NOTE TO USERS

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI®

MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

"THE REAL COLLEGE IS WITHIN US": THE TRANSFORMATION OF WOMEN'S HIGHER EDUCATION IN TENNESSEE FROM 1880 TO 1925

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF ARTS

BY

TAMMY L. ALLISON

MURFREESBORO, TENNESSEE

AUGUST 2005

"THE REAL COLLEGE IS WITHIN US":

THE TRANSFORMATION OF WOMEN'S HIGHER

EDUCATION IN TENNESSEE FROM 1880 TO 1925

APPROVED:

Graduate Committee:

Dr. Carroll Van West, Major Professor

Dr. Janice M. Leone, Reader

Dr. Mary Hoffschwelle, Reader

Dr. Thaddeus M. Smith, Reader

Dr. Jan Hayes, Reader

Dr. Thaddeus M. Smith, Chair, Department of History

Dean of the Graduate School

ABSTRACT

"THE REAL COLLEGE IS WITHIN US":

THE TRANSFORMATION OF WOMEN'S HIGHER

EDUCATION IN TENNESSEE FROM 1880-1925

Tammy L. Allison

The paradoxical nature of higher education for women became apparent in the period between 1880 and 1925. Women gained access to colleges and universities at an incredible rate during this period and took advantage of the opportunities a higher education provided. Yet, the colleges and universities they entered often perpetuated the traditional female stereotypes through their continued emphasis on subjects deemed appropriate for women. This limited education kept many women from exploring career options beyond conventional ones.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one contingent of educational reformers focused on standardizing the higher education system. In Tennessee, leaders in educational reform campaigned to modernize the state's colleges and universities by staging public support campaigns, creating regulatory

organizations, and promoting legislation. These changes impacted women's higher education through the resulting dominance of male-centered coeducation and the decline of the women's college. Consequently just as women began entering the higher education system in large numbers, their educational choices grew more limited. Evidence of the changing educational market can be found at colleges throughout Tennessee. Tennessee College for Women, Ward-Belmont College, Fisk University, and Maryville College provided women with experiences that were somewhat different but their resulting career opportunities remained quite similar.

Today, the built environment of college campuses that date from this period of flux provides historians with additional resources to study. These resources offer insight into the way women and men were perceived in the college environment and how the college fit into the greater cultural landscape. The preservation of this built environment is imperative to the study of the transformation of women's higher education in Tennessee.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As with any project this large there are numerous people that have helped me along the way. Thanking each of them is almost as daunting as writing the dissertation.

First I would like to thank the staff in each of the libraries and archives I visited. The knowledgeable people at Fisk University, Maryville College, Belmont University, and the Southern Baptist Library and Archives have amazing collections that provided me with the information needed to re-create the stories of women at their schools. I also want to thank the staff members at the Tennessee State Library and Archives who brought me innumerable boxes of materials and allowed me to bring more than one piece of paper into the manuscripts section.

Through the many, many years I have spent at MTSU I have met many professors that have impressed me with their professionalism and their willingness to help students understand the intricacies of history and historic preservation. I want to thank Dr. Thad Smith, Dr. Jan Leone, Dr. Mary Hoffschwelle, and Dr. Jan Hayes for guiding me through the dissertation writing process. Your wisdom

and insight made this a much better dissertation than I could ever have written without you.

I owe a huge debt of gratitude to Dr. Carroll Van West for taking me on as a student. From the first architecture class with him, he has been my biggest supporter at MTSU. He encouraged me when I told him I wanted a full-time job, read the roughest draft of the dissertation, and worked so hard to help me finish out this program. I owe you so much more than a thank you.

I would also like to thank Dr. Susan Myers-Shirk for going above and beyond the duties of a graduate director by making it her responsibility to help me through the writing process. Thank you for supporting me through your insight, encouragement and many, many cups of coffee.

I want to say a special thank you to Martha Carver. She is a wonderful supervisor, mentor, and friend who has been available to listen and offer advice throughout this process. Thanks Martha!

I would not have been able to stay sane during this without the help of my fellow graduate students. One person in particular has been with me from the beginning of the doctorate program. Perky Beisel has been a great friend that I could commiserate with throughout this

process. She has been a great critic and sounding board for the ideas that have floated through my head. I'm going to miss our Tuesday night "meetings".

I would also like to thank you, Jeff. Even though you came into my life at the end of this process, your encouragement through these final stages has been wonderful. Thanks to you, I'm looking forward to the next phase of my life.

None of this would have been possible without the love and support of my family. My parents have always encouraged me to pursue my education and for that I'm eternally grateful. My sister has been an example of intelligence that I have to continually strive to reach. Because of their encouragement and sacrifices, I have had opportunities that most people aren't fortunate enough to have.

And finally at the end of this journey I want to let my parents know that this dissertation was written for them because they made sure that their daughters never questioned if they would go to college. I can never thank you enough.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORIC TRENDS AND GENERATIONAL PATTERNS IN WOMEN'S EDUCATION

During the final decades of the nineteenth century, women found, for the first time, that they had choices in higher education. Not only could women choose from the sex-segregated women's colleges that had been available to them since the 1860s; they could also choose to attend college along with men at coeducational schools. They now had unprecedented opportunities to learn and grow in a varied academic environment that had previously been open only to men. But gradually women's colleges decreased in number while at the same time the nature of college changed, and women themselves demanded a much different type of education. By the 1920s, coeducation became the standard practice at most colleges and universities.

Students found that the most significant difference between coeducational colleges and women's colleges proved to be life outside the classroom in the extracurricular activities found at the college. At coeducational colleges female students encountered a college culture that differed

from the experiences of women at sex-segregated schools. Unlike women's schools, in a coeducational system, generally, women functioned on the periphery of the collegiate experience, with men dominating college-life. The closing of many women-only colleges led to fewer positive opportunities for women in college and further limited their ability to participate fully in the classroom or in the extracurricular activities that had become a hallmark of college life. Even as opportunities for women in college decreased, few women realized their lack of opportunities on coeducational campuses because most accepted societal expectations that assumed men would always be in positions of power over women.[1]

Today, educators continue to debate the merits of single-sex education versus coeducation. Studies throughout the twentieth century suggest that women who attended women-only colleges had more positive experiences and leadership roles that translated into greater opportunities after graduation. Some research findings

---

[1] For a general study of women's experiences throughout American history see Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton, ed., *Women of America: A History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979); and Linda Kerber and Jane Sherron De Hart, ed., *Women's America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

indicate that women attending women-only colleges were two times more likely than women at coeducational colleges to earn their doctorates, enter medical school, or become leaders in their chosen fields. Critics argue, however, that students attending the women-only college are an elite group who would have been successful after graduation regardless of the college they attended.[2] Although definitive research remains inconclusive, the continued debate indicates the significance of the changes in higher education taking place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and their impact on successive generations of women.

Although women attending college during this period of flux were likely to use their educations to seek employment outside the domestic sphere, these educated women failed to receive the same treatment in their chosen career fields as their male counterparts. The varied educational landscape rarely translated into equal treatment as students or equality in career opportunities. Societal expectations influenced by ingrained traditional gender roles continued

---

[2] Leslie Miller-Bernal, "Single-Sex versus Coeducational Environments: A Comparison of Women Students' Experiences at Four Colleges," *American Journal of Education* 102 (November 1993): 23-25.

to relegate women to second class status as students as well as to careers in acceptable areas regardless of whether women attended women's colleges or coeducational colleges. The opportunities women found in Tennessee schools during this period reflect changes in higher education itself as well as continuity in women's limitations in using their education, revealing the limited opportunities they faced as students and graduates of those institutions.

Historic Trends

Throughout American history, opportunities for women to attend college were limited for several reasons, including the substantial cost of tuition and board, lack of adequate schools at the lower levels, the need for many women to work to help support their families, and the general belief that women did not need as much education as men. The women financially able to attend college ensured that their numbers would remain small while societal expectations for many of these women ensured that parents prepared their daughters for a life dependent on men.[3] This

[3] Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 61-64. Also Lynn D. Gordon, "Female Gothic: Writing the History of Women's Colleges," *American Quarterly* 37 (1987): 299-304.

lack of appreciation of educated women continued to limit their enrollment in college with the percentages of women attending college failing to grow substantially until well into the twentieth century. In 1890, women comprised 35 percent of all college students. Yet by 1920, women made up more than half of all college students.[4] This significant increase illustrates the importance women placed on higher education once the opportunity to attend college became more common. Today, women make up more than 50 percent of the college population.[5] Although the number of women attending college increased steadily throughout the early twentieth century, these women most often came from the middle class, with the numbers of wealthy and poor women increasing more slowly.[6]

In addition, higher education of the late nineteenth century was designed with white, middle-class women in mind

---

[4] Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 148.

[5] The number of women attending college continues to increase with the National Center for Educational Statistics predicting that women will make up 58% of college enrollees by 2010. National Center for Educational Statistics, "Projections of Education Statistics to 2010," Available [Online]: http://nces.edu.gov/pubs2000/projections/chapter2.asp, 28 October 2004.

[6] Cott, *The Grounding of Modern* Feminism, 40.

and opportunities for African American middle-class women were more limited. The majority of African American women were excluded from most levels of education during the antebellum period. Even with the establishment of colleges for African Americans during the Reconstruction period, women remained only a small percentage of African American college graduates. That ratio changed dramatically in the early twentieth century. In 1920, two out of ten African-American graduates were women. In 1930, women were four in ten graduates. By 1940, more African American women than men were graduating from college.[7]

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most women had limited opportunities to receive an education at even the lowest levels. Yet, academies and seminaries often taught girls along with boys, with women at the higher levels being taught in sex-segregated schools. Young women were taught mainly the skills thought to be essential for them in the domestic sphere, with few

---

[7] Jeanne L. Noble, *The Negro Woman's College Education* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1956), 28.

educated women working outside the home.[8]

Substantial advances in women's education came in the 1830s and 1840s when forward-thinking women who had been educated at academies and seminaries envisioned a different future. Mary Lyon, one of the earliest advocates for women's higher education, opened the influential Mount Holyoke Seminary in 1837.[9] Located in South Hadley, Massachusetts, Mount Holyoke became the preeminent women's school that set the highest standard in academics available to women. Mary Lyon worked hard to create a structured, orderly environment where mainly middle-class New England

---

[8] Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* 2d ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 112-123. For a general history of higher education prior to the Civil War see Henry Barnard, ed., *Memoirs of Teachers, Educators and Promotors and Benefactors of Education, Literature, and Science*, American Education: Its Men, Ideas, and Institutions, ed. Lawrence A. Cremin, Series II (New York: F.C. Brownell, 1861; reprint, New York: Arno Press & the New York Times, 1971); Nancy Green, "Female Education and School Competition: 1820-1850," *History of Education Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1978): 129-142; Sally Schwager, "Educating Women in America," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 12 (1987): 333-372; and Maxine Schwartz Seller, "Boundaries, Bridges, and the History of Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 2 (Summer 1987): 195-206.

[9] For information on influential founders of women's colleges see Marcia Horn, "Ideas of the Founders of the Early Colleges for Women and the Role of Women's Education in American Society" (Ph.D. diss., State University of New Jersey, 1977).

farm women were trained to be teachers. Reflecting the regimen of antebellum insane asylums and Lyon's knowledge that even farm women needed discipline to maintain the daily rigors to which they were accustomed on their family's farms, Mount Holyoke students were required to awaken at an early hour, perform domestic duties, and arrive punctually to all classes. Students often developed a mother-daughter relationship with their teachers, giving young women models on which to build their lives.[10]

Mount Holyoke also influenced the design and layout of future women's schools. The asylum model, characterized by regimented daily activities housed within an imposing structure, became the standard building plan for many women's seminaries and colleges throughout much of the nineteenth century. The use of one large building to teach and house female students remained in use longer in rural areas. Tennessee College for Women, located in Murfreesboro, serves as a later example of a women's college that used the old-fashioned Mount Holyoke seminary

---

[10] Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth Century Beginnings to the 1930s*, 2d ed (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 13-15. For more information on the history of Mount Holyoke see Elizabeth Alden Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke: Opening the Gates* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1979).

model for its campus. Opening in 1907 with two hundred students, the Tennessee College for Women campus had only one, three-story building with 135 rooms in which students lived, studied, and played, while being monitored for behavior that might be improper for young Christian women.[11]

The practice of utilizing a single structure was not used exclusively at women's colleges. Many small colleges in Tennessee could only afford one building especially in their early years. Yet most male colleges, coeducational colleges, or women's colleges that catered to a wealthier student body quickly raised funds to add buildings to their campuses. Yet, architects of many women's colleges often chose traditional building types, like the large seminary building, and architectural styles that promoted a more passive approach to learning deemed appropriate for women.[12]

The level of education students could receive at academies, seminaries, and colleges varied depending on a school's founders and teachers as well as the region of the

---

[11] Homer Pittard, *Pillar and Ground: First Baptist Church, 1843-1968* (Murfreesboro, privately printed, 1968), 92.

[12] Annabel Wharton, "Gender, Architecture, and Institutional Self-Presentation: The Case of Duke University," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 90(Winter 1991): 178-180.

country in which the school was located. These regional variations are present throughout American history, beginning with the earliest attempts to educate women and continuing throughout the nineteenth century. The high number of illiterate Southerners illustrated the disparity of the standards in the nation's educational system and the differences in the educational opportunities of men and women. As late as 1890, illiterate southern women still outnumbered illiterate southern men by more than 250,000.[13]

By the middle of the nineteenth century, educators began opening schools for women with standards comparable to curricula found at men's schools. Between 1860 and 1880, schools previously founded as academies or seminaries upgraded their curricula to include a four-year college course, with students graduating with an atrium baccalaureatus degree (A.B. Degree). Antebellum schools that upgraded their coursework to meet college standards included Oxford Female College in Mississippi and Illinois

---

[13] Amy Thompson McCandless, *The Past in the Present: Women's Higher Education in the Twentieth Century American South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 288.

Conference Female College.[14] By the late nineteenth century, women's colleges had become the standard bearing institutions that defined educated female citizenry and their relationship to equally educated men.[15]

One of the earliest colleges for women in the South was Mary Sharp College in Winchester, Tennessee. Chartered in 1848, opened in 1851, and incorporated as a college in 1857, the school's organizer, Dr. J.R. Graves and the first president, Dr. Z.C. Graves, required students to learn Latin and Greek, the subjects that distinguished male colleges from academies in the nineteenth century. Named in honor of Mary Sharp, the largest donor to what was originally named the Tennessee and Alabama Female Institute, Mary Sharp College had a curriculum modeled after those of Brown University and Amherst College. The

---

[14] Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1959), 12; and Louise Schutz Boaz, *Women's Education Begins: The Rise of the Women's College*, American Education: Its Men, Ideas, and Institutions, ed. Lawrence A. Cremin, Series II (New York: Wheaton College Press, 1935; reprint, New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1971), 243 and 244 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

[15] Christina Russell McDonald, "Converging Histories: Writing Instruction and Women's Education in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Texas Christian University, 1995), 4.

curriculum of the newly-renamed Mary Sharp College reflected educational trends that provided women with an education equivalent to men's. The founders of Mary Sharp College sought to provide women with a classical education that included literary, scientific, and classical knowledge that had already become the established hallmarks of men's higher education.[16] Students learned a variety of subjects that included trigonometry, analytical geometry, calculus, astronomy, geography, moral sciences and several other liberal arts courses. Yet art and music programs, commonly considered key subjects at women's colleges, continued to be popular subjects among students. In 1885 the student body counted 214 students with 80 students in the music

---

[16] For a more in-depth study of Mary Sharp College see Tara Michelle Mitchell, "Sewanee's Second Reconstruction: The Development of Coeducation at the University of the South" (M.A. thesis, Middle Tennessee State University,1995); Lucius Salisbury Merriam, *Higher Education in Tennessee*, Contributions in American Educational History, ed. Herbert B. Adams. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893); Mary Sharp College Club, *Dr. Z.C. Graves and the Mary Sharp College, 1850-1896* (Nashville, privately printed, 1925); James Warning McCrady, "Art and Music at the Mary Sharp College," *Franklin County Historical Review* XI (January 1980): 3-15; Raymond Alfred Finney, "A History of the Private Educational Institutions of Franklin County," *Franklin County Historical Review* XI (January 1980): 24-33; and Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, vol. 2 (New York: The Science Press, 1929), 141 and 142.

program; by 1888 out of 113 students, 52 studied music.[17] Dr. Z.C. Graves has been credited for the varied curriculum that worked toward his goal of proving that women were as capable as men at learning collegiate subjects, including abstract sciences, mathematics, metaphysics, and ethics.[18] Dr. Graves cultivated Mary Sharp's reputation of higher education and requested the U.S. Commission of Education to provide him with information on other women's colleges offering Latin and Greek to students. In 1884, the Commissioner replied that from among the schools reporting to his office no other schools offered those traditionally masculine subjects to women as early as Mary Sharp College.[19]

Dr. Graves believed that the Commissioner's statement proved his earlier claims were accurate and contemporary educators apparently acknowledged the collegiate nature of the Mary Sharp curriculum. As Dr. James S. Taylor, president of Vassar College, noted "'It [Mary Sharp College] was certainly the most developed curriculum of

---

[17] McCrady, "Art and Music at the Mary Sharp College," 14.

[18] Mary Sharp College Club, *Dr. Z.C. Graves*, 25.

[19] James Waring McCrady, "The Mary Sharp Superlative," *Franklin County Historical Review* XI (January 1980): 21.

which we find clear evidence ten years before Vassar opened and at that time there were no institutes for women in the North that claimed collegiate rank.'"[20] Even though the Mary Sharp curriculum appeared progressive, Dr. Graves intended to prepare women for the limited roles available to them in the nineteenth century, mainly to serve as wives and mothers.

The campus layout and regulations governing Mary Sharp reflected the limitations placed on nineteenth-century women. Much like the seminaries of the mid-nineteenth century, Mary Sharp students kept a rigorous schedule that included rising at 5:00 A.M. and retiring at 10:00 P.M. Dr. Graves monitored students' behavior and approved activities such as walking or hiking as a group in the town of Winchester only with chaperones. Students also needed permission from one male faculty member to leave the boarding house in which they resided.[21] With "learn to think" as the school motto, Mary Sharp successfully trained hundreds of women for their primary role as wives, until it

---

[20] James S. Taylor, Correspondence; quoted in Mary Sharp College Club, *Dr. Z.C. Graves*, 95 and 96.

[21] Finney, "A History of the Private Educational Institutions of Franklin County," 27.

closed in 1896.[22] Even after the school closed, the educational legacy of Mary Sharp lived on for several years with Tennessee College for Women in Murfreesboro publishing a souvenir brochure in 1910 claiming it was the continuation of Mary Sharp College.[23]

After the Civil War, two competing educational philosophies influenced educators running the new women's colleges. Traditionalists, with a philosophy similar to Dr. Z.C. Graves of Mary Sharp College, wanted to provide women with an education equal to the education provided to men. Yet, this equality did not extend beyond similar educational opportunities, with women continuing to learn subjects deemed appropriate for them and their domestic role. In contrast, those advocating a useful education for women wanted to prepare them for life in the outside world.[24] A "useful" education often included vocational courses that women could use in the public sphere as job opportunities increased in the early twentieth century.

These competing philosophies had at least one common

---

[22] Ibid., 118.

[23] "Mary Sharp College" Souvenir Edition, Tennessee College Bulletin, Southern Baptist Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[24] McCandless, *The Past in the Present*, 53 and 54.

characteristic: higher education should be designed specifically for women who should be kept separate from men either at sex-segregated colleges or on well-monitored, gender-separated, coeducational campuses. Physicians of the late nineteenth century often argued that women could and should learn a variety of subjects, yet there should be definite limits to the education women received. In his 1873 book *Sex in Education; or, A Fair Chance for the Girls*, Dr. Edward H. Clarke argued "wherein they are men, they should be educated as men; wherein they are women, they should be educated as women. The physiological motto is, educate a man for manhood, a woman for womanhood, both for humanity."[25] Dr. Clarke pointed out physical differences in men and women that made it beneficial for both to be educated separately. He recommended that female students' physical health be monitored closely while in school for fear that mental exertion would damage their reproductive systems. He wrote, "girls lose health, strength, blood, and nerve, by a regimen that ignores the periodical tides and reproductive apparatus of their

---

[25] Edward H. Clarke, *Sex in Education; or, A Fair Chance for the Girls* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1873; reprint, New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1972), 19 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

organization."[26] Many educators accepted Clarke's ideas and those assumptions had a lasting impact on women's higher education.[27]

Clarke was not the only voice that influenced women's higher education. In 1874, Julia Ward Howe edited a book as a response to Dr. Clarke's links between women's physical health and mental stimulation. Seven educators used real-life experiences to contradict Dr. Clarke's findings, each arguing that women were capable of learning at both coeducational and single-sex colleges. An anonymous writer who called himself or herself, "C", wrote, "whether intentionally or not, this book [*Sex in Education*] panders to that sentiment of fashionable society that declares it unnecessary for girls to know any thing but to

---

[26] Ibid., 60 and 126 and 127. Commonly throughout the nineteenth century many in the medical community believed that women's reproductive system affected every aspect of their lives. See Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and Charles Rosenberg, "The Female Animal: Medical and Biological Views of Woman and Her Role in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of American History* 60 (September 1973): 332-356.

[27] For a modern interpretation of Dr. Clarke's ideas see Sue Zschoe, "Dr. Clarke Revisited: Science, True Womanhood, and Female Collegiate Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 29(Winter 1989): 545-569.

make themselves attractive."[28] In the final chapter of *Sex and Education*, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps summed up the feelings of many women by concluding that "thousands of women will not believe what the author of 'Sex in Education' tells them, simply because they know better."[29]

At the same time that educators debated where women should be educated, the number of coeducational colleges increased significantly. The large number of men killed during the Civil War limited the number of men attending college, causing many colleges to change their admission policies and allow women to enroll. The fear of insolvency changed the minds of many educational leaders, weakening their resistance to women entering college.[30] The high

---

[28] C, "Chapter VI," in *Sex and Education. A Reply to Dr. E.H. Clarke's "Sex in Education,"* ed. Julia Ward Howe, American Women: Images and Realities, ed. Annette K. Baxter and Leon Stein (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1874; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1972), 124 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

[29] Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, *Sex and Education*, 129.

[30] Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 44; Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education*, 12 and 13; Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 43-45; and Adele Simmons, "Education and Ideology in Nineteenth-Century America: The Response of Educational Institutions to the Changing Role of Women," in *Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays*, ed. Berenice Carroll (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 120.

numbers of women entering college in the post-Civil War years saved many public and private colleges and helped spur the emergence of coeducation as the dominant form of higher education in the country.[31]

The federal government also played a role in the creation of coeducational colleges through legislation establishing the state university system and normal schools. In 1862, Abraham Lincoln signed the Morrill Land Grant Act setting aside public lands in each state for the creation of a state college. By 1870, thirty-seven states had complied with the terms of the act through the creation of land-grant colleges.[32] With taxpayers supporting state colleges, parents of both sons and daughters felt their children had a right to attend a college supported by public funds (regardless of their child's sex). This

---

[31] For a study of coeducation see Carol Lesser, ed., *Educating Men & Women Together: Coeducation in a Changing World* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

[32] Samuel H. Shannon, "Land-Grant College Legislation and Black Tennesseans: A Case Study in the Politics of Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 22 (Summer 1982): 139; and Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 314.

government support helped legitimize the presence of both men and women on college campuses.[33] These tax-supported land grant colleges and normal schools also chipped away at the hold that the elite had maintained on higher education for centuries, giving less affluent men and women opportunities to have a college education.[34] With the exception of Virginia and Tennessee, the majority of southern states established separate publicly funded colleges for women.[35] According to information collected by the Division of Surveys and Field Studies at George Peabody

---

[33] Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education*, 36; and, Alice S. *Rossi, "Coeducation in a Gender-Stratified Society,"* in *Educating Men and Women Together: Coeducation in a Changing World*, ed. Carol Lesser (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 12.

[34] Calvin B.T. Lee, *The Campus Scene, 1900-1970: Changing Styles of Undergraduate Life* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1970), 11; and Jurgen Herbst, *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 142. Herbst argues that normal schools, even more than the state university, opened up higher education to the masses. The centrally-located state university, he contends, continued to limit the number of people that could leave home to attend school. Normal schools, in contrast, were more likely to be located in several towns throughout the state, providing rural people with more access to higher education.

[35] McCandless, *The Past in the Present*, 27. Mississippi established the first public women's college in the country in 1884. Other southern states followed: Georgia (1889), South Carolina and North Carolina (1891), Alabama (1893), Texas (1901), Florida (1905), and Oklahoma (1908).

College for Teachers, all southern state colleges admitted women to their public universities by 1932 except the State University of Florida, where a separate school continued to be maintained.[36] Yet some state-supported women's colleges continued to operate even after women were admitted to their traditional men's colleges. For example, as early as 1856, women's education proponents were lobbying the Mississippi legislature for the establishment of a state supported women's college.[37] The Mississippi University for Women, established as the first publicly funded women's college in the country in 1884, continued to operate as a state women's college until 1982 when the United States Supreme Court ordered the school to allow men into their nursing program. As a result of the court's decision, the state board of trustees for Mississippi forced the school to open all programs to men thus ending almost a century

---

[36] Doak S. Campbell, *Problems in the Education of College Women: A Study of Women Graduates of Southern Colleges* (Nashville: Division of Surveys and Field Studies at George Peabody College for Teachers, 1933), 1.

[37] Terry Berry, "A History of Women's Higher Education in Mississippi, 1819-1882," *Journal of Mississippi History* 31 (Summer 1994): 303.

of women-centered higher education in Mississippi.[38]

Due to the paucity of funds going toward African American higher education, the federal government continued appropriating money for higher education through the passage of the Second Morrill Act in 1890. This law required that a land-grant college for African Americans be designated in states with segregated school systems.[39] The Second Morrill Act required but did not enforce the policy that African Americans receive the same benefits as white college students.[40] Prior to the federal government's intervention, only three southern states had designated an African American school with land grant money. With this legislation, sixteen African American schools were designated as land-grant colleges.[41] Tennessee legislators failed to provide funding for a land-grant college for

---

[38] Bridget Smith Pieschel and Stephen Robert Pieschel, *Loyal Daughters: One Hundred Years at Mississippi University for Women, 1884*-1984 (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1984), 153.

[39] Susan T. Hill, *The Traditionally Black Institutions of Higher Education 1860 to 1982* (Washington D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1982), 2.

[40] Raymond Wolters, *The New Negro on Campus: Black College Rebellions of the 1920s* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 10.

[41] Ibid., and Hill, *The Traditionally Black Institutions*, 2.

African Americans until 1911 when they established the Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School for Negroes in Nashville.[42] Before 1911, land grant monies were appropriated through the University of Tennessee (UT) in Knoxville, yet the school refused to admit African American students into their programs. In 1881, UT devised a plan to enroll "state" students to African American colleges that would serve as a substitute for actually admitting African Americans students to their Knoxville campus. In a partnership with Fisk University, ten state students enrolled in the Nashville school. This arrangement ended in 1884 when UT officials determined that Knoxville College would be a more appropriate African American college in which to enroll state students because of the close proximity to UT's campus.[43] The educational situation in Tennessee exemplified the plight African Americans throughout the South faced when attempting to enter the public higher education system.

---

[42] Bobby L. Lovett, *The African American History of Nashville, Tennessee 1780-1930*, Black Community Studies Series, ed. Willard B. Gatewood (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1999), 168.

[43] Shannon, "Land-Grant College Legislation," 141 and 142.

In addition to land-grant colleges, African American schools at all educational levels became more common in the post Civil War period. According to a federal survey, by 1915, there were thirty-three schools for African Americans, mainly in the South. However, of those thirty-three, the survey found that only three of these schools had a majority of students doing college-level work. Of those three colleges, two were located in Nashville, Fisk University and Meharry Medical College, with Howard University in Washington, D.C. as the third.[44]

Cultural factors and government policy pushed the need for educating women. The same post Civil War push for better public education for women and men created yet another reason for educating women: the increased need for teachers. With many seeing the education of small children as an extension of the home, societal restraints placed on women entering into the public sphere lessened as the need for teachers increased. The rise in public education in the South, as evidenced by the growing number of common schools, high schools, and colleges, became one of the major forces that opened up higher education to southern

---

[44] Hill, *The Traditionally Black Institutions*, 5.

women.[45] This trend in public education had already occurred in other areas of the country and served as one of the reasons why women's higher education had been accepted in other regions much earlier than in the South.

Educational reformers felt that women's emotional nature, maternal instincts, and morality, qualities found in true women of the nineteenth century, qualified them to be teachers at the elementary level.[46] While many believed that women were naturally qualified to teach at the lower levels, the need for formal higher education grew as the system of public education became more formalized in the late nineteenth century.[47] Women's seminaries supplied the educational system with teachers, with women's colleges replacing seminaries in the mid-nineteenth century and state normal colleges replacing many women's colleges

---

[45] Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*, The Making of America Series, ed. David Donald (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 118 and 119; and Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 43 and 44.

[46] Jo Anne Preston, "Domestic Ideology, School Reformers, and Female Teachers: Schoolteaching Becomes Women's Work in Nineteenth-Century New England," *New England Quarterly* 66 (December 1993): 532.

[47] John L. Rury, *Education and Women's Work: Female Schooling and the Division of Labor in Urban America, 1870-1930* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 96 and 107.

during the early twentieth century as the main suppliers of teachers. By the early twentieth century, formalized teaching requirements ensured these women were the best educated of all female occupations.[48]

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the number of women teachers continued to rise, with women making up 81 percent of public elementary school teachers, 85 percent of private elementary school teachers, 55 percent of public high school teachers, and 59.5 percent of private high school teachers.[49] Many educators saw this alarming trend and sought ways to bring men back into the teaching profession. Adding professional standards to teaching became one of the ways women could be eliminated from the growing field that increasingly paid higher salaries because the desire for professional teachers opposed earlier nineteenth century notions that qualified women for teaching simply because they were women.[50] The

---

[48] Ibid., 117; and Nancy E. Durbin and Lori Kent, "Post-secondary Education of White Women in 1900," in *Education and Gender Equality*, ed. Julia Wrigley (London: The Falmer Press, 1992), 72.

[49] Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, 147.

[50] Redding S. Sugg, Jr., *Motherteacher: The Feminization of American Education* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1978), 135-137; and Rury, *Education and Women's Work*, 96.

normal school served as one element in the effort to professionalize teaching through the requirement of a professional teaching license that might be unattainable for many rural, small town women. Requiring a normal school education, many thought, would also help eliminate those women who taught only until they married.[51] Efforts to professionalize teaching were partially successful. By 1911, forty-two states required professional training for public school teachers.[52] Yet women continued to make up significant proportions of teachers at all levels.

Career opportunities for women continued to be limited by ingrained gender roles that relegated them to jobs that appeared to be extensions of the domestic sphere. In 1924, Willystine Goodsell identified the often unconscious attitude society had toward women that translated in the collegiate system. College men were given the freedom to become independent thinkers while women were taught to "idealize and prepare for the home life as the greatest work . . . and teach race survival as a patriotic duty. This demand shows the prevailing tendency to think of men as individuals . . . and to lump women together as

---

[51] Herbst, *And Sadly Teach*, 148.

[52] Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 119.

prospective wives, mothers, and home-makers. . . ."[53] Yet women found ways to use their educational experiences and become more involved in the public sphere through their work in women's clubs.

The school organizations and clubs many women were involved with during college often provided middle class women with the proper background to organize, establish, and govern women's clubs in later life. These organizations provided both a social and professional network of educated women that helped them learn professional and political skills before the majority of professions opened to women.[54] Many women's clubs began as voluntary associations that sponsored lectures at the local level and provided both well-educated and less educated women with opportunities to learn about subjects with which they were unfamiliar. Anne Firor Scott identified a logical progression for many nineteenth century women's

---

[53] Willystine Goodsell, *The Education of Women: Its Social Background and Its Problems* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), 49 and 50.

[54] Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 3; and Averil Evans McClelland, *The Education of Women in the United State: A Guide to Theory, Teaching, and Research* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992), 43.

clubs from self-education to community involvement to national politics.[55]

Although the conservative nature of southern women caused them to organize later than their northern counterparts, they too established women's clubs during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that served as both educational and activist organizations. According to Judith McArthur, southern women's approach to public activism differed from their northern counterparts with southern women's tendency to use their perceived piety and purity as a tool for social change.[56] After becoming publicly active, women's clubs focused on a variety of social issues common to the larger progressive movement. Their focus on moral issues helped bridge the gap between women who stayed firmly in the domestic sphere and the

---

[55] Ibid., 111.

[56] Judith N. McArthur, *Creating the New Woman: The Rise of the Southern Women's Progressive Culture in Texas, 1893-1918* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 3. The nineteenth-century ideals found in "true women" that includes piety and purity continued to be idealized during the Progressive Era. For in-depth information on these ideals see Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151-174.

emerging New Women of the 1880s and 1890s.[57] Women's organizations often concentrated on elements of reform that impacted home life including education reform and temperance. For example, women's organizations in Texas led initiatives to allow women to sit on local school boards because they believed that the men in charge of the school system failed to properly understand issues dealing with small children, and since many club women were mothers this provided them with the knowledge base to make the right decisions for all children.[58] The confidence women gained through their local political activism allowed many to consider political activism on a national scale through emerging support of the women's suffrage movement.[59]

African American women also developed organizations during this same period to combat the social problems faced by their communities in an era of racism and segregation. African American women often focused on the dual problems of racism and sexism. Many of their public efforts

---

[57] Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 175 and 176.

[58] McArthur, *Creating the New Woman*, 70.

[59] Scott, *Natural Allies*, 134 and 135; and McArthur, *Creating the New Woman*, 97-101.

corresponded with white women's organizations and African American women's clubs often used their organizations to spread their middle class Victorian values to the greater society.[60] Unlike white women's organizations, African American women actively worked to change the stereotypical image of black women as immoral. The middle class African American women working in these organizations sought cooperation with white women in order to combat the stereotypes. At the local level, this often meant that African American women would work with white women on community campaigns. Yet interracial cooperation rarely occurred, leaving African American women to continue their struggle against racism and sexism without the help of a larger network of women.[61]

By the early twentieth century, many local or regional women's clubs began organizing on a national level. As these middle-class organizations sought greater influence on national issues, white women's organizations never considered allowing black women's clubs to become part of their national affiliation. African American women's clubs

---

[60] Wanda A. Hendricks, *Gender, Race, and Politics in the Midwest: Black Club Women in Illinois* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 1-17.

[61] Ibid., 7; and Scott, *Natural Allies*, 127.

developed parallel to white women's organizations and often struggled against the same social issues white women dealt with. Yet racism in all regions of the country guaranteed that the African American women's clubs would be challenged by the lack of resources and through rejection in national organizations that could have made both African American and white women's clubs more effective.[62]

With both practical and theoretical reasons for the higher education of men and women, the modern American college emerged in the period between 1880 and 1920, with governmental standards beginning to more closely regulate the way schools described themselves. The United States Bureau of Education defined a college "as an institution which is authorized to grant degrees, has definite standards of admission, gives at least two years' work of standard college grade, and has at least 20 regular students in college status."[63] For many years, most women's colleges maintained preparatory departments that were often larger than their collegiate departments. The Nashville College for Young Ladies illustrates the diversified nature

---

[62] Scott, *Natural Allies*, 127.

[63] United States Bureau of Education, *A Survey of Higher Education in Tennessee, 1924* (Nashville: Tennessee College Association, 1926), 31.

of many colleges for women. Opening in 1880, the college maintained a wide range of departments that offered academic subjects fitting women of all ages including kindergarten, primary, intermediate, academic, collegiate, modern languages, art, music, and post-graduate.[64]

The South maintained preparatory departments much longer than other regions due to the lack of public education especially at high school level. As late as 1900, no southern state had compulsory school attendance that would have helped prepare women for most college courses.[65] Not until the 1880s did the United States Commissioner of Education begin to distinguish between schools that actually maintained college standards and those that simply called themselves colleges. In 1886, a survey conducted by the Commissioner of Education found "not one southern institution in the division first mentioned having the education of girls as its distinct

---

[64] A.D. Mayo, *Southern Women in the Recent Educational Movement in the South*, edited with an introduction by Dan T. Carter and Amy Friedlander (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975), 259 (page citations are from the reprint edition).

[65] McCandless, *The Past in the Present*, 20.

purpose."[66] As late as 1915, according to surveys conducted by the Southern Association of College Women, 140 southern schools called themselves colleges, but only six schools had recognized college work.[67]

As with other aspects of women's higher education, educational leaders often had ideas that differed greatly from the reality in which women lived. Women supplied the support staff of women's colleges, while men filled many of the higher level administrative positions. Yet, many women used their educations to their advantage and applied them in ways male administrative leaders did not intend. The combination of academic subjects and domestic expectations for women often did not end with women leaving school for marriage, forsaking a career. Roberta Frankfort argued that many women exceeded administrators' expectations and often emphasized academic achievements over domestic achievements.[68] In 1928, Reba McClellan, a student from

---

[66] Elizabeth Barber Young, *A Study of the Curricula of Seven Selected Women's Colleges of the Southern States* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932), 75.

[67] Ibid., 75.

[68] Roberta Frankfort, *Collegiate Women: Domesticity and Career in Turn-of-the-Century America*, New York University Series in Education and Socialization in American History, ed. Paul H. Mattingly (New York: New York University Press, 1977), 42.

Carthage, Tennessee, attending Tennessee College for Women in Murfreesboro, faced a challenge that many college women encountered. At the end of her junior year, she questioned whether she should return to school for her senior year or return to Carthage to get married. Overwhelmingly, her classmates begged her to return to school rather than marry. Sara Hardeman, a junior, wrote, "You have the rest of your life time to be with some folks but you have just next year to be with us. So please make 'him' wait one more year."[69] Another junior, Dorothy King, wrote, "Being I haven't my speech memorized I'll say you'd better heed your grandaddy's advice and come back and be a Senior with us cause you know we want and need you."[70] Reba did choose school over marriage, finished her degree, and taught elementary school in Smith County for several decades.[71] The encouragement Reba received to postpone marriage to finish college illustrates the value women placed on their educational experience. Being in college and having a

---

[69] Sara Hardeman to Reba McClellan, *The Dryad* (1928), 59.

[70] Dorothy King to Reba McClellan, *The Dryad* (1928), 58.

[71] He did wait for her to finish school. They married soon after her graduation. She taught school and he farmed for several decades in Smith County.

strong friendship network gave many women the ability to postpone marriage, if only for a few years, in many cases to pursue a career.

Generational Patterns

College changed women's lives, by giving training in a profession, providing them with the opportunity to interact with larger numbers of women in both academic and social settings, and extending the period between adolescence and marriage. As originally planned, women's colleges meant to provide serious-minded students with academic pursuits suitable to "true women," with their education allowing them to pursue a career in professions deemed suitable for women. Yet as young women came together at colleges for women, the social aspects of the colleges often surpassed the importance of academics in the minds of the students themselves. With schools often located in towns and near accessible forms of transportation, students soaked in the culture of the world outside the college. Students with extra money often took in the urban culture at local restaurants, theaters, and other events outside the college campus.[72] Towns and colleges often had a symbiotic relationship where the school influenced the cultural

[72] Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 97.

institutions found in the town and the town provided students with culture outside the classroom.[73]

Women who attended college between 1860 and 1920 fell into three distinct generations based on the issues and experiences they faced as undergraduates, defining themselves as members of that generation.[74] According to Barbara Solomon, the first generation of women attended college between 1860 and 1880. These women were aware of their status as pioneers in education but continued defining themselves in the nineteenth-century term "true women." The second generation appeared during the 1890s and 1900s. These women still recognized their roles as pioneers, yet called themselves "new women." The third generation, appearing between the 1910s and 1920s, was a more sophisticated version of the "new woman," serving as a

---

[73] Coulter, E. Merton, *College Life in the Old South* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1928; reprint, Atlanta: University of Georgia Press, 1951), 204 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

[74] Ibid., 95.

precursor of the flapper of the 1920s.[75]

In addition, the age range of students narrowed as college attendance became more common. With the first generation, the age range included young students from the preparatory departments to older women who worked in order to save enough money to return to college. In contrast, the second and third generations had a more narrow age range, with the majority of students being between 18 and 21 years old.[76]

The campus life available to each generation of women also marked the evolution of women as college students. During the first generation, women most likely attended a women-only college, especially in the Northeast and South; whereas, in the Midwest, several colleges were already coeducational. Educating women in a collegiate environment remained controversial and required that women prove their

---

[75] Ibid., 97. Although stereotypical, these characteristics appeared at most women's colleges throughout the country. The degree to which women progressed through these generations depended on the location of the school. Students attending urban colleges tended to follow the trends more directly than women attending rural colleges. Also Estelle Freedman, "The New Woman: Changing Views of Women in the 1920s," *Journal of American History* 1 (September 1974): 372-393.

[76] Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 140.

worthiness for higher education. Curiosity about women attending college ensured that the public would scrutinize the students' life choices to find out if they would choose traditional or non-traditional roles.[77] As a result of public scrutiny and the experimental nature of the early women's colleges, the collegiate experiences of the first generation often mirrored the experiences of earlier generations of academy and seminary students. Often secluded on rural campuses, administrators set strict policies controlling students' behavior, with faculty and staff monitoring student actions both inside and outside the classroom.[78] Combining the serious nature of most college women and the constant supervision, students in the first generation had few ways to develop a campus life outside prescribed academic activities.

The second generation of college women brought with them a different focus that blended both academics and culture to form student life. A new kind of student entered college and contributed to the changing student culture of the 1890s. Prior to the 1890s, college served as a way for middle-class women to better themselves,

---

[77] Frankfort, *Collegiate Women*, 17.

[78] Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 4.

whereas, women from the upper class continued to attend finishing schools rather than colleges. Beginning in the 1890s, more affluent women entered college and brought with them the lifestyle of the elite that included increased emphasis on social activities.[79] Social activities proved to be divisive and exclusive among students from different socio-economic levels. Those students not falling within the socially acceptable framework created by more affluent students became outsiders. For the first time, women's colleges displayed the social hierarchy among students that had been a common feature of male colleges for decades.[80] During this second generation approval from social peers also became more desirable than approval from teachers.[81]

The second generation of college women experienced a change in the public's perception of the educated woman.

---

[79] Ibid., 147.

[80] Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 17. For a more general description of the changing campus life at southern colleges and universities see W. Bruce Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the "Age of the University" 1865-1917* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1992).

[81] Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 98. For a contemporary study of college life see Caroline Fuller, *Across the Campus: A Story of College Life* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899).

The first generation had dealt with common misconceptions such as physical fraility, mental problems, and the possibility of women losing their femininity, making many people suspicious of women's higher education. By the 1890s, the image of college women had been reshaped into the "college girl," making the image the opposite of the masculine college woman of the previous generation. Based upon Charles Dana Gibson's popular drawings of young women, the college girl became a derivation of his popular Gibson Girl. Gibson's drawings showed college women as healthy, energetic, and intelligent young women. This appealing image helped much of the public consider higher education more acceptable for young women; yet societal restraints and suspicion based on gender continued to limit the way most women could use their education.[82]

Just as college life and the image of the college woman changed, a shift occurred in the type of college most women attended. The choice to attend a coeducational college rather than a women's college came from a variety

---

[82] Lynn D. Gordon, "The Gibson Girl Goes to College: Popular Culture and Women's Higher Education in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920," *American Quarterly* 39(Summer 1987): 211; and Patricia Ann Palmeri, *In Adamless Eden: The Community of Women Faculty at Wellesley* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 218.

of factors, including geography and cost. Women received similar educational opportunities at both schools, where they most often took courses in subject areas, such as home economics, deemed appropriate for women. Even if women were not barred from studying engineering or law, the faculty continued to encourage women to pursue courses in the liberal arts.[83] In a 1933 study of issues facing women in college, the author encouraged women to be educated for their most likely future occupation. He wrote, "If the occupations of women who have graduated from southern colleges are a guide to necessary curriculum revisions, then training for the duties of homemaking, whatever this training may be, should occupy a major place in the curriculum of the college for women."[84] This argument continued to limit women's educational and career choices well into the twentieth century.

With academic choices limiting the opportunities for classroom interaction between men and women, cultural preferences also negated many opportunities for men and women to interact through campus life.[85] At many newly

---

[83] Ibid.

[84] Campbell, *Problems in the Education of Women*, 7.

[85] Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education*, 91.

created coeducational colleges, male students were decidedly opposed to admitting women especially in the Northeast.[86] Hostility toward women entering formerly all male colleges showed through campus protests and with men transferring to single-sex colleges.[87] Historians have argued that in more veiled efforts to segregate men and women on coeducational campuses, men's organizations pointedly excluded women from the established campus life structure. This forced women to retreat into a sex-segregated world and create a separate set of organizations and associations that eventually rivaled men's organizations for power on many campuses.[88]

The influence of fraternities and social organizations on campus signified the rise in importance of campus life during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These organizations often provided students with food, housing, and the only source of entertainment for students,

---

[86] Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1965), 272.

[87] Anne Firor Scott, ed., *The American Woman: Who was She?* (Englewood Clifs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), 64.

[88] Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 53 and 69.

especially at isolated campuses.[89] The rise of these campus organizations marked the emergence of peer activities, without adult supervision, as the main form of identification on campuses where conformity reigned.[90] The exclusion of women indicated their inferior status as "outsiders" in the hierarchy of coeducational campuses. Not until more affluent college women established sororities that aligned themselves with fraternities did women find a way to gain access to the male power structure of coeducational campuses.[91] Given their inability to break through the gender division where male-sponsored organizations and activities continued to dominate campus life, women began to use dating as a way to gain social prominence within the patriarchal college campus.[92]

Even with a variety of factors influencing women in their college choice, the education they received at either

---

[89] Lee, *The Campus Scene*, 4.

[90] Paula S. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 172.

[91] Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 17.

[92] Dorothy C. Holland and Margaret A. Eisenhart, *Educated in Romance: Women, Achievement, and College Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 79 and 83.

a single-sex or coeducational college provided them with similar academic and career opportunities. According to a survey of college graduates of both women's colleges and coeducational colleges in the South, "women pursue courses primarily designed for men with about the same degree of success as that achieved by the men."[93] The success of women in pursuing courses designed for men, however, did not translate into career opportunities after graduation. Women continued to be relegated to careers based on nineteenth-century standards of the proper place for women in society rather than on their academic achievement in college.

The last decades of the nineteenth century marked two significant shifts in the American higher educational system. First, the number of women attending college increased dramatically. Second, women were more likely to choose a coeducational college over a single sex college. In 1875 there were approximately 9,752 women attending women's colleges and 3,044 women being educated at coeducational colleges. In 1900, 15,977 women attended

---

[93] Campbell, *Problems in the Education of College Women*, 4.

single-sex colleges, with coeducation surpassing single-sex as the school of choice for 19,959 women.[94]

The transformation of the American higher educational system was not instantaneous. Just as the existence of academies, seminaries, and colleges overlapped in the mid-nineteenth century, the existence of sex-segregated colleges, for both men and women, along with coeducational colleges persisted throughout the twentieth century at both public and private schools. Social, cultural, and regional variations ensured that higher education would not be homogenous. The diversity of American higher education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be illustrated by studying the distinct educational system that developed in the South after the Civil War. The Southern educational system embodied many of the characteristics of greater trends in higher education, while, at the same time, it continued to cling to older academic models, especially for women in college. The experiences of southern college women have often been ignored or dismissed as antiquated rather than worthy of

---

[94] Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, "Women and Education," in *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History*, ed. Page Putnam Miller (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 134.

being incorporated into a greater understanding of the history of American higher education.

The South embodied the paradoxical nature of women's lives during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the post Civil War period the South dealt with significant changes in their traditional culture including the changing roles of women. Efforts to revolutionize southern institutions are exemplified through the changes taking place in the region's system of education. The changes taking place in the South had far-reaching implications for educated southern women by providing them with a wide variety of educational choices at both women's colleges and coeducational colleges. Yet most educated southern women struggled against deeply ingrained gender roles that consigned them to careers deemed appropriate for them, solely as women, regardless of their education.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE SOUTH'S STRUGGLE TO MAINTAIN A BALANCE BETWEEN AN IDEALIZED PAST AND AN UNIMAGINED FUTURE FOR WOMEN

In the late nineteenth century modernizing forces propelled the United States toward becoming a more homogenous nation. Industrialization and urbanization along with improvements in transportation and communication lessened many of the distinct aspects that set each region apart. The South, in particular, faced substantial changes in both the economy and the culture that had characterized the antebellum period. While much of the South remained tied to its agrarian roots, a growing number of middle- and upper-class southerners, encouraged and abetted by northern capitalists, wanted more industrial development. Their efforts to bring the South in line with the rest of the country involved changing the South's educational system at all levels. Educational progressives accepted the challenges of creating a new education system and

introduced diverse programs to achieve their middle-class urban values.[1]

This New South creed also embraced an idealized image of the past, one that encouraged a virtual worship of the "Old South" combined with a brutal depiction of African American rights and needs. Higher education in the South during this period then reflected both the Old South ideals found in the Lost Cause and many of the modern ideas associated with the New South.

The modernization of higher education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries failed to equalize higher education across the nation. Rather, distinct regional differences remained in the higher education system. Experts, then and even now, attribute the distinctiveness of southern education to the land and climate, the presence of both black and white students that

---

[1] For general studies of the Progressive Education movement throughout the country see Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957*.(New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961); Karen Graves, *Girls' Schooling during the Progressive Era* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc, 1998); William G. Anderson, "Progressivism: An Historiographical Essay," *History Teacher* 6 (May 1973): 427-452; and David Glassberg, "History and the Public: Legacies of the Progressive Era," *Journal of American History* 73 (March 1987): 957-980.

led to a dual system of education, and the patterns of tradition that often overshadowed the present.[2]

The Civil War left the southern people and landscape devastated. In the post-war years, most southerners returned to farming but the agrarian economy failed to bring the former Confederacy out of the desolation of the war.[3] A variety of factors contributed to the failure of the southern agrarian economy including changes in the world agricultural market, decreased farm production due to the break up of the antebellum plantation society, and the increase in diseases, like hookworm, that impeded rural southerners' ability to farm their land efficiently.[4] These combined factors led many Southerners and non-Southerners to believe that the South was an impediment to the nation's march toward reunification and economic prowess. They

---

[2] John Hardin Best, "Education in the Forming of the American South," *History of Education Quarterly* 36(Spring 1996): 45. For an in-depth study of southern higher education see Sam P. Wiggins, *Higher Education in the South* (Berkeley: McCutchen Publishing Corporation, 1966).

[3] For effects of the Civil War on the South see A.B. Moore, "One Hundred Years of Reconstruction of the South," *Journal of Southern History* 9 (May 1943): 153-180.

[4] Garland L. Brinkley, "The Decline in Southern Agricultural Output, 1860-1880," *Journal of Economic History* 57 (March 1997): 117-119.

perceived the South as isolated and illiterate, and associated the region with Jim Crow segregation, "mob violence, reactionary politics, and economic failure."[5]

By the 1880s a new breed of southern businessman, with the help of many northern and international capitalists, emerged to try to push the region out of its backwardness. Through industrial development, transportation improvements, and diversified scientific farming, proponents of the "New South" encouraged imitation of the North in all matters, save race relations. These changes could only take place if the South's antiquated social institutions could be improved.[6] Yet, few early New South spokesmen considered education the key to changing the region because most believed that industrialization and agricultural changes would raise the South out of poverty and backwardness more quickly than would an improved educational system. One of the few notable educational exceptions, B.H. Hill, a former Confederate general,

---

[5] Dewey W. Grantham, *The South in Modern America: A Region at Odds* (New York: Harper Collins, 1994), xv and xvi.

[6] Ibid., xvii; and Paul M. Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 7 and 27.

declared in an 1871 speech that the South's established universities should be at the forefront of teaching southern men the necessity of industrial technology. Other promoters of education stressed literacy rather than higher education in a region marked by the lack of educational opportunities at even the lowest levels. Yet education played only a secondary role in the ideology of the New South until the turn of the twentieth century.[7]

New South adherents understood that given the backwardness of the rural South, economic progress would have to begin in urban areas. Reformers, however, found that even the urban South had its limitations. Antebellum southern cities focused mainly on the shipment, via waterways first and railroads later, of agricultural crops. New South adherents wanted to create southern metropolitan corridors similar to those of the Midwest that linked industrial and transportation centers. Most leaders hoped that these small cities would become the center of the

---

[7] Gaston, *The New South Creed*, 35, 36, 105, and 106.

changing economy and culture of the South.[8]

The expansion of the antebellum railroad network, and the consolidation of power among a few lines, soon created new booming urban centers such as Atlanta, Georgia, Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Meridian, Mississippi. Towns vied for these improvements by touting the area's advantages that included climate, location, and population. The New South class of industrialists also desired respectability for themselves and their families that could only come from class-specific activities found at refined cultural institutions such as the opera and museums. Business leaders competed for additional industry by marketing their town's culture as evidenced in established churches, schools, and hospitals, and cultural institutions as well as pure water and sanitation services.[9]

Nashville, Tennessee, emerged during this period as one of the most stable New South cities with the cultural resources the business class wanted. Coming out of the

---

[8] Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South*, xiii; John R. Stilgoe, *Metropolitan Corridor: Railroads and the American Scene, 1870-1930* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 81-85; and Dewey W. Grantham, "The Contours of Southern Progressivism," *American Historical Review* 86 (December 1981): 1037.

[9] Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South*, 20.

Civil War relatively unscathed, Nashville had the opportunity to establish itself as both an industrial and cultural center. The educational system and cultural traditions already established in Nashville resulted in the city gaining the reputation as a moderately progressive Southern city with the self-proclaimed name of the "Athens of the South."[10]

Rather than becoming the industrial capital of the South, as many local leaders had hoped in the 1880s, Nashville earned a reputation as a service-oriented city that served as a regional center for banking, insurance, securities, education, and entertainment. In 1906, the Nashville Board of Trade published a publicity booklet entitled *Nashville, Its Advantages and Opportunities* describing the economic opportunities found in Nashville. The city included several well-maintained railroad facilities, highly respected financial institutions, and a prosperous real estate and building industry.[11] Local leaders soon realized that in order to remain prosperous

---

[10] Don H. Doyle, *Nashville in the New South, 1880-1930* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 211.

[11] William Waller, ed., *Nashville, 1900 to 1910* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972), 118-124.

Nashville would have to stand apart from other southern cities. Nashville's reputation was enhanced by the presence of several reputable colleges that indicated a cosmopolitan climate in the city. In addition, local businessmen understood that the colleges added money to the local economy through campus building programs, employment opportunities, and an often financially well-endowed student population that contributed to Nashville's economy.[12]

The city of Nashville contained schools that dated from the antebellum period and others that emerged with the New South. Founded in 1860 by a Dominican order of Catholic nuns, St. Cecilia Academy had a curriculum that included primary, intermediate, preparatory, and academic courses. St. Cecilia Academy continues to serve the educational needs of Nashville residents at its original location north of the Cumberland River.[13] Ward Seminary serves as an example of a post-bellum school in Nashville. Ward Seminary was established in 1865 and by 1893 had over

---

[12] Doyle, *Nashville*, 183 and 211.

[13] Lucius Salisbury Merriam, *Higher Education in Tennessee*, Contributions in American Educational History, ed. Herbert B. Adams (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), 254.

900 students. Located on Spruce Street, between Church and Broad Streets, students and educators enjoyed the experiences brought by New South industry and were close to depots, theaters, churches, and the business district. In addition, references to the school appeared in a book, written in the 1890s, that identified educational institutions found in Tennessee and helped enhance Nashville's reputation as the "Athens of the South." The author wrote about Ward Seminary, saying "there is no better known female school in the South than Ward's Seminary."[14]

Northern capitalist Cornelius Vanderbilt contributed substantial funds to the school that now bears his name, Vanderbilt University. The school also exemplified many of the aspects of a New South college including an increased awareness of the need to cultivate relationships with the population outside of academia. Administrators at Vanderbilt understood that, in order to maintain financial viability, they would need to connect with businessmen and

---

[14] Ibid.

industrialists.[15] Vanderbilt became the collegiate center of Nashville's New South elite for both academics and social life, with a diploma becoming a requirement for Nashville's upper class.[16] By the 1890s, businessmen could send both their sons and daughters to the university. Students during the 1890s used Vanderbilt for both its academic benefits and the benefits associated with the college life found at the university. Many believed that attending school at Vanderbilt provided women with a social life that could serve as a substitute for parties and cotillions that had become the hallmark of Nashville elites.[17]

Although many southern cities like Nashville contained increasingly powerful groups of citizens that encouraged greater opportunities for women, the changes taking place in the post Civil War South, however, left many southerners longing for an idealized past that, in hindsight, appeared simpler. Similar to previous generations that faced

---

[15] Joseph M Stetar, "In Search of a Direction: Southern Higher Education after the Civil War," *History of Education Quarterly* 25 (Autumn 1985): 355.

[16] Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South*, 205.

[17] Ibid., 205.

cultural and social upheaval through changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution, southern women became a cultural symbol from a romanticized past. This idealized image often denied women the opportunity to keep pace with the changing culture emerging in the post Civil War period. These efforts were not isolated to a few of the most faithful "Lost Cause" believers. The traditional roles of Southern women became a significant part of the growing nostalgia about the antebellum South.[18]

'In the late nineteenth century, southern higher educational institutions struggled to keep a balance between a longing for the past and the progressive educational trends shaping higher education in other regions. In many instances, southern colleges and universities became the primary cultural institutions charged with preserving the region's history, mythology, and traditions.[19] In addition, many southern colleges

---

[18] Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 5. For information how the changes taking place in the South affected women see Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

[19] Stetar, "In Search of A Direction," 350.

continued to be mired in their antebellum roots where college remained as a place only for white gentlemen that went to school to learn Greek and Roman classics.[20] Yet, Tennessee's college system successfully incorporated many aspects of these national trends and modernized their curricula, infrastructure, and extracurricular activities to imitate educational developments throughout the country. However, most administrators never forgot that the weight of the traditions of the Old South rested on the shoulders of the young women and men attending their schools. By combining educational innovations with longing for Old South traditions, many southern colleges maintained a sense of perspective in their reverence for the Old South while allowing them to look forward to the future of higher education within the constraints of "Jim Crow."

Southern education changed to address the transformation of the region wrought by industrialization and urbanization. The increasing population stretched city resources to their limits resulting in sanitation problems, poverty, and corrupt political machines, even in those

---

[20] Eugene D. Genovese, *The Southern Front: History and Politics in the Cultural War* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1995), 92 and 93.

cities with progressive governments.[21] Progressives also exposed the corrupt business and political practices that often resulted in the putrid city atmosphere characterized by industrial pollution, hazardous working conditions, and filthy city streets.[22] Southern progressives in particular blamed outside influence for the problems facing local governments. These young professionals wanted to continue the industrialization and urbanization processes started with the help of northern capitalists, yet they wanted these changes to be firmly in Southern control.[23]

Progressive reformers in the South coalesced to form a movement that encompassed both industrial problems and agricultural issues facing the rural areas and cultural issues—again save race—that affected the entire region. Southern reformers often focused on the traditions of rural people whom they saw as backward, slovenly, and uneducated.

---

[21] Elna C. Green, *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 15.

[22] Wheeler, *New Women of the New South*, 10.

[23] Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism: 1885-1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 126 and 127; and Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*, The Making of America Series, ed. David Donald (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 178-180.

Progressive educators believed that the classroom was the first line of defense against the social problems that plagued the South. Teachers served as the vital link between the progressive ideal and the rural southerners in need of help. Outside the classroom, progressives attempted to remake much of the rural South through agricultural extension work and home demonstration clubs.[24]

Progressive educators also tied public health reform closely with the public school system, with far-reaching effects for southern teachers and students. Just as hookworm was blamed for decreased agricultural production, the poor sanitary conditions that often resulted in the parasite seemed to account for the region's poor student performance and low attendance. Between 1909 and 1914, the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission worked with southern

---

[24] Mary S. Hoffschwelle, *Rebuilding the Rural Southern Community: Reformers, Schools, and Homes in Tennessee, 1900-1930* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 13-17; idem, "The Science of Domesticity: Home Economics at George Peabody College for Teachers, 1914-1939." *Journal of Southern History* LVII(November 1991): 660; and Grantham, "The Contours of Southern Progressivism, 1039. Also, Ann McCleary, "Shaping a New Role for the Rural Woman: The Home Demonstration Club Movement in Augusta County, Virginia, 1917-1940" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1996); and Mary Sara Hoffschwelle, "Rebuilding the Rural Southern Community: Reformers, Schools, and Homes in Tennessee, 1914-1929" (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1993).

educators to eradicate the conditions causing hookworm by promoting sanitary school facilities and school sponsored health screenings for children. Southern educators, trained at progressive southern colleges, applied their teaching skills beyond the classroom to help alleviate the problems that plagued rural schoolchildren and their families.[25]

This modernizing process began with education reform and became one of the most far-reaching education components of the Progressive movement in the South, eventually affecting the lives of even the most rural of southerners. As late as the 1890s, much of the region "remained in the slough of public poverty and a rudimentary school system."[26] School attendance was not mandatory; the school year lasted only three to four months; funding was insufficient from both local and state governments; and

---

[25] William A. Link, "Privies, Progressivism, and Public Schools: Health Reform and Education in the Rural South, 1909-1920," *Journal of Southern History* 54 (November 1988): 623-627.

[26] Dewey W. Grantham, *Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 246.

teachers were paid little and were often ill-prepared to teach.[27]

In 1898, a group of southern educators and interested northerners met in West Virginia to study the problems inherent in southern education. From this meeting, the Southern Education Board (SEB) grew into a leading educational committee that promoted the modernization of the public school system. Members conducted campaigns throughout the region aimed at both raising public interest in educating their children and training practicing teachers to be better prepared for classroom teaching. Racial intolerance, inherent in the South's political and social system, and the SEB's acquiescence to Jim Crow segregation ensured that African Americans would not receive the full benefits of the modernization they espoused. Initially they believed that the public education system could ensure racial acceptance through education. After encountering Jim Crow segregation first hand, the SEB maintained a policy that did as little as possible for African American students. They agreed to downplay their efforts to aid the African American

---

[27] Ibid., 247.

community and to accommodate southern prejudices against African American education by funding industrial schools rather than colleges.[28]

Similarly, the General Education Board (GEB) began in 1902 with money donated by John D. Rockefeller and functioned mainly as a funding source for a variety of programs created to enhance southern educational reform. The GEB funded diverse organizations that provided money for both white schools like Vanderbilt University and African American schools such as Tuskegee Institute.[29]

In Knoxville, Charles Dabney, president of the University of Tennessee (UT), administered a summer school program to properly train teachers. Students came from all over the South, with more than 32,000 students participating in the program. Beginning in 1902, the Summer School of the South was formed as an independent institution administered at UT and sought to help educate Southern teachers. One of the primary goals of the Summer

---

[28] Louis R. Harlan, "The Southern Education Board and the Race Issue in Public Education," *Journal of Southern History* 23 (May 1957): 189-195.

[29] Ibid., 85 and 86; Hoffschwelle, "The Science of Domesticity," 673; and Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 83-87.

School was to turn southern teachers into advocates for change who would return to their communities seeking additional educational reforms. The Summer School consisted of four departments: common school subjects and methods, psychology and pedagogy, high school and college subjects, and general lectures and conferences. Participants studied in each of these departments for six to seven days per week for six weeks. Marked by success from the beginning, in the first year alone, over 2,019 students registered (687 men and 1332 women). The number of students increased the second year to over 2,150.[30] By 1911, the Summer School of the South had become the largest program of its kind in the country. Changes in the University of Tennessee faculty administering the program, increasing competition from newer summer schools and changing educational trends led to the demise of the program. The Summer School of the South came to an end

---

[30] Charles William Dabney, *Universal Education in the South,* vol. 2 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), 106 and 107. For an in-depth study of southern education up to 1900 see Charles William Dabney, *Universal Education in the South,* vol. 1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936).

after the 1918 session, ending a significant chapter in southern progressive education.[31]

Additionally, Tennessee became the location of a teachers' college that embodied the Progressive reform movement in the South. Established in 1911, the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville trained teachers in a wide variety of progressive subjects, with home economics becoming one of their most prominent subject areas. In 1910, administrators of the future George Peabody College purchased 25 acres of land from the former Roger Williams University, an African American college in west Nashville, to establish a college with the funds remaining in the Peabody Education Fund that had been created by northern philanthropist George Peabody. The Home Economics building became the first building added to the campus in order to compete with the newly established state normal schools that were also incorporating home economics into their curricula.[32] School administrators

---

[31] Ibid., 247-252; James R. Montgomery, "The Summer School of the South," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 22 (December 1963): 376-381.

[32] As part of the General Education Bill of 1909, a state-funded normal school was established in each of the three regions of Tennessee. East Tennessee State Normal School was located in Johnson City, Middle Tennessee State

created the Home Economics Program to train women to go out into the South and use their education to help rural women become more efficient and sanitary wives and mothers. These far-reaching goals had the potential to affect both college-educated women and women who had never entered a formal classroom. The Home Economics department at George Peabody College embodied the duality of women's learning experiences through their emphasis on both traditional domesticity and educational reform that depended on women performing very public roles throughout the rural South. Peabody further distinguished itself in 1916 through the establishment of the first graduate program in home economics. By the 1920s, Peabody administrators sought a new direction for the university and began de-emphasizing the school's tradition of rural reform. Without a reform agenda, the home economics department lost its status at Peabody, transforming home economics into only a small component of teacher education courses.[33]

Normal School was located in Murfreesboro, and West Tennessee State Normal School was established in Memphis.

[33] Hoffschwelle, "The Science of Domesticity," 662-675; and Bobby L. Lovett, *The African American History of Nashville, Tennessee, 1780-1930*, Black Community Studies Series, ed. Willard B. Gatewood (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1999), 151.

Simultaneously southern institutions of higher education benefited from educational reform and promoted that reform through the work of faculty and administrators. The importance of the college and university in improving Southern society was illustrated by the degree to which New South ideals infiltrated all aspects of southern culture. The university had become symbolic of the progressive movement that worked to modernize the South into progressive democracy.[34]

One of the most distinguished members of the progressive education movement in Tennessee spoke about the problems reformers faced in attempting to persuade the lower classes that their children should be properly educated. Philander P. Claxton, a University of Tennessee teacher, admitted that progressives often assumed that being a farmer or mechanic was an unenviable position and lower class families would want their children to adopt the behaviors of the middle class. A native Tennessean, Claxton understood first-hand the poor quality of the state's educational system. Claxton spent his career advocating

---

[34] Michael Dennis, *Lessons in Progress: State Universities and Progressivism in the New South, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 3.

educational reform in the South through his work at all levels of education from rural schools to colleges and the Summer School of the South.

In 1906, Claxton began a statewide campaign to renew public interest in education and lobby for education legislation. An impressive array of University of Tennessee faculty and administrators traveled throughout the state speaking at diverse venues including courthouses, schools, churches, or even bars. Claxton spoke in each of the ninety-six counties between July and November of 1906. Claxton attempted to describe education in terms that all Tennesseans could understand. He used mottos like "Education Makes Wealth" or "No Freedom Without Education" to teach parents that their children would have a better future if they received a proper education.[35] When the general assembly met in 1907, Claxton continued lobbying legislators by attending their sessions to ensure the bills were properly introduced. With initial legislative success in 1907, Claxton held rallies throughout the state for the passage of the General Education Bill in the summer of

---

[35] Charles Lee Lewis, *Philander Priestley Claxton: Crusader for Public Education* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1948), 152-157.

1908. The General Education Bill came before the state legislature in 1909 and called for 30 percent of the state's gross revenue to be earmarked for public education. The majority of the money would go to each county according to the number of students. Ten percent would go to aid weaker schools, $33,600 to increase county superintendents' salaries, 8 percent would establish county high schools, and 1 percent would establish public libraries. Thirteen percent would establish four state normal schools, one for whites in east, middle, and west Tennessee and one for African Americans, and 7 percent would go to the state's land grant college, the University of Tennessee. After much lobbying and agreement that the percentage of gross revenue would be reduced from 30 percent to 25 percent, the bill passed.[36] Claxton continued to lobby the Tennessee legislature for the passage of bills favorable to public education until he was appointed the U.S. Commissioner of Education in 1911. Claxton's work in Tennessee and with the Southern Education Board ensured his place in the southern progressive education movement.

---

[36] Ibid., Lewis, *Philander Priestley Claxton*, 162-168; and Hoffschwelle, *Rebuilding the Rural Southern Community*, 19-21.

While educators like Dabney and Claxton continued to lobby the state legislature for the funding for education, by the early part of the twentieth century, many progressive educators re-directed their reform efforts to concentrate on vocational training for lower-class boys and girls.[37] Vocational training had been accepted by many educators and government officials in the late nineteenth century. With the changing nature of the American workplace, educators viewed manual training through vocational education, at first, as a complement to traditional education. Many of the students entering college in the post Civil War period wanted something different from their predecessors' education. These less affluent students wanted more practical courses that emphasized agricultural and mechanical arts instruction and that would aid them in their desire to accumulate wealth through a profession.[38]

---

[37] Grantham, *Southern Progressivism*, 263; Hoffschwelle, "The Science of Domesticity," 660; and Sari Knopp Biklen, "The Progressive Education Movement and the Question of Women," *Teachers College Record* 80 (December 1978): 319-321.

[38] Stetar, "In Search of a Direction," 346; and Samuel H. Shannon, "'Land-Grant College Legislation and Black Tennesseans: A Case Study in the Politics of Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 22 (Summer 1982): 139.

Although many educators believed that vocational education would help students earn money in the changing job market, many school administrators targeted certain segments of the school population for manual training because they assumed these students had no skills to develop but those of the factory or the field.[39] Many northern sponsored vocational schools and vocational education programs in public schools targeted African American women, in particular, for training in the garment industry through piecework. While reformers often viewed homework as oppressive, many African American women viewed working at home as a positive alternative to working outside the home so they could be closer to their families.[40]

The development of home economics affected women for generations. With increasing industrialization in the late

---

[39] Herbert M. Kliebard, *Schooled to Work: Vocationalism and the American Curriculum, 1876-1946* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999), 13; and James C. Cobb, "Beyond Planters and Industrialists: A New Perspective on the New South," *Journal of Southern History* 54 (February 1988): 58.

[40] Eileen Boris, *Home to Work: Motherhood and the Politics of Industrial Homework in the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994; reprint, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 191 and 192 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

nineteenth century taking more women out of the home and into the work world, fears arose that the home and children were suffering.[41] Home economics programs in schools became a way to combat the perceived effects of industrialization on the home and children. Home economics programs in colleges and universities began in the 1880s and steadily grew in popularity because educators were convinced "of the efficiency of trained women as factors in sanitary progress."[42] Promoters of home economics, like Ellen H. Richards, supported sanitary work through schools as well as women's clubs that could reach a wider group of women

---

[41] For a general history of southern women's experiences during this period see Carol Bleser, ed., *In Joy and In Sorrow: Women, Family and Marriage in the Victorian South, 1830-1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); and Walter R. Fraser, Jr., Frank Saunders, Jr., and Jon L. Wakelyn, ed., *The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family, & Education* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985).

[42] Hoffschwelle, "The Science of Domesticity," 662-675; and Ellen H. Richards, *Euthenics: The Science of Controllable Environment* (Boston: Whitcomb & Barrows, 1912), 104. For more information on prescriptive literature for women see Catharine E. Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy, For the Use of Young Ladies at Home, and at School* (Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb, 1841); and Catharine Beecher, *Educational Reminiscences and Suggestions* (New York: J.B. Ford and Company, 1874).

through outreach work in urban areas.[43] Southern progressives also adhered to this philosophy and saw home economics as a way to influence rural southerners. Training in home economics both helped legitimize work in the domestic sphere through the use of learned, scientific methods and signaled to women that even as the rest of American society changed, their primary role would continue to be in the home or in an extension of the home. This professionalization of the domestic world had far-reaching effects.[44]

The presence of home economics in the lower levels of education meant that college-educated women would continue to be steered toward those subjects that would help prepare them to be teachers of home economics. Through the Smith-Lever Act (1914) and the Smith-Hughes Act (1916) the federal government provided funding for home economics from the elementary level through graduate school. In addition to providing funding, the federal government set rigorous requirements for teachers of home economics. Regulations

---

[43] Ellen H. Richards, *Sanitation in Daily Life*, 2d ed. (Boston: Whitcomb & Barrows, 1910), 65.

[44] Kliebard, *Schooled to Work*, 42; and Hoffschwelle, "The Science of Domesticity," 666.

required a four-year college degree that included technical training, supervised student teaching, home management experience, generally in a practice home or dormitory, and courses in child, family, and community development.[45]

In the first edition of the *Hyphen* in 1913, a publication created by students to help unite the alumnae of the newly merged Ward Seminary and Belmont College, a high school and junior college in Nashville, students depicted the rigors of the school's home economics courses. They wrote, "Second year girls have all sorts of interesting work begun which they will show us more of later in the year. Just now, besides all their lectures on home administration and nursing and cooking, they are actually making their own Christmas candies and plum pudding."[46]

Courses in home economics became standard in the curricula at both single-sex and coeducational colleges, growing in importance as the need for technical training advanced between 1919 and 1927, but leaving other areas of

---

[45] Hoffschwelle, "The Science of Domesticity," 661 and 670.

[46] *The Hyphen of Ward-Belmont*, December 1913, Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

the curricula less open to women. Encouraging women to enroll in subject areas based on traditional ideas about their role in society reflected the attitude many progressive educators maintained even while they encouraged women to become vocal advocates for progressive reform. According to historian Amy Thompson McCandless, progressive educators wanted to use higher education to mold "new women" who were more refined and better educated than their predecessors without deviating too far from acceptable domestic roles, often making college little more than an acceptable place to wait for marriage.[47]

Home economics courses had both positive and negative effects on southern women's college choices. These courses steered women into professional positions such as home demonstration agents or teachers, thus finally affording them deserved recognition. Conversely, courses meant specifically for female students solidified the traditional roles that had limited women's career opportunities for

---

[47] Hoffschwelle, "Science of Domesticity," 670; Dennis, *Lessons in Progress*, 4; and Biklen, "The Progressive Education Movement and the Question of Women," 325-329; and Amy Thompson McCandless, "Progressivism and the Higher Education of Southern Women," *North Carolina Historical Review* LXX (July 1993): 318.

generations.[48] Women at both single-sex and coeducational colleges chose Home Economics for many of the same reasons. Home economics provided a haven for women at coeducational campuses where they faced no competition from men in the classroom. And after graduation home economics also provided women with a positive career option where they did not have to compete with men for jobs that utilized their training in home economics.[49]

Although educators made great strides throughout the late nineteenth century by advocating increased funding, better prepared teachers, and practical vocational courses, the South continued to resist even the most basic educational principles. As late as 1900, no southern state had compulsory school attendance laws, continuing the nineteenth-century tradition at "colleges" of accepting students too young to be admitted as true college students. With little opportunity for standardized educational training at the lower levels, or without having a full twelve years of elementary and secondary education, prospective students were nonetheless accepted into most

---

[48] Grantham, *Southern Progressivism*, 269.

[49] Ibid., 678.

southern colleges.[50] In 1905, Tennessee became the first southern state to institute a law requiring compulsory school attendance.[51]

Compulsory school attendance laws did not alleviate the problem of colleges enrolling students that were unable to produce college-level work. In Tennessee, both single-sex and coeducational colleges still faced an ill-prepared student population. In 1924, the college population at most Tennessee schools included secondary students and special or unclassified students. Out of a total collegiate population of 11,667 "resident students," 2,709 were secondary students, 7,919 were college students, 178 were graduate students, 861 were special and unclassified students, and 766 fell under "extension and

---

[50] Amy Thompson McCandless, *The Past in the Present: Women's Higher Education in the Twentieth Century South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 19-28.

[51] Compulsory school attendance laws were passed in the remainder of southern states throughout the early twentieth century: Arkansas in 1909, Alabama in 1915, Florida in 1915, Georgia in 1916, Louisiana in 1910, Mississippi in 1918, North Carolina 1907, South Carolina in 1915, and Texas in 1915. Department of Education National center for Educational Statistics, Available [Online]: www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0112617. 22, November 2004.

correspondence."[52] Only when the South's secondary educational system properly educated college-bound students and the professional world required a higher quality of college education did many colleges drop their preparatory departments completely.[53] Given the problems inherent in Tennessee's public education system, many Tennessee colleges continued to maintain preparatory departments well into the twentieth century. As late as 1950 Ward-Belmont College maintained a preparatory department, only choosing to eliminate this department when the school became coeducational in the fall of 1951.[54]

The bleak educational situation found in Tennessee exemplified the circumstances found throughout much of the South. In an 1896-97 survey performed by the United States Bureau of Education, Tennessee ranked twenty-eighth in the nation in college and university attendance. Even with the state's compulsory school attendance laws and efforts from progressive education reformers, the state's ranking fell

---

[52] United States Bureau of Education, *A Survey of Higher Education in Tennessee, 1924* (Nashville: Tennessee College Association, 1926), 49.

[53] Ibid., 31.

[54] *The Nashville Tennessean*, 3 May, 1951.

precipitously over the next twenty years. College attendance in Tennessee declined during the first decades of the twentieth century, with the state's ranking falling to last place in 1920-21, prompting the government's study. Tennessee's ranking climbed by one in 1922-23.[55] Facing bleak prospects, Tennessee men and women were likely to leave the state to be educated. Surveyors found that 30 percent of men and 36 percent of women left the state to attend college compared to the national averages of 29 percent of men and 23 percent of women.[56]

Poor performance was not the only reason for the drop—there was also a matter of definition. Beginning in the 1880s the United States Commissioner of Education distinguished between schools upholding collegiate standards and those simply claiming to be colleges.[57] In Tennessee, the Bureau of Education recommended that the state "limit the degree-granting power and the use of the word 'college' and 'university' to such institutions as

---

[55] Bureau of Education, *A Survey of Higher Education*, 9.

[56] Ibid., 43-45.

[57] Elizabeth Barber Young, *A Study of the Curricula of Seven Selected Women's Colleges of the Southern States* (New York: Teachers College of Columbia University, 1932), 75.

measure up to certain reasonable objective standards, and that the administration of the work be delegated to the State Board of Education."[58] Due, in part, to the more lenient use of the title "college" in 1890, Tennessee had forty colleges and universities. In 1924 when the Bureau of Education performed their survey, and officials followed the federal definition of a college, Tennessee had twenty-one colleges and universities, nine junior colleges, four professional schools, six public normal schools, two private normal schools, and five colleges for African Americans.[59] The Bureau surveyors remained unconvinced that Tennessee was really measuring college students. They concluded "the fact is that in Tennessee, as in most other States, the State sets no definite standard for the use of the word 'college' which means that a 'college' may be almost any school which chooses to call itself thus."[60]

The ambiguous definition of a "college" education proved to reform leaders that the system of higher education needed overhauling as much as the lower levels of

---

[58] Bureau of Education, *Survey of Higher Education*, 104.

[59] Ibid., 31.

[60] Ibid., 37.

education. They created local, state, and regional organizations to influence the system of higher education and to place a greater emphasis on educational standards. The SEB and the GEB also monitored the standards of colleges and universities in the South.[61] Critics of the reform agenda criticized the SEB as a propaganda organization that investigated and preached about education and labeled the GEB as a group of businessmen who provided the money to do the work the propagandists preached about.[62] This value-loaded definition actually was not far from the mark with both organizations using self-promoting tactics to influence the direction of the southern education system.

To combat the lack of standardization in southern colleges, the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of Southern States worked to standardize college rankings so that preparatory departments could be separated

---

[61] Michael Dennis, "Schooling Along the Color Line: Progressives and the Education of Blacks in the New South" *Journal of Negro Education* 67(1999): 144.

[62] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 86.

from colleges.[63] At the local level, states often created organizations that worked specifically toward improving issues within that state.

The Tennessee College Association (TCA) began as a network where Tennessee colleges could share helpful information. Organized in 1919, educators met at the University of Chattanooga to begin a survey of Tennessee's educational climate. One goal of the survey was to provide means to improve the education system and to outline a policy for the entire state. The main goal of the association as a whole was "to secure the advancement of the cause of higher education by the promotion of interests common to the colleges of Tennessee."[64] Twenty-six colleges and junior colleges made up the original membership of TCA including Maryville College, Tennessee College, and Ward-Belmont. No African American colleges were included in the early years of the TCA. The Association agreed to give member colleges five years to "conform as nearly as possible to the regulations set by the Association of

---

[63] McCandless, *The Past in the Present*, 34 and 35.

[64] Bureau of Education, *Survey of Higher Education*, 3.

Colleges and Secondary Schools for Southern States."[65] The requirements dealt with a variety of issues including admission of students only after completing a four-year high school course or equivalent courses or admission of students over twenty years old as special students only. In addition, students should carry thirty semester hours of work and teachers should not teach more than eighteen hours per week. Their requirements also addressed the issue of enrolling unqualified students. TCA maintained that member schools' preparatory departments should be separate from the college. Each member school was also required to have five separate departments with the up-to-date equipment needed for each class.[66] The requirements for admission to the TCA were strictly enforced by 1924, with colleges being turned down for admission. In an October 1, 1924, letter Clinton H. Gillingham, TCA Secretary-Treasurer and administrator at Maryville College, explained to the president of Martin College the reasons the women's junior college was denied admission to the organization.

---

[65] "Conditions Under Which College Work Should Be Done," Tennessee College Association Records, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[66] Ibid.

Gillingham wrote that the lack of standardization at Martin College made it ineligible for entrance. He explained the difficult process Maryville College undertook for fifteen years in order to receive accreditation from the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States. He further encouraged Martin College to adopt the standards set forth by the association.[67]

The Tennessee College Association created committees staffed by educators from each of the member colleges to address specific issues. Committees included the Committee on Entrance Requirements, Standards, and Classification (the only permanent committee), the Committee on Visitation, and the Committee on Nomination.[68] Low college attendance had plagued the state for decades and the TCA proposed innovative methods to increase young people's interest. The TCA found that college attendance was closely linked to high school attendance and high school graduation. TCA proposed a "College Week" to be set aside during the academic year at all Tennessee high schools.

---

[67] Letter to President George A. Morgan, October 1, 1924, Tennessee College Association Collection.

[68] Letter to Thomas Alexander, March 26, 1920, Tennessee College Association Collection.

Speakers from colleges would visit each school and "present to the students of the secondary schools the advantages of higher education to the individual and to the State."[69] Similarly the TCA wanted to encourage the creation of college clubs in high schools in order to pique students' interests. They also recommended providing eligible students with more opportunities for fellowships and scholarships. Finally, the TCA suggested that teachers' colleges, normal schools, and teachers' associations encourage students to attend college.[70]

Another focused group was the Southern Association of College Women, which dealt specifically with the issues found in the higher education of women in the South. In 1903, seventeen college-educated women met at the University of Tennessee to establish the Southern Association of College Women (SACW) to encourage southern colleges to raise their academic standards to meet those of colleges in other regions. The University of Tennessee, under the leadership of Charles Dabney, had been the

---

[69] "Suggestions for Improving Conditions Relating to College Attendance in Tennessee," Tennessee College Association Records.

[70] Ibid.

location of many of the progressive changes taking place in southern higher education. Three women with distinctive backgrounds in higher education served as the planners of this inaugural meeting. They included Emilie Watts McVea, a University of Tennessee English teacher, Lilian Wyckoff Johnson, a University of Tennessee assistant professor of history, and Celestia Susannah Parrish, head of the Department of Pedagogy at Georgia State Normal School in Athens, Georgia.[71] The SACW maintained rigid membership standards especially when considering the limited access to an acceptable "college" education for southern women. The SACW required that new members could only come from colleges or universities that met the standards recognized by the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, the Carnegie Foundation, the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States, and the North Central Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools.[72] The requirements set by the founding members of the SACW

---

[71] Dorothy D. DeMoss, "A 'Fearless Stand'": The Southern Association of College Women, 1903-1921." *Southern Studies* 26(1986): 249 and 250.

[72] Ibid., 250.

severely limited the number of southern women who could join the reform organization.

The early participants in the SACW represented the reality of higher education for women in the South. The seventeen women who served as founding members of the SACW represented three basic types of college-educated women: southern women graduates of northern colleges, northern women graduates of northern colleges living in the South, and southern graduates of southern colleges. The three original officers of the organization were native-born southerners and each of them graduated from northern colleges.[73] In addition their experiences at prestigious coeducational colleges also influenced their ideas about women's higher education. Emilie Watts McVea attended coeducational George Washington University in Washington D.C., earning both her A.B. and A.M. degrees.[74] Lillian Wyckoff Johnson earned her Bachelor of Arts degree from the coeducational University of Michigan and her doctorate from coeducational Cornell University. Celestia Susannah

---

[73] DeMoss, "A 'Fearless Stand,' 249 and 250.

[74] Martha Lou Stohlman, *The Story of Sweet Briar College*, Sweet Briar, VA: Sweet Briar Alumnae Association, 1956.

Parrish earned her Bachelor's degree from Cornell University in 1896 and later studied at the coeducational University of Chicago in 1897, 1898, and 1899.[75]

With the lack of quality in women's higher education evident by the small number of southern women capable of joining the SACW, the organization worked independently for almost two decades to secure higher standards for women's colleges and universities. The organization functioned mainly through committee work. The Committee on College Clubs and College Days served as recruiters among both urban and rural high school students. The Committee on Scholarships created examinations as a basis for awarding scholarships. The Committee on Standards of Colleges gained the most public recognition and wielded the most far-reaching impact on the southern educational system through its work in ranking colleges.[76]

The Committee on Standards of Colleges concentrated its efforts on the definition of a "college." Chair

---

[75] "Index of/westernarchives/presidents", Available [Online]: www.units.muohio.edu/westernarchives/presidents, 22 November 2004; and Roger K. Thomas, "Celestia Susannah Parrish (1853-1918): Pioneering Psychologist, Native Virginian, and "Georgia's Greatest Woman," www.arches.uga.edu/~rkthomas/Parrish, 22 November 2004.

[76] DeMoss, "A 'Fearless Stand,' 250 and 251.

Elizabeth Avery Colton believed the lack of standardization in women's colleges led to generations of women poorly prepared for work after graduation. Colton differed from her male counterparts on how to assess a school's progress. State university officials stressed increasing social outreach as a mark of progress, whereas Colton determined a school's achievements through academic excellence.[77] She described her assessment system as "a basis of classification which might indicate, however inadequately, some distinction between institutions which are merely inferior secondary schools and those which are really doing more or less college work."[78]

Due to Colton's high academic standards, institutional membership in the Association of Colleges of the Southern States marked the highest and most academically challenging category. Institutions that offered four-year degree requirements but did not meet the standards of the Association of Colleges of the Southern States made up the second category. The third category included schools

---

[77] Dennis, *Lessons in Progress*, 36.

[78] Elizabeth Avery Colton, "Standards of Southern Colleges for Women," *The School Review* 20(September 1912): 458 and 459.

offering two or more years of preparatory work toward a baccalaureate degree. The lowest category included schools that counted three to four years of preparatory work toward a baccalaureate degree.[79] In 1912, Colton published her initial ranking of 142 schools, based on information gathered through school catalogues. Her Association of Colleges of the Southern States only recognized four of those as schools offering standard college courses. These included Agnes Scott College in Decatur, Georgia, Goucher College in Baltimore, Maryland, Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Virginia, and Sophie Newcomb Memorial College in New Orleans, Louisiana.[80]

Colton concluded that standards would not rise until preparatory students were eliminated from college campuses. She claimed that "it is on account of the very small proportion of regular college students in our colleges for women that so few of them can afford to conform to the regulations of the Association of Colleges of the Southern States."[81] Many southern women's college administrators,

---

[79] Ibid., 459.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid., 460.

teachers, and students recognized the need to separate the two groups of students. In the 1903 edition of *The Iris*, Ward Seminary students complained of how the "irregular" students diluted the campus environment. "The Irregulars of Ward are the salt of the earth. Their irregularities add spice to the pursuit of education, confusion to the curriculum, and the panic of hopeless consternation to the sedate and solemn Faculty."[82]

Tradition—and financial necessities—at many women's colleges dictated the presence of "special" students on the campus. Special students concentrated on music, art, or voice rather than academic subjects. Colton argued that the presence of the student who "specializes" rather than taking academic courses was the main distinction between eastern and southern colleges. She illustrated her point by comparing Vassar and Greensboro Female College. Out of 1,030 students at Vassar only 100 took any "special" courses. In contrast, out of 215 students at Greensboro 151 students were enrolled in special courses. Colton summed up her argument: "A department of music is, of course, indispensable in a woman's college; but if an

---

[82] *The Iris* (1903), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

institution wishes to be recognized as a *college*, it is safer for it not to try to be 'the leading conservatory of music in the South!'"[83]

The Southern Association of College Women continued working to improve educational opportunities for women in the South until 1921 when the organization merged with the Association of Collegiate Alumnae to form the American Association of University Women. This new organization moved beyond regional problems and worked to improve women's higher education on a national scale and continues to help women in higher educational pursuits.[84]

Although it would be decades before women's higher educational opportunities would be equitable to men's, progressive educational reform left an indelible mark on women's education in the twentieth-century South. Reform efforts often resulted in better opportunities for women to receive some degree of higher education, even as traditional ideas about women and their place in society limited their opportunities.

---

[83] Colton, "Standards of Southern Colleges for Women," 463.

[84] DeMoss, "A 'Fearless Stand,'" 259.

Due to segregation and prevailing stereotypes about the ability of African Americans to learn, all levels of education developed distinctly from the higher education of white southerners. Since many white southerners barely tolerated universal education for white children, they did not look favorably on the idea of educating all black children in the public school system. The African American community worked toward universal education for all children because former slaves saw reading and writing as a way to distinguish their children from past oppression, indicating that they had been freed.[85]

In contrast to the traditional educational ideal envisioned by many African Americans, vocational education crept into the ideology of African American education at all levels by the 1880s. With industrialization a factor in southern life in the late nineteenth century, New South adherents wanted to find ways to socialize lower class whites and blacks to be content working in southern fields and factories. Vocational education became one of the ways southern whites could produce a qualified and unquestioning labor force. According to historian James Anderson, the

---

[85] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 17.

vocational curricula also helped instill the South's bigoted racial hierarchy in both black and white children at a young age.[86]

The competition between a classic education and a vocational education dominated higher education for African Americans during much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Hampton Institute in Virginia became the leading vocational training school in the South. Created in 1866, Hampton Institute concentrated on industrial training rather than the classical subjects taught in most white colleges.[87] White southerners accepted the Hampton model, calling for less collegiate training and emphasizing vocational training.[88]

In contrast, many African Americans advocated a classical education and worked to establish Howard, Fisk, and Atlanta universities for African Americans, with each school becoming well known for its professional rather than

---

[86] Ibid., 27.

[87] Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 12 and 25.

[88] Raymond Wolters, *The New Negro on Campus: Black College Rebellions of the 1920s* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 14 and 15.

vocational programs.[89] Support for a classical education at African American schools continued after it went out of fashion in white schools, with liberal arts, scientific, and literary programs added as an afterthought. The tendency to concentrate on a classical curriculum made black colleges and universities appear antiquated by the early twentieth century, yet, the classical curriculum provided the African American community with a sense of empowerment and prepared black students to compete well with white students when the opportunity arose.[90]

The debate surrounding vocational or classical education for African Americans had been raging since the mid-1870s. Proponents of each type of education criticized the other as either limiting African American's social mobility or educating them with unrealistic expectations for their futures.[91] In the late nineteenth and early

---

[89] Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women*, 12.

[90] Stephanie J. Shaw, *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 79.

[91] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 65 and 77; and Daniel Walden, "The Contemporary Opposition to the Political and Educational Ideas of Booker T. Washington," *Journal of Negro History* 45 (April 1960): 103-107.

twentieth centuries this debate became synonymous with two prominent African Americans, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois. Booker T. Washington, a former slave, became the best known advocate for vocational education and manual training through his work at Hampton Institute and Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama. Washington focused primarily on rural uplift through agricultural training. Washington and other prominent African American educators trained Tuskegee students to go back into their communities to work with rural farmers in scientific farming practices.[92] These and other African American schools promoted vocational education and manual training for both men and women. Much like Charles Dabney and other southern progressive educators, Washington based his philosophy on the belief that students should be educated according to their personal experiences and for the community from which they came. This meant that rural students, living in poverty, should be taught scientific

---

[92] Allen W. Jones, "The Role of Tuskegee Institute in the Education of Black Farmers," *Journal of Negro History* 60 (April 1975), 253.

farming and industrial skills that would benefit them later in life.[93]

Opponents to industrial training believed that African American subordination to whites was the underlying purpose of industrial education. W.E.B. DuBois became the most prominent opponent of the educational philosophy espoused by Booker T. Washington. DuBois commented on Washington's compromise position with the white community and expressed concern that Washington's concentration on industrial education limited the higher education of all African Americans.[94] A classical education, DuBois argued, would provide for increased social mobility for the African American community. He believed that a liberal education would lead to professions such as education, law, and medicine, the hallmarks of the middle and upper classes in the South.[95]

The education of African American women held a special

---

[93] Donald Generals, "Booker T. Washington and Progressive Education: An Experimentalist Approach to Curriculum Development and Reform," *Journal of Negro Education* 69(Summer 2000): 216; and Dabney, *Universal Education in the South*, 165.

[94] Walden, "The Contemporary Opposition," 111.

[95] Dennis, "Schooling Along the Color Line," 148-150.

place for the women themselves and the larger community. Their years of educational achievements were visible steps toward racial equality, with many African American men and women understanding that in order to have any sense of personal achievement, racial equality had to be the main goal.[96] Therefore African American women's education became more than a way to improve themselves or their families, making the model for black women "one of achievement in both public and private spheres."[97] The importance many African Americans placed on women's education differed greatly from the white community's attitude toward white women's education. The African American community believed that "the status of the race depended on the status of its women."[98]

African American women rarely attended single-sex schools.[99] Coeducation for African Americans was common

---

[96] Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South*, 6.

[97] Shaw, *What a Woman Ought to Be and Do*, 29.

[98] Ibid., 81. For information on African-American women's leadership opportunities during and after college see "The Status of Female Leadership: By the Numbers," *Black Issues in Higher Education* 19 (March 2002): 29-31.

[99] Single sex schools for African American women in the South included Spelman in Atlanta, Georgia and Bennett

after the establishment of the first black colleges during the Civil War. A variety of missionary and philanthropic societies also established colleges for African Americans. Lacking funding for separate colleges for women, the new schools also admitted women from the beginning. Created by the American Missionary Society and incorporated as Fisk University in 1867, this leading African American college taught women since its inception. Fisk University's reputation as the "'capstone' of black private higher education" proved the acceptance of coeducation for African American higher education in the South well before it became commonplace for white higher education.[100] Fisk University continued to be recognized as one of the top African American colleges with its Class "A" ranking by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. Founded in 1895, this organization ranked southern schools according

---

College (which was coeducational until 1926) in Greensboro, North Carolina. For a listing of African American coeducational and single sex colleges see Jeanne L Noble, *The Negro Woman's College Education* (New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College at Columbia University, 1956).

[100] Joe M. Richardson, *A History of Fisk University, 1865-1946* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1980), 13-16; and Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 239, 263, and 264.

to the association's standards. It was only in 1928 that the organization began ranking African American colleges. In 1930, Fisk University was the only African American college to receive a Class "A" ranking.[101]

The limits of funding and support for African American women's higher education extended into the professions. Black women, like most white women, were trained to teach children. With most southern states providing a segregated educational system, black women served as the logical choice to teach African American children. Both industrial and classical colleges offered courses that funneled women into education. Following similar trends in white colleges, domestic arts taught women domestic skills needed for their families and helped prepare them to become teachers.[102]

The cultural, economical, and racial climate of the South produced a higher educational system that reflected many of the ingrained beliefs about women's proper role in

---

[101] Commission on Colleges, *Black Colleges in the South: From Tragedy to Promise* (Atlanta, GA: Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1971), 5.

[102] Ibid., 78; Neverdon-Morton, *Afro-American Women of the South*, 25; and Jeanne L. Noble, *The Negro Woman's College Education* (New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College at Columbia University, 1956), 33.

society. Just as the economy of the region pushed the South away from its antebellum roots, southerners struggled to maintain a link to the past. White southern women became that link and women's higher education overall reflected the traditional lessons that left most southern women isolated from the advances women in other regions made during the late nineteenth century. Racial segregation guaranteed that few black and white women received an education that would help them overcome their racial differences. When educational trends did seep into the southern higher education system they were more controversial and less likely to be adopted universally. Change did happen in the South during this period but it happened more slowly and remained controversial for a much longer time.

CHAPTER THREE
TWO TENNESSEE WOMEN'S COLLEGES THAT RESISTED COEDUCATION

In 1880, Tennessee's system of higher education included private and public single-sex colleges, coeducational universities, and separate schools for African Americans. Each of these schools struggled to remain viable in a changing educational market. In 1893, Tennessee had twenty women's colleges; yet, by 1924 a survey by the United States Bureau of Education found that in Tennessee only one senior college for women and three junior colleges for women remained. The other thirty colleges in Tennessee were coeducational, with the only exception being the all-male University of the South.[1] These statistics led government surveyors to conclude "it

[1] The four women-only colleges in Tennessee in 1924 included Centenary College, a junior college in Cleveland, Martin College, a junior college in Pulaski, Ward-Belmont, a junior college in Nashville, and Tennessee College in Murfreesboro, the only senior college. Lucius Salisbury Merriam, *Higher Education in Tennessee*, Contributions in American Educational History, ed. Herbert Adams, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), 246-260; and United States Bureau of Education, *A Survey of Higher Education in Tennessee 1924* (Nashville: Tennessee College Association, 1926), 32.

is evident that the colleges and universities freely admit women, and that there is apparently a friendly feeling toward coeducation."[2] The ostensibly "friendly feeling" toward coeducation made the few remaining single-sex colleges for women appear antiquated. Nonetheless, both Tennessee College for Women in Murfreesboro and Ward-Belmont College in Nashville operated as women's colleges until the middle of the twentieth century long after their counterparts accepted coeducation.

The educational experience of women college students in Tennessee differed little between single-sex and coeducational schools. One notable exception was that students at women-only colleges did not have to compete with men in the college environment. Although this ensured that students at women's colleges participated in a diverse number of activities that were often unavailable to their counterparts at coeducational colleges, women-only colleges were just as likely to encourage their students to major in subjects deemed appropriate for them. After leaving the women-centered environment at single-sex colleges, most

---

[2] United States Bureau of Education, *A Survey of Higher Education*, 43.

women still found themselves dealing with a greater society that continued to accept traditional attitudes toward women in the job market. These ingrained gender roles could not be overcome through women's higher education, finding most women in traditional jobs after leaving the sheltered, women-centered environment of the women's college.

Ward-Belmont College represented the merger of the Old South ideals at Ward Seminary and New South concepts at Belmont College. Ward Seminary started with thirty students in the fall of 1865 in a residence on Summer and Cedar Streets in downtown Nashville. A former minister, William Eldred Ward, had a vision for women's higher education that included the teaching of fewer ornamental subjects and more utilitarian subjects. With the Nashville Female Academy unable to reopen after the Civil War, Ward saw a market opening and emphasized that his school could be a place where women would be refined by living with other refined young women while learning academic subjects. By modern standards, the courses generally corresponded to

a senior high school and junior college.[3]

Ward Seminary catered mainly to wealthy families. In 1866, tuition for three months at the school cost $24, with an additional $7 per week for board, fuel, lights, and laundry services. Yet, the high numbers of interested women forced the school to move to a larger location on South Spruce Street in 1866. The student population generally consisted of wealthy, middle-class young women with few opportunities arising for less affluent women. Even the alumnae association scholarship program for students created in 1899-1900, limited access to the school by awarding the scholarship only to daughters of alumnae. According to the yearbook descriptions, "One object of the Association is educational, and at the last meeting it was decided that a two-year scholarship should be given to the daughter of a member of the Association, to be conditioned upon the previous record of the candidate."[4] This

---

[3] Louise Davis, "A Quiet, Even Growth," *The Nashville Tennessean Magazine*, 28 November 1948, 6 and 7; and, *The Iris* (1900), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee; and Maude Weidner, *Nashville Then and Now, 1780-1930* (Nashville: The Hermitage Publishing company, 1930), 30.

[4] Ibid.

perpetuated the elitism found among the school's patrons and failed to provide opportunities to less affluent women.

The exclusivity of Ward Seminary helped promote its reputation as a high quality women's school that by 1879 had been described as the "'Vassar of the South.'"[5] According to a history of the school printed in the final yearbook, an official of the 1870 Educational Bureau rated Ward Seminary as third in the United States "in numbers and advantages offered," behind Packer Institute in Brooklyn and the Convent of the Sacred Heart in California.[6]

With its reputation for high standards, Ward Seminary also possessed a conservative reputation. At the 1886 commencement, William Ward's address, entitled "The Coming Woman," warned graduates to remember their place in society and stop seeking greater independence. He reminded the audience of educated women that "woman is dependent on man; she is weaker; she ought never to be educated out of that idea."[7] Ward's limited vision for women after being

---

[5] Davis, "A Quiet, Even Growth," 7.

[6] *The Iris* (1913), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[7] William Eldred Ward, "Dr. Ward's Address at the Late Commencement." (1885-86), W.E. Ward's Seminary for Young Ladies, Belmont University Library, Nashville, Tennessee.

liberally educated illustrated the stronghold ingrained gender roles continued to have over people who should have known that women were capable of moving beyond traditional feminine roles. After Ward's death in 1887, the school went through several leaders before Dr. J.D. Blanton took over leadership. Blanton remained the leader well into the Ward-Belmont years.[8]

In many ways Ward Seminary exemplified the typical southern women's college. Since its founding, women comprised the majority of the faculty. In 1900, with a faculty and staff of twenty-five people, sixteen were women. In its last year of operation, 1912-1913, Ward Seminary had a faculty of twenty-eight people, twenty-four of whom were women. Similar to colleges of the era, the faculty had varying degrees of education; however, the school never had a majority of the faculty holding college degrees. In 1913 out of twenty-eight teachers only seven held college degrees.[9] The lack of properly trained teachers became one of the primary issues of reform

---

[8] *The Iris* (1900); and Ward, "Dr. Ward's Address at the Late Commencement."

[9] *The Iris* (1900), *The Iris* (1909), and *The Iris* (1913), Ward-Belmont Collection.

organizations that sought to increase the academic standards at women's colleges.

Rivaling Ward Seminary, Belmont College, established in 1890, claimed to provide students with "rare educational opportunities" in an attractive location outside of Nashville.[10] Described as "two aristocratic southern women of culture," Ida Hood and Susan Heron recognized the need for educational institutions for southern women. In 1890, they purchased the Acklen plantation, Belmont, and renovated the Italianate mansion to make it large enough to hold several hundred students.[11] Belmont College promoted itself as a place where women could learn in a socially acceptable atmosphere. A 1911 advertisement stated, "Belmont is successfully combining the most improved modern educational methods with all that was best in the old-time 'finishing school,' thus neglecting neither the intellectual nor the social, moral, and religious culture of the young woman at the period when she needs such

---

[10] Belmont College Advertisement in *Milady in Brown* (1905), Ward-Belmont Collection.

[11] Ward-Belmont Alumnae Journal, New Year's Number, 1931, Catherine Pilcher Avery Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

complete education."[12] This advertisement illustrated the extent to which southern women's colleges worked to perpetuate antebellum images of women's education.

Even so, the faculty of Belmont College reflected efforts to professionalize teachers at women's colleges. They held more advanced degrees than Ward Seminary teachers and employed few of their own graduates, instead hiring women from the country's most prestigious colleges and universities. In 1913 faculty members had earned degrees from women's colleges or coeducational institutions or studied as "special students" in colleges where women were not yet admitted as full students. These colleges included the University of Chicago, Harvard University, Cornell University, Bryn Mawr College, Mary Sharp College, the University of Pennsylvania, and several European colleges.[13]

Ward Seminary and Belmont College merged after Ida Hood and Susan Heron retired in 1913. With the downtown location of Ward Seminary making expansion difficult, officials decided to move the newly consolidated school to

---

[12] *Milady in Brown* (1911), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[13] *Milady in Brown* (1913), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

the Belmont campus. Ward-Belmont College offered a two-year college course, four years of college preparatory courses, and a two-year course in music.[14] School officials advertised Ward-Belmont as a Junior College and explained that its two-year course could lead to "admission with advanced standing in the four-year course of standard colleges and universities."[15]

The controversial union of two rival Nashville colleges became a topic of concern for students and alumnae of both schools. In the "Society Column" of *The Iris*, Lillie Morrow Atchison wrote, "There has been for a long time great rivalry between the two houses; but now the followers of the Brown and the friends of the White and Gold realize that the marriage will bring increased prosperity to both parties."[16] On September 25, 1913, Ward-Belmont opened its doors for the first time and enjoyed

---

[14] "The Ward-Belmont School Historical Sketch." *The Ward-Belmont School Catalog*, December 1948, Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[15] Ward-Belmont School Advertisement, Miss Beard's "Publicity Book," Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[16] Lillie Morrow Atchison, "Society Column," in *The Iris* (1913), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

decades of success as a junior college for women with high academic standards.[17]

In a time when many southern schools were overselling their ability to provide students with a standard four-year college education, Ward-Belmont found its niche in the higher educational market as a junior college that offered students a two-year program. Most students understood Ward-Belmont's limitations and many continued their education at four-year colleges upon graduation from Ward-Belmont. According to the 1928 alumnae journal,

> Junior colleges in general, and Ward-Belmont in particular, are no longer 'finishing schools.' We offer general and terminal courses for those girls who will not continue in college, but more and more we are compelled to emphasize the subjects which will most nearly meet the requirements for the first two years of the numerous colleges to which our graduates will transfer.[18]

The Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools agreed that Ward-Belmont met the standards of a fully accredited high school and junior college and in 1926

---

[17] Ira Landrith, "Appreciation and Anticipation," in *The Iris* (1913), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee; and *The Nashville Tennessean*, (Nashville), 3 May, 1951.

[18] Aileen Wells, "Where They Go," *Ward-Belmont Alumnae Journal* (1928), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Ward-Belmont was admitted as the first junior college with a Standard Rating.[19] This assessment helped graduates receive full value for their coursework when applying to a standard college.[20] By 1931, Ward-Belmont had become "the largest preparatory and Junior College in the South" and received an "A" ranking along with four other junior colleges in the country.[21]

The number of Ward-Belmont graduates attending standard colleges remained steady with 92 out of 137 graduates in 1928, 89 out of 126 graduates in 1929, and 90 out of 137 graduates in 1930 continuing their education at a standard college.[22] The top six schools chosen by Ward-Belmont graduates were Vanderbilt University, Texas University, Peabody College, Kansas University, Wisconsin University, and Northwestern University.[23] The high number of students continuing their education clearly indicated

---

[19] "Academics," Ransom Family Papers, 1833-1957, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[20] "Ward-Belmont has Standard Rating," *Ward-Belmont Hyphen*, 13 February 1926.

[21] *The Ward-Belmont Alumnae Journal*, New Year's Number 1931, Catherine Avery Pilcher Papers.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

that Ward-Belmont offered students more than a finishing school education by fully preparing graduates for the rigors of academic life in prestigious schools. These numbers also indicated that these elite women took their education seriously and wanted to reach the highest level available to them.

The 1931 alumnae journal printed achievements of graduates from as early as 1894. Judging by the information submitted by graduates, the majority were wives and mothers, and not professionals. Yet the number of graduates pursuing careers after graduation rose steadily, indicating the extent to which southern women's college graduates held more liberal ideas about women's place in society. Gladys Ware Ligon, a 1916 graduate, became a landscape architect in Hermitage, Tennessee. One 1917 graduate became a merchant in Helena, Montana, and another reviewed films for the National Motion Picture League. A 1920 graduate earned her law degree in 1931 after supervising art in Cranford, New Jersey, schools for two years. Another 1920 graduate served as Executive Secretary of the American Red Cross in Mississippi after teaching school for seven years. A 1922 graduate owned an interior decorating business in Chicago. A 1924 graduate took over

as the head of the collection department at her father's law firm, sold the business and law library, and became manager of the commercial department of another law firm. Another 1924 graduate worked for the National Geographic Society.[24] Overwhelmingly the women who reported their information to the alumnae association became teachers, in both lower and higher educational institutions, secretaries, dieticians, nurses, and other careers considered socially acceptable for women. These career choices were not limited to graduates of women's colleges; women at coeducational schools often chose the same careers.

Building on recruiting traditions started at Belmont College, students from all regions of the country came to Nashville for their education. As early as 1904-1905, Belmont College exhibited the diversity of the students and included girls from twenty-four states. Although the majority of students came from Tennessee, students came from as far away as New York, Michigan, South Dakota, and Arizona. This mixture in student backgrounds became one of the hallmarks of Belmont College and the number of students

---

[24] Ibid.

from non-southern states continued to increase after the school consolidated with Ward Seminary. In the 1920-1921 school year, students from forty states and two foreign countries enrolled in Ward-Belmont. The school became a source of local pride to have such a diverse student body, and Nashville welcomed students from as far away as Maine and California.[25]

The diverse student body can be directly attributed to the efforts of field secretaries located throughout the country. These women served as recruiters for the college by visiting and helping select girls out of the school's larger pool of applicants. Recruitment areas varied, with some covering only one state, such as Texas or Louisiana, and others covering larger territories like the South and the West. During the late 1910s, Carrie Moseley worked with girls throughout Texas to recruit a record number of students. In 1919, Moseley escorted three Pullman Cars filled with girls registering in the fall.[26]

---

[25] "Ward-Belmont Opens Sept. 22," *The Nashville Defender*, 1920-1921.

[26] "Mrs. May R. Stewart's Success As Field Representative of Great School," *The Nashville Banner*, October 1919; and "Women Who Are Successes as Field Secretaries," *The Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville American*, September 15, 1919.

Like many southern colleges, Ward-Belmont operated as a preparatory school, senior high school, and a junior college. In the 1910s, ten different classes of students attended the school, beginning with the elementary department and increasing to the senior level of the junior college class. Courses offered included traditional courses like history, English, current events, Bible, psychology, art history, Latin, Greek, and varied levels of mathematics and science.[27] Ward-Belmont also offered the latest in vocational educational advances through the introduction of home economics courses. In addition to academic courses, many students took classes in expression, music, and art, with many earning certificates in these subjects while finishing academic degrees.[28]

By the late 1910s, the art department used drawing and painting classes to teach commercial art, fashion design, and interior design. A 1919 article described the positive changes in Ward-Belmont's art courses that help prepare women for careers outside the home.

---

[27] *Milestones* (1914), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[28] *Milestones* (1924), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

> A visit to the Ward-Belmont school of art today brings a catch of breath, as one realizes just how great the progress in recent years has been and how different, and how much more alluring, is today's field of art study. It is practical too . . . . it is even true of schoolgirls, for they also have visions of pay checks of business world achievement or of professional honors.[29]

The transformation of art courses from simply being ornamental subjects to vocational courses illustrated the changing nature of women's higher education. Women entering college in the 1910s and 1920s were beginning to demand an education that provided them with potential career opportunities. As illustrated at Ward-Belmont, even conservative southern women's colleges made some attempts to provide women with new career opportunities as long as they continued to be within career areas deemed appropriate for women.

Extracurricular activities had a long tradition of importance at Ward Seminary, Belmont College, and Ward-Belmont with the young women serving in all leadership positions. Physical education, clubs, and organizations helped round out the learning experiences of Ward-Belmont

---

[29] "New Fashions in Art Instruction" from Mrs. Beard's "Publicity Book," 15 September 1919, Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

students. In 1900, the physical education department at Ward Seminary promoted an exhibition of student achievements in physical education through performances in seven categories. They included the traditional May Drill, executed by students at women's colleges for decades, Swedish gymnastics, club swinging, German bell drill, fancy march, ring drill, a combination of wand and bell exercises, and advanced club swinging.[30] The public eagerly awaited these exhibitions, with the May Drill tradition lasting decades at Ward-Belmont.

Popular at women's colleges and many coeducational colleges during the nineteenth century, May Day celebrations usually centered on the dance in Elizabethan costumes around a May pole. The interest in British traditions coincided with the early stages of the Arts and Crafts Movement in the United States. Begun in England, the Arts and Crafts movement celebrated craftsmanship over the mass production characteristic of expanding industrialization. Arts and Crafts followers wanted to return to a time when the designer and craftsman were one. By the 1870s, industrialization in the United States had

---

[30] *The Iris* (1900), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

increased significantly, leading many to turn to the philosophy of Thomas Carlyle and John Ruskin, two of the most well-known proponents of the movement.[31]

Started by students at coeducational Earlham College, May Day festivities provided students with the opportunity to dance even though their religion did not allow dancing. The May Day activities at Earlham College began with women staging a spring festival in 1875, with men only beginning to take part in the festival in 1902. These festivals continued to be a significant public exhibition at women's colleges throughout the United States including at Bryn Mawr, Vassar, and Wellesley.[32] The May Day tradition at Ward-Belmont, like many women's colleges, continued well into the twentieth century and only ended with the school becoming coeducational in 1951. Like other aspects of college life, the May Day pageant changed yearly based on

---

[31] Robert Judson Clark, ed., *The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1876-1916* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), xii and xiii; and Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (London, Thames & Hudson, 1991), 10-13.

[32] Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), 122 and 177; and Thomas D. Hamm, Earlham College: A History, 1847-1997 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 319.

trends in dancing and music. In the last May Day performance at Ward-Belmont the costumed students participated in a mass ballet, folk and modern dances, a Scottish fling, a Mexican hat dance, a comedy routine, and a waltz.[33]

Athletics at most women's colleges went beyond the dancing and pageantry of the May Drill, with students participating in a wide variety of traditionally male athletic activities. Ward-Belmont students could choose from field hockey, water polo, tennis, swimming, basketball, and baseball.[34] The popularity of various sports also was subject to change depending on general trends in athletics, with sports such as fencing and gymnastics gaining and losing popularity depending on the year.[35]

Founded in 1914-1915, the athletic association at Ward-Belmont promoted "the welfare of the individual mentally, morally, and physically by arousing a genuine

---

[33] "Ward-Belmont Supporters Bow Out Smiling with Last May Day," *The Nashville Tennessean*, 20 May 1951.

[34] *Milestones* (1924), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[35] *Milady in Brown* (1911), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

interest in athletics, and by offering a means of healthy competition, to establish the highest ideals of comradeship, good sportsmanship, and fair play."[36] An undated newspaper article, entitled "Ward-Belmont Athletics on Par with Big Eastern Schools," drew parallels between Ward-Belmont and Vassar, Bryn Mawr, and Wellesley. Sportswriter Grantland Rice asserted that Ward-Belmont rivaled eastern schools in the variety of sports offered, the number of students participating, and the quality of their outdoor and indoor facilities. The physical education program was progressive but the school otherwise was conservative. The article concluded: "Ward-Belmont belongs to the group of women's schools which adheres to the plan of operation that will justify its name of 'conservative;' yet it is thoroughly up to date and in line with all the best schools for girls in the East in the opportunities it offers its pupils for genuine physical culture."[37]

---

[36] *The Ward-Belmont Alumnae Journal*, New Year's Number 1931, Catherine Avery Pilcher Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[37] "Ward-Belmont Athletics on Par with Big Eastern Schools," Miss Beard's "Publicity Book," Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

In the 1923 edition of the school newspaper, the *Ward-Belmont Hyphen*, writers identified the most important organization on campus as the Student Council, an organization that dated itself to the creation of the Self-Controlling and Self-Regulating Roll (S.C.S.R.R.) in 1908. Students elected four council officers and proctors to represent them. The council worked with the faculty and staff and served as intermediaries between students that violated school policy and disobeyed school authorities.[38] Both faculty and students immediately recognized the S.C.S.R.R. as the most influential organization on campus "because of its numbers and its ideal, the developing and strengthening in each girl of all true womanly qualities."[39]

The diverse student body also shaped the extracurricular organizations with students from each state connecting with each other through the formation of "State Clubs." These clubs often provided girls with a way to remain close to the places and people of home. In addition, Ward-Belmont had six Greek letter societies

---

[38] "Our Organizations," *Ward-Belmont Hyphen* (1923), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

[39] *Milady in Brown* (1908), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

including Sigma Phi Theta, Tau Phi Sigma, Phi Mu, Beta Sigma Omicron, Sigma Iota Chi, and Theta Kappa Delta.[40] The popularity of sororities at Belmont College led to the creation of five club houses adjacent to the campus. These houses served as meeting locations and demonstration houses for sorority members.[41] By 1924, following several years of debates among college administrators about the appropriateness of sororities and fraternities on the college campus, ten social clubs, including the Agora Club, AK Club, CC Club, and the Tri-K Club replaced the sororities.[42] Members of the student body managed and governed all Ward-Belmont organizations, giving women opportunities to run meetings, lead discussions, and determine the direction of the group.

Another long-lasting Middle Tennessee women's college was Tennessee College for Women, a Baptist-supported

---

[40] *Milady in Brown* (1911), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[41] *Milady in Brown* (1908), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library And Archives, Nashville.

[42] *Milestones* (1924), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

institution in Murfreesboro.[43] Ward-Belmont and Tennessee College for Women offered students similar experiences, yet, students at Tennessee College were more likely to be local girls from less affluent families. The religious affiliation of Tennessee College set it apart from secular women's colleges, like Ward-Belmont, because of the even more conservative ideas associated with southern religious denominations. All colleges with religious affiliations were more likely to maintain traditional attitudes toward gender. However denominational women's colleges surpassed men's colleges in their strict rules regarding their students' social behavior and often required their students to attend chapel services well into the 1940s.[44]

The Tennessee Baptist Convention maintained both coeducational universities and women's colleges throughout the state in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Five women's colleges provided Baptist women with an education grounded in Christian values: Mary Sharp

---

[43] For a history of the educational endeavors of the Baptist church see Judith Brigham, *A Historical Study of the Educational Agencies of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1845-1945* (New York: AMS Press, 1951).

[44] George M. *Marsden, The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 359.

College, Brownsville Female College, Sweetwater Seminary for Young Ladies, Boscobel College, and Tennessee College. Four of the schools had closed by 1914, helping weed out the competition between Tennessee College for Women and other Baptist colleges.[45] These closures enhanced Tennessee College for Women's reputation as the only Baptist-affiliated senior college for women in the state.[46]

Established by the Tennessee Baptist Convention, Tennessee College for Women opened its doors in 1907 to two hundred students.[47] According to the school's promotional brochures, "the purpose of the Tennessee Baptist Convention in founding Tennessee College for Women was to establish an institution where the study of revealed truth would be

---

[45] Albert W. Wardin, Jr., *Tennessee Baptists: A Comprehensive History, 1779-1999* (Brentwood, TN: Executive Board of the Tennessee Baptist Convention, 1999), 326; and Homer Pittard, *Pillar and Ground: First Baptist Church, 1843-1968* (Murfreesboro, TN: privately printed, 1968), 325. Also Will Wright Henry, Jr., "The Interrelationship Between the Tennessee Baptist Convention and Its Three Institutions of Higher Education" (Ph.D. diss., George Peabody College for Teachers of Vanderbilt University, 1984).

[46] United States Bureau of Education, *A Survey of Higher Education,* 32 and 33; and *The WPA Guide to Tennessee* (Nashville: Viking Press, 1939; reprint, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986), 401 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

[47] Pittard, *Pillar and Ground,* 92.

approached with reverence. The building of Christian character by means of a pervading religious atmosphere is the constant object of the school."[48] Members of the Tennessee Baptist Convention attempted to create a college for women in Middle Tennessee as early as 1895. An official charter was filed with the state legislature on December 18, 1895, giving the Convention permission to fund and build a college. After receiving the charter, the Tennessee Baptist Convention took almost ten years to appoint an Education Commission charged with finding the appropriate location for the school.[49] The Education Commission chose Murfreesboro because of its central location in the state; the prospective college also stood roughly half-way between two other Tennessee Baptist affiliated schools, Carson-Newman College in East Tennessee and Union University in West Tennessee, which had originally been located on Main Street in Murfreesboro. Murfreesboro also received the school because of a presentation given by Edward Reaves, pastor of the First

---

[48] *Tennessee College For Women Bulletin*, 1944, Southern Baptist Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[49] Pittard, *Pillar and Ground*, 92.

Baptist Church on Main Street.[50] The Education Commission chose Murfreesboro as the school's site in 1905 but made it contingent on two stipulations. First, the trustees of Union University had to agree to turn over the site of their old university campus on Main Street to the Convention, providing the Convention with a ready-made campus. The citizens of Murfreesboro were also required to "show good faith by substantial subscriptions to aid in construction of the new plant."[51] The people of Murfreesboro raised over twenty-six thousand dollars for the school fund.[52] Much like other southern towns during the early twentieth century, residents believed that the success of the town depended in part on their social and cultural institutions. The desire to prove their cultural reputations, like Murfreesboro, led many southern towns to establish women's colleges.[53]

---

[50] Ibid., 91.

[51] Wardin, *Tennessee Baptists*, 326; and Pittard, *Pillar and Ground*, 92.

[52] Pittard, *Pillar and Ground*, 92.

[53] Christie Ann Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 185.

After finding a place to house the school, administrators decided to begin with both preparatory and junior college programs in 1907. They did not add collegiate-level courses to the curriculum until 1911, allowing the students to continue their college education at the same school.[54] The initial courses at Tennessee College for Women included philosophy, psychology, classical languages, modern languages, physics, chemistry, and geography. However, the majority of students studied violin, harmony, piano, vocal music, history of music, art, history of art, or elocution.[55] Once Tennessee College for Women officials dropped the elementary department and added a four-year standard college curriculum, a plethora of new courses appeared. Students could earn either a Bachelor of Arts Degree or Bachelor of Science Degree in the "College Course," an undefined area of study, in the School of Music including courses in piano, voice, violin, organ, theory, and harmony, or in art, physical culture and home

---

[54] Wardin, *Tennessee Baptists*, 326.

[55] Tennessee College Course Listing, March 12, 1909. Available [Online]:www.usit.com/mcbroom/gradeiipg. [12 February 2001].

economics.[56]

The changes in the school's curriculum aided its academic standing, allowing it to be ranked along with many well-known women's schools in the South. Elizabeth Avery Colton, the chair of the Committee of Standards of the Southern Association of College Women, ranked Tennessee College for Women as a Class B college. This ranking placed the school in the same category as Baylor, Hollins, Hood, Meredith, Sweet Briar, Salem, and Wesleyan. The Class B ranking meant that the school had not reached the standards of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of Southern States, but graduates of Tennessee College for Women could gain admittance to Class A colleges including Agnes Scott, Converse, Florida State College for Women, Goucher, Sophia Newcomb, Randolph Macon, and

---

[56] Mabel Pittard, *Rutherford County*, Tennessee County History Series, ed. Robert E. Corlew III (Memphis, TN: Memphis State University Press, 1984), 162; and *Tennessee College Magazine*, May, 1925, Community Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

Westhampton.[57]

Southern college administrators, both public and private, often lacked the necessary funds to run the schools properly. Tennessee College for Women, like many others, faced financial problems from its beginning. Lacking a large endowment, debt and financial difficulties grew while decreasing enrollment compounded the school's often precarious financial problems. One of Tennessee College for Women's biggest financial burdens was its primary building, an impressive Classical Revival-styled brick building "of 135 rooms and two wings at a cost of sixty thousand dollars."[58] With pressing financial burdens in mind, administrators were careful to emphasize courses and majors that would attract students. Similar to other women's colleges, Tennessee College for Women maintained music and art departments "because they were popular among

---

[57] McCandless, *Past and Present*, 36; and Elizabeth Hollow, "Development of the Brownsville Baptist Female College: An Example of Female Education, 1850-1910," *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers* 32(1978): 58 and 59. For information on Agnes Scott and other church-related women's colleges see Florence Fleming Corley, "Higher Education for Southern Women, Four Church-Related Women's Colleges in Georgia, Agnes Scott, Shorter, Spelman, and Wesleyan, 1900-1920" (Ph.D. diss., Georgia State University, 1985).

[58] Wardin, *Tennessee Baptists*, 326.

women from wealthier families who wanted to give their daughters more of a 'finishing' school type of education."[59] The inclusion of those subjects perceived as less strenuous, however, contributed to the lower academic standards found at many female colleges.[60] Yet these subjects often provided women with much needed skills that could translate into teaching positions at all educational levels.

For example, Tennessee College for Women never gained accreditation, largely because administrators changed its course offerings repeatedly to meet perceived student demand.[61] The School of Fine Arts had been a significant part of the school's curriculum since its founding. Students could study typical subjects like organ, violin, piano as well as composition, history of music, pedagogy, and singing in the Department of Music. In the Department of Art students studied the history of art, china painting, and pen and ink drawing. The Department of Expression offered courses in public speaking, effective speaking, and

---

[59] McCandless, *Past in the Present*, 31.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Wardin, *Tennessee Baptists*, 326.

vocal interpretation of literature and poetry.[62] Tennessee College for Women advertised itself as being "the only Senior College for Women in Tennessee offering standard college courses," but it also was similar to many other struggling schools in its determined efforts to offer music and art classes, taught by faculty usually bereft of graduate degrees to maintain an adequate student enrollment. The refusal to focus strictly on "standard college courses" was the school's greatest limitation.[63]

Tennessee College for Women administrators consistently struggled to make the "standard college courses" rigorous and meaningful. College courses required four years of work to attain either an atrium baccalaureatus, Bachelor of Arts, or by the 1930s, a Bachelor of Science degree. These degrees could be "recognized by leading universities" and graduates could be eligible for a state teacher's certificate, with a significant portion of graduates becoming teachers.[64]

---

[62] *Tennessee College Bulletin: The School of Fine Arts*, June 1908, from the author's collection.

[63] *Tennessee College Magazine*, December 1925, Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

[64] Ibid.

Students at most women's colleges took advantage of the curriculum changes based upon the subjects taught at men's schools. According to Doak Campbell, "the records of graduates of women's colleges, and of graduates of coeducational colleges, show that women pursue courses primarily designed for men with about the same degree of success as that achieved by the men."[65]

Administrators offered two other courses of study: a certificate in music and a certificate in art. The school of music granted students certificates in piano, violin, voice, organ, theory, or harmony. The art program granted certificates in art, expression, physical culture or *home* economics.[66] Many students often earned their bachelors degrees while also earning certificates in their choice of ornamental subjects.[67] With societal expectations for women

---

[65] Campbell, *Problems in the Education of Women*, 4. For information on the majors women choose at both single sex and coeducational colleges see Sara J. Solnick, "Changes in Women's Majors from Entrance to Graduation at Women's and Coeducational Colleges," *Industrial and Labor Relations* 48 (April 1995): 505-514.

[66] *Tennessee College Magazine*, December 1925, Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

[67] Tennessee College for Women Commencement Programs, 1919, 1923-1930,and 1946. Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

remaining in the domestic realm, women smartly ensured their viability on the limited job market by earning an additional certificate in the arts that would often guarantee them a career path.

Professors at Tennessee College for Women were often women, who served as role models for impressionable students. In 1918, Tennessee College for Women had twenty-five instructors, with seventeen being women. The school had one faculty member with a Ph.D.: Emily Helen Dutton taught Latin and Greek. She earned an A.B. from Mount Holyoke College in 1891, an A.M. from Radcliffe College in 1896, and a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1913. Ten other female faculty members earned college degrees, with six of those having received their degrees from Tennessee College for Women between 1914 and 1917. The most recent graduates often taught subjects like piano and violin.[68] All of the school's instructors taught students based upon the principles of the Tennessee Baptist Convention. A 1927 recruiting brochure stated that "Tennessee College holds up for its students the standard

---

[68] *The Dryad*, May 1918, Tennessee College for Women Memorabilia Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

of a broad education which is practical and idealistic at the same time and which contributes to buoyant good health, strong character, and the finest Christian citizenship."[69]

The atmosphere students found upon their arrival in Murfreesboro gave them the opportunity to be part of a close-knit student body and be a part of town life in Murfreesboro. According to a member of the alumnae association, "Going away to college in the 1920s was a far bigger step than that experienced by a young woman today."[70] Across the state, Tennessee College for Women actively recruited students. The school mailed out the *Bulletin of Tennessee College for Women* four times per year.[71] These bulletins often depicted different aspects of life at the school. One issue described courses, while others provided pictorial essays about college life in Murfreesboro, including photographs of the students at local landmarks.

Tennessee College for Women required boarding students

---

[69] *Tennessee College Bulletin*, January 1927, Middle Tennessee College for Women Collection, Southern Baptist Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[70] "Memories, Memories," *Daily News Journal* (Murfreesboro), 21 September 1975.

[71] Bulletin for Tennessee College for Women, 1945; and Bulletin for Tennessee College, 1920s.

to attend church services every Sunday. Even though Baptist affiliated, students were allowed to attend the denomination of their choice.[72] Although attendance at the First Baptist Church was not a requirement, a strong relationship formed between the church and the school, with commencement ceremonies being held at the church throughout the school's existence.[73]

The school maintained organizations, sports teams, and school-sponsored festivities for the students. Various social activities "with young men as guests. . . all tend to relate the girl properly to society, and at the same time teach the valuable lesson of courtesy."[74] Occasionally students acted in ways that were thought to be out of character for properly trained young women. When these events did occur, the school newspaper downplayed their

---

[72] "Tennessee College Alumni Take a Sentimental Journey," *The Press*, 1979. Tennessee College for Women Alumni Association Records Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

[73] Pittard, *Pillar and Ground*, 92; and Commencement Programs, 1910s to 1940s, Tennessee College for Women Alumni Association Records Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

[74] *Bulletin for Tennessee College*, July 1910.

significance. For example, a member of the freshman class of 1932 went home during the school year and got married. The school paper commented, "it is sincerely to be hoped that all excitement over the unusual occurrence will soon clear from the air for thoughts of weddings do not sit well in a dignified girls' college."[75]

School-sponsored organizations provided the students with well-monitored activities where they could have a social life as long as they behaved properly. Each student was required to join either the Ruskin or Lanier Literary Societies. These literary societies emphasized different aspects of literature, with the Ruskin Society most likely honoring John Ruskin, an English writer; and the Lanier Society honoring southern poet Sidney Lanier. These societies sponsored lectures and concerts meant to cultivate "a love of good literature."[76] The Craddock Club was a dramatic society named in honor of Charles Egbert

---

[75] *Tennessee-Ann*, March 10, 1932, Tennessee College for Women Alumni Association Records Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

[76] Bulletin for Tennessee College, July 1910.

Craddock, the pen name for Mary Noilles Murfree, who was a native of Murfreesboro.[77] Several religious organizations flourished on campus including the Young Woman's Auxiliary, Baptist Student Union, Baptist Young People's Union, and the YWCA. Students could also participate in athletic associations, with each class having a team in basketball, swimming, tennis, track, soccer, hiking, field hockey, golf, and archery.[78] Organizations such as the Student Government Association, Foreign Language Club, Science Club, and Wandering Minstrels, or working on the *Tennessee-Ann*, the student newspaper, gave each student the opportunity to find her niche within the college.[79]

One of the most anticipated annual events at the school confirmed that remnants of the nineteenth century survived well into the twentieth century at Tennessee College for Women. The Craddock Club staged the dramatic plays and parades of the May Day celebration. Girls danced dances from different countries including Japan, Amsterdam,

---

[77] *The Dryad*, 1918.

[78] Bulletin for Tennessee College, 1944.

[79] *Bulletin for Tennessee College*, 18 and 19.

Scotland, Russia, and Greece.[80] The excitement surrounding May Day grew prior to the day because one member of the student body was elected as the May Queen. According to the school newspaper, "To be chosen May Queen is one of the greatest honors which any student can receive."[81] In addition to queen, one student represented each class in the May Day processional, with the May pole being the "most beautiful part of the program. The girls in green and white wound the streamers around the pole."[82]

The May Day festival included guests from Murfreesboro and surrounding areas. The school newspaper reported, "a maximum audience was assembled to do honor to the May Queen and her court. . . . The pageant began with the splendid processional down Main Street, the queen's gilded coach followed by the colorful troupe of dancers."[83] The very public display of the festivities brought visitors to the school, widening the school's prominence beyond Murfreesboro. Students took their role as representatives

---

[80] *Tennessee-Ann*, 12 May 1932.

[81] Ibid., 12 April 1932.

[82] Ibid.; and Ibid., 12 May 1932.

[83] Ibid., 12 May 1932.

of the college very seriously and urged others to be as diligent in their public displays. An editorial in the *Tennessee College Magazine* explained, "we will all be taken as representatives of Tennessee College wherever we go. Let's think of it as a sacred trust, and try to make people want to go to the school we came from."[84]

Throughout its existence, Tennessee College for Women struggled to stay financially viable in the changing educational market. The Tennessee Baptist Convention searched for solutions to the college's financial problems. The Convention proposed making the school coeducational, merging with Cumberland University, a Baptist College in Lebanon, Tennessee, and marketing the school as an alternative to coeducation. Amidst controversy, Tennessee College merged with Cumberland University in the early 1940s. The merger was short-lived and Tennessee College's location was finally resolved when the Convention acquired another girls' school in financial trouble. They purchased Ward-Belmont in Nashville because "they saw an opportunity

---

[84] *Tennessee College Magazine*, 1926, Tennessee College for Women Memorabilia Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

to gain valuable property."[85] With Cumberland University's Board of Trustees refusing to move operations from Lebanon to Nashville's Ward-Belmont campus, the Convention withdrew its financial support, taking Tennessee College for Women with them to their preferred site at Ward-Belmont in downtown Nashville.[86]

Tennessee College for Women was absorbed into Ward-Belmont College. Both colleges had distinct histories that embodied many of the principles of nineteenth and twentieth centuries women's education. The progressive curricula marked the importance both schools placed on providing students with skills necessary to participate in the twentieth-century economy. Yet, each school continued to focus attention on courses and activities that clearly displayed their continued allegiance to Victorian ideals. The tendency to educate women for the future while clinging to ideas from the past was not exclusive to women's colleges and women at coeducational colleges often experienced these limitations first while in college with men rather than only afterward in the work world.

---

[85] Wardin, *Tennessee Baptists*, 490 and 491.

[86] Frank Burns, *Phoenix Rising* (Lebanon, TN: privately printed, 1992), 189.

CHAPTER FOUR:
TWO TENNESSEE COLLEGES THAT EMBRACED COEDUCATION

The varied reasons for promoting coeducation coalesced by the late 1920s and became the standard system of higher education in Tennessee.[1] Yet, coeducation was not new to Tennessee where a handful of colleges and universities had policies that had allowed women to be educated with men since the end of the Civil War. These coeducational colleges, like most single sex colleges, rarely employed liberal ideas about women's place in higher education or society. Often, college officials encouraged women to take courses that reflected traditional ideas about women's

---

[1] For information on coeducation at all education levels see David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Learning Together: A History of Coeducation in American Schools* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990); idem, "Gender in Amreican Public Schools: Thinking Institutionally," *Signs* 13 (Summer 1988): 741-760; Robert Dreeden, *On What Is Learned in School* (Reading, MS: Addison-Wesley, 1968); Susan S. Klein, ed., *Handbook for Achieving Sex Equity Through Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985); Stephen Walker and Len Barton, eds., *Gender, Class and Education* (New York: Falmer Press, 1983); David Tyack, Thomas James, and Aaron Benavat, *Law and the Shaping of Public Schools, 1785-1954* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987); David Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974); and Edward A. Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School: Progressivism in American Education* (New York: Knopf, 1961).

roles, leaving them with few options outside of traditional careers after graduation. Although their situations varied, women at any of the coeducational colleges in Tennessee faced many of the same challenges in a system that focused on thoroughly educating young men for a profession while women remained uncertain as to the ultimate goal of their education, outside of the culturally prescribed roles of teacher and homemaker.

Several schools admitted women decades before coeducation became commonplace in Tennessee. Blount College, later known as the University of Tennessee, admitted women as early as 1806, proving it to be one of the earliest southern colleges to admit women.[2] With Blount College being exceptional for admitting women at such an early date, by the 1870s women entered the few coeducational colleges in Tennessee in increasing numbers. Maryville College and Fisk University exemplified two private colleges that admitted significant numbers of women well before coeducation became standard practice in

---

[2] Lucille Rogers, *Light from Many Candles: A History of Pioneer Women in Education in Tennessee* (Nashville: McQuiddy Printing Company, 1960), 4; and Amy Thompson McCandless, *The Past in the Present: Women's Higher Education in the Twentieth Century South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 100.

Tennessee. Neither of these colleges had extremely liberal policies toward the proper place of women in society, yet women's admission did illustrate the far-reaching effects of educational change on even conservative southern colleges.

Established in 1819 by Reverend Isaac Anderson, Maryville College began as a male-only college offering a three-year training course to educate Presbyterian ministers.[3] The school added literary courses to the curriculum in 1821 and by 1843 the theological department had ceased being the main focus of the school.[4] Maryville College was unique among southern schools in their admission of women and African Americans following the Civil War. However, like many schools of the nineteenth century, Maryville College offered preparatory courses to prepare students for their college courses. The school did not phase out the preparatory department until 1925.[5]

---

[3] Samuel Tyndale Wilson, *A Century of Maryville College, 1819-1919* (Maryville, Tennessee: Directors of Maryville College, 1919), 39 and 43.

[4] Ibid., 57 and 89.

[5] Carolyn L. Blair and Arda S. Walker, *By Faith Endowed: The Story of Maryville College, 1819-1994* (Maryville, Tennessee: Maryville College Press, 1994), 167.

Most of the students entering Maryville College came from East Tennessee where the school possessed a good reputation among conservatives who wanted to send their children to a college advocating strong moral values. Maryville College also used a network of religious organizations and publications to advertise throughout the country, often attracting students from other states. Between 1905 and 1908, the school advertised in three newspapers in Philadelphia, including *The Presbyterian, The Presbyterian Banner Publishing Company, and The Religious Press Association*. The school also placed ads in *The Westminster* (New York), *The New York Observer*, and *The Herald and Presbyter* (Cincinnati). The advertisements generally described the number of students in attendance, categorizing the numbers by gender, listed course offerings, and described the college facilities and grounds.[6]

As early as the 1840s, Maryville College professors taught women Latin, Greek, English, and Hebrew in classes separate from male students.[7] Women were first allowed to

---

[6] Advertisement Box, Maryville College Collection, Maryville College Archives, Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee.

[7] Blair and Walker, *By Faith Endowed*, 10 and 11.

take regular college classes in 1866 during a time when the Freedmen's Bureau was actively involved in the college, even funding a new building and attracting African American students. As the 1866-1867 catalog stated, "young ladies, qualified to join any of the classes in the College, are allowed to avail themselves of its advantages."[8] The first women entered the preparatory classes in the English Department in 1867.[9] The first graduates of the Ladies Course finished in 1875. Mary Wilson, the older sister of the school's future president, Samuel Tyndale Wilson, graduated in 1875 with a Bachelor of Arts degree from the regular classical course. Arguably, Mary Wilson had become the first woman to earn a Bachelor of Arts degree from a Tennessee college. The next year, Mary Bartlett, daughter of the school's president, earned her Bachelor of Arts degree.[10]

According to the 1873-74 catalog, twenty-two girls studied under the "Ladies Course" and twenty women took courses in the "English Course." The "Ladies Course"

---

[8] *Maryville College Catalogue* (1866-1867), Maryville College Collection, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Wilson, *A Century of Maryville College*, 195 and 196.

consisted of four years of coursework in a variety of subjects including ancient literature, trigonometry, French, Livy, physics, zoology, astronomy, natural theology, history of philosophy, and moral science. The 1885-86 catalog marked the last year the college offered the "Ladies Course."[11] According to the school's president, Samuel Tyndale Wilson, officials eliminated the Ladies Course "when the introduction of alternative courses allowed such adjustments as made it unnecessary to continue that course."[12] Increasingly women chose other courses of instruction not designed specifically for them such as the English-Scientific Course or the Latin-Scientific Course.

The English Course consisted of three years of coursework that included math, grammar, United States history, geology, English literature, logic, algebra, chemistry, natural philosophy and various subjects that would benefit beginning teachers.[13] It was, according to the catalog:

---

[11] *Maryville College Catalog* (1885-86), Maryville College Collection, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

[12] Wilson, *A Century of Maryville College*, 196.

[13] *Maryville College Catalog* (1885-86), Maryville College Collection, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

> designed to occupy an intermediate place between the ordinary academy or High School and the scientific department of colleges and to impart a thorough knowledge of the common and higher branches of an English education and thus fit young men for any position in practical life. In this Department the method of instruction will be with a special view of training and qualifying teachers for the Common free schools.[14]

The majority of women in the 1889-90 catalog took classes under the Latin-Scientific Course or the English-Scientific Course; these programs were very popular with male students as well. The classes taught under the four-year Latin-Scientific Course included Latin, mathematics, natural science, French or German, English, history, philosophy, theology, and law. The English Scientific Course contained many of the same courses as the Latin Scientific Course without the concentration on Latin.[15]

The introduction of the Home Economics Department in 1913 brought more women onto the Maryville College campus. Not until the introduction of home economics did the number

---

[14] *Maryville College Catalog* (1883-84), Maryville College Collection, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

[15] *Maryville College Catalog* (1889-90), Maryville College Collection, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

of female students rival the number of male students.[16] By 1919, the Home Economics Department reflected greater trends throughout the country in the addition of courses that led to a Bachelor of Arts Degree in Home Economics.[17] The creation of the Home Economics Department served two roles. First, it gave legitimacy to women on campus giving them the opportunity to compete with fewer men. Second, it served as a method to remove women from classrooms that men occupied, often marginalizing their place on the campus. Women attending other schools with departments in home economics faced similar dilemmas including the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville. Home Economics had been one of the preeminent departments that served as the foundation for the teacher training college. As the progressive education movement evolved, home economics no longer served as the most effective method of reaching rural southerners. With the home economics program becoming less prominent, female faculty members at Peabody failed to rise in the ranks of academia and the students were

---

[16] Wilson, *A Century of Maryville College*, 196; and Blair and Walker, *By Faith Endowed*, 164 and 165.

[17] "Home Economics Day." *Highland Echo*, 3 June 1919.

marginalized.[18] These examples show that women attending coeducational colleges were often segregated from men through the courses they took rather than through the college they chose. Their choice to study in women-centered areas when they could have studied in any subject area also illustrates the perseverance of traditional gender roles even among educated women.

Unlike many coeducational colleges, women held a fairly significant number of the faculty positions at Maryville College. In 1890-91, six professors and ten instructors taught at Maryville College. Four of the instructors were women but none were full professors. Until 1890 women teaching at Maryville College could only reach the rank of assistant professor.[19] In the 1889-90 catalog four women were identified as members of the faculty and none of these women held college degrees.[20] In

---

[18] Mary Hoffschwelle, "The Science of Domesticity: Home Economics at George Peabody College for Teachers, 1914-1939," *Journal of Southern History* LVII(November 1991), 665 and 679).

[19] Blair and Walker, *By Faith Endowed*, 119.

[20] *Maryville College Catalog* (1889-90), Maryville College Collection, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

1906, ten out of twenty-four faculty members were women.[21] By the early twentieth century more faculty members held degrees. Between 1902 and 1906, Mary Elizabeth Kennedy taught biology and geology with a Master of Arts degree. Henrietta Mills Lord held a Master's degree and taught French and German between 1900 and 1909. The majority of the teachers, both male and female, did not have degrees beyond the Master's Degree. A large number of teachers with lower degrees were included as associate instructors.[22]

The school worked to incorporate women into the campus and built a separate dormitory for them in the 1870s. Previously women boarded in the town of Maryville and walked to the campus during the day. The addition of women to campus did not require school administrators to make additional rules of conduct until the number of women attending the school became a significant number of the student population. As late as the 1889-1890 school year, the Maryville College catalog did not provide additional administrative rules to govern the conduct of men and women on campus. The rules continued to be aimed mainly at men

---

[21] *The Chilhowean* (1906), Maryville College Collection, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

[22] Wilson, *A Century of Maryville College*, 251-253.

with such directions as no fire arms in the dormitory rooms, no use of tobacco on the school grounds, and required permission to leave the campus.[23]

With the newly-established Home Economics Department bringing ever increasing numbers of women to the school, the 1921-1922 handbook offered suggestions for female students. "If you be a girl. You have come to Maryville expecting great things—and Maryville expects some things of you. In the first place, she expects that you will be a lady—a real lady in thought, word, dress, and deed."[24] Other rules governing women included limiting visits to town to only twice per week and only after 3:00P.M., only one overnight stay with friends per semester, and no clothes more fashionable than calico. Men were also cautioned to remember the stricter rules for the women. The handbook warned, "The Dean of Women has many rules for women of the Hill and remember when you are trying to get by with something that the women's rules are more strict and your lady friend will suffer more for her part of the

---

[23] *Maryville College Catalog* (1889-90), Maryville College Collection, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

[24] *Maryville College Handbook* (1921-1922), Maryville College Collection, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

bargain than you will."[25] Typical of restrictions and punishments in coeducational colleges and in society in general, women were held to stricter standards and punished more often than male students for comparable infractions.

Dormitory rules also prohibited women from walking in the woods surrounding the school without a chaperone or from leaving campus without permission. Rules also barred women from "strolling or visiting" with men on campus. However, with their parents' permission women could "accept the company of young men" at times designated by the faculty.[26] Societal changes took their toll on the strict rules governing the college. As the twentieth century progressed, young men and women increasingly spent more time without chaperones. Finally, the rules changed and all women were allowed to see men at designated times unless their parents expressed special objections to this practice.[27]

The extracurricular activities available at Maryville College clearly illustrated the changing nature of college

---

[25] Ibid.

[26] Regulations in Baldwin Hall, Campus Life, Maryville College Collection, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

[27] Ibid.

life where students often focused on activities outside the classroom. Through activities and organizations students created an undergraduate culture that for many became the hallmark of college life.[28] Maryville College presented students with a campus life typical of many coeducational colleges of the period. However, the school did not allow fraternities or sororities on campus. These exclusive organizations often determined the social hierarchy of the student body. Although most sororities lacked the power base of fraternities, sororities often aligned themselves with fraternities in order to wield power over the female students. The exclusion of sororities at Maryville College eliminated this potential power base for both men and women on campus.[29]

Rather than Greek letter societies, Maryville College's faculty encouraged students to create literary societies because of their educational value.[30] These organizations often took on the role of fraternities and sororities without the exclusivity indicative of Greek

---

[28] Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), xii.

[29] Ibid., 17.

[30] Blair and Walker, *By Faith Endowed*, 75.

letter societies. Most of the students attending Maryville College joined one of the five literary societies that were segregated by sex. Men could join Animi Cultus, begun in 1867, Athenian, started in 1868, and Alpha Sigma, started in 1889. Women could choose from two societies, the Bainonian Society, begun first in 1870 as the Callispean Literary Society (the name was changed to Bainonian in 1875), or Theta Epsilon, started in 1894. The school's administration treated each of the literary societies equally and gave rooms on the second floor of Anderson Hall to the Bainonian society and Theta Epsilon and rooms on the third floor of Anderson Hall to the societies for men.[31] These two female literary societies proved to be the main extracurricular outlet for women at Maryville College. The 1909-1910 handbook explained, "the literary society constitutes an important part of each girl's college life and scarcely anyone fails to connect herself with one of the societies."[32]

The importance of the literary societies was often

---

[31] Ibid., 78; and Wilson, *A Century of Maryville College*, 200.

[32] *Maryville College Handbook, 1909-1910*. Publications—Official Students' Handbook, 1892-1947, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

remembered decades after graduating from college. In a school survey sent to students in the 1950s, Mattie Mildred Fisher Stovall, from the class of 1918, wrote, "activities in YWCA and in Bainonian Society helped to develop my leadership ability."[33] Representatives of each of the literary societies joined to form the Adelphic Union, with both men and women serving in leadership positions for the combined union. Most often, women only served in secondary positions of power within the organization and rarely held primary leadership positions in any organization. In 1905, women served as vice-president and secretary/treasurer of the union.[34]

The secondary leadership positions commonly held by women in the coeducational Adelphic Union were indicative of the role women often played in all sex-integrated organizations. However, exceptional women who had ingrained leadership skills occasionally rose above the expectations of their sex to serve as leaders of their classes or organizations. This trend began in the early

---

[33] Maryville College Survey, Maryville College Collection, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

[34] *Maryville College Handbook, 1905-1906.* Publications—Official Students' Handbook, 1892-1947, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

twentieth century, with women serving in all official class positions including class president. Between 1905 and 1908 women served as presidents of their classes three out of the four years.[35] The majority of women in elected offices, however, served in secondary positions like vice-president or secretary. This pattern persisted even though women often outnumbered men in many of the early twentieth-century classes and could have easily voted themselves into leadership positions. This failure reflected ingrained gender roles that even college educated women could not escape. Women had been taught from an early age that men should occupy positions of authority; and even educated women did not challenge their secondary positions that were based on gender rather than leadership abilities.

Student life for women at Maryville College was a mixture of acceptance and rejection in a college world that continued to be dominated by men. A variety of coeducational organizations existed and served as the main source of activity in the rural college. In addition to literary societies, the Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.) and the Young Women's Christian Association

---

[35] *Maryville College Handbooks* (various years), Publications—Official Students' Handbook, 1892-1947, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

(Y.W.C.A) played an integral role in the religious-affiliated college, with the Y.W.C.A. organizing the May Day celebration in the 1920s.[36] Students also formed coeducational State Clubs, "Men's" and "Girl's" Glee Clubs, a ministerial association for men only, separate men's and women's debate clubs, and an integrated student council that worked "to summarize student opinion and to work with the faculty in promoting desirable measures and preventing actions which are detrimental to the college."[37] In the 1920s, the Student Council consisted of eight representatives from the senior class, six from the junior class, and four each from the sophomore and freshman classes. Apparently reflecting a school policy of equal representation of men and women half of each class's representatives on the student council were women between 1925 and 1929.[38]

---

[36] *Maryville College Handbook*, 1920-1921, Maryville College Collection, Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee.

[37] *Maryville College Handbook*, 1924-1925, Maryville College Collection, Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee.

[38] *Student Council Notebook*, 1925-1929, Maryville College Collection, Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee.

Although several of the college's organizations were coeducational, athletics underlined the peripheral role women played in campus activities. Men's roles had been clearly defined since the 1890s when members of the all male Maryville College Athletic Association chose a college yell and school colors. In 1902, the Athletic Board of Control that supervised all athletics until 1955 consisted of two female students, two male students, two faculty members, and two businessmen working as liaisons between the Athletic Director and students and appointing team managers.[39] In 1907, the make-up of the board's membership expanded to thirteen positions, but only one of those was given to a woman, marking a clear loss of influence.

The limitations of women's athletic activities can best be illustrated by the type of sports available for them. Unlike the varied sports teams at women's colleges, Maryville College women had only one choice, basketball, while men could participate in football, basketball, baseball, track, field day, and Chess Club.[40] Women's

---

[39] Ken D. Kribbs, *History of Athletics at Maryville College Book One: The Early Era, 1866-1920* (privately printed, 1968), 14-20.

[40] *The Chilhowean* (1907), Maryville College Collection, Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee.

basketball began at Maryville College in 1903, only two years after Senda Berenson, the athletic director at Smith College, published women's rules for basketball.[41] The basketball seasons were generally brief with games played sporadically against regional teams. Women fully supported the one sport in which they could participate and their enthusiasm for the sport discouraged men from playing on the men's team because they looked down on a sport that was so popular among women.[42] Not until young men who grew up in Maryville College's preparatory department became college age did basketball become another sport men dominated.[43]

The learning experiences and leadership opportunities women found at Maryville College provided more career options compared to previous generations of East Tennessee women. Graduates of the college often chose traditional professions, such as teaching, yet, these women were among the growing numbers of professionally trained educators who

---

[41] Kribbs, *History of Athletics*, 84; and Pamela Dean, "'Dear Sisters and Hated Rivals': Athletics and Gender at Two New South Women's Colleges, 1893-1920," *Journal of Sport History* 24(Fall 1997): 34.

[42] Kribbs, *History of Athletics*, 70.

[43] Ibid.

worked to change the backwardness of the South's educational system. In the 1950s, the college mailed questionnaires to former students to learn what type of influence Maryville College had on students' careers. Many women graduates led relatively traditional lives as wives and mothers; yet even these women continued to express concern over the treatment of women on the campus. Minnie McGinley, a music major between 1902 and 1907, said that she was "especially interested in facilities for women students."[44]

The survey indicated that the majority of women graduates became teachers. Apharine Stripline Driskill from the class of 1917 became a math teacher after having been told she was the first woman majoring in math. Driskill wrote, "When I was in school there, I was told I was the first girl major in mathematics. I've wondered lots of times if this were true. . . ."[45] Driskill also served as the president of a chapter of the American

---

[44] Minnie McGinley, Maryville College Questionnaire, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

[45] Apharine Stripline Driskill, Maryville College Questionnaire, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

Association of University Women.[46] Most of the women surveyed failed to specify the level at which they taught; however, a few specified that they taught at the college level. For example, Almira Caroline Bassett, from the Class of 1909, earned a Master's Degree from the University of Michigan, attended summer schools at the University of Tennessee, University of California, and University of Michigan, and taught in college. However Ms. Bassett did not name the college in which she taught.[47] In addition, some Maryville College graduates went on to pursue higher education like Elizabeth Dorothy Waist who attended Maryville College between 1903 and 1905. She stated that she received a Master of Arts Degree, a Master of Science Degree, and a Doctor of Philosophy degree and had once taught at the University of Honolulu.[48]

Maryville College's tradition of education dated to the early nineteenth century. Opening their doors to women and African Americans in the 1860s was progressive, yet

---

[46] Ibid.

[47] Almira Caroline Bassett, Maryville College Questionnaire, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

[48] Elizabeth Dorothy Waist, Maryville College Questionnaire, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

this progressive stance still reflected an overall conservative view of college education. Maryville College admitted African Americans until 1901 when the Tennessee legislature passed segregation laws. The law stated that it was "unlawful for any school or college to permit white and colored persons to attend the same school."[49] The penalty for Maryville College to continue admitting African American students was a $50 fine or imprisonment from 30 days to 6 months, or a combination of both.[50] Maryville College, similar to other southern coeducational colleges, brought women onto the campus and yet kept them confined to the classes deemed suitable for women. Women at coeducational colleges and single sex colleges had basically the same opportunities after graduation. In Tennessee, the type of college a woman attended did not significantly matter. Her education generally resulted in teaching school if she had a career outside the home.

In many ways African American women faced the same challenges as white women in the male-dominated higher educational system. Yet, African American women dealt with

---

[49] "Jim Crow Laws: Tennessee," Available [Online]: www.jimcrowhistory.org/geograpny/geograpny.htm. [22 November 2004].

[50] Ibid.

the added burden associated with preconceived notions about the inferior ability of African Americans to learn. During the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the majority of African American women who attended college did so at coeducational colleges and universities. Women entered these colleges and found themselves often limited to classes that would aid them only in careers deemed appropriate for African American women. Attitudes toward all women crossed racial lines to continue to emphasize traditional gender roles rather than each individual's ability.

The inclusion of women at Fisk University had been part of the vision of Erastus Milo Cravath, the president of the university from 1875 to 1900. With an educational background that included a degree from Oberlin College, Cravath argued that civilized society should learn to appreciate the intellectual abilities of women as well as men and that college-educated African American women would be able to influence the race through their efforts at home.[51]

---

[51] L.M. Collins, *One Hundred Years of Fisk University Presidents, 1875-1975* (Nashville: Hemphill's Creative Printing Inc., 1989), 26.

The American Missionary Association (AMA), through the work of John Ogden, Erastus M. Cravath, and Edward P. Smith, initially funded and supported Fisk University. In 1867 the AMA had only five colleges, high schools, and normal schools throughout the South, yet five years later in 1872, they maintained twenty-nine schools.[52] Aid from philanthropic organizations had become common in the post-Civil War period. Three main types of organizations developed educational programs that often had very different visions for the future of the African American community. These included missionary societies like the AMA, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the American Home Mission Society. Each contributed funds and missionaries to teach former slaves at schools such as Bennett College, Spelman Seminary, Morehouse College, and dozens of others. The African American community itself set up educational programs for adults as well as children because many African Americans believed the way to leave behind economic destitution and the oppressive nature of Southern society would be through access to higher education. Industrial organizations also

---

[52] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 242.

contributed to African American education that focused primarily on industrial training programs, like those at Hampton Institute.[53]

School administrators found the former Union barracks in Nashville as a convenient location for the newly established Fisk school. Due to the lack of education among the former slaves who first attended the school, Fisk's founders established the school with a wide range of educational levels, beginning at the primary level and extending to university-level coursework.[54] With the student population growing rapidly and students progressing quickly, Fisk administrators searched for a new location that would better fit a more mature academic environment. The school moved to its location on Jefferson Street with only the upper grades, leaving the lower grades at the

---

[53] Michael Dennis, "Schooling Along the Color Line: Progressives and the Education of Blacks in the New South," *Journal of Negro Education* 67(1999): 153; and Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 242. For information on the history of Hampton Institute see Francis Greenwood Peabody, *Education for Life: The Story of Hampton Institution* (College Park, MD: McGrath Publishing Co., 1969).

[54] Joe M. Richardson, *A History of Fisk University, 1865-1946* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1980), 4; and Reavis Mitchell, Jr., *The Loyal Children Make Their Way Since 1866* (Nashville: Fisk University Press, 1995), 21.

barracks location. In 1876, the lower grades moved to the Jefferson Street campus and were housed in buildings separate from the main campus. By 1916, Fisk had implemented a Model School program where education majors used the younger grades for student teaching experiences, with students teaching one semester of primary grades and one semester of grammar school grades before finishing their education degree.

The courses offered to the college level students at Fisk generally fit into greater higher education trends found at white colleges and universities. The minimum coursework standards included two years in expression, religion, physiology, education, psychology, and ethics; and three years in chemistry or physics, English, and modern languages. In addition a number of elective courses continued expanding learning opportunities, with courses offered in accounting, agriculture, drama, art, sociology, architectural drawing, and many others associated with a liberal arts curriculum.[55]

Fisk offered a Classical Course whose "purpose is not so much to give specific or professional knowledge as it is

---

[55] Ibid., 63 and 73; and Dewey Grantham, Jr. "The Regional Imagination: Social Scientists and the American South," *Journal of Southern History* 34 (February 1968): 5.

to give power in thought, correctness of judgment, breadth of view, standards of refinement and established character."[56] This field of study centered on Latin and Greek, with additional courses in chemistry and history. Two of the most prominent professors within this field of study included Professor John Wesley Work, the chair of Latin and History, and Mary E. Spence, professor of Greek. The Scientific course focused less on classical subjects and included chemistry, English, algebra, trigonometry, psychology and social science courses. According to the yearbook, this course resulted in a Bachelor of Arts degree in Science and trained students for teaching in high schools or going into a profession.[57]

Although women were allowed to choose from all of the courses offered by the university, many continued to take courses that placed them firmly in areas deemed appropriate for women. When women did take courses along with men the school informed women they would be treated the same as men. According to an entry in the 1916 yearbook, "Young men usually take this, but the few young women who take it

---

[56] Fisk University Yearbook (1916), R.A. Walke Collection, John Hope and Aurelia Elizabeth Franklin Library, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

[57] Ibid.

are treated the same in every respect as their fellow classmates."[58] Administrators in 1906 sanctioned the placement of women in women-centered courses with the establishment of the Course of Home Economics. Designed "to meet the needs of the twentieth century," the university required all female students to take some courses in this field of study prior to graduation regardless of their major.[59] The Home Economics program—one of the first in the region predated the federal Smith-Lever Act (1914) and the Smith-Hughes Act (1916).

Unlike many coeducational colleges, the Department of Music at Fisk included men as well as women. The significance of the Jubilee Singers to Fisk ensured that men, like women, appreciated and supported musical endeavors. Music classes included piano, voice lecture, violin, harmony, and music history. Students could take up to eight years of piano with four years of harmony and a semester in music history.[60]

With Fisk's strong association with the American

---

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid; and Mitchell, *The Loyal Children*, 26-29 and 36.

Missionary Society, missionaries served as the earliest teachers and administrators. These white educators often believed in racial accommodation and the inferiority of African Americans, yet they refused to put barriers between African Americans and higher education.[61] These early educators saw themselves as missionaries rather than teachers.[62] As the time passed, fewer Fisk faculty members claimed to be missionaries; rather, many were well trained and highly qualified teachers. By the early twentieth century, the faculty consisted of men and women who had earned both undergraduate and graduate degrees. Thomas W. Talley, a chemistry professor, held a Doctor of Science degree. Leo E. Walker, an instructor in chemistry and the football coach, had a medical degree. Although the number of teachers with advanced degrees remained small as late as 1916, by 1930 the faculty illustrated both a sexually and racially integrated teaching staff. Lillian Cashin, a professor of English, held a Master's Degree from the University of Chicago; Jane Ellen McAllister, an African

---

[61] Dennis, "Schooling Along the Color Line," 151.

[62] Richardson, *A History of Fisk University*, 9; and James A. Quirin, "'Her Sons and Daughters Are Ever on the Altar': Fisk University and Missionaries to Africa, 1866-1937," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* LX (Spring 2001): 19-21.

American professor of education, had earned her Doctor of Philosophy degree from Columbia University; and Viola Goin, the Dean of Women, had earned her Bachelor of Arts degree from Oberlin.[63]

The faculty and administration of Fisk created a strong curriculum based on the liberal arts at a time when many schools for African Americans leaned toward vocational training rather than a classical education. The debate between classical and vocational education had been raging for many years with many people believing the African Americans should be educated to provide the South with a contented labor force while others advocated a liberal arts education. According to James Anderson, the missionary societies maintained training in the liberal arts because "colleges such as Fisk, Atlanta, and Howard were viewed as social settlements that imparted the culture of New England to black boys and girls along with the culture of the Greeks and Romans."[64] In the mid-1880s, Fisk did experiment with industrial courses for women that included cooking, sewing, nursing, and health, "while stressing the virtues

---

[63] Fisk University Yearbook (1916); and *The Lighthouse* (1930), R.A. Walke Collection, John Hope and Aurelia E. Franklin Library, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

[64] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 244.

of the liberal arts offering science."[65] These industrial courses proved to be the forerunner of home economics courses; yet the later home economics classes stressed the teaching of the courses rather than industrial work.

The struggle to keep Fisk with a strictly liberal arts curriculum continued well into the 1920s during Fayette McKenzie's presidency. McKenzie's concerns for the school concentrated on financial issues that he thought could be aided through support from the white community. McKenzie demonstrated Fisk's worthiness through his emphasis on scholarship and discipline.[66] When McKenzie became president he urged students to stop questioning the political and social realities of the country and instead concentrate on developing the African American community's economic base through interracial cooperation. McKenzie stripped Fisk students of their rights as college students by restricting student behavior both inside and outside the classroom. These efforts were meant to reassure industrialists that even if black students received a liberal arts education they remembered their place in

---

[65] Collins, *One Hundred Years of Fisk University Presidents*, 24.

[66] Ibid., 72; and Mitchell, *The Loyal Children*, 60-65.

society and would stop emulating white universities.[67] McKenzie suspended production of the *Herald*, disbanded athletics, and instituted The Fisk Code of Discipline that regulated student's social relationships.[68] McKenzie's efforts resulted in students boycotting classes for ten weeks and student protests against McKenzie's leadership resulted in police intervention on campus. As a result of these protests, McKenzie resigned in 1925.[69]

The strong sense of self that students of Fisk maintained in an often harsh society, provided Fisk graduates a solid foundation on which to build their careers. The first college class graduated in 1875 with four students, of whom two were women. Virginia E. Walker taught school in Memphis after graduating and traveled throughout Tennessee as a missionary. By 1910, Walker had become the secretary for the Women's Baptist Home Mission and taught school at Howe Institute in Memphis. The other woman from the Class of 1875, America W. Robinson, stayed at Fisk until 1878 with the Jubilee Singers. After

---

[67] Ibid., 263-269.

[68] Collins, *One Hundred Years of Fisk University Presidents*, 70-95.

[69] Ibid; and Mitchell, *The Loyal Children*, 64.

studying French and German in Europe, she taught school, earned her Master's Degree in 1890, and became the principal of Macon Public School in Mississippi.[70]

The first class of women graduates set a high standard that subsequent generations of students worked hard to sustain. Early women graduates from Fisk became important figures in late nineteenth and early twentieth century African American issues. Many regarded Margaret James Murray, who graduated from Fisk University in 1889, as one of Fisk's most outstanding alumna. She served as a member of the Southern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs and traveled widely throughout the South illustrating the importance of women in the political and social movements affecting African Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Her influence over others continued to be widespread after her marriage to Booker T. Washington. Althea Marie Brown also exemplified the positive roles Fisk graduates played in society. After nine years of studying and working at the same time, Althea graduated in 1901. She was a teacher, nurse, and librarian, worked for the Woman's Work Department of the

---

[70] Ibid., 42-44.

Presbyterian Church, and completed a dictionary of the African Bushonga language in 1913. [71]

These graduates illustrate the significance placed on education by the African American community. By 1900, over four hundred people had graduated from Fisk. Of these four hundred, over two hundred taught in the southern educational system. An additional seven hundred former students taught in the school system without having been conferred a degree.[72] Leaving before receiving a Bachelor's degree became more common for women as the need for educators continued to grow within the African American community. Jeanne Noble has observed that black women's college enrollment exceeded that of men's in the first two years of college, but by the third and fourth year men exceeded women because women often left school with only a two-year degree to teach. The numbers of women finishing college remained below those of male graduates well into the twentieth century. In 1920, two out of every ten African American graduates were women; by 1930, this number increased to four out of every ten. Women's numbers

---

[71] Collins, *One Hundred Years of Fisk University Presidents*, 42 and 22.

[72] Ibid., 53.

increased dramatically by 1940 with more women than men graduating from college.[73] Complete statistical information for every year at Fisk University remains unknown; yet, the growing number of women who stayed in school to finish their degrees illustrates that by the 1910s, African American women made up a significant proportion of women in the upper classes. The Class of 1916 had twenty-eight members, with eleven of them being women. For the class of 1917, out of twenty members, thirteen were women. By 1930, women in the graduating classes significantly outnumbered men. The Class of 1930 had ninety-six students; fifty-six of them were women.[74]

The college culture found at Fisk University in many ways mirrored the emerging youth culture found at all colleges and universities. Students at Fisk chose from a variety of extracurricular activities; yet, women faced

---

[73] Jeanne Noble, "The Higher Education of Black Women in the Twentieth Century," in *Women and Higher Education in American History: Essays from Mount Holyoke College Sesquicentennial Symposia*, ed. John Mack Faragher and Florence Howe (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1988), 89; idem, *The Negro Woman's College Education* (New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College, Columbia University, 1956), 24-33.

[74] Fisk University Yearbook (1916) and *The Lighthouse* (1930), R.A. Walke Collection, John Hope and Aurelia E. Franklin Library, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

more limited choices. All organized athletics catered to men, with no official women's athletic teams except cheerleading. However, women had more choices in academic activities. The Decagynian Club became the first literary society for women at Fisk in February of 1899. According to the 1916 yearbook, "their purpose was to make a study of the important questions, literary and practical, with which every thoroughly trained college woman must deal."[75] The Decagynians organized and performed public plays and festivals to raise money to benefit the Fisk Endowment Fund. A second literary society for women began in 1900 called Duodecem Litrae Virgines or D.L.V. Club. The number of women allowed to join this society was limited to twelve members and three associates. The society meant to bring women closer together, develop their literary tastes, keep up with current events, and "train the members in executive ability and parliamentary usages."[76] Women also could choose to be members of the Tanner Art Club, Y.W.C.A., and coeducational organizations like the Young People's Temperance Society, an outgrowth of the WCTU, and the

---

[75] Fisk University Yearbook (1916), R.A. Walke Collection, John Hope and Aurelia E. Franklin Library, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

[76] Ibid.

Mozart Society.

The administration at Fisk University kept strict, often harsh, rules to govern the student body. The administrators of African American colleges often forced these high moral standards on their students long after the regulations had relaxed at white colleges.[77] As late as the 1920s, for example, students at Fisk had to conform to a set schedule to eat, sleep, and study. Chapel religious services were a requirement long after most white schools had become increasingly secularized.[78] In addition, any form of dishonesty from the students was grounds for expulsion from the university.[79]

During the early twentieth century, the exacting regulations appeared even more rigid for women attending Fisk. The fear of white perception of immorality among the students, especially female students, caused the school's administrators to hold women to even higher standards than

---

[77] Raymond Wolters, *The New Negro on Campus: Black College Rebellions of the 1920s* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press,1975), 13.

[78] For more information on the secularization of American universities see Julie A Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

[79] Ibid., 31.

male students. Faculty and staff closely monitored the relationships between men and women with particular scrutiny being placed on women who were constantly chaperoned.[80] Women were not allowed outside after dark, and they were only allowed to receive one visitor per week between 4:30 and 5:30pm. A Presidential Committee enforced regulations during the early twentieth century, and they were charged with punishing students for infractions. In 1909 this committee further restricted women's clothing choices by ordering all women to wear uniforms to Sunday dinner. If a student disregarded this rule, she would be fined twenty-five cents for the first offense, suspended for one day at the second offense, and expelled from the school upon the third offense.[81] In addition to fines and suspension, women were also denied access to extracurricular activities and special privileges as punishment for infractions. Regulations also governed personal relationships between male and female students. To keep students from becoming too close, faculty members had a "'two to one rule'" where students were not allowed

---

[80] Ibid.

[81] Richardson, *History of Fisk University*, 85.

to go out on more than two consecutive dates with each other without going out with a different person.[82]

Rather than following the trend in colleges of loosening the moral authority that had ruled students since the early nineteenth century, the administration of Fisk tightened their rules and regulations in the 1920s. As noted previously, President Fayette McKenzie suppressed dissent among students and disbanded the student government association and the school newspaper. He also prevented the creation of a campus chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and monitored NAACP materials that could be brought onto campus.[83] Founded in 1910, the NAACP advocated civil rights and equal education opportunities for African Americans. W.E.B. DuBois, one of the most distinguished alumni of Fisk University, served as the editor of the NAACP's journal, *The Crisis*.[84] This connection to Fisk University could have provided students with support from alumni in the quest to

---

[82] Ibid., 85.

[83] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 264 and 265; and Wolters, *The New Negro on Campus*, 34.

[84] Mitchell, *The Loyal Children*, 64.

end the unfair treatment and harsh rules they suffered under President McKenzie.

A significant portion of McKenzie's rules concentrated on regulating the behavior of women. Women were not permitted to interact with men; and an act as innocent as a couple walking together across campus could be grounds for expulsion. At mealtime, one of the rare occasions when men and women could be found in the same room, women could not leave the cafeteria until the men were dismissed and had returned to their dorm rooms. In order to limit their time with men, women could not arrive at the cafeteria early or stay late.[85] Attempts had also been made to further regulate women's behavior through their dress code. By the 1920s, the dress code filled several pages of the college catalog. Women were restricted to wearing high necks, long sleeves, black hats, and cotton stockings in an era when women's fashions changed dramatically with shortened hemlines depicting the flapper style and synthetic fabrics becoming more common. In 1925 one student summed up the girls' feelings about the harshness of the dress code:

> the girl part of the student body might have been able to get along with the orders forbidding them to talk with the boys on the campus or in college buildings. They might even have been peaceful, but not satisfied,

---

[85] Richardson, *History of Fisk University*, 86.

> with the order which forbade them from dancing with boys, but when they are to keep on wearing cotton stockings and gingham dresses it was too much.[86]

Throughout 1926, students and administrators worked to lessen the restrictive nature of the school's rules and regulations. Yet these new rules continued to contain women's freedom much more so than the men's. Junior and senior women could only leave campus and go to town on special occasions and only with a proper chaperone. Women's clothing remained a point of contention with a "dress committee" composed of one woman from each class and faculty members. Changes in student life continued and in 1928, after students requested permission to start fraternities and sororities, administrators granted their request. By June of 1928, four fraternities and two sororities had been organized. In addition, in 1927, Ambrose Caliver became the first African American dean of the university; and in 1929 Juliette Derricotte became the first African American dean of women.[87]

The creation of the new deans for men and women coincided with an expansion of the extracurricular

---

[86] Wolters, *The New Negro on Campus*, 34.

[87] Richardson, *History of Fisk University*, 88-113.

opportunities for students. By 1930, students could participate in a Student Council, fraternities and sororities, an inter-fraternity council, and a variety of other academic and social societies. In addition they created a Women's Senate. The Senate "was organized to establish an esprit de corps on our campus and to serve as an intermediary between the faculty and the women student body. It is endowed with executive, judiciary, and legislative powers on matters of concern to women students."[88]

Women faced different educational challenges on coeducational campuses than challenges found at single sex colleges. Women at coeducational colleges were faced with the reality awaiting all women after leaving the confines of higher education that women would continue to have positions secondary to men in most aspects of society. In many ways Maryville College and Fisk University were liberal in their acceptance of women on their campuses. Yet, both schools illustrate the traditional gender roles that kept men in positions of power over women on campus. Specific instances at Maryville College illustrated that

---

[88] *The Lighthouse* (1930), R.A. Walke Collection, John Hope and Aurelia E. Franklin Library, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

some exceptional women did break through those stereotypes to become leaders on coeducational campuses. At Fisk, women faced even greater challenges to becoming leaders on campus. Fisk administrators created an environment for female students based on stereotypes of African American women that ensured strict adherence to traditional gender roles.

As illustrated at both Maryville College and Fisk University traditional gender roles affected the college environment at all coeducational colleges through course offerings, extracurricular activities, and campus design and layout. One of the most tangible manifestations remaining as a testament to the gender division of college campuses are the buildings students occupied. These buildings often illustrate the influence traditional ideas had over the college environment through their incorporation into campus design and layout. Architecture had the potential to further limit women's ability to interact with men as equals in a coeducational environment and often symbolized the perseverance of ingrained gender roles that permeated the American higher education system in the early twentieth century.

CHAPTER FIVE
ARCHITECTURE ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO FEMALE STUDENTS

The architecture found on college campuses is a tangible manifestation of the administration's educational philosophy embodied in the physical environment. These buildings contribute to the quality of collegiate experiences through their design, function, and adaptability. College campuses are evolving environments that reflect their varied educational past. A variety of conditions contribute to the dominant architectural style found on campuses including the age and economic condition of the school, the curricula, and the gender of the student population. Judging by the campus design and layout of the four Tennessee colleges studied in this dissertation, Tennessee College for Women and Ward-Belmont illustrated their strong sense of purpose in the higher education of women and conveyed that purpose in their architecture and campus design. In contrast, neither Maryville College nor Fisk University maintained a distinguishable pattern in their campus design or layout that included or excluded

women; their campuses appeared to develop in response to needs rather than as part of a cohesive plan that reinforced their missions as coeducational institutions.

Although based on European models, the earliest American colleges distinguished themselves from their predecessors to create a distinct American style of college architecture. According to Paul V. Turner, American adaptations of European models included placing schools in separate locations rather than in clusters, locating schools out in the country rather than in cities, and creating campus plans that emphasized openness on spacious campuses. Most colleges attempted to follow general architectural trends that depended on social, economic, and cultural factors distinctive to each college.[1]

The distinctive characteristics that defined American colleges applied mainly to men's colleges. Early women's colleges often failed to adapt to the changing architectural and campus environment that characterized men's colleges during the last decades of the nineteenth century. The conservative attitudes of the late nineteenth century toward educating women are reflected in the

---

[1] Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984), 3-6.

building styles preferred by builders of women's colleges. Like the repressive rules that often governed college women's behavior, the limitations placed on them through their campus environment lingered long after men's colleges became liberal open campuses.

The earliest women's colleges relied on architectural precedents set by women's academies and seminaries. Officials designed the seminary structure to house all school functions, keeping students tightly enclosed in one central structure. Based on the asylum model, one massive building dominated the rural campus, with Mount Holyoke serving as the most prestigious example of this type of campus planning. This building housed the majority of the school's functions, including classrooms, administrative offices, and the dormitory for the students.[2] Administrators at women's colleges often saw the large seminary building as a way to help alter students' consciousness. By living, working, and studying in one building, relationships between students and faculty

---

[2] Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s*, 2d ed. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993), 9-27.

flourished and molded the next generation of rational, disciplined women.[3]

When colleges for women began appearing more frequently in the American higher educational system, educators feared public backlash against an educational system that many believed would educate women out of their inherent feminine qualities. Fearing that parents and the general public would reject radical educational ideas, leaders at women's colleges sought to assuage the public's fears through the creation of a visually conservative college campus. The stability found in the large single structure on a rural campus helped many struggling women's colleges gain acceptance during the late nineteenth century. Yet the limitations placed on women through these buildings illustrated even the most liberal educator's ideas remained conservative when compared to the open, free thinking world college men experienced.

Colleges like Vassar, founded in 1865, and Wellesley, founded in 1875, served as early models for progressive women's colleges that remained closeted in a seminary building. The founders of Vassar failed to fully comprehend the mission of Mount Holyoke as exemplified

---

[3] Ibid.

through their seminary building. To the builders of Vassar, the large building equaled protection from the outside world rather than a way to mold young women in the images of the teachers. Well-known architects famous for designing public buildings created the buildings for Vassar and Wellesley. Their imposing structures quickly took on a life of their own with the arrival of students. With women essentially secluded from the outside world, the propriety of removing young women from men entirely caused many to fear that women would turn to each other, rather than men, when passionate feelings arose. By the 1890s, educators were being warned of the dangers of lesbianism among students and many felt that seclusion in a single building aided these improper relationships and led to increasing acceptance of campus plans that called for separate buildings.[4]

By the early twentieth century, few women's colleges continued to use a seminary structure as the focal point of

---

[4] Ibid; Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, *Sexual Inversion* (London: Wilson and MacMillan, 1897; reprint New York: Arno Press, 1975), 138 (page citations are to the reprint edition); and Sherrie A. Inness, "Mashes, Smashes, Crushes, and Raves: Woman-to-Woman Relationships in Popular Women's College Fiction, 1895-1915," *NWSA Journal* 6(Spring 1994): 51-54.

the campus. Yet, as late as 1907, trustees of Tennessee College for Women drew on nineteenth-century ideas about women's higher education and built only one large building to house all the college's activities. Tennessee College for Women had three factors that helped ensure the continuation of old-fashioned beliefs about women. First, the location of Tennessee College for Women in a small rural southern town guaranteed that the school would be less likely to defy the nineteenth-century social mores of the South that remained prevalent well into the twentieth century. Second, the Tennessee Baptist Convention sponsored the school with a board of trustees that made decisions based on conservative Baptist principles about the proper place for women in society. Third, the school did not have a large endowment that would help employ an innovative architectural design for the campus. As a result, Tennessee College for Women opened its doors to daughters of mainly rural, small-town southerners who expected women's education to follow a conservative path based on southern evangelical traditions in a building that befitted those beliefs.

At Tennessee College, the building consisted of three stories of red, pressed brick with a "256 feet front"

dominated by three classical porticoes "and two wings in the rear which formed a court of unusual beauty and at the same time gave privacy to a portion of the grounds."[5] Students lived, studied, worked, and played in the single building on campus. The main building was set back on twenty acres of land on Main Street in Murfreesboro. Promotional literature claimed the school had a healthful environment because the area around it was open for two blocks.[6] The school also had cement sidewalks and an impressive circular drive lined with large oak trees. Given the small-town nature of Murfreesboro in the early twentieth century, the school was considered to be on the town's eastern outskirts since "town" began at Academy Street several blocks away.[7]

---

[5] "Memories, Memories," *Daily News Journal* (Murfreesboro), 21 September 1975.

[6] *Bulletin for Tennessee College: Mary Sharp College Souvenir Edition*, July 1910. Tennessee College for Women Collection, Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[7] Ibid. For more information about the relationship between small towns and women's colleges see Lisa Tolbert, "Commercial Blocks and Female Colleges: The Small-Town Business of Educating Ladies," in *Shaping Communities: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, VI*, ed. Carter L. Hudgins and Elizabeth Collins Cromley (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 203-215.

Architecturally, the Tennessee College building was a three-story Classical Revival building with a flat roof and a central dome that added to the stateliness of the building (See Figure 1). A two-story portico with fluted columns with Ionic capitals dominated the façade. Flanking the central portico, two-story porticos with fluted Ionic columns announced additional entrances to the building. The choice of a Classical façade signified the traditional nature of the institution, while the lack of ornamentation illustrated the conservative nature of education at a Southern Baptist sponsored college. The antiquated building form used by the Tennessee Baptist Convention helped reinforce the traditional roles they wanted all women, even educated women, to occupy. Yet, the use of Classical Revival architecture was a deliberate attempt to add to the prestige of the school and in turn add to the prestige of the town. Through its stateliness Classical Revival architecture served as a physical reminder of the college's stability to both students and the public.[8]

---

[8] Virginia McAlester and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), 346; and Cyril M. Harris, *American Architecture: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998), 63 and 64.

The grandeur of the building in a small rural town like Murfreesboro guaranteed the college's place in local society. The opening of Tennessee College for Women provided local citizens with a focal point for community activities. The school's large building became a community meeting place for recitals, lectures, and public banquets. For example, pastors from the Middle Tennessee Baptist Convention met at the school with the students' Glee Club presenting their luncheon entertainment.[9] Tennessee College's public role diminished within five years of its opening due to the state construction of Middle Tennessee State Normal School in 1911. The state school also featured a central building in the Classical Revival style. Yet, unlike Tennessee College the normal school lacked the primary mission to protect while educating; therefore, the coeducational normal school quickly added buildings to the campus as enrollment increased. After Tennessee College moved in 1946, the building site continued to play a significant role in Murfreesboro's educational history. Local officials demolished the old building to make way for

---

[9] *Tennessee-Ann*, January 14, 1932. Tennessee College for Women Alumni Association Records Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

a new Murfreesboro high school. Since 1972, Central Middle School has occupied the Main Street location.

Not all women's colleges in Tennessee embraced the out-of-date academy model. Ward-Belmont illustrated the evolving trends in women's higher education through the evolution of its curricula and building practices. Ward Seminary began in a converted townhouse on the corner of Sumner Street and Cedar Street in Nashville in 1865. This large structure operated similarly to the seminary building constructed specifically to house all the functions of the school under one roof. Yet, the administrators of Ward Seminary realized that the growing student body called for a building more suitable for a school. In early 1866, Ward Seminary moved to a 125-room building that contained 4,000 square feet on South Spruce Street in downtown Nashville (See Figure 2).[10] In his book describing each higher educational institution in Tennessee, Lucius Salisbury Merriam found that the four-story seminary-like building had well ventilated rooms that included a large practice hall, a chapel, and recitation, art, and music rooms (See

[10] Louise Davis, "A Quiet, Even Growth," *The Nashville Tennessean Magazine*. 28 November 1948, 6 and 7.

Figure 3).[11] When Ward Seminary and Belmont College merged in 1913, school administrators wanted the newly formed school to be as modern as possible. As a result, Ward Seminary moved to the Belmont College campus on the outskirts of Nashville. The Belmont campus, once the location of an antebellum estate, was much larger than the downtown location of Ward Seminary and afforded the school additional space to expand to create a college campus that fit with greater trends in twentieth-century higher education (See Figure 4).

Originally the summer home of Adelicia Acklen, the Belmont estate included an Italianate mansion, landscaped grounds, and a zoo.[12] The mansion remained the centerpiece of the spacious campus (See Figure 5). The *Ward-Belmont Alumni Journal* from 1931 continued to place significance on the school's antebellum roots. The *Journal*, quoting from

---

[11] Lucius Salisbury Merriam. *Higher Education in Tennessee*, Contributions in American Educational History, ed. Herbert B. Adams (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), 254.

[12] For information on the antebellum history of the Belmont estate and Adelicia Acklen see Eleanor Graham, "Belmont: Nashville Home of Adelicia Acklen," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 30 (Winter 1971): 211-230 and Robert Harling, "The Toast of Tennessee: The Author of *Steel Magnolias* Takes a Look at the Greatest of Them All," *Art and Antiques* (February 1988): 52-59 and 87.

an 1890 issue of the *Nashville Daily American*, reported: "This grand old building is one of the best preserved specimens of ante-bellum Southern splendor, and no kinder fate could have possibly befallen it than that it should be converted into an institution where the daughters of the South will be educated."[13]

Although the Italianate mansion continued to be revered after Ida Heron and Susan Hood purchased the property for the school, additional buildings had been constructed, surrounding the house with modern quadrangles that replaced it as the primary structure. Unlike seminary-inspired college buildings, the large, landscaped campus became a marketing tool administrators often used in school advertisements (See Figure 6). In a 1911 advertisement, they described the campus as "ideal—fifteen acres of magnolia, rare shrubbery and forest trees, on a hilltop in the beautiful West End of the 'Athens of the South.'"[14] A 1913 advertisement for the new Ward-Belmont

---

[13] *Nashville Daily American*, April 27, 1890 quoted in Ward-Belmont Alumnae Journal, New Year's Number 1931, Catherine Pilcher Avery Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[14] *Milady in Brown* (1911), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

College described the campus as being "a beautiful semi-suburban location in the centre of Southern education and culture."[15]

In contrast to women's colleges that remained locked into nineteenth-century building practices, Ward-Belmont embraced the re-emerging campus plan that included quadrangles. The quadrangle was not a new concept in campus planning and architecture; and as colleges and universities grew in size in the early twentieth century, the quadrangle came back into fashion to ensure college experiences would remain intimate through these small clusters of buildings.[16] The use of quadrangles in the 1880s at the prestigious women's college, Bryn Mawr, illustrated attempts to present women's colleges as mainstream institutions that operated similarly to men's colleges. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz credited M. Carey Thomas, the president of Bryn Mawr, with bringing women's colleges into the mainstream of college architecture. Thomas created an academic university for women that took on the form of men's colleges rather than creating domestic

---

[15] *Milady in Brown* (1913), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[16] Turner, *Campus*, 215.

buildings designed to protect women. With these changes taking place at women's colleges, architects across the country began taking commissions from all colleges regardless of the gender of the student body, further narrowing the divide between men's and women's colleges.[17]

The layout of the Ward-Belmont campus took on a more collegiate form in the early twentieth century, moving the center of campus away from the antebellum house. By 1923, Ward-Belmont's campus had evolved into a spacious campus with several buildings designed to invoke images of higher education (See Figure 7). Built in the late nineteenth century and enlarged in 1909, the Main Building or North Front was located on a northern rise that overlooked the remainder of the campus that sprang up to the south. North Front housed the home economics department and post office with a dormitory in each wing of the building (See Figure 8). Founders dorm was in the east wing and Fidelity dorm was in the west wing. Acklen Hall, or South Front, functioned as the fourth building in the small grouping that served as the focal point for the large quadrangle that left the western side open (See Figure 9).

---

[17] Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 121.

Built to the south of the Main Building, the "Academic Building," built in 1913-1914, included the president's and the dean's offices, the library, classrooms, and the gymnasium (Figure 10). Located to the east of North Front, three dormitories completed the quadrangle. Heron Hall, built in 1922, served as the location of the preparatory school with a tea room and dance hall for the college students. South of Heron Hall, Pembroke Dormitory, built in 1913, housed the first-year college students.[18] Adjacent to the Academic Building on the southern end of the quadrangle, Senior Hall, later named East's Hail Hall, was erected in 1923 (See Figure 11).[19]

Ward-Belmont also appeared progressive in that Heron and Pembroke Halls had dormitory accommodations that differed greatly from preferred housing styles for college women. Both dormitories had suites of either two double rooms with a connecting bathroom or two single rooms with a connecting bath. Other dormitories on campus consisted of

---

[18] "The Story of Belmont," *Blue and Bronze*, June 1913. Folder: History of Belmont College for Young Women, Belmont University Library, Nashville, Tennessee.

[19] "Buildings on Campus," Ward-Belmont Vault—Pictures from 1940s, Belmont University Library, Nashville, Tennessee.

typical double and single rooms.[20] The more than adequate accommodations for students illustrate the wealth of the school as well as the wealth of the students. Expansion characterized the building practices found at Ward-Belmont in the late 1910s and 1920s, with the Senior Hall being built to house upper class students. Expansion continued with officials constructing a new gymnasium to the south of the Academic Building in the 1920s.

One of the most popular features of Ward-Belmont included the Club Homes built on the southern end of the campus. These buildings housed several of the school's academic and social clubs, giving students more freedom in their time outside the classroom.[21] Club Village Circle became known as "the social colony of Ward-Belmont." At least five of the houses had been clubhouses at Belmont College in 1908, housing Tau Phi Sigma, Phi Mu, Sigma Iota Chi, Theta Kappa Delta, and Beta Sigma Omicron. By the

---

[20] Ibid. and *Ward-Belmont Catalog* (1948), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[21] "The Quadrangle," Ransom Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee; and *Ward-Belmont Hyphen*, September 19, 1923, Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

1920s, the number of clubhouses had increased to ten. These clubhouses were typical four-square houses that were architecturally similar with tile roofs and spacious interiors that included large formal club areas, music rooms, game rooms, balconies, and fully equipped kitchens (See Figure 12).[22] Located near the Club Homes, the original water tower from the Acklen estate had since been renamed the "Singing Tower" by the students. This tower served as a reminder of the school's antebellum past and contrasted with the modern influences that continued to change Ward-Belmont (See Figure 13).[23] Like most institutions in the South in the early twentieth century, the past remained a significant part of the present.

The opulence of the progressive women's college campus helped recall lost southern traditions at the same time it defied traditional ideas about women's higher education. As late as 1930, the school continued to market itself as a link to antebellum southern traditions because the campus

---

[22] *Ward-Belmont Catalog* (1948), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee; and *Belmont College Yearbook* (1908), Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

[23] "The Quadrangle," n.d., Ransom Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

was located on a former plantation illustrating the continued significance of women's education's nineteenth-century roots that often focused nonacademic reasons for women's higher education (See Figure 14).

> Calling upon antebellum images of a stately plantation, a school publication stated the beauty and grace of the hanging stairway with its approach to Recreation Hall recalls the dignity of the days of the Old South. While imagination can visualize the belles of the sixties tilting up and down the stairs in hoop skirts, it is no less a charming background for social occasions of today, even as of yesterday.[24]

Although women increasingly chose to be educated on coeducational campuses, traditional gender roles often ensured that schools would have curricula and architecture to separate women within the campus environment. One obvious way to keep women distinct would be to physically isolate them from male students with a segregated campus. Since most schools lacked the space necessary to separate their students, specific buildings designed for women became an option. Gender often played a role in the architecture and layout of the buildings on campus and buildings designed specifically for women often reflected

---

[24] "Southern Traditions." n.d. Ransom Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

women's domestic past. The imprint of women on college campuses could also be felt through the interior spaces they occupied.[25]

The campus layout at Maryville College illustrated that small, rural colleges with a dependence on female students could not afford to physically isolate a significant proportion of the student population. With an endowment of only $330,000, the campus plan for Maryville College provided for functional buildings that were continually added to rather than funding an expanding campus with architectural landmark buildings. By the mid-1880s, the Maryville College campus contained four buildings with a total cost of $55,000. Erected in 1869-1870, Anderson Hall, named in honor of Reverend Isaac Anderson, founder of Maryville College, had become the centerpiece of the campus and housed the chapel, recitation rooms, and society rooms for student use (See Figure 15). Designed by Benjamin Fahnestock, Anderson Hall was erected

---

[25] Annabel Wharton, "Gender, Architecture, and Institutional Self-Presentation: The Case of Duke University," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 90 (Winter, 1991): 178-180; and Abigail Van Slyck, "On the Inside: Preserving Women's History in American Libraries," in *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation*, ed. Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer B. Goodman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 147.

with funds from several benefactors including the Freedmen's Bureau because the college accepted African American students and did not have an official school policy where students were segregated according to race until the early twentieth century.[26] In 1892, an annex was added to Anderson Hall that doubled the size of the chapel and created new recitation rooms.

In 1870 officials built two dormitories that flanked Anderson Hall. Memorial Hall contained rooms for men and Baldwin Hall became the women's dormitory (See Figure 16). The number of women attending Maryville College exceeded the number of rooms provided for them in Baldwin Hall and caused the overflow of women to board with families in town. By 1895, school administrators became increasingly aware that boarding women in town limited their collegiate experiences and as a result added an annex to Baldwin Hall that included a large forty-feet by seventy-five feet dining hall and twenty-five additional rooms. These changes did not alleviate the problem and in 1904, officials extended the annex to create twelve additional

---

[26] Herma Cate and Sarah B. McNiell, "Maryville College Historic District," *National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form*, on file with the Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee, 1.

rooms and a larger dining hall (See Figure 17).[27]

Building practices continued to be sporadic during the late nineteenth century with additions to buildings and new buildings being added as the student body grew. In 1888, the Collegiate Gothic-styled Lamar Memorial Library was erected to the southeast of Anderson Hall (See Figure 18). Designed by the Baumann Brothers of Knoxville, the Lamar Memorial Library was built to honor Thomas Jefferson Lamar, one of the educators responsible for the school's continuation in the post-Civil War Period.[28]

With much of the funding for campus expansion coming from wealthy northerners, Maryville College continued to expand. Recognizing the need of a president's house befitting the growing school, Jane Willard of New York donated money for the construction of the Willard House as a memorial to her late husband. The firm of Beaver and Hoffmeister of Knoxville designed this large Queen Anne

---

[27] Samuel Tyndale Wilson. *A Century of Maryville College, 1819-1919* (Maryville, TN: Directors of Maryville College, 1919), 131-175; and Rev. S.W. Boardman, "Maryville College and Its Claims to Further Endowment." (1888), Presidents Box: Samuel Ward Boardman, 1889-1901, Maryville College Collection, Maryville, Tennessee.

[28] Cate and McNiell, "Maryville College Historic District," 3.

style house that served as the president's house until 1951.[29]

In 1898, the Collegiate Gothic-styled Fayerweather Science Hall was built to house the school's gas plant and served as the laboratory for chemistry, biology, geology, physics, and psychology classes. Only after a $14,000 donation specifically earmarked to the school's Home Economics Department in 1913 did the school create adequate laboratory facilities for the woman-dominated Home Economics Department. Using $12,000 of the donation, officials redesigned Fayerweather Science Hall, adding a third floor to house the Home Economics laboratory (See Figure 19).[30] The school's inability to provide funding for women's programs was illustrated by the addition of the Home Economics laboratory to an existing building rather than erecting a new building.

By 1905, six hundred students attended Maryville College. With the student body continuing to grow, officials added Pearsons Hall to the campus as an additional dormitory for women in 1910 (See Figure 20).

---

[29] Ibid., 5.

[30] Wilson, *A Century of Maryville College*, 131-175; and Boardman, "Maryville College."

Designed by George F. Barber and Company in Knoxville, this Neoclassical structure resembled traditional dwellings of the same architectural style. Pearsons Hall was the first dormitory on campus designed with bathrooms, water closets, and central heat.[31] By 1912, administrators funded a third story addition to Pearsons Hall for twenty-five additional rooms that could house fifty more women.[32] By 1918, Pearsons Hall needed to expand again. Lacking additional space on the first three floors, dormers were added to the fourth floor roof line to open up the attic for student occupancy. In 1935, an annex helped expand the dining room for additional seating. George F. Barber and Company designed the Ralph Max Lamar Memorial Hospital (1910) that served as a student infirmary (See Figure 21). This large, rectangular brick building was named in honor of Thomas Jefferson Lamar's son who died in infancy. The hospital remained the school's infirmary until 1971.[33]

Another building phase at Maryville College coincided

---

[31] Cate and McNiell, "Maryville College Historic District," 6.

[32] Wilson, *A Century of Maryville College*, 131-175; and Boardman, "Maryville College."

[33] Cate and McNiell, "Maryville College Historic District," 6 and 7.

with the increasing number of extracurricular activities for students. Administrators funded the construction of Bartlett Hall in 1901 to house meeting rooms for the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. Bartlett Hall contained an auditorium, gymnasium, reading room, bowling alley, and bath.[34] Kin Takahashi, a Japanese foreign exchange student who promoted athletics at Maryville College, began fundraising efforts in 1895 to erect an appropriate building for non-academic activities. Other students soon joined the fundraising campaign, working in a brick kiln on campus to make bricks for the new building (See Figure 22).[35] In 1910, officials erected Carnegie Hall, with funds from the Carnegie Foundation, as an additional dormitory for the men. Fire destroyed the Colonial Revival dormitory in 1916. Local residents, students, and faculty members banded together to rebuild Carnegie Hall, with the rebuilding process completed in 1916 (See Figure 23).[36]

---

[34] Y.M.C.A, *Maryville College Handbook* (1905-1906), privately printed. Maryville College Collection, Maryville, Tennessee.

[35] Cate and McNiell, "Maryville College Historic District," 2.

[36] Advertising poster, 1916. Maryville College Collection, Maryville, Tennessee.

The school completed its early twentieth century building campaign in 1923 with the construction of the Classical Revival-styled Thaw Hall (See Figure 24). Thaw Hall housed the library, classrooms, and the preparatory department. Due to the wishes of the major contributor, Thaw Hall was originally designed to have a large dining room and kitchen on the first floor. By 1921, with a portion of the building completed, the preparatory department occupied the second floor. In 1925, the preparatory department was phased out and several of the liberal arts departments moved into the building.[37]

Thaw Hall also housed one of the most significant opportunities for women at Maryville College, the College Maid Shop. The College Maid Shop provided less affluent female students with the opportunity to sew and distribute clothing to merchants through this shop. In the 1920s, the College Maid Shop earned a national reputation with department stores Lord and Taylor and Marshall Fields featuring products made at Maryville College. The popularity of the products often required the College Maid Shop to farm out much of the work to other schools. They

---

[37] Cate and McNiell, "Maryville College Historic District," 4 and 5.

sent work to Berea College, Tusculum College, Parsons College, and the College of the Ozarks.[38] The school had additional opportunities for both male and female students to work to earn money that could go toward their tuition and board. A 1916 bulletin described these opportunities: "Young women may earn nearly half their board by working in the Cooperative Club, while young men are granted opportunities to work out such amounts as their spare hours and conditions of the Self-Help Fund will allow."[39] The dining room and kitchen originally designed for the building were unnecessary and the library and museum moved from Lamar Memorial Library into the building, opening up the dining room as a reading room.[40]

Over the decades the campus at Maryville College had evolved into a quadrangle with additional buildings added as needed (See Figure 25). Many college campuses across the country can be identified as developing without a

---

[38] Carolyn L. Blair and Arda S. Walker, *By Faith Endowed: The Story of Maryville College, 1819-1994* (Maryville: Maryville College Press, 1994), 196 and 197.

[39] "A Century of Service: The Southern Mountaineers and Maryville, 1819-1919." *Maryville College Bulletin* (February 1916): n.p.

[40] Cate and McNiell, "Maryville College Historic District," 4 and 5.

master plan for the campus. Even if an original plan included a specific architectural style or campus layout, subsequent board members, school administrators, and architects often abandoned the original concepts. Divergent opinions often left campuses that defy logic, with buildings surrounding a central location that lack cohesion with the earliest structures.[41]

Much like Maryville College, Fisk University faced financial difficulties that made creating a cohesive college campus difficult. Throughout its history, Fisk University struggled with an inadequate endowment that forced the school to erect buildings as needed, rather than through a cohesive campus plan. The original buildings that housed Fisk University were part of the Union Army barracks built in Nashville during the Civil War (See Figure 26). Teachers and students realized the limitations set by these buildings and began working toward having collegiate buildings house the university. As a result, the school moved to twenty-five acres of land located one

---

[41] Paul V. Turner, Marcus E. Vetrocq, and Karen Weitz. *The Founders and the Architects: The Design of Stanford University* (Stanford, CA: Department of Art, 1976), 9.

mile northwest of the state capitol in Nashville where the new campus would be assembled.[42]

Jubilee Hall became the first landmark building to be situated on the Fisk University campus, with women playing a significant role in securing the money to build this five-story structure. The Fisk Jubilee Singers, consisting of four women and four men, toured much of the United States and Europe to raise money for the erection of a collegiate building on the campus. Through their efforts, Fisk University dedicated Jubilee Hall in 1876 (See Figure 27). An imposing five-story brick structure, Jubilee Hall is a form of Gothic Revival architecture designed by architect Stephen D. Hatch. Jubilee Hall consisted of an "L" shaped plan that contained over 120 rooms, including a carved-wood entrance with wood from Sierra Leone in West Africa. Jubilee Hall later served as the girl's dormitory until the 1930s.[43]

---

[42] Merriam, *Higher Education in Tennessee*, 264.

[43] Ibid., 265; and Reavis Mitchell, Jr. *The Loyal Children Make Their Way Since 1866* (Nashville: Fisk University Press, 1995), n.p; and Berle Pilsk and Percy Looney, "Fisk University Historic District," *National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form*, on file with the Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee, 1.

In 1882, a woman again played a role in adding another building to the campus. Valerie G. Stone of Malden, Massachusetts, donated $60,000 to Fisk University to build Livingstone Hall. Livingstone Hall was to serve as a monument with two purposes. First, the building helped honor the memory of David Livingstone, a famed African explorer. Second, the building would serve as a reminder to students of the school's role in preparing African American men and women to serve as missionaries in Africa.[44] The five-story, brick Gothic Revival structure contained over 120 rooms for male students, a chapel, museum, classrooms, the library, and a university printing office (See Figure 28).[45] In 1889 a gymnasium with a workshop attached was built to house the few vocational programs the liberal arts oriented college offered.

In 1891, the Jubilee Singers and the American Missionary Association again donated $25,000 to be used for the completion of Bennett Hall. A five-story Collegiate Gothic structure, Bennett Hall served as the dormitory for freshman boys (See Figure 29). In 1892, the Fisk family

---

[44] L.M. Collins, *One Hundred Years of Fisk University Presidents, 1875-1975* (Nashville: Hemphill's Creative Printing, Inc., 1989), 14.

[45] Merriam, *Higher Education in Tennessee*, 266.

donated $30,000 to build Fisk Memorial Chapel in honor of Clinton B. Fisk, one of the early supporters of African American education and for whom the school was named. Designed by William G. Bigelow, an architect from New York City, the Arts and Crafts-style chapel was located in the center of campus, signifying the importance religion played in the lives of students at Fisk University (See Figure 30).[46] The large tower above the main entrance dominated the multi-gabled, red brick structure with arching windows typical to the Romanesque style.

Building on campus continued into the twentieth century with the Carnegie Library being completed in 1907. Designed by African American architect Moses McKissack III, the two-story hipped-roof structure had a small Classical-Revival-styled portico on the façade (See Figure 31). By 1930, ivy grew on the façade which, according to Paul V. Turner, illustrated one way campus planners had to camouflage buildings with different architectural styles, making buildings appear to have similar characteristics. These attempts to create a uniform campus appearance

---

[46] Mitchell, *The Loyal Children Make Their Way*, 47-48.

resulted from efforts in the City Beautiful Movement of the early twentieth century.[47]

Completed in 1908, Chase Hall served as the science building. This three-story red brick building with limestone accents was located near the Carnegie library at the center of campus (See Figure 32). One of the last landmark buildings of the early twentieth century to be completed at Fisk, the Fisk University Library, exemplified a "modified collegiate Gothic type" designed by Nashville architect Henry C. Hibbs (See Figure 33). The General Education Board donated $400,000 to the school with $250,000 earmarked for the completion of the structure. One of the main features of the library was a collection room that contained books and works of art from African American artists.[48] Aaron Douglas, one of the most revered artists of the Harlem Renaissance, painted *The Symbolic Negro History Series* to depict African American experiences throughout history. Douglas continued his association with Fisk University in 1939 by accepting a position as a part-

---

[47] *The Lighthouse* (1930), R.A. Walke Collection, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee; and Turner, *Campus*, 206-209; and Turner, *Campus*, 206.

[48] Mitchell, *The Loyal Children Make Their Way*, 75-78; and *The Lighthouse* (1930), 14.

time professor of art. In 1944, Douglas accepted a full-time position at Fisk and served as the head of the art department until his retirement in 1966. In the 1970s, Douglas again returned to Fisk University to refurbish the murals through changes in color.[49]

The women attending these four distinct schools adapted to their environment, making the best of the educational situation they faced. The choice of a seminary building at Tennessee College for Women clearly reflects more conservative school principles that could be upheld through the protective environment that a seminary building appeared to provide for students. In contrast, the use of more modern quadrangles at Ward-Belmont reflected the affluence and openness of a secular school located in a more urbanized environment. These differences can be traced to the conservative religious affiliation of Tennessee College and the more urbane wealth behind Ward-Belmont. Both of these schools knew their prospective

---

[49] Romare Bearden and Harry Henderson, *A History of African American Artists from 1792 to the Present* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1993), 127-135; and Richard J. Powell and Jock Reynolds, *To Conserve a Legacy: American Art from Historically Black Colleges and Universities* (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1999), 20 and 21.

students and catered to them and their parents through their building practices.

The two coeducational colleges present building practices that differed from what appeared to be well-planned women's colleges. Neither school seemed to have a campus plan that either included or excluded women. Their building practices simply tried to keep up with the growing need for additional buildings as issues arose. At many coeducational colleges, architectural practices were used as another device to exclude women from the greater college environment. Neither Maryville College nor Fisk University appeared to use architecture and campus planning to openly push women to the periphery of the campus. Dormitory buildings for women were added to each campus as their numbers increased illustrating the permanent place women held on the campuses. In addition, women's organizations received meeting space along with the men's organizations. This was due, in part, to the significant numbers of women that comprised both schools' populations, making it impractical to exclude a sizeable portion of the student body.

The variety of college campuses displayed in these four distinct institutions helps illustrate the diversity

of colleges and universities in Tennessee. Many similarities existed between the women's colleges and the coeducational colleges in their curricula and the ultimate outcome of women's higher education. Yet their building practices clearly indicate different opinions about the realities of women's higher education in the early twentieth century. These distinct building styles continue to provide insight into women's higher education, providing historians with non-traditional resources that indicate the stronghold of traditional gender stereotypes that continued to influence campus design and layout well into the twentieth century.

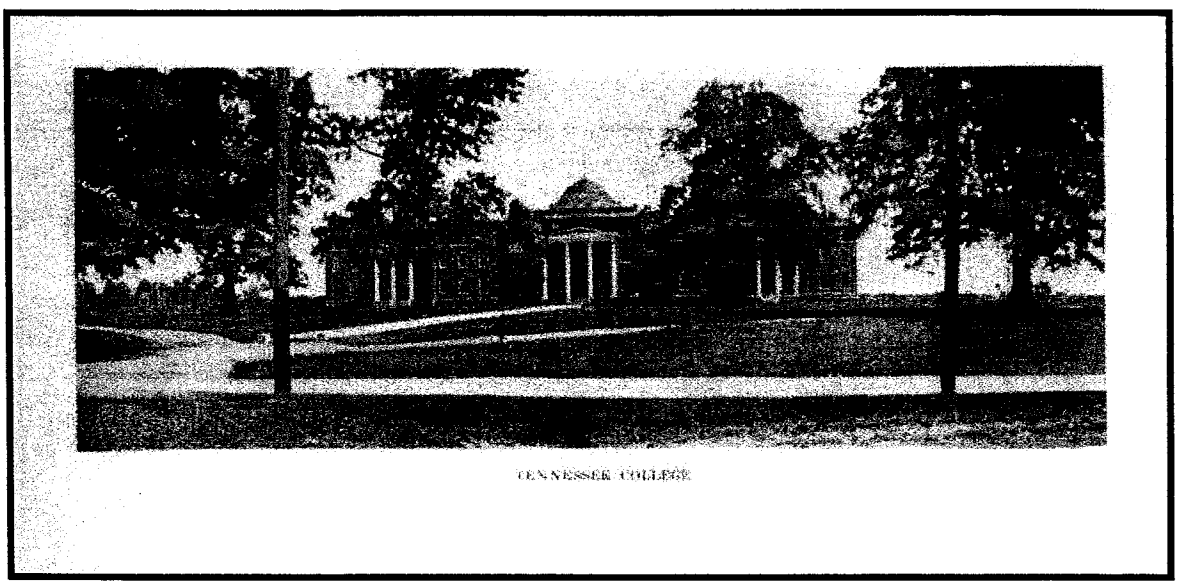

Figure 1: Tennessee College for Women
From *School of Fine Arts Brochure*, 1908 (from the author's collection).

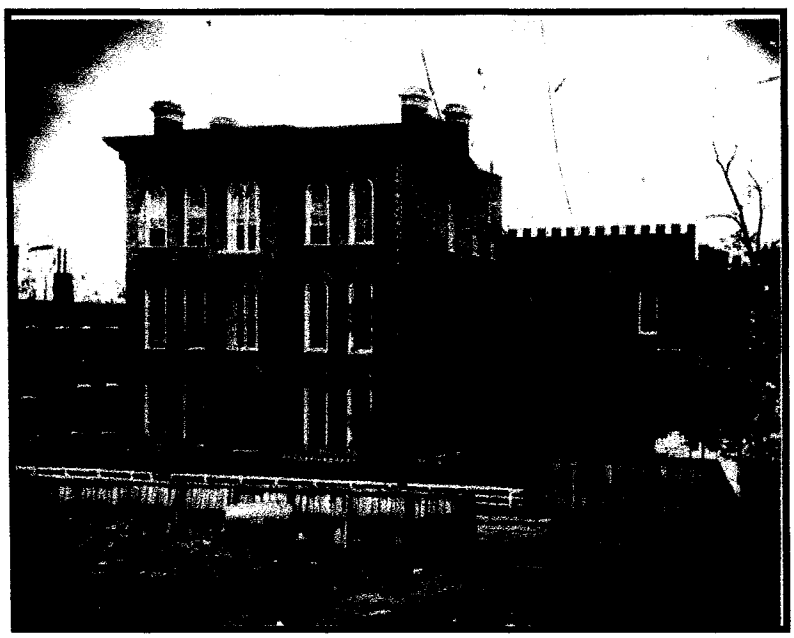

Figure 2: Ward Seminary ca. 1900
From the Library Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee

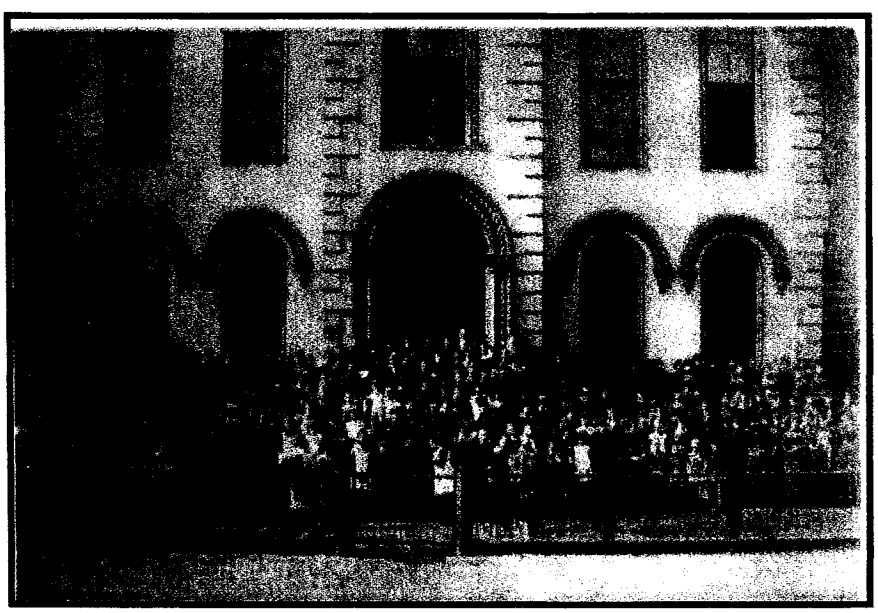

Figure 3: Students in front of Ward Seminary ca. 1900. Note the large number of preparatory students. From Library Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee

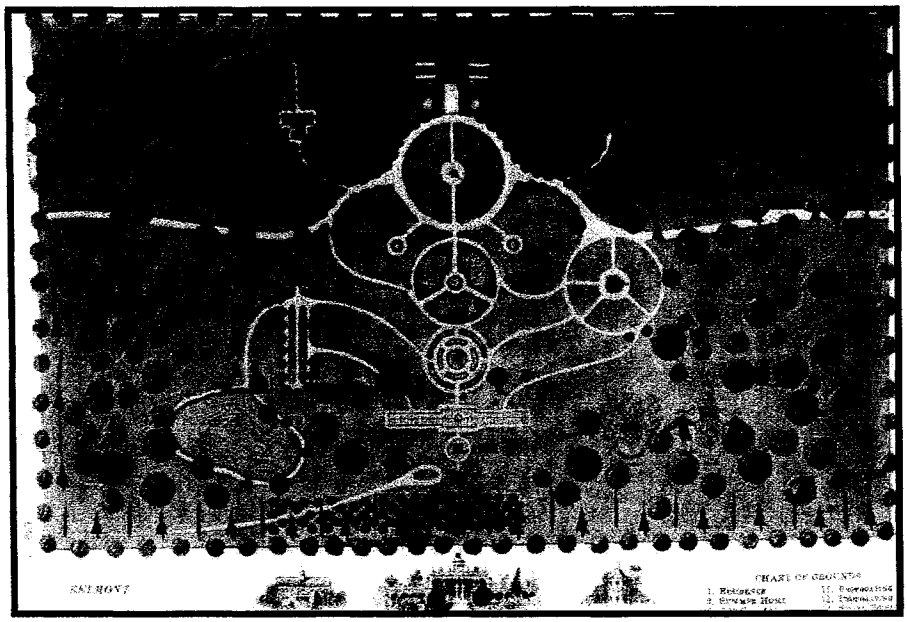

Figure 4: Layout of the grounds of Belmont Mansion. From Library Collection, Tennessee State library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

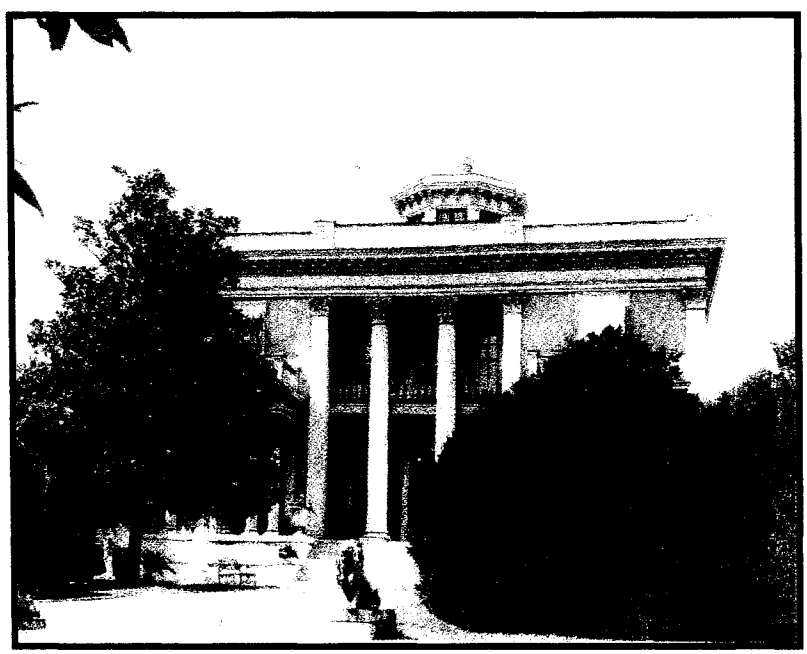

Figure 5: The Belmont Mansion was the home of Adelicia Acklen and later became the centerpiece of Belmont College and Ward-Belmont College. From Library Collection, Tennessee State library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Figure 6: Ward-Belmont students on the steps of Belmont Mansion. The image of a refined women's colleges is perpetuated by the use of landscaping on the campus. From Library Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Figure 7: Belmont College Campus. From Library Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

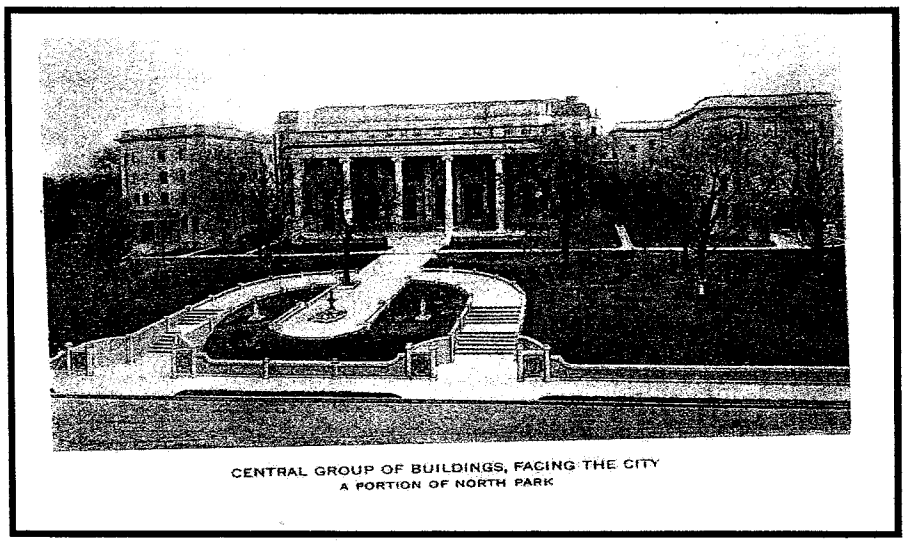

Figure 8: Artist rendering of North Front.
From *Belmont College for Young Women Prospectus*, Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

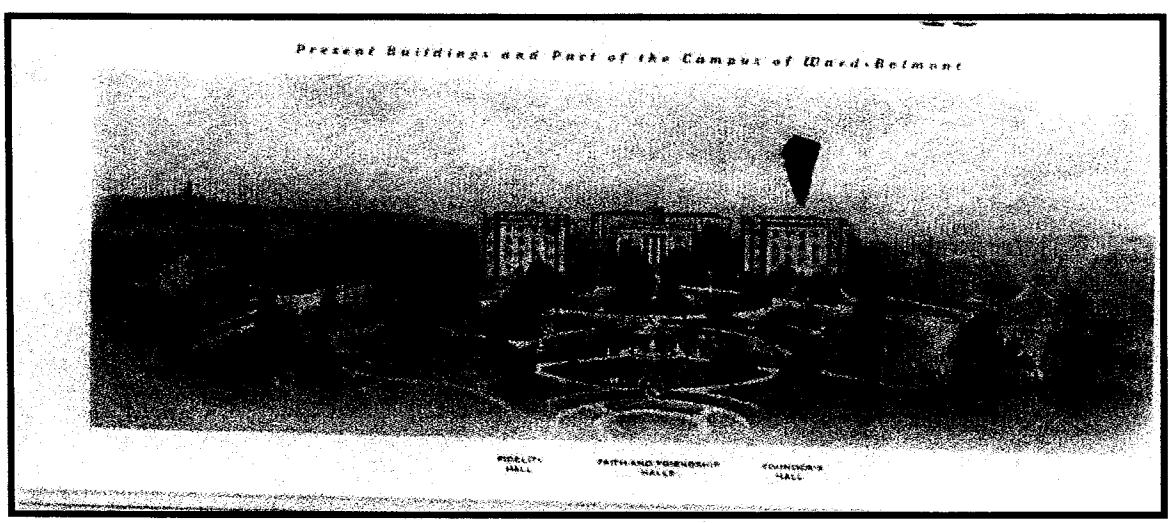

Figure 9: Artist rendering of Founders and Fidelity Halls ca. 1913-1914
From *Ward-Belmont Prospectus, 1913-1914*, Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

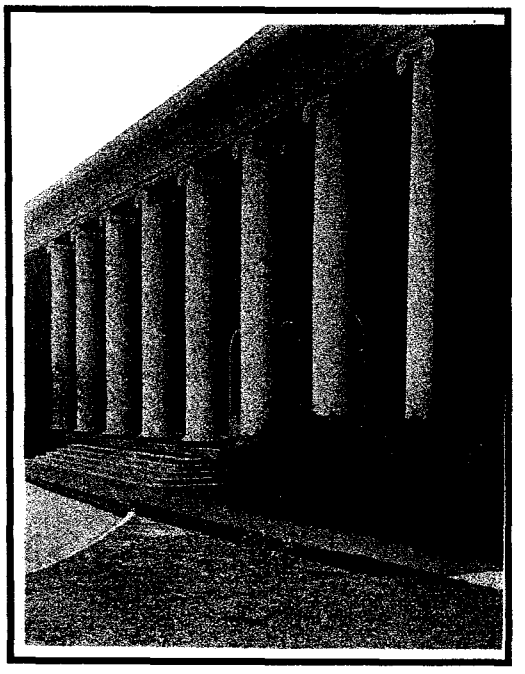

Figure 10: The Academic Building at Ward-Belmont
From the Ransom Family Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

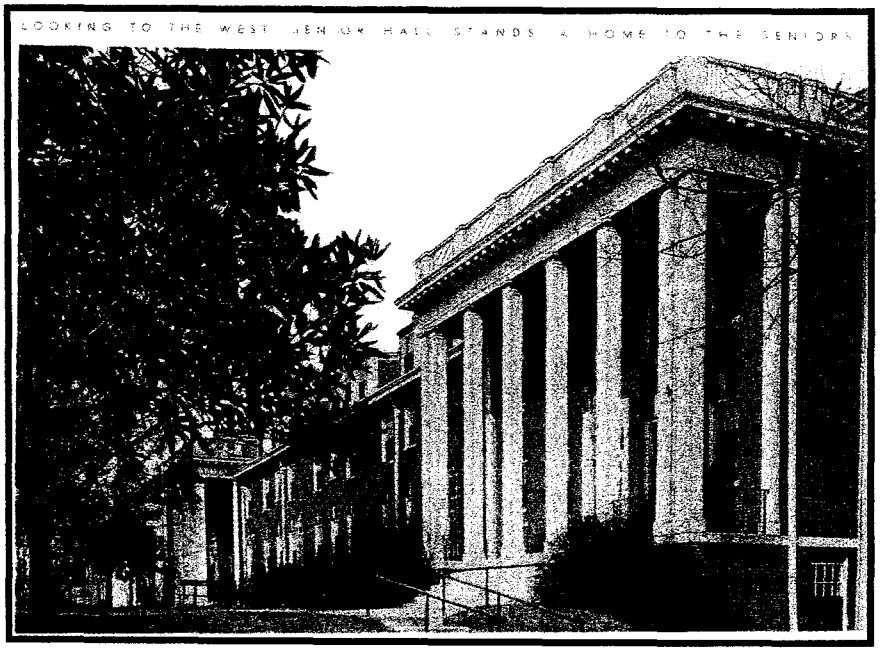

Figure 11: Senior Hall at Ward-Belmont. From Ransom Family Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

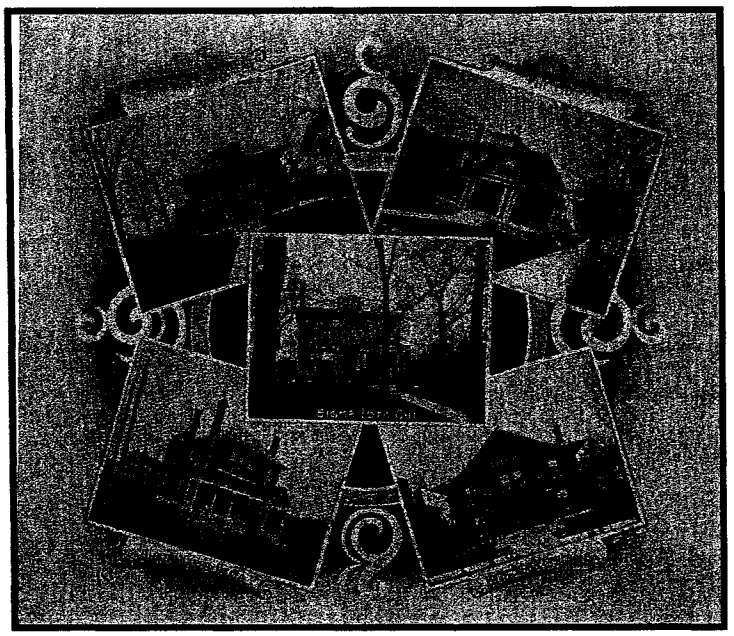

Figure 12: Houses in Club Village
From Belmont College Yearbook, 1908, Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

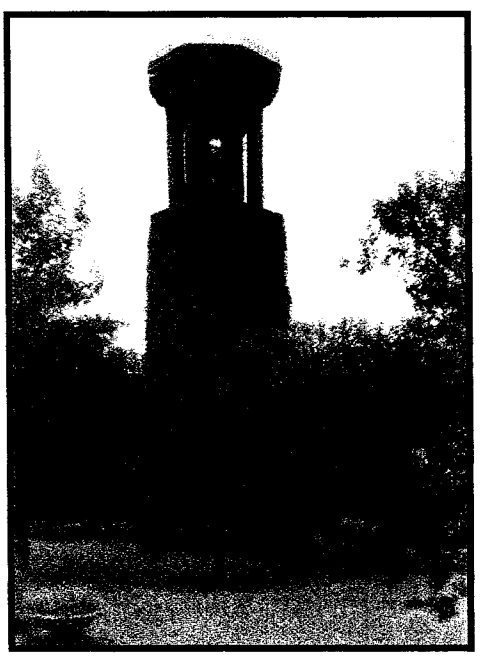

Figure 13: Watertower dating from the antebellum period.
From Library Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

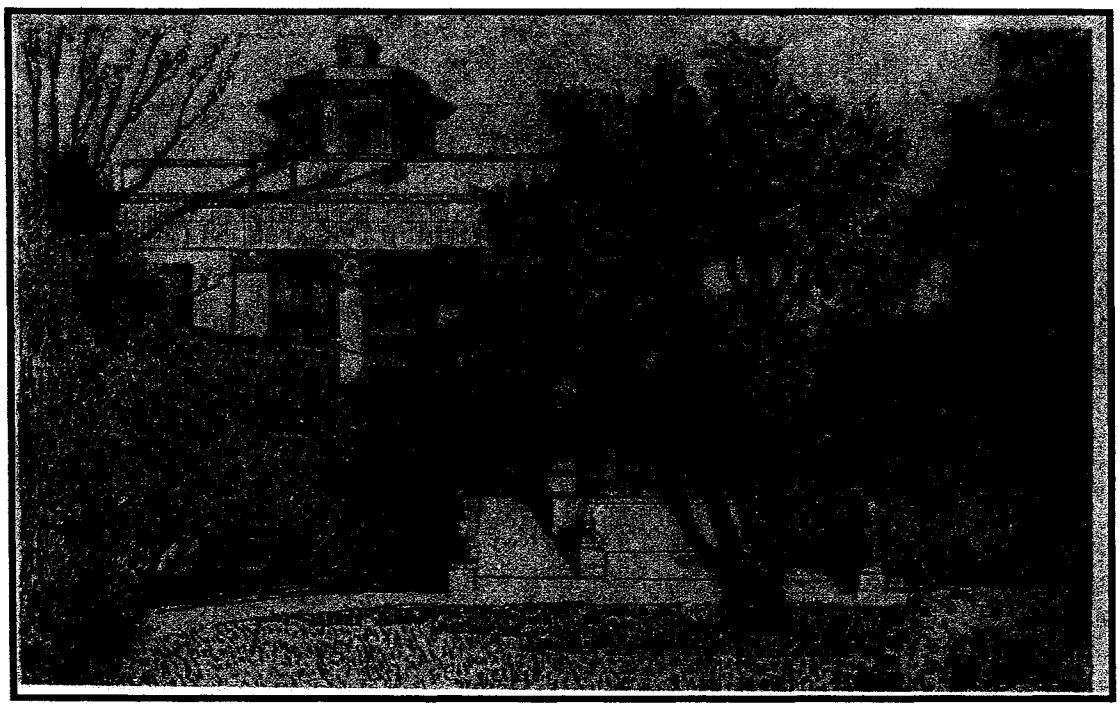

Figure 14: Student's drawing of Ward-Belmont. Caption on the back of the picture read "Etched and printed by the students at Ward-Belmont." From Ransom Family Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

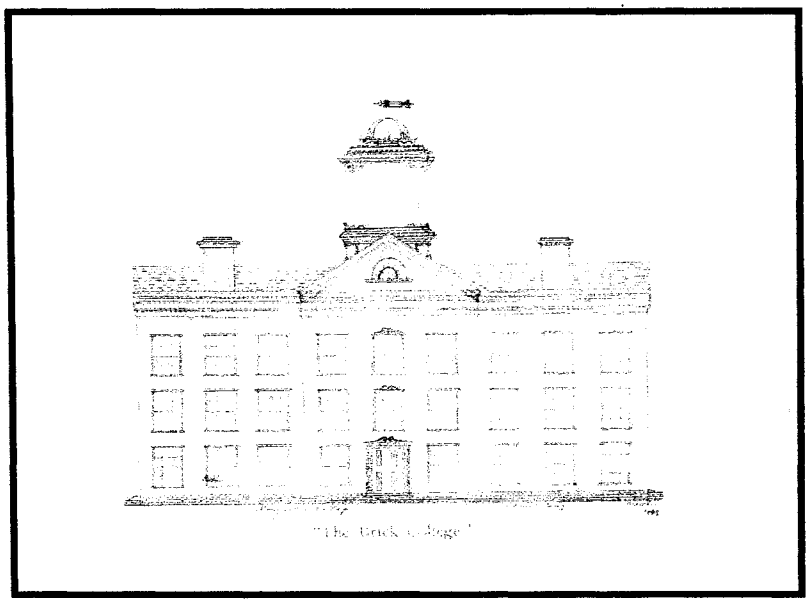

Figure 15: Artist rendering of Anderson Hall.
From Samuel Tyndale Wilson, *A Century of Maryville College and Second Century Beginnings* (Maryville: Directors of Maryville College, 1935), np.

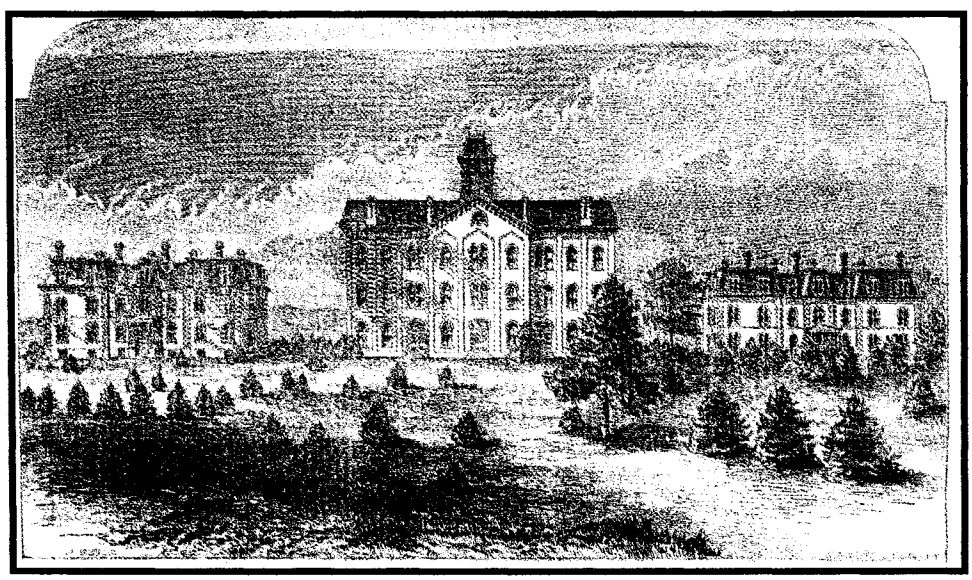

Figure 16: Rendering of Maryville College Campus. Anderson Hall is in the center and is flanked by Baldwin Hall, the girl's dormitory, and Memorial Hall, the boy's dormitory. From Maryville College Yearbook, 1887-1888, Maryville College Collection, Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

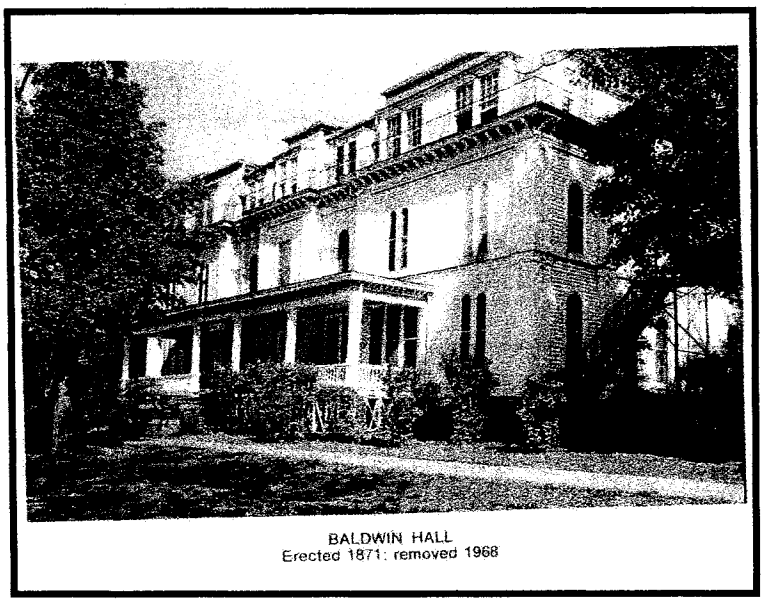

Figure 17: Baldwin Hall served as the girl's dormitory.
From Ralph Waldo Lloyd, *Maryville College: A History of 150 Years, 1819-1969* (Maryville: Maryville College Press, 1969), n.p.

Figure 18: Ralph Max Lamar Hospital
From Samuel Tyndale Wilson, *A Century of Maryville College* (Maryville: Directores of Maryville College, 1916), n.p.

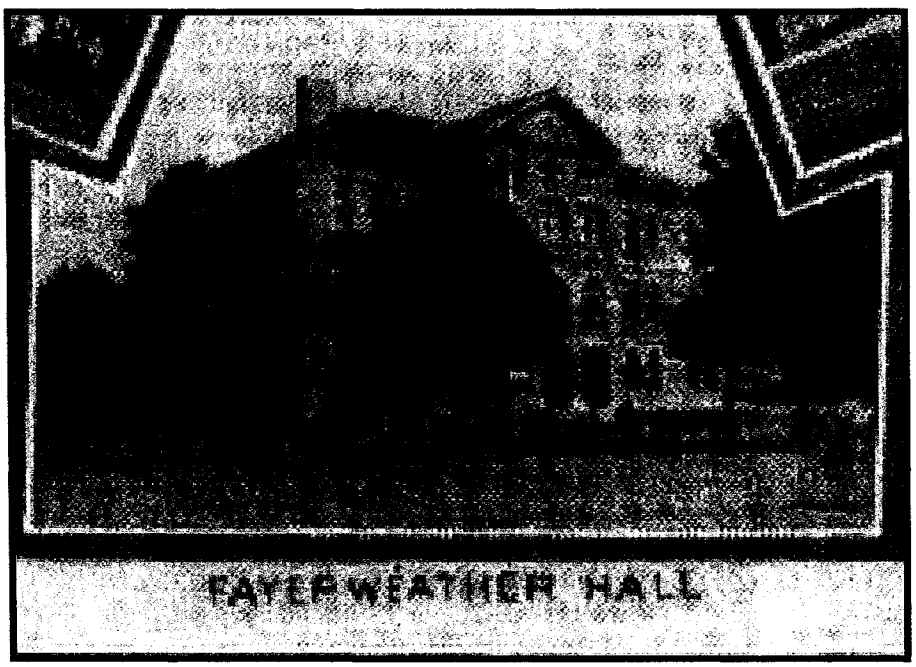

Figure 19: Fayerweather Hall ca. 1916
From Wilson, *A Century of Maryville College*, n.p.

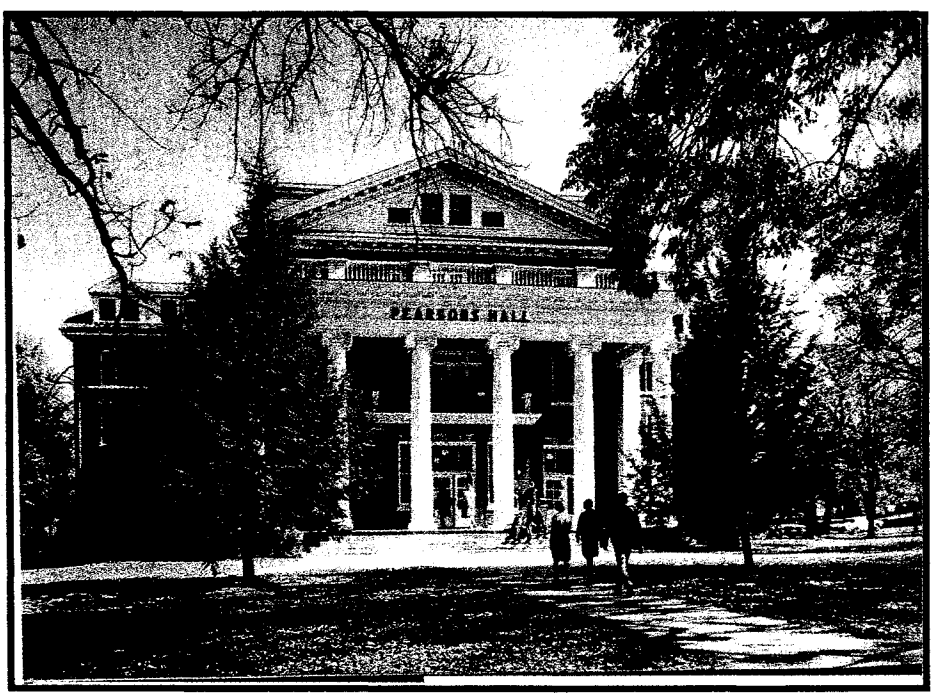

Figure 20: Pearsons Hall
From Lloyd, *Maryville College*, n.p.

Figure 21: Lamar Memorial Library
From Wilson, *A Century of Maryville College*, n.p.

Figure 22: Bartlett Hall under construction with Kin Takeshi in the inset photograph
From Wilson, *A Century of Maryville College and Second Century Beginnings*, n.p.

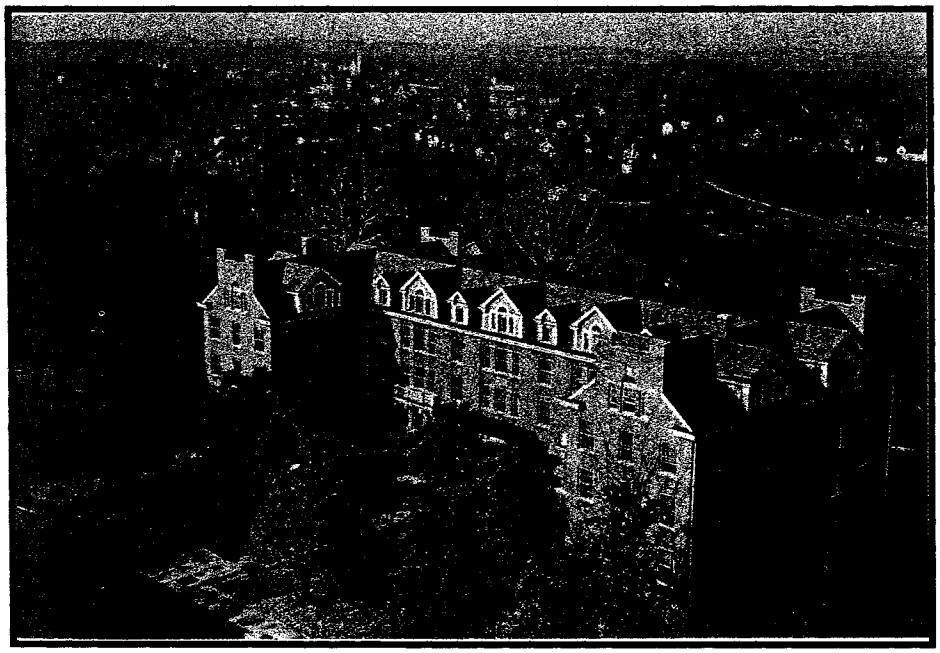

Figure 23: Carnegie Hall, built 1910, burned 1916, rebuilt 1916. From Lloyd, *Maryville College*, n.p.

Figure 24: Thaw Hall
From Wilson, *A Century of Maryville College and Second Century Beginnings*, n.p.

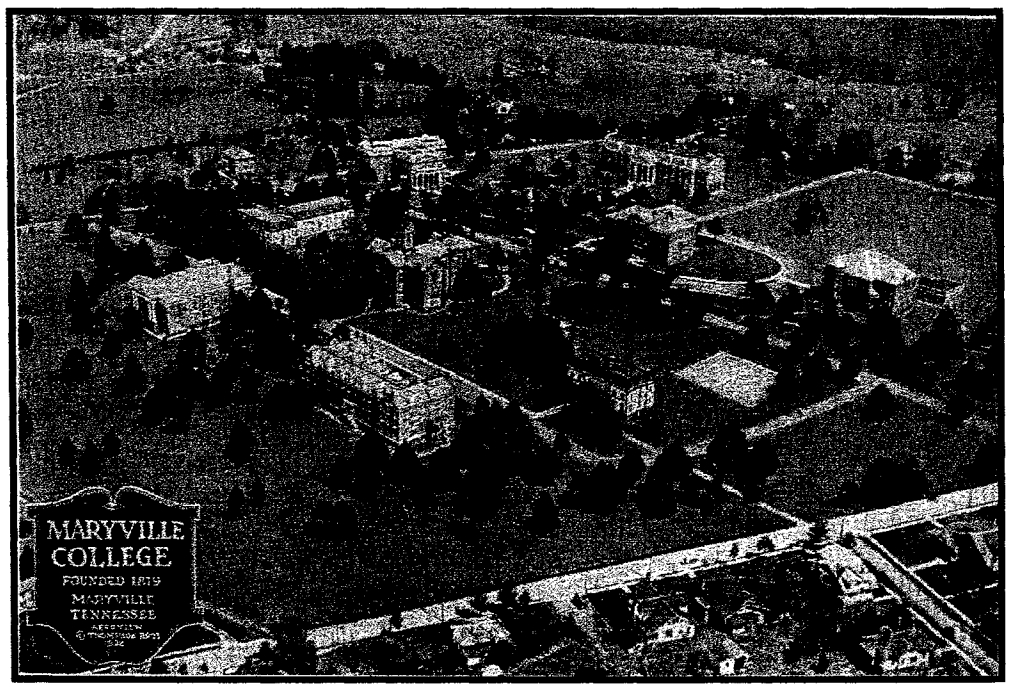

Figure 25: Layout of Maryville College ca. 1919
Wilson, *A Century of Maryville College and Second Century Beginnings*, n.p.

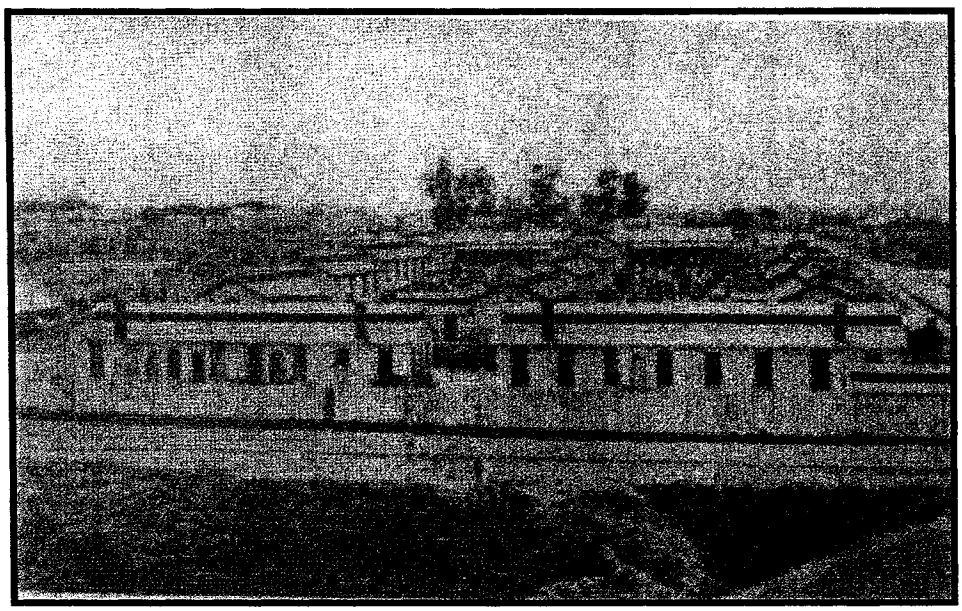

Figure 26: Union Army Barracks in Nashville, site of the first Fisk University, ca 1868
From THS Picture Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Figure 27: Jubilee Hall
From HABS/HAER Photographic Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

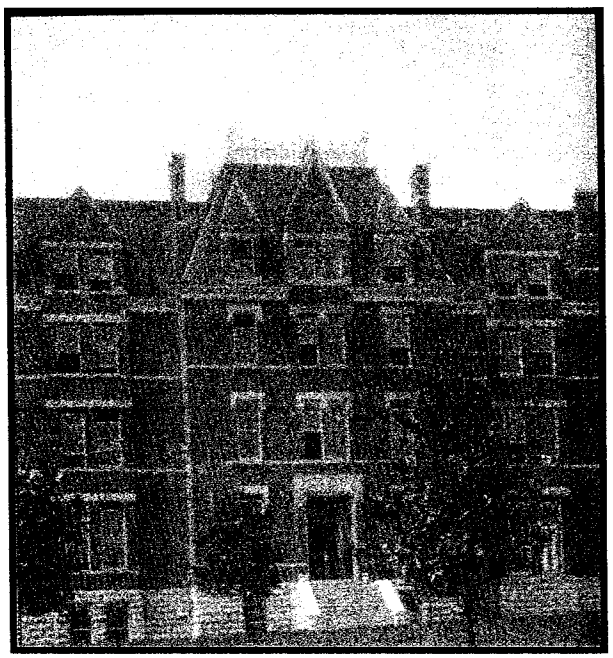

Figure 28: Livingstone Hall
From Reavis Mitchell, Jr., *The Loyal Children Make Their Way Since 1866* (Nashville: Fisk University Press, 1995), 46.

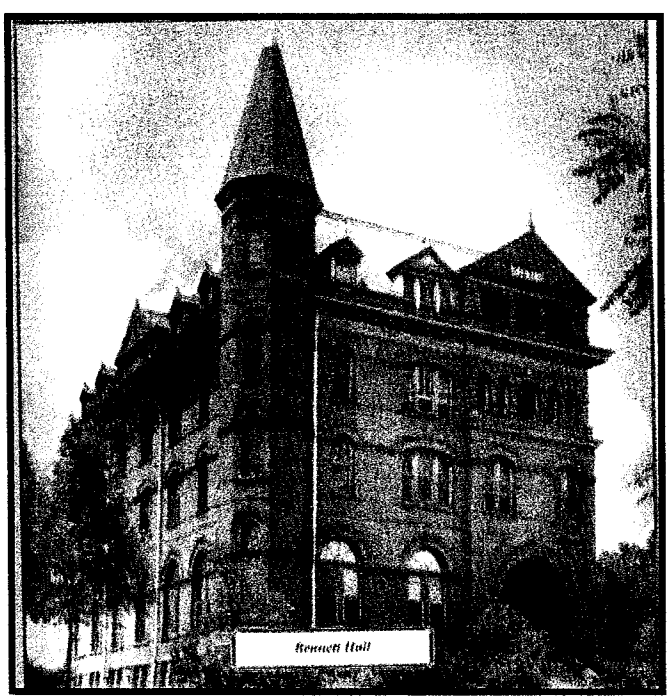

Figure 29: Bennett Hall
From Mitchell, *The Loyal Children*, 47.

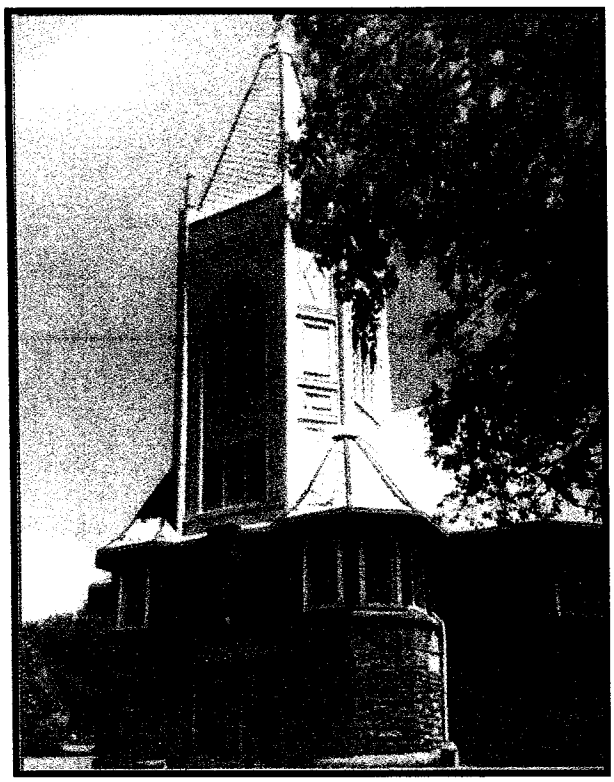

Figure 30: Fisk University Chapel
From Mitchell, *The Loyal Children*, 48.

Figure 31: Carnegie Library
From R.A. Walke Collection. John Hope Franklin Library.
Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

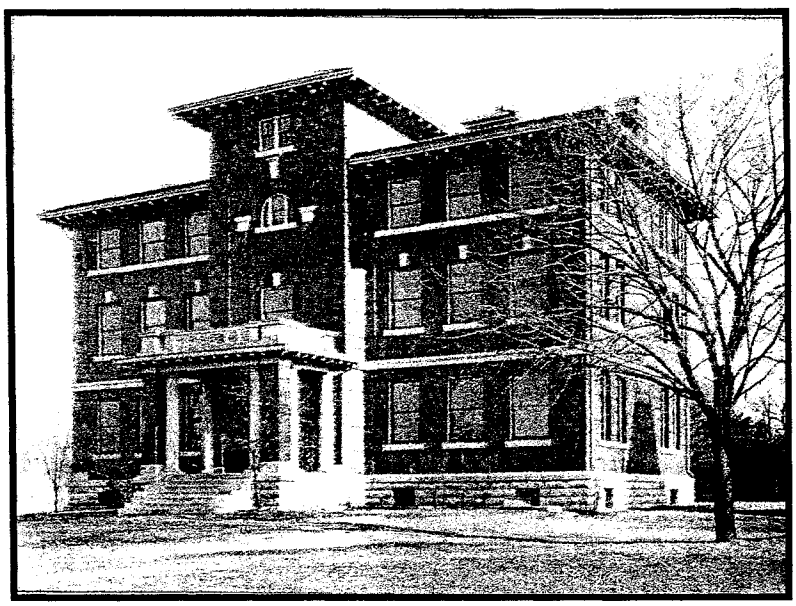

Figure 32: Chase Hall
From R.A. Walke Collection. John Hope Franklin Library.
Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

Figure 33: Cravath Hall
From Department of Conservation Photoraphic Collection,
Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville,
Tennessee.

CHAPTER SIX
LEARNING FROM WOMEN: THE CHANGING PARADIGM IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

The built environment can provide historians with an additional resource for interpreting history through the study of building form, function, and style. Both men and women left distinctive marks on the buildings they inhabited. College campuses provide historians with tangible resources that offer insight into the way women and men were perceived in the college environment and how the college fit into the greater cultural landscape. Yet historic sites associated with women remain understudied, and so significant resources that could enhance our knowledge of women's roles in history continue to be lost.

In a field started and fostered by women for decades, the failure to identify and preserve structures associated with them has been an issue preservation organizations at the local, state, and national level are just beginning to address. While the historic preservation movement was in its infancy, women played integral roles in the preservation of many of the nation's most cherished

resources. In the mid-nineteenth century, wealthy middle and upper class women organized or used established women's organizations, like the United Daughters of the Confederacy or the Colonial Dames, to preserve historic resources associated with Anglo-American heritage including those associated with women. These early organizations most often focused on women who participated in or were associated with significant male-dominated activities. These were the daughters, wives, and mothers of American patriots or women who performed roles not traditionally associated with women. When the professionalization of the historic preservation movement began in earnest in the early twentieth century, historic preservation organizations, most often headed by men, changed the focus of preservation from the preservation of buildings associated with American leaders to architecture. The shift from emotional associations with historic sites to a more objective, scientific evaluation method indicates the far-reaching significance of professionalization during the Progressive era. Men increasingly defined the standards for most career fields that generally relied on business standards and further pushed women, with their perceived lack of appropriate training, to the periphery. This

change in preservation by the 1920s had largely eliminated the role of amateur organizations headed by women.[1] Without women advocating the preservation of sites associated with their history, the professionalized male-dominated historic preservation movement failed to preserve, rehabilitate, or interpret women's place in American history.

At the same time, the movement to preserve the scenic landscape of the American West began in the 1890s, with the Interior Department of the federal government becoming the overseer of these sites. Congress officially created the National Park Service, as part of the Interior Department, in 1916 to control and care for the fourteen national parks and twenty-one national monuments that included historic

---

[1] Gail Lee Dubrow, "Restoring a Female Presence: New Goals in Historic Preservation," in *Architecture: A Place for Women* ed. Ellen Perry Berkley, and assoc. ed. Matilda McQuaid (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 162-167; James M. Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England: Preservation, Progressivism, and the Remaking of Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 12 and 26; idem, *Preserving the Old Dominion: Historic Preservation and Virginia Traditionalism* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 58-62; and idem, "'A New Departure in Historic, Patriotic Work': Personalism, Professionalism, and Conflicting Concepts of Material Culture in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Public Historian* 18 (Spring 1996): 42-44. Also Barbara Howe and Helen M. Bannan, "Women's History, Local History, and Public History," *History News* 50 (March/April 1995): 7-11.

resources. By 1929, the National Park Service expanded to include historic parks east of the Mississippi River.[2] The National Park Service served as an example of the effects of professionalization on the historic preservation movement. Headed largely by men, the National Park Service defined history and historic sites worthy of preservation for decades.[3] As a result of the male dominated hierarchy and a strict adherence to scientific evaluation to define historic properties, the agency did not designate any property and no site designed specifically to interpret the life of a woman until 1974, when the National Park Service created the Clara Barton National Historic Site.[4] The agency's record for preserving sites that focus only on

---

[2] Barry Mackintosh, "The National Park Service: A Brief History." Available [Online]: www.cr.nps.gov. 31 December 2003.

[3] Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*, 178.

[4] Following the designation of the Clara Barton National Historic Site was the Eleanor Roosevelt Historic Site in 1977, the Mary L. Walker Home in 1978, and the Women's Rights National Historic Park in 1980. Only three other sites associated primarily with women have been designated since 1980. Page Putnam Miller, ed., *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 4; and Carol D. Shull, "Searching for Women in the National Register of Historic Places," in *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation*, eds., Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer Goodman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 304.

women improved little over the next twenty years. In 1992, the National Park Service had 356 units and, of those units, 60 percent of them dealt with historic or archaeological resources. Only four of the National Parks in the entire country focused on women. In 2002, the numbers improved only slightly. There was a total of 385 National Park Units, with only seven of those designated because of primary associations with women.[5]

The National Historic Landmark Program fared no better in the inclusion of women. In 1992, there were 1,942 properties designated as National Historic Landmarks, with less than 2 percent chosen because of their association with women.[6] Looking at historic resources as a whole within the National Park Service and the National Historic Landmark Program, out of approximately 2,000 sites less than 100 are associated with women. With these discouraging numbers at the national level, most states have an even poorer record for preserving sites associated

---

[5] Shull, "Searching for Women," 423.

[6] Ibid., 13.

with women.[7]

Understanding the importance of historic sites in educating the public, the National Park Service recognized the disparity in preserving sites dedicated to women's history and hosted a meeting in 1995 to create a guide that would help bring women into interpretive programs.[8] The information gathered in that meeting resulted in the publication of a small booklet entitled "Exploring a Common Past: Interpreting Women's History in the National Park Service." This booklet provides historic preservation professionals with a framework to reinterpret the history of established parks and historic sites to include women as something other than daughters, wives, or mothers. Having identified gender biases in past historic preservation decisions, new scholarship in women's history required that

---

[7] Lynn Sherr and Jurate Kazickas, *Susan B. Anthony Slept Here: A Guide to American Women's Landmarks* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1976; reprint, New York: Random House, Inc., 1994), x (page citations are to the reprint edition).

[8] Heather Huyck, "Beyond John Wayne: Using Historic Sites to Interpret Western Women's History," in *Western Women: Their Land, Their Lives*, ed. Lillian Schlissel, Vicki L. Ruiz, and Janice Monk (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico press, 1988), 301-303; and "Exploring a Common Past: Interpreting Women's History in the National Park Service, 1996." Available [Online]: www.cr.nps.gov/history/expast.htm. 29 August 2003.

preservation efforts at the state, local, and national levels must re-evaluate their assumptions about resources and women's places in them.[9]

In addition to Parks, Historic Sites, and Monuments, the National Park Service administers the National Register of Historic Places. This designation program emphasizes the unique historic resources that meet at least one of four basic criteria. Properties can be eligible for listing in the National Register under architecture, association with a famous person, as a way to understand broad patterns of history or for potential archaeological significance. Recognizing the disparity in the number of historic resources associated primarily with women that are eligible for listing in the National Register and the number of those resources actually listed in the National Register, the Park Service received funding from Congress in 1989 to study women's history in the nation's landmarks. In 1998, the National Register of Historic Places contained almost 70,000 listings from across the country. Of those 70,000 listings, approximately 9,820 properties were listed

---

[9] "Exploring a Common Past: Interpreting Women's History in the National Park Service, 1996." Available [Online]: www.cr.nps.gov/history/expast.htm. 29 August 2003.

for their association with a significant person, with only 360, or under 4 percent, associated with significant women.[10]

In order to bring National Register information to the public more readily, the National Park Service put their database of properties listed in the National Register on the National Park Service website to provide basic information about National Register listed sites. This information includes the name, location, listing year, and significance for properties. Carol Shull, Keeper of the National Register, pointed out the flaws in the National Register database that can often be misleading when searching for listed properties based on gender. National Park Service personnel made a conscious choice not to include gender as a data element. Shull wrote that women's history was not included "primarily because places associated with women were being added to the National Register for their achievements in areas of significance such as architecture, art, education, literature, law, medicine, and science."[11] Shull's statement points out that

---

[10] Shull, Carol D., "Searching for Women in the National Register of Historic Places." Available [Online]: www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/PWWMH/pres.htm. 30 December 2003.

[11] Shull, "Searching for Women," 304.

gender should not be a factor in National Register consideration; yet, the disproportionately low numbers of National Register listed resources indicates the flaws in this system.

Women's history sites are considered eligible for listing in the National Register for accomplishments that go beyond gender, but, judging by the few sites associated with women, more must be done at the state and national level to encourage the appreciation and preservation of sites associated with women. Often farms, churches, schools, and other public buildings are defined as significant for other reasons, often leaving women out of the property's historical context. Historic preservation professionals need to better document the important work women often performed in the places associated more commonly with men.[12]

In recent years the preservation movement has shown a renewed interest in women's place in the built environment.

---

[12] Carroll Van West, "Assessing Significance and Integrity in the National Register Process: Questions of Race, Class, and Gender," in *Preservation Of What, for Whom?: A Critical Look at Historical Significance*, ed. Michael A. Tomlan (Ithaca, NY: The National Council for Preservation Education, 1999), 111.; and Sara M. Evans, "Visions of Woman-Centered History," *Social Policy* 12 (Spring 1982): 49.

Rather than singling out women's resources and separating them from more traditional resource categories, historic preservationists are encouraging a new approach to well-known research tools that would include race, class, and gender as basic characteristics to consider. Preservationists are only beginning to rethink the ways women influenced the built environment through the architecture of their homes, the spatial layout of farms, or the interior design of college buildings.[13]

The study of "place" lends itself well to the inclusion of race, class, and gender in historic preservation and greatly contributes to the understanding of the vernacular landscape. The inclusion of race, class, and gender in historic interpretation allows historians to place the built environment into a social context that changed depending upon the person or group using the

---

[13] Rebecca Sample Bernstein and Carolyn Torma, "Exploring the Role of Women in the Creation of Vernacular Architecture," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture IV*, ed. Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 71; Angel Kwolek-Folland, "Gender as a Category of Analysis in Vernacular Architecture Studies," *Gender, Class, and Shelter: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, V*, ed. Elizabeth Collins Cromley and Carter L. Hudgins (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 8; and West, "Assessing Significance and Integrity in the National Register Process," 116.

building. Without understanding the social context of the structure, the true history of the resource can never provide an accurate picture of the past.[14] For example, at Maryville College one floor of Thaw Hall was reserved for the College Maid Shop. Thaw Hall is an example of Classical Revival campus architecture and served mainly as classrooms and a reading room for students. The building is easily identifiable and is typical of buildings found on most college campuses. Yet the presence of the College Maid Shop adds to the significance of the building when placed in the broader context of the history of higher education for women. This building provides us with tangible proof that women had a presence on a rural Tennessee campus and illustrates the way prescribed gender roles continued to be part of women's college experience often keeping them within their traditional domestic roles even while in college.

---

[14] Dolores Hayden, "The Power of Place Project: Claiming Women's History in the Urban Landscape," in *Restoring Womens History*, 199; idem, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995), 15-17; and Sally McMurry, *Families and Farmhouses in Nineteenth-Century America: Vernacular Design and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), vii. Also Richard H. Schein, "The Place of Landscape: a Conceptual Framework for Interpreting the American Scene," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 87(December 1977): 660-680.

In an effort to bring attention to women's history resources, some states have actively sought ways to enhance their programs to include information about women's history. One of the earliest programs began in Georgia when the Georgia legislature and the Georgia State Historic Preservation Office started the Women's History Initiative in order to enhance the preservation of women's history sites through the state's existing programs to better represent all aspects of Georgia's unique history.[15] Through this initiative, preservationists in Georgia actively identified resources associated with women's history, reinterpreted sites to include elements of women's history, wrote context studies about different aspects of women's history in Georgia, and put together a state-wide conference to bring more public attention to the history of women in Georgia.[16]

Tennessee would benefit greatly from a similar concerted effort to focus attention on the numerous historic resources associated with women. Although many resources throughout Tennessee include information on

---

[15] Leslie N. Sharp, "Finding Her Place: Integrating Women's History into Historic Preservation in Georgia," in *Restoring Women's History*, 264.

[16] Ibid., 264, 265, and 275.

women's contributions, there remain few resources that are interpreted or preserved primarily because of their associations with women.[17] For example, one of the most significant structures in Tennessee primarily associated with far-reaching political changes that affected women nationwide mentions women only in passing. Written in 1975, the National Register nomination for the Hermitage Hotel fails to indicate the significant role the hotel played as the headquarters for both the suffrage and anti-suffrage campaigns in 1920, as the Tennessee legislature voted on the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment.[18] This hotel became the center of a political battle that had been raging in the country since the 1848 Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls. However, the nomination contains only two sentences that reference women's voting issues. The nomination failed to acknowledge the significance of the politicization of southern women that took place in this hotel. The author simply refers to the

---

[17] Information regarding the National Register program in Tennessee can be found at National Register of Historic Places from Tennessee. Available [Online]: www.state.tn.us/environment/hist/nrhist1.php.

[18] Leonard E. Marsh, "Hermitage Hotel." *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*, 1975. On file at the Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee.

both groups as "lobbyists" rather than acknowledging the important role women played in deciding the fate of the Nineteenth Amendment.[19] Through the struggles of both Tennessee leaders and national leaders in the suffrage movement, legislators were persuaded to vote for the amendment and changed the course of American history. The National Register nomination focused primarily on the architecture of the Hermitage Hotel. Although the building is a good example of Beaux Arts Classicism, its national significance lies with the suffrage battle and the history of women. This nomination, like many others in Tennessee, would benefit from a re-evaluation to include additional research about the women.

Of the few properties associated with women's history that are listed on the National Register in Tennessee, only one is individually associated with women's higher education. Located on the Maryville College property, the Mrs. John Walker House was listed in the National Register in 1989 for its architectural significance. Mrs. John Walker, a resident of Pittsburgh, built the house in 1932 to be close to her sister, whose husband was the chaplain for Maryville College. Upon her death in 1950, Mrs. Walker

---

[19] Ibid.

left the residence to the college. The college used it as the President's House for several years but has since discontinued its use.[20]

Although not listed for their association with women, both Maryville College and Fisk University are included in the National Register of Historic Places. Listed in 1977, the Fisk University Historic District contains over sixty-five structures and residences, including Jubilee Hall, which was designated as a National Historic Landmark in 1976.[21] Judging by the lack of information about women found in the nomination, women do not appear to have played a significant role in shaping the university. Yet women were part of the university since its inception and worked as hard as men to help with the school's precarious financial position in its early years.

Likewise, the National Register nomination for Maryville College fails to illustrate properly the long history the school had as a coeducational institution.

---

[20] Thomason and Associates, "Mrs. John Walker House." *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*, 1989. On file at the Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee.

[21] Berle Pilsk and Percy Looney, "Fisk University Historic District." *National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form*, 1977. On file with the Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee.

Since early acceptance of coeducation in southern colleges was unusual in the mid-nineteenth century, more information on women would have added to the significance of the school as one of the rare colleges of the nineteenth century open to both men and women. The nomination stated that Maryville College was eligible under Criterion A for its significance in education and "as one of the oldest colleges in the South and one of the first institutions open to black and Native Americans as well as white males, a tradition of educational opportunities led to the admission of women in 1869."[22] However, the information in the nomination continued to rely solely on the significance of the school from the typical white male paradigm and never fully provided information that strengthened the statement of significance regarding the inclusion of African Americans, Native Americans, and women. The one structure owned by Maryville College listed in the National Register due to its association with a woman is the Mrs. John Walker House, which has no correlation to the school's significance under Criterion A for education.

---

[22] Herma Cate and Sarah B. McNiell, "Maryville College Historic District." *National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form*, 1973. On file with the Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee.

Written in the 1970s, both nominations demonstrate the lack of understanding about women's place in higher education because both schools were listed in the National Register under Criterion A for significance in education, yet neither nomination mentioned that the schools were coeducational. As another example of the lack of significance accorded women's resources, only one of the buildings associated with Ward-Belmont is listed in the National Register. Acklen Hall or Belmont Mansion was listed in the National Register in 1971 for its architectural significance. Although used by the school in the early days of Belmont College, the building's significance derived from its association and use by the Acklen family in the antebellum period. Adelicia Hayes Franklin Acklen (and later Cheatham) and her husband Joseph Acklen built Belmont in 1853. After her husband's death, Adelicia Acklen continued to operate her plantations successfully during and after the Civil War and kept Belmont as a city home. The unique layout of the Acklen estate ensured its place in Nashville as one of the most

memorable houses in the city.[23] Although Belmont had served as a women's college longer than a private residence, no buildings on the Belmont campus associated with the women's college have been listed in the National Register.[24]

Historic preservation professionals have only recently begun to use the built environment to rediscover the contributions that women made to history. Yet simply placing women within the existing historical framework fails to provide the public with an integrated portrait of history.[25] Historian Edith Mayo argued that placing women in masculine-defined categories that have been a part of the historical framework for decades leaves history "fundamentally unaltered."[26] She called for a reinterpretation of artifacts found in house museums and at

---

[23] Herbert L. Harper, "Belmont." *National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form*, 1971. On file with the Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee; and *Belmont Mansion*, Available [Online]: www.belmont.edu/about/mansion.cfm. 9 July 1999.

[24] Harper, "Belmont." *National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form*, 1971.

[25] West, "Assessing Significance and Integrity in the National Register Process," 115 and 116.

[26] Edith Mayo, "Putting Women in Their Place: Methods and Sources for Including Women's History in Museums and Historic Sites," in *Restoring Women's History*, 113 and 114.

historic sites not only to incorporate women's history into the existing framework but to recreate the framework to ensure a holistic history that does not portray men's history as normal and women's history as the other.[27]

Mayo also contended that in order to reach women who visit and study at historic sites open to the public, historians must create exhibits with a female audience in mind. She said these women-centered exhibits would "ensure that women's questions about the past are central to the framework of the presentation. It ensures a women's history exhibit."[28] The importance of teaching women differently than men has been studied in the classroom for decades. The information gained from the classroom can be easily translated into exhibitions and presentations that include women's unique learning styles and perspectives. Much like the perspective found in historic interpretation, academia has also stressed the male perspective as the standard and devalued the female perspective. Researchers have found that both men and women tend to downplay the educational needs of women both inside and outside the classroom. Historic interpretive programs often rely on

---

[27] Ibid., 119.

[28] Ibid., 120.

teaching methods that accommodate men's learning styles over women's. For example, men are often more adept at understanding and internalizing information that is presented to them in a lecture format. Conversely, women learn better when material being taught is presented to them in a practical, personal way so they can connect with the content on an individual level.[29] Personalizing information at historic sites can be achieved through the careful study of the historic context of the resource. The interpretive program should take into consideration women's desires to internalize the information through a personal connection to the site. For example, the significance of Jubilee Hall could be illustrated by the struggles of the first group of Jubilee Singers that included two women. These women exemplified the struggle African American women had in higher education after the Civil War. These women helped raise enough money to erect Jubilee Hall that served as the women's dormitory—allowing African American women to have a legitimate place in higher education at Fisk

---

[29] Nel Noddings, "The Gender Issue," *Educational Leadership* 49(December 1991): 65; and Mary Frild Belenky, Blythe McVicker Clinchy, Nancy Rule Goldberger, and Jill Mattuck Tarule, *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1986), 17 and 18.

University.

The incorporation of women into historic preservation goes beyond museum interpretation and National Register nominations to include commonly accepted practices in the preservation of the buildings themselves. Historic preservation has emphasized the preservation of architecturally significant buildings, with the exterior of the building being favored over the interior of the building. Abigail Van Slyck pointed out that by concentrating on the preservation of a building's exterior over the preservation of interior elements leaves the area where women had the most impact altered or destroyed. Men most often designed, crafted, and maintained the exterior of buildings. Women often dominated the interior spaces, designing and altering the layout of the structure to better fit their needs. Van Slyck found this to be particularly true in many types of non-domestic spaces. She argued "the destruction of historic interiors eradicates evidence of women's work lives outside the home, reinforcing the historical inaccuracies that women were once exclusively domestic creatures."[30] She used Carnegie

---

[30] Abigail A. Van Slyck, "On the Inside: Preserving Women's History in American Libraries," in *Restoring Women's History*, 147.

libraries as an example of public buildings where women often dominated the interior space.[31] Many libraries are preserved because of their architectural significance on the exterior with the interior space being rehabilitated to the detriment of the historic record that included women as librarians.[32] Much like libraries, college buildings at historically women's colleges serve as examples of architect-designed structures that are often preserved for their design rather than their function. Interior spaces at colleges, in particular, have often been renovated repeatedly, leaving little of the historic interior fabric. The preservation initiatives taking place on college campuses should consider the rehabilitation of the interior to reflect the period when women dominated the campus.

The renewed emphasis on women's history in academia in the mid-twentieth century helped revitalize interest in the preservation of properties associated with women by providing preservationists with additional context through which to interpret historic resources. With many of the

---

[31] Van Slyck has studied the impacts of Carnegie libraries had on small towns in her book *Free To All: Carnegie Libraries & American Culture 1890-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

[32] Ibid., 160.

resources associated with women lost, three areas with plentiful resources that can be easily linked to women include religion, education, and agriculture.[33] Through interpretive programs at churches and schools, the public can learn about women's contributions to American history, adding to their understanding of the forces that shape American culture.[34] The struggle women faced breaking into the higher education system can also be illustrated in religious and educational resources. For example, a historic site that includes a one-room schoolhouse can include interpretive materials on higher education since women most likely taught at the rural elementary school after gaining some form of higher education. In addition women's higher education can be interpreted through the religious activism of educated churchwomen, who, for example, might have worked in an urban church to establish a Sunday School program in an effort to reach out to the community.

---

[33] Huyck, "Beyond John Wayne," 305; and West, "Assessing the Significance and Integrity in the National Register Process," 116.

[34] Horowitz, "Women and Education," 119.

The desire to preserve resources associated with women has moved beyond special interest groups to become a part of the mainstream preservation movement. In a show of support for the preservation of resources associated with women's higher education, a bill, entitled "Historically Women's Public Colleges or Universities Historic Building Restoration and Preservation Act," was introduced in the 106th Congress on September 29, 2000, to provide additional preservation funding to seven women's colleges in the South. The bill called for $14,000,000 to be made available to seven historic women's colleges that had been "a public institution of higher education created in the United States between 1884 and 1908 to provide industrial education for women." Provisions for this funding would come from the Historic Preservation Fund.

In addition, the recipient schools were required to have buildings or structures that had been listed in or eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, that had been named a National Historic Landmark, or that were located within a historic district. The bill stipulated that $2,000,000 per year would be available for the restoration or preservation of buildings associated with the school, during its period of significance, that

conformed to the Secretary of the Interior Standards for Rehabilitation. Each of the recipients was required to have 50 percent matching funds from a non-federal source in order to qualify for the money. Schools qualified to receive these funds included the Mississippi University for Women in Columbus, Mississippi, Georgia College and State University in Milledgeville, Georgia, the University of North Carolina in Greensboro, North Carolina, Winthrop University in Rock Hill, South Carolina, the University of Montevallo in Montevallo, Alabama, Texas Woman's University in Denton, Texas, and the University of Sciences and Arts in Oklahoma in Chickasha, Oklahoma.[35]

Introduced by Congressman Charles Pickering of Mississippi, the Committee on Resources first considered the bill. After being amended, the bill "was then ordered favorably reported to the House of Representatives by voice vote."[36] Several issues arose regarding the fairness of the bill. Noting that all seven schools were located in the South, legislators questioned how these schools were chosen

---

[35] Congress, House, *Historically Women's Public Colleges and Universities Historic Building Restoration and Preservation Act*, 106th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. 4503, Available [Online]:http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov. 20, February 2003.

[36] Ibid.

and the necessity of earmarking $14,000,000 of the General Preservation Fund that was only appropriated $41.3 million for 2001.[37] As a result, the bill did not pass in the House of Representatives. The dissenters provided valid reasons for their lack of support of the bill, including the limited funds available through the Historic Preservation Fund. Yet, the importance of these resources can not be understated. Without the proper funding, neglected resources will continue to deteriorate and information on women's history will not reach the public.

Historic preservation professionals should re-evaluate historic resources that fail to include information about women and re-interpret historic sites that include women only in secondary positions at historic sites. National Register nominations can be amended to include new information about women, context studies can provide preservation professionals with much needed information to include women, and the rehabilitation of historic structures can more sensitively include the interior spaces most likely occupied by women. These small changes have the potential to greatly impact the historic preservation movement in the United States. Women have been and

---

[37] Ibid.

continue to be powerful figures in American history that have been overlooked simply because their sex renders them secondary citizens. Through the built environment, the field of historic preservation has the potential to correct many of the flaws in history that continue to view women through traditional gender stereotypes that still influence our understanding of history.

The initiative to preserve historic resources because of their association with women has finally begun to permeate preservation at the local, state, and national levels. This new awareness includes preserving resources associated with women, interpreting women as central figures in history, and re-evaluating historic resources to include new information on women's history to better understand women's role in the built environment. Through the efforts made by women's historians that work as historic preservation professionals, new contextual background and research will allow information about women's contributions to history to be translated into preservation and interpretative programs that supply the public with the majority of their knowledge of history. Heather Huyck continues to implore historians to "make women's history indispensable to American history" because

"women are not a special interest" they "are the majority of the human race, a race whose history can not be understood without fully understanding and rightfully incorporating women's experiences and contributions into that history."[38] By removing women from the periphery of history and including them as central figures in all aspects of history, the public will leave historic sites with a more complete understanding of our nation's history. Teaching the public to view the past through a different paradigm will increase the value of historic resources as more and more people see themselves reflected in our historic landscape.

---

[38] Heather A. Huyck, "Proceeding From Here," in *Restoring Women's History*, 362.

CHAPTER SEVEN
THE TRANSFORMATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

In the seventy years since coeducation became the dominant form of higher education in Tennessee, women have both benefited from the educational opportunities they received by attending the same schools as men and were limited by schools that continued to focus primarily on the education of male students. The transformation that took place in Tennessee higher education between 1880 and 1925 should have marked the end of nineteenth-century educational ideals that impeded women's educational achievement. Yet, the changes in education fell short of providing equality for men and women as students and afterward in their careers. The last vestiges of traditional women's education proved difficult to erase, especially within the broader social and cultural norms that deemed all women, even educated women, as inferior to men.

The ingrained traditions of the southern higher education system impeded many of the efforts to transform

the region into one with a progressive, inclusive educational system. Although the region was slow to adopt many of the changes taking place in higher education, change did take hold even in the most conservative southern states. One of the most significant campaigns altering the southern educational system was the push to define a "college" by outside professional standards. By creating a standard definition, educators could more easily ensure the type of education students received and eliminate those schools with low academic standards that were colleges in name only. As a result, Tennessee saw a sharp decrease in the number of schools that identified themselves as a "college" in the fifty years between 1880 and 1930.

Yet raising the academic standards often failed to influence traditional educational expectations for students. College officials tended to adopt only part of the progressive education reform espoused by educational leaders. For example, many colleges began admitting women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries but considered the only viable tracks for women to be in elementary education and home economics. The acceptance of any career for women exceeded earlier expectations while at the same time illustrates the limitations placed on

educated women. These limitations continued to plague college women for several generations.

The standardization of higher education also limited women's opportunities to choose the type of educational environment they wanted to be a part of. After the rise of coeducation in Tennessee, the cost of being educated at a private women's college grew more expensive, excluding many women that would have chosen a single sex education over coeducation. In a region where the income levels remained well below the rest of the country, the cost of attending a women's college was compounded by the lack of women's colleges from which to choose. Although not guaranteed more career options after graduation, women's colleges did, at the very least, provide women with a time when they were the focal point in education rather than a side line.

By 1924, the United States Bureau of Education found only one senior college for women in operation in Tennessee even though the number of female students continued to increase.[1] Historian Barbara Miller Solomon argued that

---

[1] Lucius Salisbury Merriam, *Higher Education in Tennessee*, Contributions in American Educational History, ed. Herbert Adams (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), 246-260; and United States Bureau of Education, *A Survey of Higher Education in Tennessee 1924*. (privately printed, 1926), 31.

educational opportunities for women slowly diversified, offering them varied college experiences no matter what type of institution they attended. Yet she found that coeducational colleges placed limitations on women's opportunities to learn and grow through a challenging college environment. She wrote, "coeducational schools made plain both directly and indirectly what could be denied at women's colleges, that society attached greater importance to men's achievement."[2]

The disparity in the college experiences of men and women attending the same school limited equality of opportunity. Although most coeducational colleges did not have written policies that relegated women to specific subject areas, ingrained gender roles ensured most women themselves would choose classes that fit within their prescribed roles. The majors women were encouraged to take courses in often limited their opportunities to interact with male students. At many colleges, women were further discouraged from interacting with men through a restrictive, unfriendly environment created by both the

---

[2] Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), xix.

school administration and male students. Ironically, whether single-sex or coeducational women were each other's primary associates.

Moreover, women at coeducational colleges lacked opportunity to exert leadership and project visibility on campus. At women's schools, students were at the center of their collegiate environment. Women served in positions of power in the student government and organizations, participated in a wide variety of athletic activities, and received the benefits of a classroom unbiased in favor of men.[3] In contrast, women at coeducational colleges often served in subordinate positions in campus organizations and student government, had little or no choices in the athletic activities open to them, and faced stricter standards of conduct inside and outside the classroom. Coeducation during this period remained mired in the ideals of a patriarchal society where college provided women with

---

[3] Not all graduates of women's colleges felt their experience provided them with as many opportunities as they appear. Some graduates felt that prestigious women's colleges suffered from the same elitism affecting men's colleges. See Liva Baker, *I'm Radcliffe! Fly Me!: The Seven Sisters and the Failure of Women's Education* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc, 1976).

new opportunities but these opportunities continued to be inherently different from men's opportunities.[4]

Nevertheless, the experiences of women at coeducational colleges in Tennessee appeared less harsh than historians have generalized. Throughout the country, the rise in the number of women attending coeducational colleges in the early twentieth century caused a backlash against women because many feared that women would take over the traditional male bastion of higher education. Solomon found that when women performed well academically against men or outnumbered men on campus, faculty and male students blamed women for interfering with men's learning experiences.[5] For example, Cornell University had been the first major eastern college to allow women into its programs. Once at school, female students faced hostility from male students that resulted in women's exclusion from campus activities, forcing them to form their own separate organizations. The situation at Cornell continued to deteriorate in the early twentieth century to the point

---

[4] Florence Howe, *Myths of Coeducation: Selected Essays, 1964-1983* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 209.

[5] Ibid., 58.

where male peer groups would not allow any male students to socialize or even speak to female students on campus.[6]

Historians have studied the problems associated with women on campus at large, prestigious universities and have documented the trials early female students faced on coeducational campuses. Less research has been done on smaller, more localized colleges that often depended on women to keep the school financially viable. Using early normal schools as models, Christine Ogren studied the equality found at normal schools prior to the acceptance of general college standards in the 1920s. Both male and female students attended normal schools for the same purpose—to become teachers. Without segregation due to differing majors, men and women at normal schools were more likely to interact on campus and in the classroom. Once the normal schools broadened their curriculum becoming more like colleges and universities, women were excluded from participating in sex integrated activities.[7]

---

[6] Charlotte Williams Conable, *Women at Cornell: The Myths of Equal Education* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 117.

[7] Christine Ogren, "Where Coeds were Coeducated: Normal Schools in Wisconsin, 1870-1920." *History of Education Quarterly* 35(Spring 1995): 2.

Female students at Maryville College and Fisk University appeared to fit the pattern Ogren found in Wisconsin normal schools. The women attending both of these Tennessee colleges made up a large percentage of the student population and do not appear to have been treated harshly simply for being on campus. Although the schools' regulations for female students appeared more restrictive in comparison to male students, especially at Fisk University where the white administrators held women to even stricter standards, these regulations were typical of the rules governing women and did not keep most of them from participating in school activities. Women at both colleges participated in coeducational organizations, founded separate organizations, and enjoyed a varied social life with male students. Unlike at Cornell, fellow students at Maryville College and Fisk University did not sanction the restrictions placed on women.

Women at Maryville College and Fisk University, although not facing open hostility like their counterparts at Cornell, were more restricted than students at women's colleges. Since women's colleges did not have to make efforts to accommodate the varied learning styles of men and women and did not have to ensure that students did not

become too friendly with the opposite sex, educators at women's colleges concentrated on restricting women's interactions with the outside world. These restrictions were viewed as acceptable for southern women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and few people thought about the double standard for male and female students.

The situation at Maryville College indicates how young women during the early twentieth century perceived their competition with men. For many years female students outnumbered male students in individual classes at Maryville College. These numbers could have ensured that women would take a more active leadership role on campus after voting themselves into powerful positions simply because their numbers were greater. This situation clearly indicated the deeply ingrained gender roles that ensured that men should serve in positions of power over women, even if men were less qualified to serve. Women more commonly served as subordinates to men in their classes and organizations with only the rare exceptional woman being elected to the presidency of the class.

The majority of the students at the four Tennessee schools ended up teaching after graduation. The career

opportunities for women at both coeducational and single sex colleges were largely limited to traditional feminine jobs like teaching. Among the four schools, the deciding factor for career options appeared to be the economic background of the family. The women attending Ward-Belmont were more likely to choose a career that defied more traditional career choices because their wealthier families could support them in their career endeavors. For example, Willa Starkweather, a 1924 graduate of Ward-Belmont began her career as a secretary at a business college in Oklahoma. Upon her father's death, she took over the collection department of his law firm and managed it for a year as the Starkweather Commercial Agency. In 1930, she sold the business and law library to another law firm but continued to manage the commercial department of the new law firm.[8] Although qualified to manage a law firm, Starkweather would have been less likely to be considered for the position without having proven herself in her family's firm. Although many Ward-Belmont students did become teachers, the majority of women at Tennessee College, Fisk University, and Maryville College taught

---

[8] Ward-Belmont Alumnae Journal, New Year's Number, 1931, Catherine Pilcher Avery Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

school after graduation. The economic status of the student's family appears to have been a greater influence on career choices than the type of school she attended.

The transition period between 1880 and 1925 marked the end of the nineteenth century debates over whether women should be educated along with men. The modernization of Tennessee's higher education system was not complete by the 1930s; yet, the choices available to both men and women in the type of school they attended had become more limited. With more women choosing to attend coeducational colleges for a variety of reasons, the market for single sex education in Tennessee was further limited but did not end in the 1930s. Tennessee College for Women and Ward-Belmont continued to resist growing pressure to become a part of the more mainstream coeducational market.

For Tennessee College, the ability to resist came from the conservative nature of the Tennessee Baptist Convention. The school had a built-in market for future students. Conservative parents realized that they had only one remaining option if they wanted to shield their daughters from modern influences while giving them a college education. The Tennessee Baptist Convention realized this and in an attempt to emphasize the college's

role in teaching women, in 1941, the Board of Trustees at Tennessee College voted to change the official school name to Tennessee College for Women, its unofficial name for many years. The Board believed that the school could be more marketable because of this distinction, showing potential students that it was the only remaining college for women in Tennessee.[9]

By 1945, societal acceptance of increased interaction between men and women made women's colleges appear more antiquated than their coeducational counterparts. For Tennessee College for Women, this meant increased competition for students with Middle Tennessee Normal School located a few blocks away. In an effort to keep Tennessee College for Women in Murfreesboro, the Tennessee Baptist Convention looked into making it coeducational, and in 1945, the Baptist Convention in Nashville appointed a committee to investigate. The committee recommended in 1946 that the school merge with Cumberland University, a

---

[9] Tommy Lowe Curtis, "The History of Tennessee College for Women," Tennessee College for Women Alumni Association Records Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

coeducational university in Lebanon that had been transferred to the Tennessee Baptist Convention in 1946.[10]

With the obstacles mounting against the school, the Tennessee Baptist Convention decided a more stable institution would aid in spreading the Baptist influence. Factors beyond the control of the people involved with Tennessee College for Women influenced the Convention's decisions. The Convention decided to close Tennessee College for Women because it was unaccredited and had a small enrollment.[11] According to the history of Cumberland University, the idea for merging the two schools came in 1940 after an executive from the convention visited Cumberland's new dormitory for women. These dorms were eventually renamed Tennessee College Hall.[12]

The merger with Cumberland began to deteriorate in the late 1940s, as the Convention acquired another girls' school in financial trouble. They purchased Ward-Belmont

---

[10] C.C. Sims, *A History of Rutherford County* (Murfreesboro, TN: privately printed, 1947), 164.

[11] Albert W. Wardin, Jr., *Tennessee Baptists: A Comprehensive History, 1779-1999* (Brentwood, TN: Executive Board of the Tennessee Baptist Convention, 1999), 490.

[12] Frank Burns, *Phoenix Rising* (Lebanon, TN: privately printed, 1992), 181 and 183.

because "they saw an opportunity to gain valuable property."[13] After purchasing Ward-Belmont in 1952, the Convention decided that by merging Cumberland with Ward-Belmont both schools would become more stable. The plan included selling the Lebanon campus and moving all of Cumberland's divisions, except the law school, to Nashville. Cumberland supporters refused to allow the move. Since Cumberland's Board of Trustees refused to concur, the Convention withdrew its financial support, taking Tennessee College for Women with them to their preferred site at Ward-Belmont.[14]

The closure of Tennessee College for Women left the choices in higher education in Tennessee even more limited. Ward-Belmont remained as one of the last institutions to foster a single sex education for women in an open environment where young women could learn and grow without having to compete with men. The educational legacy started by William Eldred Ward and Ida Hood and Susan Heron ended in 1950 when the Tennessee Baptist Convention purchased Ward-Belmont. The Convention radically altered the school

---

[13] Wardin, *Tennessee Baptists*, 490 and 491.

[14] Burns, *Phoenix Rising*, 189.

with the admittance of men in 1951. By making Ward-Belmont coeducational, close to a century of higher education for women in Nashville came to an end. The effects on female students were felt immediately. The long tradition of female leadership in the student body ended abruptly when men became part of the campus. In 1951, the first year Belmont became a coeducational-two year college, men dominated all of the student leadership positions on the Student Council and in both the freshman and sophomore classes. This trend continued with no women serving in elected positions other than secretary or social chairman throughout much of the 1950s.[15]

The experiences of women at Ward-Belmont, Tennessee College for Women, Maryville College, and Fisk University illustrated the adaptability of Tennessee's higher education system. Women faced challenges at each type of school and had both positive and negative experiences because of the type of school they attended. Women's colleges ensured that their students would not have to compete with men while in school but in most cases failed to provide women with the ability to move beyond

---

[15] *The Tower* 1951, 1952-1953, and 1955, and *The Rebel* 1954, Belmont University Library, Nashville, Tennessee.

traditional gender roles and compete with men after graduation. The coeducational schools provided women with an educational experience that more closely mirrored the work world but failed to provide women with a period in their lives free of competition with men. Tennessee's higher education system changed markedly between 1880 and 1925, yet these changes did little to affect the traditional gender stereotypes that continued to plague educated women well into the twentieth century. These traditional ideas about women and their roles in society limited the possibilities higher education could have opened for them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Manuscripts and Collections

Catherine Avery Pilcher Papers. Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Community Collection. Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee state University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

Department of Conservation Photograph Collection. Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Hardeman, Sara to Reba McClellan, in *The Dryad* (1928), from the author's collection.

History of Belmont College for Young Women. Belmont University Library, Nashville, Tennessee.

Historic American Building Survey and Historic American Engineering Record Photographic Collection. Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

King, Dorothy to Reba McClellan, in *The Dyrad*, From the author's collection.

Library Collection. Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Maryville College Collection. Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

Maryville College Questionnaire Collection. Maryville College Archives, Maryville, Tennessee.

R.A. Walke Collection. John Hope and Aurelia E. Franklin Library. Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Ransom Family Papers 1833 to 1957. Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

THS Picture Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Tennessee College Association Records, 1919-1999, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Tennessee College Bulletin (June 1908), from the author's collection.

Tennessee College for Women Memorabilia Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

Tennessee College for Women Alumni Association Records Collection, Albert Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

Tennessee College for Women Collection, 1905-1933, Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Ward-Belmont Collection, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Ward-Belmont Vault—Pictures from 1940s. Belmont University Library, Nashville, Tennessee.

Published Reports and Books

Barnard, Henry, ed. *Memoirs of Teachers, Educators and Promotors and Benefactors of Education, Literature and Science*, American Education: Its Men, Ideas, and Institutions, ed. Lawrence A. Cremin, Series II. New York: F.C. Brownell, 1861. Reprint New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1971.

Beecher, Catharine E. *A Treatise on Domestic Economy, For the Use of Young Ladies At Home, and at School*. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb, 1841.

_____. *Educational Reminiscences and Suggestions*. New York: J.B. Ford and Company, 1874

Campbell, Doak S. *Problems in the Education of College Women: A Study of Women Graduates of Southern Colleges*. Nashville: Division of Surveys and Field Studies, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1933.

Clarke, Edward H. *Sex in Education; or, a Fair Chance for the Girls*. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1873; Reprint New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1972.

Colton, Elizabeth Avery. "Standards of Southern Colleges for Women." *The School Review* 20(September 1912): 458-475.

Ellis, Havelock and John Addington Symonds. *Sexual `Inversion*. London: Wilson and MacMillan, 1897; Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1975.

Fuller, Caroline. *Across the Campus: A Story of College Life*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899.

Goodsell, Willystine. *The Education of Women: Its Social Background and Its Problems*. New York: MacMillan Company, 1924.

Howe, Julia Ward, ed. *Sex and Education. A Reply to Dr. E.H. Clarke's "Sex in Education."* American Women: Images and Realties Series, ed., Leon Stein, Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1874. Reprint New York: Arno Press & the New York Times, 1972.

Mayo, A.D. *Southern Women in the Recent Educational Movement in the South*. Edited with an introduction by Dan T. Carter and Amy Friedlander. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892. Reprint Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975.

Merriam, Lucius Salisbury. *Higher Education in Tennessee*. ed. Herbert B. Adams. Contributions in American Educational History. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1893.

United States Bureau of Education. *A Survey of Higher Education in Tennessee, 1924*. Nashville: Tennessee College Association, 1926.

Wilson, Samuel Tyndale, *A Century of Maryville College*. Maryville: Directors of Maryville College, 1916.

Secondary Sources

Books

Anderson, James D. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Baker, Liva. *I'm Radcliffe! Fly Me!: The Seven Sisters and the Failure of Women's Education*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1976.

Bearden, Romare and Harry Henderson. *A History of African-American Artists from 1792 to the Present*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1993.

Belenky, Mary Frild, Blythe McVicker Clinchy, Nancy Rule Goldberger, and Jill Mattuck Tarule, *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1986.

Berkin, Carol Ruth, and Mary Beth Norton, eds. *Women of America: A History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979.

Berkley, Ellen Perry, ed. and Matilda McQuaid, assoc. ed. *Architecture: A Place for Women*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989.

Bernstein, Rebecca Sample and Carolyn Torma. "Exploring the Role of Women in the Creation of Vernacular Architecture." In *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, IV*, eds. Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman, 64-72. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991.

Blair, Carolyn L. and Ada S. Walker. *By Faith Endowed: The Story of Maryville College, 1819-1994*. Maryville, TN: Maryville College Press, 1994.

Bleser, Carol, ed. *In Joy and In Sorrow: Women, Family and Marriage in the Victorian South, 1830-1900*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Boaz, Louise Schutz. *Women's Education Begins: The Rise of the Women's College*, American Education: Its Men, Ideas, and Institutions, ed., Lawrence A. Cremin, Series II. New York: Wheaton College, Press, 1935. Reprint New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1971.

Boris, Eileen. *Home to Work: Motherhood and the Politics of Industrial Homework in the United States*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994; Reprint, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Brigham, Judith. *A Historical Study of the Educational Agencies of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1845-1945*. New York: AMS Press, 1951.

Burns, Frank. *Phoenix Rising*. Lebanon, TN: privately printed, 1992.

Carroll, Berenice, ed. *Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976.

Clark, Robert Judson, ed. *The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1876-1916*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Collins, L.M. *One Hundred Years of Fisk University, 1875-1935*. Nashville, TN: Hemphill's Creative Printing, Inc., 1989.

Commission on Colleges. *Black Colleges in the South: From Tragedy to Promise*. Atlanta: Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, 1971.

Conable, Charlotte Williams. *Women at Cornell: The Myths of Equal Education*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977.

Cott, Nancy F. *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835*, 2d ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977.

_____. *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.

Coulter, E. Merton. *College Life in the Old South.* New York: Macmillan Company, 1928; Reprint, Atlanta: University of Georgia Press, 1951.

Cremin, Lawrence A. *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961.

Cumming, Elizabeth and Wendy Kaplan. *The Arts and Crafts Movement.* London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1991.

Dabney, Charles William. *Universal Education in the South.* Vol. 1. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936.

_____. *Universal Education in the South.* Vol. 2. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936.

Dennis, Michael. *Lessons in Progress: State Universities and Progressivism in the New South, 1880-1920.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001.

Doyle, Don H. *New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860-1910.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

_____. *Nashville in the New South, 1880-1930.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985.

Dreeden, Robert. *On What Is Learned in School.* Reading, MS: Addison-Wesley, 1968.

Dubrow, Gail Lee and Jennifer Goodman, eds. *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Faragher, John Mack and Florence Howe, ed. *Women and Higher Education in American History: Essays from the Mount Holyoke College Sesquicentennial Symposia.* New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1988.

Farnham, Christie Anne. *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South*. New York: New York University Press, 1994.

Fass, Paula S. *The Damned & the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Frankfort, Roberta. *Collegiate Women: Domesticity and Career in Turn-of-the-Century America*, New York University Series in Education and Socialization in American History, ed., Paul H. Mattingly. New York: New York University Press, 1977.

Fraser, Jr., Walter R., Frank Saunders Jr., and Jon L. Wakelyn, eds., *The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family, & Education*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985.

Gaston, Paul M. *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970.

Genovese, Eugene D. *The Southern Front: History and Politics in the Cultural War*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1995.

Goodsell, Willystine, ed. *Pioneers of Women's Education in the United States: Emma Willard, Catharine Beecher, Mary Lyon*. New York: AMS Press, 1931.

Gordon, Lynn D. *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

Grantham, Dewey W. *Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition*. Twentieth-Century American Series. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983.

_____. *The South in Modern America: A Region at Odds*. New York: Harper Collins, 1994.

Graves, Karen. *Girls' Schooling during the Progressive Era*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998.

Green, Elizabeth Alden. *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke: Opening the Gates*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1979.

Green, Elna. *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Hamm, Thomas D. *Earlham College: A History, 1847-1997*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997.

Harris, Cyril M. *American Architecture: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998.

Hayden, Dolores. *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. Cambridge, MS: The MIT Press, 1995.

Hays, Samuel P. *The Response to Industrialism: 1885-1914*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.

Hendricks, Wanda A. *Gender, Race, and Politics in the Midwest: Black Club Women in Illinois*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998.

Herbst, Jurgen. *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.

Hill, Susan T. *The Traditionally Black Institutions of Higher Education 1860-1982*. Washington: National Center for Education Statistics, n.d.

Hoffschwelle, Mary S. *Rebuilding the Rural Southern Community: Reformers, Schools, and Homes in Tennessee 1900-1930*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998.

Holland, Dorothy C. and Margaret A. Eisenhart. *Educated in Romance: Women, Achievement, and College Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz. *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth- Century Beginnings to the 1930s*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984.

_____. *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987.

Howe, Florence. *Myths of Coeducation: Selected Essays, 1964-1983*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.

Huyck, Heather. "Beyond John Wayne: Using Historic Sites to Interpret Western Women's History." In *Western Women: Their Land, Their Lives*, ed. Lillian Schlissel, Vicki L. Ruiz, and Janice Monk, 303-318. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.

Kelley, Mary, ed. *Woman's Being, Woman's Place: Female Identity and Vocation in American History*. Boston: G.K. Hall & Company, 1979.

Kerber Linda, and Jane Sherron De Hart, eds. *Women's America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Klein, Susan S., ed. *Handbook for Achieving Sex Equity Through Education*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.

Kliebard, Herbert M. *Schooled to Work: Vocationalism and the American Curriculum, 1876-1946*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1999.

Kribbs, Ken D. *History of Athletics at Maryville College Book One: The Early Era, 1866-1920*. Privately Printed, 1968.

Krug, Edward A. *The Shaping of the American High School: Progressivism in American Education*. New York: Knopf, 1961.

Kwolek-Folland, Angel. "Gender as a Category of Analysis in Vernacular Architecture Studies." In *Gender, Class, and Shelter: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, V*, eds. Elizabeth Collins Cromley and Carter L. Hudgins, 3-10. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995.

Lee, Calvin B.T. *The Campus Scene, 1900-1970: Changing Styles in Undergraduate Life.* New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1970.

Leslie, W. Bruce. *Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the "Age of the University," 1865-1917.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992.

Lesser, Carol, ed. *Educating Men and Women Together: 'Coeducation in a Changing World.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987.

Lewis, Charles Lee. *Philander Priestley Claxton: Crusader for Public Education.* Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1948.

Lindgren, James M. *Preserving Historic New England: Preservation, Progressivism, and the Remaking of Memory.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

_____. *Preserving the Old Dominion: Historic Preservation and Virginia Traditionalism.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993.

Lloyd, Ralph Waldo. *Maryville College: A History of 150 Years, 1819-1969.* Maryville: Maryville College Press, 1969.

Lovett, Bobby L. *The African-American History of Nashville, Tennessee 1780-1930,* Black Community Studies Series, ed. Willard B. Gatewood. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1999.

Marsden, George M. *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Mary Sharp College Club. *Dr. Z.C. Graves and the Mary Sharp College, 1850-1896.* Nashville, privately printed, 1925.

McAlester, Virginia and Lee McAlester. *A Field Guide to American Houses.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998.

McArthur, Judith N. *Creating the New Woman: The Rise of Southern Women's Progressive Culture in Texas, 1893-1918.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998.

McCandless, Amy Thompson. *The Past in the Present: Women's Higher Education in the Twentieth Century American South.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999.

McClelland, Averil Evans. *The Education of Women in the United States: A Guide to Theory, Teaching, and Research.* New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992.

McMurry, Sally. *Families and Farmhouses in Nineteenth-Century America: Vernacular Design and Social Change.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Miller, Page Putnam, ed. *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.

Mitchell, Jr., Reavis. *The Loyal Children Make Their Way Since 1866.* Nashville, TN: Fisk University Press, 1995.

Neverdon-Morton, Cynthia. *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989.

Newcomer, Mabel. *A Century of Higher Education for American Women.* New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1959.

Noble, Jeanne L. *The Negro Woman's College Education.* New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College at Columbia University, 1956.

Palmieri, Patricia Ann. *In Adamless Eden: The Community of Women Faculty at Wellesley*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Peabody, Francis Greenwood. *Education for Life: the Story of Hampton Institute*. College Park, MD: McGrath Publishing Co., 1969.

Pittard, Homer. *Pillar and Ground: First Baptist Church, 1843-1968*. Murfreesboro, TN: privately printed, 1968.

Pittard, Mabel. *Rutherford County*. Tennessee County History Series, ed. Robert E. Corlew III. Memphis, TN: Memphis State University Press, 1984.

Powell, Richard J. and Jock Reynolds. *To Conserve a Legacy: American Art from Historically Black Colleges and Universities*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1999.

Reuben, Julie A. *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Richardson, Joe M. *A History of Fisk University, 1865-1946*. Birmingham: University of Alabama Press, 1980.

Rogers, Lucille. *Light from Many Candles: A History of Pioneer Women in Education in Tennessee*. Nashville: McQuiddy Printing Company, 1960.

Rosenberg, Rosalind. *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.

Rudolph, Frederick. *The American College and University*. New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1962.

Rury, John L. *Education and Women's Work: Female Schooling and Division of Labor in Urban America, 1870-1930*. Suny Series on Women and Work, ed. Joan Smith. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991.

Scott, Anne Firor, ed. *The American Woman: Who Was She?* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971.

_____. *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

_____. *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991.

Shaw, Stephanie J. *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Sherr, Lynn and Jurate Kazickas. *Susan B. Anthony Slept Here: A Guide to American Women's Landmarks*. New York: Random House, Inc., 1976; Reprint, New York: Random House, Inc., 1994.

Sims, C.C. *A History of Rutherford County*. Murfreesboro, TN: privately printed, 1947.

Solomon, Barbara Miller. *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985.

Stilgoe, John R. *Metropolitan Corridor: Railroads and the American Scene, 1870-1930*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.

Stohlman, Martha Lou. *The Story of Sweet Briar College*. Sweet Briar, V.A: Sweet Briar Alumnae Association, 1956.

Sugg, Jr., Redding S. *Motherteacher: The Feminization of American Education*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1978

Tolbert, Lisa. "Commercial Blocks and Female Colleges: The Small-Town Business of Educating Ladies." In *Shaping Communities: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, VI*, ed. Carter L. Hudgins and Elizabeth Collins Cromley, 204-215. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997.

Turner, Paul Venable. *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*. Cambridge, MS: MIT Press, 1984.

_____, Marcia E. Vetrocq, and Karen Weitze. *The Founders and the Architects: The Design of Stanford University*. Stanford, CA: Department of Art, 1976.

Tyack, David and Elisabeth Hansot. *Learning Together: A History of Coeducation in American Schools*. New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1990.

_____, Thomas James, and Aaron Benavat. *Law and the Shaping of Public Schools, 1785-1954*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.

Van Slyck, Abigail A. *Free To All: Carnegie Libraries & American Culture 1890-1920*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Veysey, Laurence R. *The Emergence of the American University*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Walker, Stephen and Len Barton, eds., *Gender, Class and Education*. New York: Falmer Press, 1983.

Waller, William, ed. *Nashville, 1900 to 1910*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972.

Wardin, Albert W. *Tennessee Baptists: A Comprehensive History, 1779-1999*. Brentwood, TN: Executive Board of the Tennessee Baptist Convention, 1999.

Weidner, Maude. *Nashville Then and Now, 1780-1930*. Nashville: The Hermitage Publishing Company, 1930.

West, Carroll Van. "Assessing Significance and Integrity in the National Register Process: Questions of Race, Class, and Gender." In *Preservation of What, for Whom?: A Critical Look at Historical Significance*, ed. Michael A. Tomlan, 109-114. Ithaca, NY: National Council for Preservation Education, 1999.

Wheeler, Majorie Spruill. *New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Wiebe, Robert H. *The Search for Order, 1877*-1920. The Making of America Series, ed. David Donald. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.

Wiggins, Sam P. *Higher Education in the South*. Berkeley: McCutchen Publishing Corporation, 1966.

Wilson, Samuel Tyndale. *A Century of Maryville College: 1819-1919* Maryville, TN: The Directors of Maryville College, 1919.

Wolters, Raymond. *The New Negro on Campus: Black College Rebellions of the 1920s*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975.

Woody, Thomas. *A History of Women's Education in the United States*. Vol. 1, New York: The Science Press, 1929.

WPA Guide to Tennessee. Nashville, TN: Viking Press, 1939. Reprint, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986.

Wrigley, Julia, ed. *Education and Gender Equality*. London: The Falmer Press, 1992.

Young, Elizabeth Barber. *A Study of the Curricula of Seven Selected Women's Colleges of the Southern States*. New York: Teachers College Columbia University, 1932.

Articles

Anderson, William G. "Progressivism: An Historiographical Essay." *The History Teacher* 6 (May 1973): 427-452.

Berry, Terry. "A History of Women's Higher Education in Mississippi, 1819-1882." *Journal of Mississippi History* 31(Summer 1994): 303-319.

Best, John Hardin. "Education in the Forming of the American South." *History of Education Quarterly* 36(Spring 1996): 39-51.

Biklen, Sari Knopp. "The Progressive Education Movement and the Question of Women." *Teachers College Record* 2(December 1978): 316-335.

Brinkley, Garland L. "The Decline in Southern Agricultural Output, 1860-1880." *The Journal of Economic History* 57 (March 1977): 116-138.

Burstyn, Joan M. "Catharine Beecher and the Education of American Women." *New England Quarterly* (June 1962): 162-171.

Cobb, James C. "Beyond Planters and Industrialists: A New Perspective on the New South," *The Journal of Southern History* 54 (February 1988): 45-68.

Dean, Pamela. "'Dear Sisters' and 'Hated Rivals': Athletics and Gender at Two New South Women's Colleges,1893-1920." *Journal of Sport History* 24(Fall 1997): 341-357.

DeMoss, Dorothy D. "A 'Fearless Stand': The Southern Association of College Women, 1903-1921." *Southern Studies* 26(1986): 249-260.

Dennis, Michael. "Schooling Along the Color Line: Progressives and the Education of Blacks in the New South." *Journal of Negro Education* 67(Spring 1999): 142-156.

Evans, Sara M. "Visions of Woman-Centered History," *Social Policy* 12 (Spring 1982): 46-49.

Finney, Raymond Alfred. "A History of the Private Educational Institutions of Franklin County," *Franklin County Historical Review* XI (January 1980): 24-33.

Freedman, Estelle. "The New Woman: Changing Views of Women in the 1920s." *Journal of American History* 1(September 1974): 372-93.

Generals, Donald. "Booker T. Washington and Progressive Education: An Experimentalist Approach to Curriculum Development and Reform." *Journal of Negro Education* 69(Summer 2000): 215-234.

Glassberg, David. "History and the Public: Legacies of the Progressive Era." *Journal of American History* 73 (March 1987): 957-980.

Gordon, Lynn D. "Female Gothic: Writing the History of Women's Colleges," *American Quarterly* 37 (1987): 299-304.

_____. "The Gibson Girl Goes to College: Popular Culture and Women's Higher Education in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920," *American Quarterly* 39(Summer 1987): 211-230.

Graham, Eleanor. "Belmont: Nashville Home of Adelcia Acklen." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 30(Winter 1971): 345-369.

Graham, Patricia Albjerg. "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 3(1978): 759-773.

Grantham, Jr., Dewey. "The Regional Imagination: Social Scientists and the American South." *The Journal of Southern History* 34 (February 1968): 3-32.

_____. "The Contours of Southern Progressivism." *The American Historical Review* 86 (December 1981): 1035-1059.

Green, Nancy. "Female Education and School Competition: 1820-1850." *History of Education Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1978): 129-142.

Harlan, Louis R. "The Southern Education Board and the Race Issue in Public Education," *The Journal of Southern History* 23 (May 1957): 189-202.

Harling, Robert. "The Toast of Tennessee: The Author of *Steel Magnolias* Takes a Look at the Greatest of Them All." *Art and Antiques* (February 1988): 52-59 and 87.

Hoffschwelle, Mary S. "The Science of Domesticity: Home Economics at George Peabody College for Teachers, 1914-1939." *Journal of Southern History* LVII(November 1991): 659-680.

Hohner, Robert A. "Southern Education in Transition: William Waugh Smith, the Carnegie Foundation, and the Methodist Church." *History of Education Quarterly* 27 (Summer 1987): 181-203.

Hollow, Elizabeth. "Development of the Brownsville Baptist Female College: An Example of Female Education, 1850-1910." *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers* 32 (1978): 48-59.

Howe, Barbara J. and Helen M. Bannan. "Women's History, Local History, and Public History." *History News* 50 (March/April 1995): 7-11.

Inness, Sherrie A. "Mashes, Smashes, Ces, and Raves: Woman-to-Woman Relationships in Popular Women's College Fiction, 1895-1915." *NWSA Journal* 6(Spring 1994): 48-68.

Jones, Allen W. "The Role of Tuskegee Institute in the Education of Black Farmers." *The Journal of Negro History* 60 (April 1975): 252-267.

Lindgren, James. "'A New Departure in Historic, Patriotic Work': Personalism, Professionalism, and Conflicting Concepts of Material Culture in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." *The Public Historian* 18 (Spring 1996): 41-60.

Link, William A. "Privies, Progressivism, and Public Schools: Health Reform and Education in the Rural South, 1909-1920." *The Journal of Southern History* 54 (November 1988): 623-642.

McCandless, Amy Thompson. "Progressivism and the Higher Education of Southern Women." *North Carolina Historical Review* LXX (July 1993): 302-325.

McCrady, James Warning. "Art and Music at the Mary Sharp College," *Franklin County Historical Review* XI (January 1980): 3-15.

_____. "The Mary Sharp Superlative," *Franklin County Historical Review* XI (January 1980): 16-23.

Miller-Bernal, Leslie. "Single-Sex versus Coeducational Environments: A Comparison of Women Students' Experiences at Four Colleges," *American Journal of Education* 102 (November 1993): 23-54.

Montgomery, James. "The Summer School of the South." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 22 (December 1963): 361-381.

Moore, A.B. "One Hundred Years of Reconstruction of the South." *The Journal of Southern History* 9 (May 1943): 153-180.

Noddings, Nel. "The Gender Issue." *Educational Leadership* 49(December 1991): 65-70.

Ogren, Christine. "Where Coeds Were Coeducated: Normal Schools in Wisconsin, 1870-1920." *History of Education Quarterly* 35 (Spring 1995): 1-26.

Preston, Jo Anne. "Domestic Ideology, School Reformers, and Female Teachers: School teaching Becomes Women's Work in Nineteenth-Century New England." *New England Quarterly* 66 (December 1993): 531-551.

Quirin, James A. "'Her Sons and Daughters Are Ever on the Altar': Fisk University and Missionaries to Africa, 1866-1937." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* LX (Spring 2001): 16-37.

Schein, Richard H. "The Place of Landscape: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting an American Scene." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87 (December 1977): 660-680.

Schwager, Sally. "Educating Women in America." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 12(1987): 333-372.

Seller, Maxine Schwartz. "Boundaries, Bridges, and the History of Education." *History of Education Quarterly* 2(Summer 1991): 195-206.

Shannon, Samuel H. "'Land-Grant College Legislation and Black Tennesseans: A Case Study in the Politics of Education." *History of Education Quarterly* 22 (Summer 1982): 139-157.

Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll, and Charles Rosenberg. "The Female Animal: Medical and Biological Views of Woman and Her Role in Nineteenth-Century America." *Journal of American History* 60(September 1973): 332-356.

Solnick, Sara J. "Changes in Women's Majors from Entrance to Graduation at Women's and Coeducational Colleges." *Industrial and Labor Relations* 48(April 1995): 505-514.

Stetar, Joseph M. "In Search of a Direction: Southern Higher Education after the Civil War." *History of Education Quarterly* 25 (Autumn 1985): 341-367.

"The Status of Female Leadership: By the Numbers. (Special Report: Women in Higher Education)." *Black Issues in Higher Education* 19(March 2002): 29-31.

Tyack, David and Elisabeth Hansot. "Gender in American Public Schools: Thinking Institutionally." *Signs* 13 (Summer 1988): 741-760.

Walden, Daniel. "The Contemporary Opposition to the Political and Educational Ideas of Booker T. Washington." *The Journal of Negro History* 45 (April 1960): 103-115.

Wharton, Annabel. "Gender, Architecture, and Institutional Self-Presentation: The Case of Duke University." *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 1(Winter 1991): 175-217.

Welter, Barbara. "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860." *American Quarterly* 18(1966): 151-174.

Zschoche, Sue. "Dr. Clarke Revisted: Science, True Womanhood, and Female Collegiate Education." *History of Education Quarterly* 29(Winter 1989): 545-569.

Theses and Dissertations

Corley, Florence Fleming. "Higher Education for Southern Women, Four Church-Related Women's Colleges in Georgia, Agnes Scott, Shorter, Spelman, and Wesleyan, 1900-1920." Ph.D. diss., Georgia State University, 1985.

Henry, Jr., Will Wright. "The Interrelationship Between the Tennessee Baptist Convention and Its Three Institutions of Higher Education." Ph.D. diss., George Peabody College for Teachers of Vanderbilt University, 1984.

Hoffschwelle, Mary Sara. "Rebuilding the Rural, Southern Community: Reformers, Schools, and Homes in Tennessee, 1914-1929." Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1993.

Horn, Marcia. "Ideas of the Founders of the Early Colleges for Women and the Role of Women's Education in American Society." Ph.D. diss., State University of New Jersey, 1977.

McCleary, Ann. "Shaping a New Role for the Rural Woman: The Home Demonstration Club Movement in Augusta County, Virginia, 1917-1940." Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1996.

McDonald, Christina Russell. "Converging Histories: Writing Instruction and Women's Education in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920." Ph.D. diss., Texas Christian University, 1995.

Mitchell, Tara Michelle. "Sewanee's Second Reconstruction: The Development of Coeducation at the University of the South." M.A. Thesis, Middle Tennessee State University, 1995.

Online Materials

College Enrollment Rates by Age, Sex, and Attendance Status, with Middle Alternative Projection, Fall 2000, 2007, and 2012. Available [Online]: www.nces.ed.gov. [19 August 2004].

College Enrollment and Labor Force Status of 2000 and 2001 High School Completers, by Sex and Race/Ethnicity: October 2000 and October 2001. Available [Online]: www.nces.ed.gov. [17 August 2004].

Department of Education National Center for Educational Stastics, "Compulsory School Attendance." Available [Online]: www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0112617. [22 November 2004].

"Exploring a Common Past: Interpreting Women's History in 'the National Park Service, 1966." Available [Online]: www.cr.nps.gov/history/expast.htm. [29 August 2003].

"Jim Crow Laws: Tennessee," Available [Online]: www.jimcrowhistory.org/geography/geography.htm. [22 November 2004].

Mackintosh, Barry. "The National Park Service: A Brief History." Available [Online]: www.cr.nps.gov. [31 December 2003].

"National Register of Historic Places from Tennessee." Available [Online]: www.state.tn.us/environment/hist/nrhist1.php. [31 December 2003].

NRIS Database. Available [Online]: www.nr.nps.gov/iwisapi/explorer. [31 December 2003].

Shull, Carol. D. "Searching for Women in the National Register of historic Places." Available [Online]: www.cr.nps.gov/iwisapi/explorer. [31 December 2003].

Tennessee College Course Listing, March 12, 1909. Available [Online]: www.usit.com/mcbroom/gradeiipg. [12 February 2001].

U.S. Congress. House. *Historically Women's Public Colleges or Universities Historic Building Restoration and Preservation Act*, 106th Cong., 2d sess., H.R. 4503. Available [Online]:http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov. [20, February 2003].

Unpublished Materials

Cate, Herma and Sarah B. McNiell. "Maryville College Historic District." *National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form*, 1973. On file with the Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee.

Harper, Herbert. "Belmont." *National Register of Historic Places-Nomination Form*, 1971. On file with the Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee.

Marsh, Leonard E. "Hermitage Hotel." *National Register of Historic Places-Nomination Form*, 1975. On file with the Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee.

Pilsk, Berle and Percy Looney. "Fisk University Historic District." *National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form*, 1977. On file with the Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee.

Thomason and Associates. "Mrs. John Walker House." *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*, 1989. On file with the Tennessee Historical Commission, Nashville, Tennessee.