staff. The result of these intentions, then, was the evolution of a system of rules designed not only to effect the efficient operation of the institutions but also to monitor the behavior of students.
Even though college officials maintained that they implemented as few rules as possible, however, their comments regarding the need for restrictions reveal an ambiguity as to the intended purpose of the rules. On the one hand, they could claim that rules placed students on their own "honor and responsibility" and that students behaved themselves out of a "sense of honor and justice," an indication that they felt these young women could, indeed, live properly with few restrictions. But on the other hand, college officials reassured parents that every aspect of their daughters' welfare would receive "conscientious care." Saint Mary's officials promised that "every attention is given to the moral and religious culture of the students, and their general deportment is equally the subject of unremitting care." This emphasis on paying close attention to students' behavior and striving to provide protection for them calls into question administrators' claims that they trusted students to act honorably on their own.

In spite of the ambiguity on the part of college administrators and faculty, an analysis of the regulations reveals that they did tend to encourage students to follow a particular model of behavior. With the attempt to protect students from influences outside the college environment and the emphasis on monitoring student deportment, college officials steered their students in
the direction of the traditional woman's role. Because these officials, for the most part, failed to envision roles other than wifehood and motherhood for their students, they sought, mainly through the implementation of these restrictions, to assure themselves and parents that students were properly prepared to fill these roles. Thus they placed emphasis not only on academic preparation but also on manners, virtue, and general deportment.

With the predominant, if not exclusive, white enrollments at Saint Mary's College, Downer College, and TWU, officials could focus on preserving and further enhancing the reputations of their students as proper young ladies, since they assumed that they came from homes where parents encouraged their daughters to prepare for the role of true women. Spelman, however, was once again in a unique position, since administrators and faculty were more apt to believe that their students did not have the tradition of true womanhood in their backgrounds. Thus Spelman officials likely felt compelled to create such a model for their students. In a reference to the young black women and girls who first attended Spelman, Sophia Packard stated in 1882 that "we had no adequate idea of this lack of virtue, honesty and integrity until we came among them. This is the result of 250 years of slavery and it will take more than one generation to remove its evil effects."
In addition, the need to overcome the racist stereotype of the black woman as promiscuous led Spelman educators to emphasize traits not mentioned at the other schools. For example, Packard maintained in the early 1880s that blacks in general needed to be taught "thrift and industry, cleanliness and order." Influenced by Packard's beliefs, Spelman administrators by the early 1900s had incorporated the need for "good order, diligence in study, neatness, cleanliness, industry and economy" as part of the general training in deportment offered at Spelman. As one student wrote:

When a girl comes to Spelman and returns home, everybody can see great improvement in her manners, housekeeping, and in fact in every respect...One special thing Miss Giles requires of her girls is quietness, which always shows the mark of a lady.

In addition, students were encouraged to participate in school-sponsored temperance meetings and social purity groups at least until the late 1920s, another indication perhaps that Spelman administrators and faculty felt they had a unique mission to introduce black women to true womanhood. Not until the 1930s, with the administration of Florence Read, did Spelman's regulations resemble more closely those implemented at the other three colleges with their predominantly white enrollments.
A study of the rules as implemented at these colleges, then, indicates an ambivalence on the part of college officials toward the intended purpose of these regulations. Administrators assured students that they had faith in their ability to act honorably and to control their own behavior. Yet the policies they created and the practices they implemented were often at odds, since students at each school were expected to follow a prescribed and detailed code of conduct. And because administrators felt compelled to produce a certain type of woman—in this case, one who could successfully fulfill the traditional roles of wife and mother—they developed rules of conduct that guided students toward that goal.

School rules also helped in creating a surrogate family for college students. For example, residency requirements assured that students would be part of the college family; limited access to the surrounding community through circumscribed visiting and traveling privileges served to keep students within the family fold; and close contact with administrators and faculty who served as surrogate parents in many cases encouraged students to behave in a manner that was, in the administrators' minds, in their own best interests and that of their respective college.74
The family structure created at these schools served several purposes. Because of the familiarity of the family pattern, young women making the transition from family member to college student likely had an easier time than if they had moved into a more foreign environment. Also, because the family structure was maintained throughout their college careers, students seldom strayed too far from the roles they were expected to fulfill after graduation. Thus the transition from college student back to family member, in this case as wife and mother, was also intended to be easy for these young women.

Finally, in recreating familiar family patterns, founders and administrators attempted to lessen the possibility that parents and the public would perceive the colleges as threatening traditional roles by educating women for independence. Educators maintained support for their institutions by appearing not to encourage any significant changes in the lives of their students. If anything, these officials strengthened the family by preparing women to take their places as wives and mothers. Thus the rules and regulations established at Downer, Spelman, Saint Mary's, and TWU served a larger purpose than simply ensuring the smooth operation of the institution. They not only determined student behavior, but they served to mitigate any fears that education was a threat to women's traditional roles.
NOTES

1 Ellen Sabin, letter to Mrs. Smith, 29 Mar. 1915, Series 1, Box 2, M-D Papers.

2 Although faculty at many of the early men's colleges played paternalistic and authoritarian roles in controlling student behavior, by the 1880s many men's schools had moved away from strict regulations regarding student conduct. This move was due in part to the implementation of the elective system which led educators to begin treating students as mature young men capable of making choices pertaining to their own education. See Liva Baker, I'm Radcliffe! Fly Me! (New York: Macmillan, 1976) 67; John S. Brubacker and Willis Rudy, Higher Education in Transition (New York: Harper, 1958) 119-22; Thomas Le Duc, Piety and Intellect at Amherst College, 1862-1912 (New York: Columbia UP, 1946) 59-61; Cornelius Patton, Eight O’Clock Chapel (Boston: Mifflin, 1927) esp. chap. 3; Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University (New York: Knopf, 1962) 106-08; Laurence Veysey, The Emergence of the American University (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1965) 67. Officials at small, religious-affiliated or private schools tended to introduce electives slowly and reluctantly, at the same time that they maintained strict control over student behavior into the twentieth century. See Benjamin Brawley, History of Morehouse College (College Park, MD: McGrath, 1970); Henry Morton Bullock, A History of Emory University (Nashville: Parthenon, 1936); Donald P. Gavin, John Carroll University (Kent, OH: Kent State UP, 1985); Michael R. Heintze, Private Black Colleges in Texas, 1865-1954 (College Station, TX: Texas A&M UP, 1985); George Wilson Pierson, Yale College--An Educational History, 1871-1921 (New Haven: Yale UP, 1952); Tench Francis Tilghman, The Early History of St. John’s College in Annapolis (Annapolis: St. John’s CP, 1984).


4 Edward Clarke, Sex in Education; Or, a Fair Chance for the Girls (Boston: Osgood, 1873).

5 Baker 67-80.
While Giles and Packard spent most of their efforts in providing material help, mainly through distribution of clothing and household goods sent from the North, there are indications that they attempted to impose their own standards of behavior on the black families they visited. They certainly used white, middle-class norms in evaluating black culture. For example, they were both "distressed" by the noisy, demonstrative baptisms that took place during the black church services and were thankful when one of their students was baptized quietly without shouting. See Florence Matilda Read, *The Story of Spelman College* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1961) 58, 67, SCA.

- Harriet Giles, letter to John D. Rockefeller, 22 Feb. 1892, Rockefeller Family archives, Record Group 2, Series C--Office, Box 16, Folder 126, Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC).

- Qtd. in Read 51, SCA.


- Read 114-15, SCA.

- Spelman Seminary Bulletin, 1892-93, 26, SCA.
"Why Should Spelman Seminary Appeal to Friends?"
Spelman Messenger Jan. 1908: 5, SCA.

T. J. Morgan, letter to John D. Rockefeller, 3 Nov. 1899, Family, R.G.2, Ed. Interests, Box 89, Env. Spelman College, 1891-1908, RAC.

Spelman Seminary Bulletin, 1892-93, 20, SCA; 1900-01, 40, SCA.


Palmer 27.


Kieckhefer 38, M-D Papers.

Pau on Lau 80.

Kieckhefer 32-33.

Ellen C. Sabin, letter to Mrs. Cozzens, 8 Nov. 1913, Series 1, Box 2, M-D Papers; "Tango Not Familiar to Her," Milwaukee Free Press 14 May 1913, Series 10, Vol.18, 14, M-D Papers.

Kieckhefer 58-9, M-D Papers; Pau on Lau 82-85.

College of Industrial Arts Catalogue, May 1910, 85, TWUA.

C.I.A. Catalogue, June 1905, TWUA.

Texas Woman's University--A Summary History of the University, 1901-1961 (Denton, TX: Texas Woman's University, 1961) 44-45, TWUA.

Joyce Thompson, Marking a Trail (Denton, TX: Texas Woman's UP, 1982) 14, 32, TWUA.

Minutes of the Board of Regents, 5 June 1906, 129, TWUA.
38 Minutes of the Board of Regents, 30 May 1911, 186-87, TWUA.

39 Girls Industrial College Bulletin, June 1903, 16, TWUA.

40 Students' Handbook, 1912, 21, Series 7, Box 8, M-D Papers.

41 Catalogue of Milwaukee-Downer College, 1913-14, 66, Series 10, Box 1, M-D Papers.

42 Circular of Milwaukee and Downer Colleges, Aug. 1895, 5-6, Series 10, Box 1, M-D Papers.

43 For general regulations during the early years see Circular, Aug. 1895, M-D Papers; Spelman Seminary Bulletin, 1892-93, SCA; St. Mary's College Catalogue, 1905-06, SMCA; C.I.A. Catalogue, June 1915; Girls Industrial College Bulletin, June 1903, TWUA.

44 Spelman Seminary Bulletin, 1900-01, 43, SCA; Circular, Aug. 1895, 5, M-D Papers; C.I.A. Catalogue, June 1915, 14, TWUA; St. Mary's Catalogue, 1905-06, 9, SMCA.

45 "A Visit to Spelman," Spelman Messenger Jan. 1892: 1, SCA.

46 Circular, Aug. 1895, 7, M-D Papers; Spelman Seminary Bulletin, 1900-01, 43, SCA.

47 St. Mary's Catalogue, 1919-20, 21, SMCA; Spelman Seminary Bulletin, 1900-01, 43, SCA.

48 C.I.A. Catalogue, June 1915, 11, TWUA.

49 Spelman Seminary Bulletin, 1917-18, 29, SCA.

50 College of Industrial Arts--Annual Announcement, 1915-16, 23, TWUA.

51 Spelman Seminary Bulletin, 1917-18, 29, SCA.


53 Spelman Seminary Bulletin, 1917-18, 29, SCA.

Spelman Seminary Bulletin, 1917-18, 29, SCA.


C.I.A. Catalogue, June 1915, 26, TWUA.

Spelman Seminary Bulletin, 1912-13, 15, SCA.

St. Mary's Catalogue, 1905-06, 9-10, SMCA; Spelman Seminary Bulletin, 1912-13, 14-15, SCA; C.I.A. Catalogue, June 1915, 15, TWUA; Circular, August 1895, 6-7, M-D Papers.

St. Mary's Catalogue, 1905-06, 11, SMCA; Sister Mary Immaculate, A Panorama: 1844-1977 (Notre Dame, IN: Saint Mary's College, 1977) 53, SMCA.

St. Mary's Catalogue, 1900-01, 14, SMCA.

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Mabel H. Parsons, "Spelman Seminary," Spelman Messenger Nov. 1908: 3, SCA.


C.I.A. Catalogue, June 1915, 15, TWUA.

St. Mary's Catalogue, 1900-01, 14, SMCA.

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Spelman Seminary Bulletin, 1917-18, 29, SCA.

C.I.A. Catalogue, June 1915, 14, TWUA; St. Mary's Catalogue, 1905-06, 12, SMCA.


Excerpt from Sophia Packard's diary, 31 Dec. 1883, Read's unpublished notes, Folder: Book 1, SCA.
CHAPTER VI

COLLEGE LIFE

The ambivalence that founders and administrators manifested in developing curricula and rules and regulations at Downer College, Texas Woman's University, Saint Mary's College, and Spelman College resulted in the establishment of a college environment patterned after a traditional family structure. Although administrators recognized the opportunities for students to experience the potentially liberating effects of college life, they still expected students and faculty alike to be good members of the college family. Because the family structure perpetuated women's traditional roles, administrators could allay fears that education for women was a threat to their future roles as wives and mothers and smooth the transition from home to college life. An exploration of college life shows the ways that administrators created and preserved a family structure, the role that students played as members of the college family, and the results for the institution.

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Although founders and early administrators implemented curricula, rules, and regulations that played a significant role in creating the college community, other factors also shaped the life of the college student. As historian Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz asserts in her work on the Seven Sisters colleges, the founders of these elite schools designed their institutions, particularly the physical facilities, to preserve the femininity of students. For example, they patterned Vassar and Wellesley after the Mount Holyoke seminary model that centered all college activities, including academics and social life, in one large college building and allowed college administrators close supervision of the students. In contrast, Smith College founders, intending to recreate a family structure for students and avoid any negative impact of the all-female seminary, erected small cottages surrounding academic buildings where students lived as members of the college family. Bryn Mawr's founders copied the Smith plan, only later adding buildings designed in the tradition of those at Oxford and Cambridge.¹

In spite of founders' original intentions in creating these college campuses, Horowitz argues that students still managed to circumvent the attempts to preserve their femininity. Instead they created their own brand of college life by adapting various college rooms and campus
areas for their own purposes, in effect avoiding founders' efforts to preserve a traditional notion of womanhood. Although the tie between original purposes and the resulting architecture and landscape is not as strong for the schools in this study as Horowitz found at the Seven Sisters, founders and early administrators did hope to use physical facilities to shape student culture.

The Downer College campus, with its quadrangle of English Tudor buildings, came closest to imitating the private colleges in the East. Founders combined elements of both men's and women's schools in the design of Downer. For example, unlike Mount Holyoke and Wellesley, where a central building housed all college activities, designers of the first Downer buildings designated specific purposes for each hall. Students attended classes exclusively in Merrill Hall, where administrators also carried out their duties. College students lived in Johnston Hall, while seminary students resided in Holton Hall. This pattern of building use, along with the architecture itself, was similar to that at Bryn Mawr, a school that President M. Cary Thomas deliberately planned in the "male collegiate tradition." But the Downer campus also presented a "female" side with its 53 acres allowing students to participate in college activities in the privacy of the college family. While architects designed the buildings to resemble those at Cambridge and
Oxford, they also laid them out in such a way as to face Downer's wooded campus in a "cloistered fashion." Over the years, these protected campus areas served to keep students within the confines of the college community, both literally and figuratively, as they developed and sustained various college traditions and activities. In later years, a Downer alumna described her college as a "microcosm" where "everything one needed was inside the campus boundaries." And so while the Downer buildings themselves were reminiscent of men's schools and the education offered there, the design of the campus served to protect students from unwanted outside influences and at the same time encouraged the growth of the college family.

The physical facilities at Saint Mary's College were similar to those at Downer College, although the nuns at Saint Mary's followed the more traditional approach to women's education by erecting a collegiate hall in 1902 to house all college activities. In the mid 1920s, college builders moved away from this plan when they constructed a four-story dormitory to house only college students, leaving academy students to live in another building. But even this new hall, Tudor Gothic in style, included a chapel, post office, president's suite, and administrative offices. Eventually administrators approved the addition of a wing that housed classrooms, a dining room, and a
kitchen. Saint Mary's students once again found themselves living and studying within the confines of one building in much the same fashion as students at the early women's seminaries and colleges. By keeping students at least physically in place for most of their college careers, Saint Mary's administrators also promoted the development of the college family, as students came into close and constant contact with each other in both their academic and social lives.

Spelman founders followed a similar pattern in designing their campus, although they faced a greater need for student housing than did administrators at either Downer or Saint Mary's. The first brick building on the Spelman campus was three stories high and contained a chapel, recitation rooms, and dormitory rooms. Perhaps because of Spelman's precarious financial situation during most of its first 50 years, administrators were compelled to make each building as functional as possible. Thus they chose to pattern this first building after the early women's seminaries, with students living and studying under one roof. Even as Spelman trustees and benefactors expanded the physical facilities of the college, adding buildings with specific academic functions and housing students in separate dormitories, they designed an enclosed campus where buildings fronted on a large courtyard. Eventually they surrounded the entire campus
with a wrought-iron fence. This campus design suggests that not only were Spelman administrators concerned with protecting students from outside influences, but they were also intent on keeping students within the confines of the college family where officials could more easily monitor and shape student behavior.8

Of the four schools, Texas Woman's University (TWU) was the only one with no dormitories at the time of its founding. Although TWU regents were aware of the "dangers" of not providing living accommodations for students, they nevertheless planned the first college building to house predominantly classrooms.9 In spite of this move away from the pattern of the early women's seminaries, regents still concerned themselves with the need to provide a college community. Until Texas legislators approved funding for dormitories in 1907, TWU regents and administrators kept students united in a college family through use of boarding houses in the town of Denton. Strict standards regulated student behavior in these homes and allowed administrators to establish guidelines for student activities.10

The physical facilities of the four schools suggest that administrators and founders used various designs in building their colleges. None imitated exactly the early women's seminaries with their dominant, all-purpose building where students lived and studied together in an
all-female community. But officials at Downer, Spelman, Saint Mary's, and TWU attempted to house students together as close as possible to college activities. In recognizing the important role of the environment in promoting the growth of the college community, administrators' actions in this case were reminiscent of the actions that officials at women's seminaries took years earlier. In one of her first reports to the Downer trustees, Ellen Sabin pointed out that the beautiful furnishings of the drawing room in Holton Hall provided a positive influence on the social life and culture of the College. Likewise, Mother Pauline assured a skeptical observer that the beautiful architecture, painting, and interior decorating of the new Le Mans Hall were necessary "to develop the superior girl." Although there is no evidence that administrators and founders of the four schools intentionally set out to protect the femininity of their students, as Horowitz argues was the case with the Seven Sisters schools, the campus designs of Downer, Spelman, Saint Mary's, and TWU promoted the creation of self-contained communities with each student becoming a part of the college family. As the colleges grew, students themselves used the campus design to their own advantage as they claimed various campus sites for their special rituals and traditions, all of which helped students to form close bonds with each other.
The relatively homogeneous student populations at these schools made it easier for founders and administrators to maintain an harmonious college life on campus. The homogeneity of each college was in part the result of founding purposes and intent—Spelman students were black, Saint Mary’s students were Catholic, Downer students were relatively affluent and Protestant, and TWU students were Texans. Administrators attempted to maintain similarities among students in a number of ways. For example, Ellen Sabin at Downer College revealed her desire to enroll students with similar backgrounds in her handling of the request of a young black woman seeking admission to the college in 1914. In her letter of reply, Sabin asked the young woman to consider the difficulties of being the only black student. Sabin made it clear that this young woman would encounter trials and uncomfortable situations because of prejudice "against the entrance of those of another race." Although Sabin couched her reply in terms of concern for the student’s welfare, in later years she admitted that admission of black students would have "caused problems," and she did not think it necessary, "in order to be truly democratic, to undertake this mixture." Obviously Sabin attempted to avoid any disruptions among students that could threaten the stability of the college family.
In a more direct fashion, TWU founders sidestepped the issue of integration by designating the school as open to "white girls" only. In 1956, however, TWU regents approved the admission of "properly and fully qualified Negro women applicants residing in Texas." Perhaps because of the clearly stated policy of this southern institution, there is no indication the TWU officials felt compelled to deal with black student applicants before the 1950s.

Founders of Spelman College, another southern institution, also clearly articulated their intentions to provide education for a specific student clientele, in this case black girls and young women. Given the social and political climate at the turn of the century and the attitude of Atlanta's white population regarding Spelman, it is not surprising that there is no indication of white students having enrolled at Spelman, at least during the early years. Although Harriet Giles wrote that the prevailing sentiment among white people regarding Spelman education was one of approval, she noted that they favored the school's industrial education. Atlanta's white citizens tended to think of the black population in "the character of servants rather than as teachers or leaders of their own race," according to Giles. Likewise, Thomas J. Morgan, Secretary of the ABHMS, in petitioning John D. Rockefeller, Jr. for financial assistance in making campus
improvements, argued that enclosing the Spelman campus with a wrought-iron fence "would have a very marked influence in elevating the tone of public sentiment of the people of Atlanta regarding the Seminary." His statement suggests that white citizens of Atlanta did not think highly of the school. Thus the Spelman fence served a dual purpose by protecting students from the surrounding community and also by keeping them out of areas where white residents might not have been receptive to black students. Also unclear is whether either Harriet Giles or Sophia Packard would have accepted white women as students even if they had applied. Not until the mid-twentieth century, when trustees deleted the word "Negro" from the school's charter, did administrators move in the direction of expanding the student body to include non-black students.

Although Saint Mary's officials espoused a policy of non-discrimination regardless of "race, color or creed," no black students entered the college until 1943. Six years later students themselves initiated a fund to provide full tuition and expenses for a black student recommended by a bishop from a southern state. At that time, administrators noted that the black students were well-received and that "all opposition" had dissipated in clubs, dormitories, and classrooms, suggesting that at least some members of the college community had objected to an integrated student body.
The religious affiliation of students also served as a significant factor in promoting student harmony at these schools, especially at Saint Mary's and Spelman, with their respective Catholic and Baptist identities. Because most students came from families with the same religious affiliation as the school they attended, religious practices at the schools were more likely comforting in their familiarity than alienating or strange to students. As a result, participation in religious practices served to unite rather than disrupt the college family. Evidence does indicate that not every student shared the same faith with the majority of students at her respective college. For example, Saint Mary's officials welcomed students of every denomination and noted that "an attempt to force the religious convictions of non-Catholics is scrupulously avoided." Yet they required all students, "for the sake of uniformity and the preservation of discipline," to attend all public religious exercises. In a slightly different fashion, Ellen Sabin noted that there was no restriction as to religious affiliation at Downer College. Yet she identified the school as a "Protestant Christian school" where faculty were expected to be "in sympathy and cooperation with the principle suggested by this fact." When asked about the attendance of Catholic and Jewish students at required chapel exercises, Sabin responded that she had never received any objections to
the attendance requirement from them. Only once had a Catholic girl asked to be excused from chapel. The requirement that students attend chapel exercises suggests that administrators at both Downer and Saint Mary's assumed the religious homogeneity of the student populations and that most students would comply with the rule.

In attempting to garner support for a school for black women and girls, Sophia Packard and Harriet Giles noted that a large percentage of the black community in Georgia was Baptist. Based on the number of Spelman students who "found Christ" while at the school, however, not all of the young women at the time of their enrollment had accepted Christ as their Savior. But founders supported student conversions that led not only to individual salvation but also to the growth of the school. The growth of Spelman Sunday school was especially affected by the number of religious conversions, as increasing numbers of students became Sunday school teachers and carried on the missionary work of the founders in black communities. By 1905, religion was the basis for many of the student organizations and activities. Students participated in prayer meetings, Christian Endeavor societies, temperance and social purity meetings, the YWCA, daily devotions, and meetings for converts and "inquirers." In this way, then, administrators relied on
the school's religious affiliation to promote activities that brought students together in the college family. 22

Not surprisingly, officials at Saint Mary's also structured student activities around the religious life of the school. For example, in 1905 students could participate in four different religious societies, daily Mass, an annual religious retreat, and Holy Week ceremonies in addition to school convocations to honor the various holy days throughout the school year. 23 These activities served to unite students with a common interest in the Catholic faith. Since most Saint Mary's students had been raised Catholic, many of the school's activities were merely a continuation of the practices they followed in their own homes.

Whether college officials dealt with various denominations of Protestant students, as was the case at Downer and TWU, with predominantly Baptist students at Spelman, or with Catholic students at Saint Mary's, the common religious backgrounds that students shared made administrators' attempts to maintain harmonious student populations much easier than if their students had practiced several different faiths. And although college officials put no religious restrictions on student admissions, they still ended up with a majority of students who shared similar religious beliefs. Student homogeneity, then, the result of common racial and
religious backgrounds, served as a basis for the development of the college family at each school.

While similar racial and religious characteristics contributed to the uniformity of the student population, the economic resources of students tended to lend some diversity to the schools. Although simply enrolling in college usually meant that a young woman belonged to a family of some financial standing, students at each school nonetheless represented varied economic backgrounds. For example, of the 192 students enrolled at TWU in 1905, 83 were the daughters of farmers and stockmen, 33 were the daughters of merchants or skilled tradesmen, and 10 were the daughters of physicians. Spelman student statistics for 1909 revealed that of 519 students "who were present on a given day," 35% were children of widows, 33% were daughters of professional men, 20% were daughters of skilled laborers, 20% were daughters of unskilled laborers, and 16% were daughters of farmers. While no comparable figures are available for either Downer College or Saint Mary's College, Ellen Sabin noted at one point that many of her students were from affluent families.²⁴

School expenses, including room, board, and tuition, usually determined which students enrolled at these colleges. Educational costs at Saint Mary's and Downer were the highest of the four schools, with Saint Mary's officials charging $255 in 1894 and Downer officials $250
in 1895. Twenty years later, Saint Mary's trustees raised the tuition and board to $410, comparable to the $400 charged at Downer in the same year. Expenses at Spelman during this same time period were considerably lower. Students paid approximately $56 a year in 1892 and $83 a year in 1913. Although TWU was a public institution with no tuition charge, administrators still cautioned students in 1905 that they would need approximately $250 each year to cover all their additional expenses. By 1915, the yearly cost of studying at TWU had risen to $265.25

Administrators responded to economic diversity by downplaying in numerous ways the financial differences between students. Because not all students who attended these schools could afford the full cost of tuition, room, and board, administrators made arrangements for these students to work off part of the cost of attending the college. Students performed clerical jobs, worked in campus dining rooms, and held other paid positions.26 TWU students performed jobs that ranged from milking cows to tending the flowers and taking care of the poultry on the college farm. TWU officials also helped students cut expenses by providing laundry and sewing facilities where they could maintain their own wardrobe at minimal cost.27
By the second decade of the century, students could also apply for various scholarships. For example, Saint Mary's officials offered four awards, while Downer administrators created six scholarships. TWU students, in addition, could apply for student assistantships or for positions as "appointive students," which reduced their expenses by 20 dollars. These efforts to provide students with financial assistance indicate school officials' awareness of the varying economic circumstances of their students and the need to mitigate the differences if they were to have a satisfied student population.

Given relatively homogeneous student populations, officials instituted policies that further minimized differences, such as the wearing of school uniforms. According to TWU administrators, uniforms served to promote the "democracy and the congeniality" of student life, and students came to feel "that what a person IS counts for more than what she SPENDS." In a similar fashion, Saint Mary's officials, recognizing that their students had varying amounts of money "at their command," appealed to parents to limit the money they spent on their daughters to actual requirements of a Saint Mary's student. They encouraged all students to cultivate "habits of economy." Ellen Sabin at Downer College also attempted in her own way to deal with economic differences among her students. In an appeal to the
trustees to increase the cost of tuition in 1905, she acknowledged that since many Downer students came from "homes of affluence," the current tuition rates "excite a suspicion in the minds of some that our standard of living is not what it should be, and with reason, since they know that board alone can hardly be obtained in any proper place for what we ask." But at the same time, Sabin also suggested that additional college resources would be used to help those students of "small means," indicating her effort to prohibit the exclusion of less-wealthy Downer students from college life. Sabin apparently tried to accommodate students of a range of economic backgrounds to ensure their inclusion in the college community. Furthermore, Sabin, following the practice of officials at other women's colleges, outlawed secret societies on campus. Although she did not articulate her reason for doing so, it is likely that she responded to the fear that the exclusionary membership policies of such societies would threaten the unity among students.31

TWU regents were more explicit than Sabin in their explanation as to why they, along with other TWU authorities, never permitted the organization of sororities on the TWU campus. According to the regents, such organizations characterized a "fashionable society school" for girls where the democratic spirit found little expression and which tended "to encourage social division
and caste." The TWU regents took pride in the "democratic spirit of education" at the college where the "rich girl" studied alongside her "less wealthy friend," both of them learning valuable lessons for their future lives.\textsuperscript{32}

These policies and practices indicate an awareness on the part of school officials of the potential for disunity among students on the grounds of differing economic backgrounds. While officials at all four schools maintained racial homogeneity, either through publicly-stated policies or through quiet persuasion, they mitigated the economic differences of their students in more subtle ways. Even though general college expenses determined that students would come from families with a certain economic level, some students were obviously more wealthy than others, and officials felt compelled to downplay such differences in the interest of maintaining an harmonious college family.

For the most part, administrators and faculty at these schools appeared to be pleased with the student populations they guided. Ellen Sabin noted in 1908 that the "character, tone and spirit" of Downer students were "generally good" and were usually "governed by principle and conscience."\textsuperscript{33} A decade later, she indicated even greater satisfaction with her students, whom she described as having "excellent character, good ability, and good preparation for college." According to Sabin, student
life was "vigorous and wholesome" and the general tone was "democratic" but with a "recognition of personal superiority and admiration of talent and moral worth."

She had not known the student body "to take a perverse position" on college matters or "to refuse to accept the best point of view." 34

Likewise, TWU administrators in 1905 described the student body as being "thoroughly democratic" and composed of "earnest, conscientious, hard-working students, who appreciate their opportunity of obtaining a thorough, practical education." They praised the students who worked to defray expenses as well as those who came from well-to-do homes.35 By 1915, administrators still found the "atmosphere of democratic living" impressive and noted further that, throughout the dorm life of the students, there existed

lady-like conduct without restraining regulation, freedom without license, mirth and frolicsomeness without rudeness or hilarity—in short, the genuine atmosphere of a refined, cultured, happy home, emanating, unbidden, from the daily intermingling of students with students and of teachers with students.36

Spelman founders and early administrators also regarded their students favorably. The emphasis on education itself rather than on general student life, however, was more pronounced at Spelman than at the other schools. Since a Spelman education was the first opportunity many students had for formal instruction, it
is not surprising that Sophia Packard described early Spelman students as "just awakening from their life-long darkness and struggling with all their powers to get up into the light, counting no sacrifice too great if only they can be permitted to learn of Christ and His word."

Not wanting to miss a day of instruction, students petitioned faculty in 1883 to allow only one day for Christmas vacation, rather than the ten-day recess that students at other schools in Atlanta received. Yet in spite of an obvious desire on the part of students to be successful and learn as much as possible, school officials and faculty sometimes patronized them. For example, in 1892 Harriet Giles referred to her students as "these lowly ones for whom we labor." In discussing the need for fencing the campus, Thomas J. Morgan described Spelman students as "young, inexperienced, coming from country homes" and in need of careful supervision and protection. Even 30 years later, one faculty member noted, evidently with some surprise, that there was no evidence of laziness among students and described them as being "earnest about their work." Yet in their personal interactions, according to this faculty member, Spelman students were responsive, sweet, and "more spontaneous and far less sophisticated than white students." In her opinion, they said "the most charming things with such perfect spontaneity." As Spelman developed into a liberal
arts college in the 1930s, however, administrators and faculty began to view students as competent young women with the ability to be successful in any field they chose.  

Descriptions of student life at Saint Mary's also tended to center on academic activities. For example, a 1905 article in the school paper revealed that Saint Mary's students spent approximately nine and a half hours each day studying. The author of the article explained the reason for the "creditable showing" in the academic area as the result of both the absence of diversions such as those found in co-educational schools and the Saint Mary's atmosphere that was "very conducive to study." Twenty years later, a Saint Mary's faculty member noted that, while scholastic activities still came first at the college, the Saint Mary's student was "no mere bookworm." Students were involved in various social activities, all of which could make them "ideal" women, "happy and willing to take up the burdens and the pleasures of life." This positive description of Saint Mary's students indicates that administrators and faculty were generally pleased with their activities, both academic and social. 

In various ways, then, founders and administrators of these schools attempted to guide student behavior and encourage the development of the type of woman described in their founding intentions. An examination of the
students themselves and the activities in which they engaged as members of the college family reveals the extent to which college officials were successful in creating a student population suited for the preservation of traditional womanhood.

While college officials put forth their general impressions of the student body at each school, students also held definite ideas about themselves as college women and about women's education in general. Although they chose or at least attended women's colleges, in the early years of the schools they tended to show some ambivalence as to the effect that education would have on them. For example, in 1915 a TWU student wrote a story for the school's literary magazine in which she recounted the experience of Marian, a TWU graduate. In the story, Marian's older neighbors, all women, lamented the fact that she was not married, even though she had a fine education from TWU. They complained that women had gotten too particular about men, placing too many demands on them instead of taking them "for better or worse." But just as these women decided that Marian would end up "gray-headed, unattractive and set in her ways," they learned that she was engaged to be married. Their unexpected response was one of pity for Marian, who would have to give up earning her own living and making good money "all for some man she probably hardly knows!" In their eyes, Marian became just
like other "girls" who took up with anyone just to say they were married. And she would find that "slaving around the house all day and taking care of children" was very different from the "easy life" she had been living. Although the story had a humorous tone, the writer revealed an awareness of the serious issue that educated women faced in trying to strike a balance between the independence that education offered them and their traditional roles as wives and mothers. Marian's neighbors obviously considered that such a balance was unattainable, since they assumed that she would give up her freedom and independence "for the sake of a man."

Although the author of the story offered no solution to this dilemma that resulted from women's education, she nevertheless exposed the ambiguity that many college women likely confronted.42

In a similar fashion, another story in the same edition of the literary magazine focused on the conflicting messages that young women faced when dealing with the issue of women's education. The student author wrote of a family "fallen on hard times." As a result, the father decided that only his son would go to college, since he would eventually have a family to support. His smarter daughter, in this father's opinion, did not need to attend college. But the young woman, determined to get an education, made her own plans to cover her expenses.
In addition to a student assistantship, she worked in the college dining room to defray school costs. Her father approved of these arrangements, particularly her work in the dining room, since he felt such training would "fit a woman for life."

Again, the student writer dealt with the conflict a young woman might face between the initiative and independence she showed in attaining a college education and the praise she received for preparing herself for the traditional woman's role. These stories, although fictional, indicate that TWU students were well aware that women's higher education often conflicted with women's traditional roles and that they would face the question of how to resolve this conflict in their own lives.

Students at Saint Mary's College also dealt with the impact of education on women's lives at the turn of the century. Student Talitha Kellner wrote in 1901 that, although higher education was in a transition period, most people recognized that there was "but one education in its essential elements for both men and women." As a result, college and university officials offered women privileges formerly reserved only for men. Although Kellner praised the move toward an identical education for women and men, she went on to write that "hundreds of women go forth annually from institutions of learning, thoroughly equipped to fulfill their mission in life and yet imbued
with the sweet charm of true womanhood." In spite of her support for "one education," she assured her readers that such an education would not compromise traditional feminine attributes. In recognizing the need for an identical education, while at the same time claiming distinctive feminine characteristics for women students, Kellner revealed her ambivalence about the results of educating women in the same manner as men. 44

Another Saint Mary's student, however, expressed more certainty about women's education in her response to criticism from a Fordham University student that "girls do not take kindly to metaphysics; that logic is to them a bete noir..." She argued that college students should not have to draw a veil "between their eyes and the face of truth, because, forsooth, they are girls..." According to this student, women derived just as much intellectual delight from higher education as did men and should not be expected to "draw back from the long up-climb that leads to scholarship." 45 Although these Saint Mary's students tended to view higher education for women in different ways, one emphasizing the retention of feminine characteristics and the other focusing on intellectual gains, they upheld nevertheless the right of women to study in institutions of higher learning.
Spelman students also defended their right to an education, but they tied women's education to their roles as wives and mothers. In 1899, a student wrote in the school paper, the Messenger, that women should actually be better educated than most men. As she noted, "these females, to the extent that they are to become mothers, should be qualified to largely control the health, mental capacity, and moral capabilities of their children." This connection between women's education and their future success as mothers is similar to the view of the Saint Mary's student who argued that women's education enhanced the characteristics of traditional womanhood. There is little indication that Spelman students, at least in the early years, viewed education as a way to move into nontraditional fields. It is true that by the 1920s, articles in the Messenger conveyed the message that college women were leaders in community, school, business, and religious life. This situation resulted, however, from interpreting home life in terms of the "broadest significance." What this meant for Spelman students was that their study of subjects such as sociology, biology, educational theories, ancient and modern languages, and psychology helped them as mothers to deal more intelligently with their children. Thus, at least for some Spelman students, the tie between education and enhanced womanhood was even clearer than it was for Saint Mary's students.
That Spelman students were not strong advocates of nontraditional fields for women during the first decades of the century is not unusual, however, given President Lucy Tapley's emphasis on manual training for black students. Indeed, the editors of the Messenger saw fit to reprint articles from southern papers that supported the teaching of domestic science to the black population, since black women and men were the "logical ones to fulfill functions of domestic labor." Other writers quoted in the Messenger argued that the southern white and black populations were getting along as never before, largely due to the practical education that trained black students for "useful, practical careers." In having to overcome this traditional view of education in the lives of black women and men in American society, it is not surprising, then, that Spelman students emphasized the importance that education played in enhancing women's roles as wives and mothers. This was one "career" that they could assume was open to them. Once again, it was not until President Florence Read's efforts to build Spelman into a liberal arts college that students also expanded their views of what higher education could do for them. For example, a student wrote in 1929 of the importance of women students going on to graduate school to take advantage of the "vast opportunities which were once denied to all women." Clearly this student viewed
education as a vehicle for moving women beyond the traditional bounds of marriage and motherhood.\textsuperscript{50}

This need to defend women's education and to prove its worth could unite students in a common cause during their college years. An even stronger unifying factor, however, was students' tendency to join together in the various student organizations and college activities that proliferated on the campuses as the schools grew during the first decades of the century. Campus clubs served both academic and social purposes. Literary, debating, and language societies, for example, were among the first clubs that students formed in the early years of each school's development. In these clubs, students studied literature, argued important questions of the day, and added to their knowledge of other cultures. As school administrators expanded the curricula, students responded with clubs designed to enhance their knowledge of new fields such as music, science, art, and home economics. Although the stated purpose of these clubs was the study of specific disciplines, students also realized the opportunity to gather socially with each other. Downer students, for instance, noted that their French Club meetings tended "to encourage in a charming social way proficiency in conversation and familiarity with French literature and culture."\textsuperscript{51} Obviously club membership offered students a social setting unavailable to them in the classroom.
Students, however, did not rely only on academic disciplines to bring them together with friends. They created some clubs with the sole purpose of socializing with other students, often basing membership in clubs on the location of a student's home town. TWU students organized the largest number of these "regional" clubs, beginning with three in 1911 and increasing to 15 by 1918. These Texas clubs continued to be an important part of TWU student activities and allowed students to gather on a strictly social basis. Saint Mary's students organized similar clubs, although, with a broader geographical spread among students, they determined membership according to a student's home state or region rather than home town. Thus Saint Mary's regional clubs had names such as the Ohio Club, the Hoosiers, the Rocky Rangers, and the Easterners, a reflection of the geographic diversity that Saint Mary's students represented.

Students designed other clubs for their own self-improvement, where they cultivated good personal behavior and manners, enhanced their knowledge of and participation in community affairs, and developed leadership skills. While college officials monitored student manners as a part of daily college life, students themselves also organized in the interests of manners. Spelman students, for example, created the Eunomean Society with the sole purpose of learning etiquette rules.
and improving their social behavior. In addition, of the four colleges, Spelman was the only school at which students joined together in the White Shield Society. In this club, students encouraged each other "to desire and strive for purity of heart," which should "manifest itself in conversation, dress, and conduct." Club members pledged not only to aim for personal purity, but also to win over as many other people as possible to a "high standard of living." This overt concern with personal etiquette and moral behavior at Spelman was likely an effort to counter the racist stereotype of black women as immoral and promiscuous.

Although students at Downer, TWU, and Saint Mary's did not share this same concern with Spelman students, they still cultivated acceptable behavior in each other. In seeking personal improvement, many of them joined together in clubs influenced by the religious affiliation of their respective schools. Saint Mary's students, for instance, considered it a special privilege to gain membership in the Children of Mary Sodality. As members of the largest religious organization on the campus by 1930, these students described the Sodality as placing them under the "powerful patronage of Our Mother," holding before them the "ideals of true womanhood," and training them in "Mary-likeness." In looking to Mary as a role model for correct behavior, Saint Mary's students intended their
membership in this club dedicated to her honor as a means of ensuring their own proper conduct.

In a similar fashion, one of the largest clubs on the Spelman campus was the Christian Endeavor Society, in which students sought to improve their behavior through learning "self-control and orderly ways of working." Club members met together for prayer meetings, committee work, and social activities. With the exception of Saint Mary's College, each of the schools had chapters of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). Although the primary purpose of the organization was to encourage in members the development of "Christian character," students often used their YWCA membership to carry on activities beyond campus boundaries. At Texas Woman's University, students used their affiliation with the YWCA to promote the "ideal of constructive service that should typify a Christian community." Downer students, under the auspices of the YWCA, held an annual missionary fair, donating the proceeds to home and foreign missionary work. YWCA members at Spelman also did missionary work in the community. In addition, they promoted temperance and sought to open a home for homeless working girls and provide a day nursery for the children of working mothers.
Besides relying on their YWCA affiliation to promote community awareness, students organized other clubs that indicated a desire on their part to participate in activities outside college life. After hearing suffragist Maud Wood Park speak in the Downer chapel in 1908, Downer students actively supported the woman suffrage movement and organized a college chapter of the Equal Suffrage League. For the next 12 years, members promoted votes for women through various activities that included plays, stories, speeches, and meetings, all focused on the passage of the suffrage amendment. 60 Although no evidence exists that TWU students formed as active a suffrage organization as did their Downer counterparts, some of them nevertheless used student publications and occasional guest speakers to show their support for the amendment. 61

After the passage of the suffrage amendment in 1920, students continued their efforts to develop their political responsibilities. Downer students organized the College League of Women Voters in 1921, and TWU students showed a similar interest in promoting their role as voting citizens when they created the James H. Lowry Literary Club in 1925. As members of the club, they studied civic and parliamentary law and sought to encourage the "ideals of citizenship." Their membership in this particular literary club also entitled them to
participate in the Junior League of Women Voters organization on campus.62

Other college clubs allowed students to increase their knowledge about current issues of the day. TWU students created the Mary Eleanor Brackenridge Club in 1912 with the object being "the mutual improvement of its members by a knowledge of literature, science, art and the relation of woman to the vital interests of the day, especially in regard to the laws governing the women of Texas." They hoped to improve their abilities in public speaking, along with their knowledge of parliamentary usage. Students were perhaps attempting to prepare themselves for the time when women would be accorded full political rights with the passage of the suffrage amendment.63

Downer students also became involved with some of the social issues prominent at the turn of the century. By 1912 they had organized their own Consumers' League as a branch of the national organization. Their stated purpose was to arouse in students an interest in social conditions among working men, women, and children. They viewed their League membership as a good starting point for further interest and education in sociological matters and attempted to fulfill the obligations imposed by the National Consumers' League in such matters as buying Consumers' League goods and observing proper shopping hours.64
Both students and college officials recognized the potential that these clubs held for developing and improving students' leadership skills as well. Spelman students described their Christian Endeavor Society, in spite of its obvious religious orientation, as an organization in which students could learn to preside at meetings, to do committee work promptly and efficiently, and to keep accurate records. Likewise, TWU students noted that although they were trained to be the "future wives and mothers of Texas," as club members they also developed the skills to take their places as "leaders in the world of society and politics." And Lucia Briggs, Ellen Sabin's successor at Downer, did not fail to note that Downer, as a woman's college, offered students the opportunity to hold responsible club positions that were usually unavailable to women in co-educational institutions, where men tended to hold the most important offices.

Of all the clubs and organizations at these schools, student government associations provided students, especially those at Downer and TWU, with the greatest opportunity for developing leadership skills. Administrators chartered the Downer Student Government Association (SGA) in 1908, intending to give students the opportunity for "self-expression and self-control." By 1915, the Downer SGA was a stable organization whose
elected officers performed well-defined duties under the close supervision of faculty advisors. All students were members of the SGA by virtue of their enrollment at Downer, and, as the administrative advisor noted in 1913, membership allowed students opportunity for executive work, thus making the SGA "a training ground in principles and methods of leadership." Yet in chartering the SGA, Downer administrators restricted the activities over which students had authority. They were confined, for the most part, to planning social events and monitoring the behavior of other students, particularly in the various dormitories. Students who violated SGA laws went before the SGA Executive Board for punishment, while SGA officers referred consistent behavior problems to the Dean and the President.

This system of student discipline worked for both students and administrators, since students gained organizational skills and the ability to conduct meetings. (They devoted 20 minutes of each meeting to the study of parliamentary procedure.) The work of SGA members apparently satisfied administrators also. As the dean noted in 1915, the faculty and student officers had worked together "with harmony," and the student hall officers, especially, had been "efficient and helpful." Ellen Sabin, too, viewed SGA activities as beneficial to both students and the college since, as she
suggested, the discipline that came from the students themselves was more valuable than that which college authorities imposed. According to Sabin, this method of giving students at least limited authority over their own behavior and that of other students prepared them for "responsible self-direction" once faculty guidance was no longer available.  

The TWU student government association functioned in a similar fashion to that at Downer. Organized at the request of the students in 1909, the Students' Organization at TWU gave members the authority to uphold the academic honor system by dealing with cases of cheating, to enforce uniform regulations, and to control the conduct of students. As was the case at Downer, students at TWU apparently performed their duties of office to the satisfaction of the administration. In 1919, the TWU president awarded the students jurisdiction over matters that he had previously considered the work of the faculty council. The Students' Association by 1930 had authority over all cases of discipline and occasionally proposed changes in college regulations based on student suggestions. While the Dean of Women had advisory power in all student activities, college officials still held that student government allowed for "self-government on strong and permanent lines" and developed a social viewpoint that prepared students "to
participate in public life." Both administrators and students appeared satisfied with the operation of the TWU Students' Association. 74

Students at neither Spelman nor Saint Mary's, however, had the same opportunity to participate in well-developed student government organizations. Not until the late 1920s did Spelman officials call attention to "college government" in the school's annual bulletin when they noted that students became members of the Spelman College community simply by their presence. Officials expected students to assume "the obligation to be loyal to Spelman standards of honesty and integrity," to do their part in upholding college regulations, and "to help others to live up to those standards." 75 Given the existence of various other clubs and organizations designed to monitor and shape the behavior of Spelman students, it is not surprising that Spelman officials felt it unnecessary to sanction a student government association whose primary function was to encourage good conduct in students. Instead, as the above statement indicates, college authorities sought to instill in students the responsibility for each other's behavior in a more informal manner. Thus students at Spelman relied on membership in clubs other than a student government association to develop leadership and organizational skills.
Similarly, Saint Mary's students did not come together in a student government organization until the mid-1930s. Even at that late date, students apparently were reluctant to join such an association; as one administrator acknowledged, college officials almost had to force self-government upon them. This official suggested that students simply did not want "to take the blame for things." As was the case at Spelman College, Saint Mary's officials relied on student membership in numerous clubs, usually with a religious orientation, to shape and control student behavior. In addition, as has been shown, Saint Mary's officials monitored student behavior more closely than did administrators at the other schools, so it is not unusual that Saint Mary's students were reluctant to take responsibility for determining their own behavior standards. Even as student government developed during the 1930s and 1940s, officials restricted student authority to overseeing social events and monitoring Mass and convocation attendance as well as observance of "lights out" regulations. Not until the 1960s did students demand more representation on committees and councils dealing with college issues.

Although students at these schools had varying opportunities to enhance leadership skills through participation in student government, they looked to their respective school's athletic program to enhance their
personal enjoyment of college life and to strengthen their ties with other students. Downer students were the first to organize an athletic association, which they did in 1907. Five years later, students could participate in 12 "sports" ranging from tennis and basketball to coasting (toboggan sliding on the back campus) and walking. Over the years, students developed an elaborate system whereby they earned points for participating in athletics and eventually "lettered" in a sport. Downer students were enthusiastic about athletics and encouraged each other to participate in sports "not only for recreation, but also for health." In a 1909 newspaper interview, they defended their baseball playing by stating that "we certainly are as thoroughly American as our brothers, so why shouldn’t we play the great American game? We just don our bloomer suits, pin up our hair with a few extra hairpins, roll up our sleeves and we’re ready for the diamond." At the same time, however, they cautioned each other not to allow the "personal element" to enter into their athletic activities. They should learn to be "good sports" by subordinating themselves to the good of the whole. This warning indicates that students were cognizant of the important role sports played in bringing them together in the college family as well as the need to avoid jeopardizing such camaraderie among their peers.
TWU students by 1914 also had organized their Athletic Association, intending to promote interest in outdoor sports, "stimulate strong but friendly rivalry, and develop fair dealings, self-direction and self-control." TWU students were not, however, as enthusiastic as were Downer students about sports. Some TWU students used the school newspaper to scold their peers for their apathy and lack of interest in the Athletic Association. Clearly these student writers believed in the importance of student participation in athletics even if they were in the minority, at least in the early years of the school.

Students at Saint Mary's and Spelman also participated in athletic events, but formal sports organizations came later to these schools than to Downer and TWU. While Saint Mary's officials stressed the need for physical education almost from the founding of the school, not until the 1920s did the Athletic Association of Saint Mary's College gain prominence as an organization with members dedicated to developing sportsmanship and promoting interest, particularly in gymnastics and aquatics. Eligible students could participate in sports ranging from basketball and tennis to ice-skating and track. Students noted that they joined the Athletic Association not only from "love of sport" but also because membership increased class spirit and provided them with
personal recognition as they earned letters and numerals for their athletic abilities.\textsuperscript{83}

Of students at the four schools, Spelman women had the least opportunity to participate in organized athletics. Although college officials encouraged games and sports, especially those that demanded "good team work, concentration of the mind, control of the muscles, and generosity of treatment of opponents," the lack of physical facilities on the campus prevented interested students from full participation in college sports.\textsuperscript{84} The Spelman College community was unable to dedicate a much-needed gymnasium building until 1951. Students themselves raised over $2,000 for the facility, an indication of their desire to promote physical education and sports on the campus. In addition, as Spelman's President Read pointed out, students needed the new gymnasium "to learn to play" since "the dearth of opportunities for recreation for Negro girls and boys in the South" precluded their learning even the basics of sports before they arrived at Spelman.\textsuperscript{85} Sports at Spelman, then, served not only to increase camaraderie among students, but also provided the opportunity to overcome the black community's lack of access to recreational facilities.
Although college officials and students recognized positive aspects of sports participation, they avoided encouraging strong competition among students. Ellen Sabin refused to allow Downer students to compete against any teams from outside the college, feeling that such an encounter carried athletics "past the point of mere joy in exercise" and created a competitive situation of which she disapproved. She offered students, instead, the annual Downer field day but warned that "no element of contest" would enter into it. Likewise, TWU faculty refused a 1914 Texas Christian University invitation to TWU students to play basketball, arguing that it had never been "the custom of the College to have intercollegiate basketball." Even students themselves, as has been shown, cautioned each other against taking sports too seriously lest they lose sight of their role as members of the college team. Not until the mid-1920s did Saint Mary's students state clearly that their participation in athletics resulted from their "love of sport and desire for competition." As the academic programs developed at these schools during the twentieth century, so, too, did the athletic teams, and it became difficult to avoid the competitive element that each sport entailed. Students and administrators came to accept that young women enjoyed the camaraderie as well as the competition that came from athletic activities.
Students, then, were active participants in the numerous clubs and athletic organizations on these campuses. Membership not only allowed them to improve themselves academically, socially, and physically, but it also gave them the opportunity to share common interests and develop close personal ties with each other. Students wrote often of their friendships with one another. For example, the 1910 TWU senior class president expressed her regret that "the bond of close companionship" with her friends would be severed at graduation, but she noted that the formal training "that brought about this intimate understanding will ever help us to more ably perform our duties as active members of society." Later TWU students wrote that the "close association and sense of comradship" among students was often the subject of "favorable comment" on the campus. Likewise, Spelman seniors wrote in 1926 about what they had gained during their four years at the college. In addition to a "trained mind, cultured soul, Christian womanhood, and leadership," one student especially noted the "beautiful friendships" that she had developed with classmates. Downer students, writing in the college's literary magazine in 1925, also referred to the "intangible tie of association and friendship" that, combined with other factors, made their school unique and appealing.
That some students took these friendships beyond accepted bounds is evidenced by the references in student writings to "crushes" that sometimes developed between two young women. Downer students, in particular, dealt with this issue, usually warning peers of the negative effects of such a relationship. In a story entitled, "The Diary of a Freshman," a Downer student wrote of a new freshman who became enamored of the "grandest girl" and felt that their souls were "linked firmly to each other forever." But is this case, the freshman used the "crush" to help her overcome her homesickness, and her final diary entry is a reference to Russell, a young man from her hometown, who will be taking her to the Informal. She also noted that because writing in her diary took too much time, she would no longer do so. Her "crush," which she had "gotten over" by the end of the story, hindered neither her heterosexual social life nor her school activities.

Apparently students continued to develop crushes on each other at Downer, since more than 10 years later students still wrote about them. But by this time, students viewed these relationships with a very critical eye, defining the "girl crush" as "a horrible, contagious disease the symptoms being mushy notes, flowers, sheep's eyes, and corner tete-a-tetes." This student writer had no sympathy for the student who let others develop crushes
on her, since "when she tires of a girl she just ignores her heartlessly."95 TWU students explained more fully their dislike of crushes in a 1917 editorial in the school newspaper. Referring to them as "abnormal, frantic friendships," students warned their peers not to tolerate crushes. They argued that the girl who craved this type of friendship was a detriment not only to the College, but also to herself and to her latest "crush." The editorial cautioned that any student who interfered with another student's work or who did not hold a friend to her highest ideals should be avoided.96 Some students obviously considered these friendships disruptive factors in the life of the college community. Yet their continued concern with the issue indicates that not all of their peers heeded their warnings and likely continued to develop crushes on one another.

Although administrators and most students attempted to create a smooth-running, harmonious college family, student response to the issue of crushes is only one indication that not all "family members" lived up to behavioral expectations. Evidence reveals that administrators at each school took disciplinary action against students who transgressed the acceptable bounds of behavior. The records at Downer College show that in almost every school year from 1910 to 1930, at least one student was expelled from the college for misconduct.
While officials considered discipline problems minor at the school, and these low numbers indicate that students, for the most part, did follow the rules, figures show that administrators consistently suspended, campused, and reprimanded students for rule infractions. Student misbehavior in Downer's early years ranged from general disorder in the halls, to disrespect for Student Government Association board members and inappropriate conduct in the city. By 1930, officials penalized students for smoking, for breaking riding rules, and for failing to register properly at the college.

The reprimands that TWU students received also indicate that their behavior was at times unacceptable. For example, the editor of the school newspaper wrote in 1916 of the misconduct of students attending a program in the College auditorium. At intermission some students began an "impatient but rhythmical" clapping apparently aimed at performers, who students felt were slow in returning to the stage. As the writer noted, TWU President Bralley had "begged repeatedly that the student body refrain from chewing gum, talking, and committing other breaches of etiquette during any entertainment given at the College." Following the "impatient clapping" incident, this editor apparently felt compelled to add this act of "childish thoughtlessness" to the list of behaviors TWU students were to avoid.
Other articles carried in the student newspaper also indicate that students sometimes misbehaved. Editorial writers admonished them to avoid noise and unnecessary talking in the halls, since loud talking was "the mark of an uncultured and unrefined, coarse person." In suggesting that students "should aim at the standard [of conduct] expected by the world," the writer indicated that at least some TWU students had not yet reached that standard. Another editorial writer discussed President Bralley's chapel talk in which he advised students to avoid "coarseness of language" and the temptation to become a "common gossip" who could not distinguish between "the big thing of large importance in life and the trivial unimportant things of life." While these admonishments may have been part of Bralley's general program of character development at TWU, his focus on certain behavioral indiscretions suggests that students had indeed broken the rules of conduct in these areas.

In addition to transgressing the established standards of conduct, occasionally students at these schools expressed their dissatisfaction with student life in other ways and took the initiative in bringing about change on their respective campuses. For example, TWU students resorted to simple complaining when they became dissatisfied with the mail delivery system at the
College. At other times, they organized petition drives with the intention of presenting their complaints to the faculty in a more formal and perhaps forceful manner.\textsuperscript{102} At Downer College, students showed their displeasure with faculty reprimands for having a "rollicking good time" at a 1907 student-run fair and for "barking" through megaphones to attract people to certain booths. The next year, students responded by staging a "Quaker Fair" in total silence.\textsuperscript{103} A few years later, Downer students, taking a different approach, succeeded with their threat to stop riding the "jitneys," the public transportation that conveyed them from college to town, if owners followed through with their intent to raise the fare from a nickel to 10 cents.\textsuperscript{104}

Some Spelman students also took matters into their own hands in dealing with Lucy Tapley's sometimes arbitrary rules. During her tenure as president, Tapley required students to put on their long-sleeved, woolen underwear at a certain date in the fall and to stop wearing it on a particular day in the spring, no matter what weather conditions prevailed. Some students, however, set their own schedules for wearing their "woollies," ceasing to wear them on warm days even before they received permission to do so. These students resorted to wearing a wide "armlet" or half-sleeve under their dresses or blouses to avoid being caught should Tapley pinch their
sleeves to assure herself that they were following the
dress rules.105

On a more serious note, a group of Spelman alumnae in
1921 wrote to college officials, expressing their
discontent with the small number of black women and men on
both the Spelman board of trustees and the faculty. They
also suggested that school administrators take a more
flexible approach to discipline at the college, since the
"system of repression and restriction" in use hindered
development of student initiative. Although little
evidence exists to show that the racial makeup of the
faculty or board changed much before the presidency of
Florence Read in the 1930s, these former Spelman students
at least initiated this move to improve conditions at
their alma mater.106 Students at these schools, then,
responded to issues that affected their lives as members
of the college family. In some cases, they bent or broke
the rules outright; in other instances, they initiated
actions that they hoped would result in desired changes.

An analysis of student life reveals that the
relatively homogeneous student population allowed
administrators and school officials to guide the
development of an harmonious family environment, thus
assuring the smooth operation of their institutions. The
student, in turn, gained a knowledge and appreciation of
her place in the college family. Not only did the student
who knew her place contribute to the success of the college, but in learning the proper behavior as the dutiful daughter of the college, she was prepared for her role once she graduated.

Although officials at Downer, Spelman, Saint Mary's and TWU did not overtly state the intent to preserve traditional notions of womanhood through protection from the outside world, their attempts to encourage harmony, unity, and conformity in the colleges instilled in students traditional notions of feminine behavior and discouraged autonomous action. While they may have supported the acquisition of leadership skills through club membership, administrators kept a close watch on all student activities, serving as both advisors and disciplinarians who expected students to follow their lead in creating an harmonious college environment.

Students, for the most part, accepted their role as daughters in the college family. As one Downer student commented in 1907, "we sigh at times over our work, we chafe under restrictions, but, after all, were we to think it over rationally, how much the joy and beauty of the life here overbalances all that." Students seemed to realize the importance of complying with college regulations, often playing a role themselves in encouraging their peers to conform to acceptable standards of behavior. Any innovations that students added to
college life were usually well within the bounds of acceptable behavior and disrupted the college community only slightly, if at all. For the most part, then, officials at these colleges succeeded in encouraging students to conform to acceptable patterns of behavior that ensured the smooth operation of the institution and prepared students to take their places in the community outside the college following graduation.
NOTES

1 Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, Alma Mater (New York: Knopf, 1984) 4-7; Horowitz suggested that it was the model established at Bryn Mawr that eventually encouraged administrators at women's colleges to abandon the notion that their students needed protection through discipline systems encased in distinct building designs. She asserted that once builders patterned women's colleges after men's schools, women's colleges "came of age."

2 Horowitz 178.

3 Horowitz 6.

4 Donald Woods, UWM Buildings: Some Pertinent Facts (Milwaukee: UWM Library, 1977) esp. 7, 11, 23, 29; That the founders of Downer patterned the school after men's schools suggests that male students were also isolated to a degree on private campuses. But Horowitz argued that it was not the issue of gender that led founders to erect unique structures for women students, but rather that founders turned to existing building patterns, for example, the asylum model, not considered appropriate for male college students. Although Horowitz argued that dependency rather than gender was more important in determining women's college architecture, founders still perceived women as more dependent than men. Thus gender considerations, at least indirectly, influenced founders' decisions about school buildings. See Horowitz 357.


6 Sister Mary Immaculate, A Panorama: 1844-1977 (Notre Dame, IN: Saint Mary's College, 1977) 56, 68, SMCA.


8 T. J. Morgan, letter to John D. Rockefeller, 3 Nov. 1899, Rockefeller Family archives, Record Group 2, Educational Interests, Box 89, Envelope Spelman College, 1891-1908, Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC).

9 Minutes of the Board of Regents, 5 June 1906, TWUA.

10 Joyce Thompson, Marking a Trail (Denton, TX: Texas Woman's UP, 1982) 4, 13, 16, TWUA.
Ellen Sabin, "Annual Report of the President of Milwaukee-Downer College, June 1900, 7, M-D Papers; Sister Mary Immaculate 69, SMCA.

Ellen Sabin, letter to Miss Thomas, 29 April 1914, Series 1, Box 2—Sabin correspondence, 1914-15, M-D Papers.

Ellen Sabin letter to Lucia Briggs, 29 June 1921, Series 1, Box 4, M-D Papers.

TX, House, An Act to create and establish an Industrial Institute and College in the State of Texas for the education of white girls in the arts and sciences, HR 35, 3 April 1901, 3, TWUA.

Minutes of the Board of Regents, 14 Jan. 1956, 9, TWUA; TWU administrators, faculty, and regents apparently made the transition from segregated to integrated education with few problems. Records indicate that the impetus for change came from the faculty executive committee to the president. The president then passed the proposal favoring integration to a receptive board of regents, whose members had held numerous conferences on the subject previous to changing officially the TWU entrance policy.


Sister Mary Immaculate 111, SMCA.


St. Mary's Academy Catalogue, 1900-01, 6, SMCA.


Excerpts from Sophia Packard's diary, Read's unpublished notes, Folder: Book 1, SCA.

Spelman Seminary Bulletin, 1905-06, 10, SCA.
23 St. Mary's College Catalogue, 1905-06, 5, SMCA; Sister Francis Jerome, This is Mother Pauline (Notre Dame: Saint Mary's College, 1945) 210, SMCA.


25 St. Mary's Catalogue, 1893-94, 24; 1915-16, 18, SMCA; Circular of Milwaukee and Downer Colleges, August 1895, 10-11; Catalogue of Milwaukee-Downer College, 1913-14, 67, Series 10, Box 1, M-D Papers; Spelman Seminary Bulletin, 1892-93, 25; 1912-13, 15; C.I.A. Catalogue, June 1905; June 1915, 9-10, TWUA.

26 Only Spelman officials warned students not to assume that they would be able to work at the college in exchange for tuition unless they made special arrangements with the school's president. This warning likely resulted from the work system at Spelman that obligated students to donate an hour's work each day toward the general maintenance of the college. Although there were few paying jobs available on campus, the work system allowed administrators to keep the cost of a Spelman education within reach of most students. See Spelman Seminary Bulletin, 1905-06, 13, SCA.

27 C.I.A. Catalogue, June 1915, 10-11, TWUA.

28 St. Mary's Catalogue, 1919-20, 76, SMCA; Catalogue of M-DC, 1920-21, 78, M-D Papers; C.I.A. Catalogue, June 1915, 11. The TWU board of regents, according to Texas law, annually made provision for 200 appointive students, apportioned throughout the state on the basis of the number of "white girls" of school age in each county. Even this policy was not necessarily an attempt to balance the economic backgrounds of TWU students, however, since qualifications for appointive status were based on academic ability rather than on financial need. See Girls Industrial College Bulletin, June 1903, 8-9, TWUA.

29 College of Industrial Arts--Annual Announcement, 1915-16 23, TWUA.

30 St. Mary's Catalogue, 1915-16, 20, SMCA.

32 Thompson 59-60, TWUA.


35 C.I.A. Catalogue, June 1905, 53, TWUA.

36 C.I.A.--Annual Announcement, 1915-16, 21, TWUA.

37 Sophy Packard, letter to John D. Rockefeller, 29 Dec. 1883, Family, R.G. 1, Series C--Office, Box 30, Folder 233, RAC.


39 "The Role of Women," Campus Mirror 15 Nov. 1931: 8, SCA.

40 "Interesting Statistics," St. Mary's Chimes Oct. 1905: 34, SMCA.

41 Sister M. Eleanore, "Activities," Blue Mantle, 1926, 79, SMCA.

42 Lucile Young, "As 'Twas thought of by Her Elders," Daedalian Quarterly Fall 1915: 18-19, TWUA.

43 Blanche Sanders, "Feminine Fitness," Daedalian Quarterly Fall 1915: 7-8, TWUA.

44 Talitha Kellner, "Looking Forward," Chimes June 1901: 144, SMCA.

45 "Exchanges," Chimes May 1901: 131-32, SMCA.


John E. White, "Thinking White Down South," Spelman Messenger Mar. 1916: 5-6, SCA.

Magnolia Yvonne Dixon, "The Fourth 'R' for Women," Campus Mirror Feb. 1929: 1, 7, SCA.

Students' Handbook, 1912, 17, Series 7, Box 8, M-D Papers.

Daedalian, 1911; 1918, TWUA.

Blue Mantle, 1926, SMCA.

Susie E. Jones, "Societies of Spelman," Spelman Messenger April 1906: 2-3, SCA.


"Children of Mary Sodality," Blue Mantle, 1930, 191, SCA.

Jones, "Societies," Spelman Messenger April 1906: 2-3, SCA.


Students' Handbook, 1921, 14, M-D Papers; Daedalian, 1925, 190, TWUA.

Daedalian, 1912, 92, TWUA.

Students' Handbook, 1912, 18, M-D Papers.
Both Saint Mary's officials and students relied on the Dean of Women to monitor closely the behavior of students. Although the Dean of Women also played an important role at Downer College, she served in an advisory capacity to the Downer student government association, whereas the Dean at Saint Mary's wielded sole authority in dealing with disciplinary problems. Saint Mary's students evidently accepted her authority as well as their need for "careful supervision of an experienced person." See Elizabeth Adler, "The Dean of Girls," Chimes May 1926: 14, SMCA; St. Mary's Catalogue, 1935-36, 18-19, SMCA.

Sister Mary Immaculate 87, 190, SMCA.

In her work on women and competition during the antebellum period, historian Nancy Green suggested that early objections to exposing girls to emulation, as competition was then termed, were based on the belief that the stress of competition conflicted with traditional images of ideal womanhood. As increasing numbers of girls and young women enrolled in schools prior to the Civil War, however, emulation ceased to be an issue once females showed their ability to handle competition for school honors. To a certain extent, educators at the four colleges seemed to follow a similar pattern in dealing with competition at their schools. See Nancy Green, "Female Education and School Competition: 1820-1850," Woman's Being, Woman's Place: Female Identity and Vocation in American History, ed. Mary Kelley (Boston: Hall, 1979) 127-141; see also Martha H. Verbrugge, Able-Bodied Womanhood (New York: Oxford UP, 1988) 158-161, 188-191. Competition in women's colleges was often limited, however, to intramural activities rather than intercollegiate contests between schools. See Mabel Lee, History of Physical Education (New York: Wiley, 1983) 160-62; Dorothy Ainsworth, The History of Physical Education in Colleges for Women (New York: Barnes, 1930) 84-86.
"Senior Class President’s Oration," Daedalian May 1910: 5-6, TWUA; Daedalian, 1917, 20, TWUA.

Irene Dobbs, "Myself and My College," Spelman Messenger March 1926: 3, SCA.

"On Returning Next Fall," Kodak May 1925: 1, Series 7 Box 11, M-D Papers.

For a discussion of student crushes at women’s colleges see Horowitz 165-67; Elaine Kendall, Peculiar Institutions (New York: Putnam’s, 1975) 142-43; Nancy Sahli, "Smashing: Women’s Relationships Before the Fall," Chrysalis 17 (Summer, 1979): 17-27; Solomon 99-100.


"Editorial," Lass-O 18 May 1917: 2, TWUA.

During the years from 1911 to 1915, authorities reprimanded 93 students for various infractions, campus 32 students, and suspended 14 students from the Student Government Association. Fifty-five students paid fines for absences before or after a holiday. From 1918 to 1924, officials took privileges away from 154 students and reprimanded another 143 students. See "Report of the Dean," 6 June 1913; 1 June 1915; 1 June 1921; 5 June 1925; 25 May 1930, Series 4, Box 4, M-D Papers.


"Young Women or Infants," Lass-O 20 Oct. 1916: 2, TWUA.

"Editorial," Lass-O 9 May 1925: 2, TWUA.

"President Bralley on Some Evidences of Character," Lass-O 16 Mar. 1917: 2, TWUA.


104 "Girls at Downer End 'Jit' Price War by Threat,"
Milwaukee Free Press May 1915, Series 10, Vol 18, 73, M-D Papers
Read 188, SCA.

106 Spelman Graduates Club Members, letter to WBHMS
and president and dean of Spelman, 12 Feb. 1921, General
Education Board records, Series 1.1, Box 40, Folder 364
The Spelman Graduates Club, RAC.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSION

The years from 1890 to 1930 represent a period of tremendous cultural change in the lives of American women. Not only did women gain access to increased occupational opportunities, but they also moved into educational institutions formerly reserved for men only. In doing so, women proved their abilities to compete successfully in coeducational schools where they studied curricula essentially identical to those offered to male students. Women's success at these schools called into question the purpose of women's colleges, since founders of these female institutions had intended to compensate for women's exclusion from male institutions. Yet this study of Downer College, Texas Woman's University, Saint Mary's College, and Spelman College indicates that officials at these diverse schools still believed that women's colleges had a special role to play in women's higher education,
even though the schools had ceased to present the only opportunity for women to earn an education.

Although the four schools in this study were all founded as women's institutions, they nevertheless show much diversity. Not only were the schools situated in various geographic locations throughout the country, but founders of each school also attracted a different student population. The religious intentions of both the Saint Mary's and Spelman founders drew young women who practiced primarily the Catholic or Baptist faith respectively. Downer students tended to be from fairly affluent, middle-class Protestant families, while TWU students' most distinguishing characteristic was their Texas origin. Of the four schools, Spelman was the only institution designed in the early years to educate only black girls and young women. And so although founders of these schools shared the intention of educating women, the colleges were nonetheless diverse geographically, religiously, racially, and culturally.

In addition, the development of curriculum varied at these schools. Generally, Saint Mary's and Downer officials followed a similar pattern in that they initiated a course of study that emphasized heavily the liberal arts and classical curriculum. As these institutions gained academic credibility during the first decades of the twentieth century, college officials
responded to the changing opportunities for women in the work world by introducing "practical courses." Thus students at both Saint Mary's and Downer studied not only classical subjects, but they could prepare themselves for occupations in fields such as teaching, nursing, journalism, and business.

The curricular emphasis also shifted at Spelman and TWU but in a manner opposite from that at Saint Mary's and Downer. Spelman and TWU founders had focused their early efforts on providing practical courses for students and stressed only minimally the liberal arts. But as these schools developed into full-fledged colleges, officials expanded liberal arts offerings in an effort to provide a balance between practical and classical studies. While officials at all four schools eventually offered similar curricula to students, the development of courses at Saint Mary's and Downer was distinguished from curricular growth at Spelman and TWU, indicating the diversity among these institutions.

The administrative structure of each school was similar in that authoritative presidents guided the operation of each institution. But a male president at TWU set that school apart from the others, where women generally held the top positions. TWU trustees did not hire a woman president until the late 1970s, whereas women presidents headed Downer until 1951, Spelman until 1953,
and Saint Mary's until 1972. Although it is difficult to assess the impact of a male president in a woman's college, the sources suggest that the male administrators at TWU did not involve themselves as closely in the lives of their students as did the women presidents at the other three schools. At TWU, that responsibility often fell on the shoulders of female faculty members, suggesting that a male presence in the top administrative position allowed female faculty members more influence in the lives of students, a situation not necessarily found at Spelman, Downer, and Saint Mary's.

TWU also differed from the other three schools in the length of time that early administrators served. Cree T. Work, the first president of TWU, completed a seven-year term in 1910, while three different men held the position over the next sixteen years. Not until 1926, when Louis Hubbard assumed the presidency, did TWU have an administrator who stayed for a significant time, in Hubbard's case, twenty-four years. Spelman's first administrators, Sophia Packard, Harriet Giles, and Lucy Tapley, served a combined total of forty-five years from 1882 to 1927. Florence Read was then president from 1927 to 1953. Likewise, Ellen Sabin held the Downer presidency for almost thirty years, and Lucia Briggs succeeded her with a tenure that ran from 1921 to 1951. At Saint Mary's College, Mother Pauline guided the school from 1895 to
1931, and Sister Madeleva took over from 1934 to 1961. Although TWU obviously flourished as an educational institution in spite of the short tenure of the first administrators, the success of the school may be more properly attributed to the support it received as a state institution, the only one of the four schools publicly-funded. Perhaps Ellen Sabin, as an administrator dependent on the good will and support of trustees for the success of her private college, represented the beliefs of the presidents at Saint Mary's and Spelman when she emphasized the importance that "one devoted life" played in the success of a college. Possibly to offset the absence of consistent support from state legislatures, Downer, Spelman, and Saint Mary's officials, instead, offered most of their lives and all of their talents to building their institutions. Thus it is likely that the diverse funding methods at these schools affected the length of time that top administrators served, with the highest turnover at TWU.

While male presidents guided TWU students for most of the history of the school, Spelman administrators, as white, northern women, oversaw the educational development of Spelman's young, black, Southern women students. Spelman, of the four schools, was the only institution in which students and administrators were not members of the same racial community. One consequence of this situation
was that Spelman administrators sometimes imposed white, middle-class standards of behavior on their black students. For example, both Packard and Giles expressed relief when a student was baptized quietly rather than with the usual noisy demonstration that Spelman founders found distressing. Lucy Hale Tapley, Spelman's president from 1910 to 1927, also revealed her own expectations of black women's capabilities and potential when she stressed vocational training rather than liberal arts education for students. She shared the belief with many other white educators that black women should not be trained for the same fields of professional employment to which white women aspired. Consequently, not until 1927 when Florence Read became president, did Spelman officials give students the same opportunity for a liberal arts education offered at colleges in which students were predominantly white women.

In light of the geographic, religious, racial, and cultural diversity among these institutions, the fact that Spelman, Downer, Saint Mary's, and TWU shared several common characteristics, particularly in the areas of founding purposes, curriculum, regulations, and student behavior, is significant. The patterns among the schools suggest that women received similar educations despite institutional differences and that their college years may indeed have been more typical than were students'
experiences at the eastern women's colleges, especially the Seven Sisters. In keeping with collegiate development for women during the nineteenth century, founders of the four schools intended that their institutions should provide educational opportunity for women at a time when women were excluded from most colleges. For example, supporters of women's education responded to the 1876 founding of Texas A&M--open only to men--by urging state legislators to provide a school for Texas women lest their education be neglected. Sophia Packard and Harriet Giles appealed to the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society to provide educational facilities for young, black women in Georgia, since schools were unavailable to them in the state in the early 1880s. Likewise, early founders of Saint Mary's College offered education to the young women who were excluded from the all-male Notre Dame. And finally, Milwaukee citizens supported educational facilities for young women in their town, feeling that the only option for these prospective students--education in an eastern woman's school--was inappropriate for Milwaukee daughters. And so the lack of educational opportunities for women in the mostly all-male established schools spurred the growth of these four women's colleges.

Founders of Downer, Spelman, Saint Mary's and TWU were uncertain, however, as to the specific education they should offer their female students. As administrators
developed the curricula at each school, they grappled with the problem of how to combine the traditional liberal arts program as found at some of the oldest men's schools with the practical courses intended to prepare women to take their places either in the home or the work place. But even though the curricula developed in two different patterns at the four schools, the general course offerings were similar. For the most part, administrators offered classes in languages (including Latin and in some cases, Greek) and mathematics, the usual courses in the traditional classical studies. In the early years of operation, lack of student preparation and limited college resources, however, usually prevented the same rigorous approach to the classics as found at the men's schools. Yet by the 1930s, all four schools in the study offered a solid liberal arts curriculum.

In responding to the increasing opportunities for women at the turn of the century, college administrators included practical, and in some cases, vocationally oriented, courses in the curriculum. Realizing that these new courses threatened the validity of their reputations as liberal arts colleges, officials at Downer and Saint Mary's in particular sought to justify the addition of classes in domestic science, business, and medical-related fields. Sabin indicated, for instance, that she would be very cautious in admitting practical courses to the
curriculum, since only those that were based on science or art had a place in an institution such as Downer. But administrators at all four schools admitted that many of their graduates would have to support themselves financially, and practical courses would provide a means of doing so. Consequently, school officials gradually combined the practical and vocationally-oriented courses with the liberal arts courses to provide students with a varied curriculum.

Domestic science classes were the most prominent practical courses added to the curriculum. College officials and students considered domestic science training as preparation not only for the home but also for the field of teaching. Consequently, faculty designed courses that offered either a general education in the subject for regular college students or a teacher preparation program.

Other practical courses added to the curricula of these schools during the first decades of the twentieth century trained women for occupations within the larger fields of medicine and business. Students prepared for positions in nursing, occupational therapy, pharmacy, and general lab work. For those students interested in business, schools offered courses in bookkeeping, stenography, accounting, and typing. Spelman students had limited opportunities for preparation in these fields, due
mainly to discriminatory practices that prevented them from training in Atlanta's white hospitals or from being hired in offices throughout the city. Consequently, Spelman faculty tended to prepare students to work in specific fields, such as dressmaking and printing, that were open to them as black women.

The inclusion of these practical courses suggests that administrators responded at least minimally to changing opportunities for women at the turn of the century. The combination of liberal arts and practical courses resulted in a "balanced" curriculum that more closely resembled the men's colleges and coeducational institutions of the day. Yet the preparation at these women's colleges still led to traditional female occupations. Domestic science classes prepared students for homemaking or teaching, courses in the medical field led women into nursing, while preparation in business guided them into secretarial positions. In the debate over whether these schools would imitate the classical curriculum of the older men's colleges or offer women truly innovative programs to prepare them to move into nontraditional work areas, officials at Downer, Saint Mary's, Spelman, and TWU depended heavily on the safety of the status quo. As a result, the education students received tended to preserve women's traditional roles.
In addition to offering similar courses, officials at these colleges implemented rules and regulations that were very much alike. At each school, administrators and faculty manifested a tension between encouraging students to take advantage of the potential freedom of movement that the college experience offered and attempting to treat students in a more traditional manner by providing them with a protective environment. For example, Ellen Sabin maintained that discipline at Downer was not extraordinary and suggested that students had a great deal of discretion in determining their own behavior. Likewise, at TWU Cree T. Work established a system of regulations based on the belief that independence grew out of self-dependence and self-control. Even Mother Pauline, who advocated a rigid standard of conduct at Saint Mary's, asserted that her students were trained to think for themselves and to use their knowledge, reason, and wit with good sense and good taste.

In spite of these claims of freedom and independence, however, administrators at each of the schools failed to move away from the more conventional approach of regarding women as in need of protection and close guidance. The creation and implementation of numerous rules and regulations set within the framework of a family structure allowed these educators to monitor closely the behavior of their students. In the case of Downer College, for
example, Sabin expected her faculty to maintain close contact with students. She herself took on a motherly role through such practices as living in the dormitory with students, personally planning their academic schedules, giving daily inspirational talks in the chapel, and making key decisions as to which extracurricular activities she would allow.

Mother Pauline was even more explicit in establishing the college family, referring to Saint Mary's students as "children of the house" and to the sisters as "mothers."

As was the case with the other schools, rules and regulations touched on everything from visiting hours to supervision of student correspondence.

Spelman administrators promoted a family structure by dividing the boarders at the school into several groups, each under the supervision of a hall teacher. This teacher was responsible for the care of each member of her "family," monitoring her work, general habits, study hours, recreation, exercise, and health.

As was the case with the curriculum, college administrators exhibited uncertainty as to the purpose of college rules and regulations. Officials maintained that they implemented only those rules necessary for the smooth running of their institutions and that they trusted students to behave properly on their own. Yet the regulations they designed tended to encourage students to
follow a particular model of behavior. With the attempt to recreate the family structure and to protect students from outside influences, college officials steered their students in the direction of the traditional woman's role. Their emphasis on manners, virtue, and general deportment served to assure parents, students, and themselves that the college experience prepared young women to fill the roles of wife and mother after college. Thus there is little indication that students were able to take advantage of the potential freedom that the college experience offered.

Perhaps because the rules that guided behavior were similar at each school, students also tended to conduct themselves in the same manner on these campuses. Students took part in extracurricular activities that ranged from membership in literary societies and religious clubs to participation in athletics and dramatics. While some examples of student initiative and resistance to the rules exist, for the most part, students readily accepted their roles in the college family. Indeed, even though students defended their right as women to higher education, their writings reveal traditional expectations for themselves after college. Spelman and Saint Mary's students in particular tied their education to their future roles as wives and mothers, arguing that higher education for young women simply enhanced their feminine attributes.
Although some students participated in organizations designed to develop leadership skills, college officials still monitored their activities closely. Student government officers, for example, were under the watchful eyes of faculty members, and even student athletes were limited in the enthusiasm they could bring to their sports activities, since too much competition might cause dissension in the college family. In promoting harmony, unity, and conformity in these colleges, school officials encouraged students to accept traditional notions of womanhood and to avoid independent action. And students generally accepted the role as daughters in the college family, often prodding their peers to follow acceptable standards of behavior. The result was a smooth-running institution where administrators and faculty prepared students for conventional roles after graduation.

Despite some differences, similarities in purpose, curricula, rules, and student activities at these colleges did emerge. Officials at each school struggled with the question as to the proper education for women at the turn of the century. On the one hand, they showed an awareness of the important role that classical training played not only in providing a solid education but also in lending credibility to a woman's college. But on the other, they acknowledged changing opportunities for women by adding certain practical courses to the curriculum to prepare
women for the workplace. They also had to deal with conflicting notions as to the correct approach in developing student character: trust students to behave properly with as few rules as possible or implement strict regulations to guide student activities. This study of the curricula, rules, and student behavior reveals that college officials usually followed a route that led to the reinforcement of traditional women's roles. There is little indication, if any, that educators at these schools encouraged women to move into nontraditional roles or to take advantage of the changes going on in the society around them.

Recent studies of women's institutions, including the work of Virginia Drachman, Estelle Freedman, Patricia Palmieri, Barbara Solomon, and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, suggest that women's colleges, settlement houses, hospitals, organizations, and other institutions offered women special opportunities for independence and leadership development. The work of Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and Nancy Cott emphasizes the important role that private relationships and "sisterhoods" played in helping some women move beyond woman's traditional sphere. \(^1\) Freedman, in particular, argues further that this private, women's culture in connection with the separate public female sphere served to mobilize women and helped them gain political influence in the larger
Female institutions, that is, those that are female-dominated, that place a positive value on women's social contributions, and that provide personal support, according to Freedman, are an integral part of the female public sphere. Among the institutions Freedman examines are women's colleges. Freedman credits the early colleges, as separate female institutions, with helping students subvert the submissive element of True Womanhood by encouraging independence.2

Despite historians' contentions about the importance of separate female institutions, this work on Downer, Spelman, Saint Mary's, and TWU paints a significantly different picture of the role that women's colleges played in women's development at the turn of the century. Regardless of the diversity among the four schools, the intention of founders and administrators and the outcome for students were often strikingly similar at each institution. College officials sought to provide a home-like atmosphere for students who often took on the role of college daughters, subject to strict regulations designed to guide behavior. Curricula prepared women either for roles in the home or for traditionally female occupations such as nursing or teaching. There is little indication that students were encouraged to develop independence or to challenge the status quo. This finding is significant in that it contrasts with the assumptions
about women's colleges usually based on elite institutions, particularly the Seven Sister schools with their relatively homogeneous student populations. This work, however, based on more diverse and representative schools, challenges the accepted role of women's colleges as institutions that promoted change. The broad range of women who attended Spelman, Saint Mary's, Downer, and TWU nonetheless received a similar education that reinforced the accepted notions of womanhood at the turn of the century.

Although higher education for most young women at the turn of the century was still a unique experience, the question of whether women could withstand the rigors of college life ceased to be a significant issue. Rather, officials at the schools in this study concerned themselves with resolving the debate over what should be the proper education for women. That these educators offered women students an education that enhanced but did not significantly change their roles as women suggests that college officials accepted the status quo. It is true that the often precarious financial situation of their institutions, along with their accountability to boards of trustees, likely limited the innovations that college administrators could introduce. But college officials generally showed little inclination to challenge societal notions about women's roles. Indeed, these
schools in several ways served to mitigate the impact of change in women's lives during the early decades of the twentieth century. Thus this study suggests that a women's institution, without a clearly stated feminist intent, is not enough to guarantee a significant difference in women's lives.

Feminism, an ideology that challenges the status quo and encourages change in women's roles, was insignificant in the founding purposes and ongoing operation of these schools. In accounting for this finding, it is possible that these schools, developing as they did after the first generation of women's colleges, were no longer pioneers in carving out new roles for women. As such, any revolutionary inclination they may have harbored was more easily absorbed by the larger society, as the novelty of women's attendance at institutions of higher learning wore thin in the first decades of the twentieth century.

These schools were also similar to the female moral reform organizations of the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the members of which relied on accepted notions of womanhood to carry out their roles as moral guardians of society. Yet their dependence on traditional characteristics of true womanhood precluded their challenging the status quo and actually changing women's roles. Freedman describes these reform organizations as remaining in a "prefeminist" position in
that their failure to gain insight into male domination prevented them from becoming politicized feminists.\(^3\)

In a similar fashion, the schools in this study encouraged women students to rely on traditional notions of womanhood to guide both their academic and extracurricular activities. Feminism played little, if any, role in the daily lives of students. The education that students received at Downer, Spelman, Saint Mary's, and TWU undoubtedly enhanced women's traditional roles, making them better homemakers, mothers, teachers, nurses, and office workers. Courses in domestic science, pedagogy, and general liberal arts training prepared women to fill their future positions as competently as possible. Yet in a time of cultural revolution, these institutions functioned as sources of stability rather than change. The ultimate mission of these women's colleges at the turn of the century continued to be the preservation of women's traditional sphere.
NOTES


3 Freedman 527.
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