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HIGHER EDUCATION FOR SOUTHERN WOMEN:
FOUR CHURCH-RELATED WOMEN'S COLLEGES IN GEORGIA,
AGNES SCOTT, SHORTER, SPELMAN, AND WESLEYAN,
1900-1920

A DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the College of Arts and Sciences
Georgia State University

1985

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ABSTRACT

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR SOUTHERN WOMEN:

FOUR CHURCH-RELATED WOMEN'S COLLEGES IN GEORGIA,

AGNES SCOTT, SHORTER, SPELMAN, AND WESLEYAN,

1900-1920

The histories of Presbyterian-related Agnes Scott, Baptist-related Shorter, and Methodist-controlled Wesleyan illustrate how white liberal arts, non-public schools in Georgia developed into accredited colleges during the Progressive Period. Northern Baptist-related Spelman's story tells how a black woman's seminary with a college level annex (associated with all-male Morehouse) was able to educate Negro women in the same time period, in the same state. The study briefly surveys the historical development of each school up to 1900 and compares and contrasts the relationships of the colleges and their respective "home towns" of Macon, Rome, Atlanta, and Decatur in 1900.

For the period 1900 to 1920 the study examines the four schools' characteristics and nature of their student bodies and faculties, their changing progressive curricula, their extracurricular activities (especially the YWCA and the Student Volunteer Movements), and the careers and achievements of alumnae in the 1900-1920 cohort. Eight women's biographies (two from each college) are sketched in full to illustrate the impact of their education on their lives.

The study looks at the effects of the colleges' Christian goals and church connections and of their dependence on philanthropy.

Comparisons are made between black and white women's education and between the southern women's colleges and the northeastern Seven Sisters. The whole study is set in the historical context of the Progressive Period, World War I, and womens' changing roles and attitudes. It describes the shift, during this period, in the roles of educated southern women from "the lady" associated with "true womanhood" and "the cult of domesticity" to the emerging "new woman" associated with careers and economic independence.

The history of women's education in the South has not been researched as much as female education in the northeast, and the story of Negro women's liberal arts education has not been factored into the overall story of women's education in America. Therefore this study offers new insights and data with significance for the whole story of American women's education.

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PREFACE

Women's education has been debated since the Renaissance. Throughout the early modern era, feminists as well as other social critics have expressed discontent with the educational practices of their times and proposed reform.¹ Progressive ideas about women's education crossed the ocean during the ferment of the American Revolution and were voiced by Abigail Adams and Benjamin Rush, but these ideas produced little result until the 1830's. A few girls' schools of the "finishing" type, modeled after English boarding schools, were started in towns in the northeast, but in the South, where farms and plantations were isolated, well-to-do families preferred to hire tutors who taught

¹See, e.g., Moira Ferguson, ed., First Feminists: British Women Writers, 1578-1799 (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1985); Hilda Smith, Reason's Disciples: Seventeenth-Century English Feminists (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1982); Francois de Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon, The Education of Girls, translated from the French by Kate Lupton (Boston: Ginn, 1891); Abby R. Kleinbaum, "Women in the Age of Light" in Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, eds., Becoming Visible: Women in European History (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977): 137-164; 217-233; Phyllis Stock, Better Than Rubies: A History of Women's Education (New York: Putnam, 1979), especially pp. 90-97, 106-8, and 125; Victor G. Wexler, "Made For Man's Delight: Rousseau as Anti-Feminist" American Historical Review 51 (April 1976): 266-291; and Linda Kerber, Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1980).

family groups at home or to send their daughters to Catholic convents in Europe or to English boarding schools.²

Early in the nineteenth century Emma Willard (1821), Catharine Beecher (1828), and Mary Lyon (1837) set up female seminaries in the northeast, establishing new models for women's education.³ Slowly their ideas were disseminated southward into Georgia, but it is not until the 1840's that

²Linda K. Kerber, "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment--An American Perspective," American Quarterly 28 (Summer 1976): 178-188; "Daughters of Columbia: Educating Women for the Republic, 1787-1803" in The Hofstadter Aegis: A Memorial, eds. Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974): 36-59 and Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980). See also Mary Beth Norton, Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980). The basic history is Thomas Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States, 2 vols. (New York: The Science Press, 1929, reprint ed., New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1966). See also Barbara Miller Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1985): 1-12, 21.

³Anne Firor Scott, "The Ever Widening Circle: The Diffusion of Feminist Values from the Troy Female Seminary, 1822-1872," History of Education Quarterly 19 (1979): 3-25; Kathryn Kish Sklar, Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973); Barbara M. Cross, The Educated Woman in America: Selected Writings of Catharine Beecher, Margaret Fuller, and M. Carey Thomas. Teachers College Classics in Education, no. 25 (New York: Teachers College Press, 1965); and Elizabeth Alden Green, Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke: Opening the Gates (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1979). See also Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984) who synthesizes and analyzes the foregoing scholarship on the Seven Sister colleges.

we begin to see their impact. Although there were sharp differences about the appropriate content and duration of southern women's schooling, by the middle of the nineteenth century most people in the South agreed that the Protestant church afforded the safest, most conservative institution and context for women's education. In Georgia, by 1850 the largest Protestant denominations, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian, had already established or were closely connected with colleges for women. Furthermore, there was lively debate over whether women should have the same education as men and, indeed, whether young women ought to be educated beyond the secondary level. Although coeducation existed in lower schools and in some colleges outside the South, almost everyone south of Washington and east of Mississippi agreed that white women should be educated separately from men.

Two traditions for female education developed in antebellum Georgia. T. R. R. Cobb was the evangel of the boarding school or seminary for young ladies which would inculcate southern values and ladylike attributes, something akin to a high grade finishing school. Many schools of this type sprang up before the Civil War. Georgians did not want to educate their sons and daughters out of the South, an attitude which helped to create and intensify southern sectionalism. In 1859 Mildred Rutherford became head of a superior seminary in Athens, the Lucy Cobb Institute, named for Senator Cobb's deceased daughter. Other Georgians

desired for their daughters a real college like the men's colleges and pushed for the chartering of Georgia Female College. In the first phase of women's education before the Civil War, there was actually very little difference in the academic level of these two types of women's education.⁴

Georgia's leaders began promoting female education at an early date. The foremost supporters were prominent in their churches. Through the efforts of Representative Benjamin Rutherford, Presbyterian-educated Representative Alexander Stephens, and a Presbyterian elder, Daniel Chandler, the state legislature on December 23, 1836, incorporated Georgia Female College, the first chartered woman's college in the United States to confer degrees upon women. This

⁴Dorothy Orr, *A History of Education in Georgia*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 149. See also Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, vol. 2, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1966), p. 149. See also Fletcher Green, "Higher Education for Women in the South Prior to 1861" in *Quarterly of the Georgia Historical Society*, ed. J. Morgan Kousser, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1964), 214-215.

⁴See also the chart of Georgia Female College incorporated before the Civil War in Joan Elizabeth Barbour, "College Education for women in Georgia Before the Civil War," honors paper Emory College 1972, pp. 21-22, in Special Collections, Woodruff Library, Emory University, and DGB (1983), s.v. "Cobb, T. R. R." by William Barton McCash and "Rutherford, Mildred Lewis," by Bessie Mell Lane.

In 1837 Mary Lyon opened Troy Female Seminary in New York but she did not claim that her school was a college. That same year Oberlin in Ohio accepted women into their college on a coeducational basis. Vassar College, which opened in 1865, was the first true woman's college equal to those for men in the northeast that has continued in existence.

institution opened in Macon in 1839.⁵ In 1842 it became Wesleyan Female College, under the control of the Georgia Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Methodists founded six additional antebellum women's "colleges," but in reality they were only secondary schools. La Grange Female College and Andrew College for Girls in Cuthbert survived the Civil War, but the Methodist Female Colleges in Madison, Griffin, Cassville, and Thomasville closed.⁶

The Southern Baptists established five similar "colleges" in Georgia before the Civil War, and three survived the cataclysm.⁷ Then, in 1873, Cherokee Baptist Female College opened in the basement of Rome First Baptist Church.

⁵Dorothy Orr, A History of Education in Georgia, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), p. 149. See also Thomas Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States, vol. 2, (reprint ed., New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1966), p. 184; D. Orr, p. 151, and Horowitz, p. 3. See also Fletcher Green, "Higher Education of Women in the South Prior to 1860," in Democracy in the Old South, ed. J. Issac Copeland (Nashville: Vanderbilt Univ. Press, 1969): 214-215.

⁶D. Orr, pp. 152, 153, 154, 358, 361, and Isabella Margaret Elizabeth [Mrs. John] Blandin, History of Higher Education of Women in the South Prior to 1860 (New York: Neale Publishing Company, n.d. [1909]; reprinted, Washington, D.C.: Zenger Publishing Company, 1975), p. 139, 147.

⁷Southern Female College at La Grange (1843), Monroe Female Collegiate Institute (1849), Georgia Female College at Madison (1850), Southwestern Female College in Randolph County (1853), Woodland Female College at Cedartown (1856). D. Orr, p. 154, and Blandin, p. 141. Robert Gardner, The Rome Baptist Church, 1835-1865 (Rome, GA: First Baptist Church, 1975), p. 45.

It soon acquired buildings of its own and was renamed Shorter College. In 1878 the Georgia Baptist Convention "commended" Shorter College to Baptist patronage and support, but the college did not come under Baptist control until 1902.⁸

There had been an earlier proposal, but it was not until the 1850's that Presbyterians founded female "colleges" in Georgia, at Greensboro, Griffin, and Rome. Although they had well-educated leadership, only the Rome school survived the Civil War, and it had become privately owned and was no longer under church auspices. In 1889, when a Female Seminary was established in Decatur, the Presbyterian Synod of Georgia, fearing heavy financial involvement and limitation of the school's patronage, did not officially associate itself with the project. Instead it was the Decatur Presbyterian Church, especially its pastor, Dr. Frank Henry Gaines, who nurtured the Agnes Scott

⁸D. Orr, pp. 359, 360. In 1878, the Reverend William Clay Wilkes founded Georgia Baptist Seminary at Gainesville, which later became Brenau College. See also Robert Gardner, On the Hill: The Story of Shorter College (Rome, GA: Shorter College, 1972), pp. 12, 13, 31, 32, 80, 152, 153 and 155. When the Georgia Convention control became a limiting factor, Shorter College secured release from denominational dominance in 1914. In 1919 Shorter "associated" with the Georgia Baptist Convention as an 'affiliating institution' in order to participate in the Seventy-Five Million Campaign which included funds for Baptist colleges. Because of Shorter's predominantly Baptist Board of Trustees and administrative leadership, the Georgia Baptist Convention regarded the college, and its teachings, as an 'orthodox Baptist institution.'

Institute, later to become Agnes Scott College.⁹ (See Appendix I: Georgia Women's Colleges in the Nineteenth Century.) Although the Presbyterian church never controlled the school, Presbyterianism exerted its influence through a predominantly Presbyterian board of trustees and a Presbyterian clergyman in the position of president.

Antebellum Georgia offered no formal educational facilities for black women. Not until 1881, when Northern Baptists and the Women's American Baptist Home Missionary Society of New England (WABHMS) joined forces and sent two missionaries to Atlanta, did a program of higher education for Georgia's black women begin. In the fall of that year, Sophia B. Packard and Harriet E. Giles set up Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary for Negroes in the basement of Friendship Baptist Church. Later the school became Spelman College.¹⁰

⁹Agnes Scott Aurora, 1898, p. 17. The Synod of Georgia set up Presbyterian female colleges at Greensboro (1851), at Griffin (1853), and at Rome (1857). James Stacy, History of the Presbyterian Church in Georgia (Atlanta: Westminster Press, 1912), pp. 160-171. pp. 160-171. See also Walter Edward McNair, Lest We Forget: An Account of Agnes Scott College (Atlanta: Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc., 1983), pp. 9-10.

¹⁰Florence Matilda Read, The Story of Spelman College (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), pp. 64, 65, 84. By 1903 the WABHMS of New York supported five schools in Georgia. Three were secondary schools, and one was a college for men, Atlanta Baptist College, which in 1913 became Morehouse College. Spelman Messenger, Dec. 1903, p. 7. In this paper Atlanta Baptist College will be referred to as Morehouse College for clarity.

Significance of this Study

By the turn of the century, Georgia's largest denominations had committed themselves to women's education. A variety of well-established institutions had already appeared upon the scene, but rapidly changing economic circumstances, as well as evangelism, feminism, and a wide variety of other forces were at work recasting the form and content of female education and the roles that women would play in the world. The four institutions selected for study represent three of the major denominations in the South. Because of their continued existence, these colleges offer opportunity both to investigate the changes in the nature, content, and influence of church-related higher education in Georgia and to examine the changing role of Southern women in the early twentieth century.

The evangelical Protestant stamp distinguished the education of women in the South from female education in the northeast, and to a degree from that in public and state supported institutions in Georgia.¹¹ The struggling church-related institutions were the only colleges available to women in Georgia in the period 1900 to 1920 except for the state supported, two-year normal and industrial schools and

¹¹ Amy Friedlander, "A More Perfect Christian Womanhood: Higher Learning for a New South," in Education and the Rise of the New South, eds. Ronald K. Goodenow and Arthur O. White (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1981), p. 87.

the University of Georgia, which began admitting women only in 1918.¹² This study examines the impact of the Protestant church on the colleges' goals and purposes, on their curricula, on the character of the faculties and student bodies, on campus and community activities, and on the career choices of the alumnae who were graduated between 1900 and 1920.

In addition to being Protestant church-related institutions, these women's colleges have other similarities throughout their histories. Except for Wesleyan, they were founded at about the same time, shortly after Reconstruction. All were located in towns or urban centers in middle and north central Georgia. Except for Spelman (not accepted until 1932) the colleges received accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools during the Progressive Period. All except Shorter (which became co-educational in 1948) have remained women's colleges, and all remain associated or affiliated with their nineteenth century founding church denominations. All retain a strong Christian emphasis and incorporate Bible study in their

¹²D. Orr, p. 242, 379-350. What was called a college or collegiate education in nineteenth century Georgia varied from secondary level, to junior college, to full four-year college by today's standards. See Barbour paper and Sara Bertha Townsend, "The Admission of Women to the University of Georgia," Georgia Historical Quarterly, 43 (June 1959): 156-69. The Georgia Normal and Industrial School at Milledgeville began to give the B.A. degree in 1917.

curricula. Each was a pioneer school in its particular denomination for women's college level education in Georgia.

The impact of the Protestant churches on women's higher education in Georgia is therefore one of the dominant concerns in my investigation. This study deals with the social and educational backgrounds of the students and faculties, and it touches upon the effects of increasing urbanization on education, contrasting the black and white experiences.¹³ The story of Georgia's collegiate women will cast new light on themes in national women's education and women's history in general.¹⁴

¹³Ronald K. Goodenow and Arthur O. White, eds., Education and the Rise of the New South (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1981), p. x, and Harvey Neufeldt and Clinton Allison, "Education and the Rise of the New South: An Historiographical Essay," in Goodenow and White, p. 275 point out the need for this type of investigation in educational history.

¹⁴Among the relevant studies in women's history are Gerda Lerner, The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), especially pp. 145-159 and Black Women in White America: A Documentary History (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), Anne Firor Scott, Making the Invisible Woman Visible (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984) and The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970); Carl N. Degler, At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Lois W. Banner, "On Writing Women's History," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 2 (1971): 347-58; Paula Giddings, When and Where I Enter: the Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America (New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1984); and the Journal of Negro Education, 51 (Summer 1982), which is devoted to the impact of black women in education. The most recent and helpful studies on the history of higher education for women are Barbara Miller Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, Alma

The evangelical stirrings in the last quarter of the nineteenth century were on the wane in the northeast but waxed full in the Bible-belt South by the turn of the century. The South was poor and rural in comparison to the northeast, where the "Seven Sister" colleges had become established with enviable endowments and academic credentials. Southern society segregated the black and the white races by law and custom. Even educated blacks and whites had difficulty knowing much about the other race, and tensions developed between them. These peculiar southern social factors had a powerful influence over curricular offerings and extracurricular activities at the women's colleges. Experience in the Young Women's Christian Association and the Student Volunteer Movement for world-wide missions was important in making young women aware of community needs and of themselves as members of effective groups. They also led to contacts between the races.

Two other major factors in molding the changes of this era were the new accrediting agencies and the philanthropic foundations. The Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools provided standards which had to be met as a

Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges From Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984). Lynn Dorothy Gordon included a southern woman's college, Sophie Newcomb, in her dissertation, "Women with Missions: Varieties of College Life in the Progressive Era," done at the University of Chicago in 1980.

requirement for grants from Carnegie's and Rockefeller's foundations. A close look at southern women's colleges will be particularly valuable because earlier writers have worked primarily on the northeastern, white Seven Sisters colleges (Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr, Mt. Holyoke, Radcliffe, and Barnard).¹⁵ Few historians make any mention of Spelman, the nation's oldest and (in the early 1900's) largest Negro liberal arts school for women.¹⁶

¹⁵Woody, II, p. 184; D. Orr, p. 151; James Monroe Taylor, Before Vassar Opened: A Contribution to the History of Higher Education of Women in America (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914; reprint ed. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1972), pp. 16-22. See also Clarence Moore Dannelly, "The Development of Collegiate Education in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1846-1902" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1933), pp. 79-81.

Horowitz, Alma Mater, adds Sarah Lawrence, Bennington, and Scripps; Elaine Kendall, "Founders Five," American Heritage XXVI, 2 (February, 1975): 33-48; Richard Gause Boone, Education in the United States. Its History From the Earliest Settlements (New York: A. Appleton and Co., 1893), pp. 362-382, and Charles Franklin Thwing, A History of Higher Education in America (New York: A. Appleton and Company, 1906), pp. 334-353. Some lists substitute Goucher or Pembroke for Radcliffe in the list of the Seven Sisters.

¹⁶Beverly Guy-Sheftall and Jo Moore Stewart, Spelman: A Centennial Celebration, 1881-1981 (Atlanta: Spelman College, 1980), p. 1. See also Woody; Louisa Shutz Boas, Women's Education Begins: The Rise of Women's Colleges (Norton, MA: Wheaton College Press, 1935); and Mabel Newcomer, A Century of Higher Education for Women (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959). Both Willard Range, The Rise and Progress of Negro Colleges in Georgia 1865-1949 (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1951), p. 93, and the most recent survey of women's higher education in the U.S. does integrate the South and the Negro (including Spelman). See Barbara Miller Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women, p. 152.

Since, at the turn of the century, the supporting denominations of the women's colleges described in this study represented about forty percent of the state's population (ninety-four percent of the church membership), they represented a powerful segment of public opinion.¹⁷ Shorter in Rome represents the largest part of the Protestant church in Georgia, the Baptists. Wesleyan in Macon represents the large Georgia Methodist communion, and Agnes Scott College in Decatur, the much smaller but influential Presbyterian group. Interesting contrasts and parallels emerge from the study of Spelman in Atlanta, sponsored by the northern-based American Baptists.

This research is not a quantitative or statistical study but rather an investigation and analysis of archival materials and records, published and unpublished, at each of the colleges, including their alumnae records, trustee minutes, and administrative files. Educational archives and denominational records from the various church archives also

¹⁷ Samuel S. Hill, ed., Religion in the Southern States: A Historical Study (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983), p. 2. A 1906 study using the 1900 U.S. Census showed Georgia having 596,319 Baptists, 349,079 Methodists, 24,040 Presbyterians, 19,273 Roman Catholics, 13,749 Christians (Disciples), and 9,790 Protestant Episcopalians, plus "all others." At this time Georgia had most of the Christian denominations represented in her bounds. The total church membership was 1,029,037 people out of 2,216,331 Georgians.

have been consulted.¹⁸ Student scrapbooks, letters, diaries, school newspapers and literary publications, student handbooks, annuals, photographs, programs, ledger books for tuition payments, and church preference records were also used. Interviews with a sampling of the living alumnae of the classes from 1900 through 1920 make up a vital resource for this study. Whenever possible, the graduates' career choices were noted and charted.

Because the southern women's colleges were poor in endowments, many applied to the great northern philanthropists' foundations for much needed funding. Applications

¹⁸The Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian communions split over theological and slavery issues before and during the Civil War. The southern Baptists separated from their northern Baptist brothers after 1843. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South (M.E. Church, South) existed from 1846 to 1939. The Presbyterian Church in the United States (P.C.U.S.) existed from 1865 to 1983. White Georgia Baptists will be referred to as Southern Baptists unless otherwise noted. Negro members will be referred to as Negro Baptists, as they were in a variety of separate communions. Northern white Baptist men will be referred to as members of the American Baptist Home Mission Society or ABHMS, and Northern white Baptist females, as members of the Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society or WABHMS. In this study, the Southern Methodist Church means the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Southern Presbyterian Church means the Presbyterian Church, U.S. Negro Methodist Churches will be noted as such. Some blacks joined Negro Presbyterian congregations, but many of the elite, educated Negroes in the Atlanta area were members of the Congregational Church, which was instrumental in founding Atlanta University. Clarence Bacote, History of Atlanta University: A Century of Service, 1865-1965 (Atlanta University Press, 1969). See also Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), pp. 1251-1253.

and correspondence with the Rockefeller Foundation have been a major source of data on the four Georgia women's colleges. During the Progressive Period, the schools were being pushed toward standardization and accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (SACSS) and their respective denominational educational boards. Records of the church and regional accrediting agencies and especially the findings of the Southern Association of College Women (SACW) were very informative also.

Although the Protestant church afforded a seemingly safe, controlled context for women's college education in the South, its Christian creed, curriculum, and ethic helped revolutionize the attitudes of its college educated women toward their feminine roles in society and many major social issues. Christian women who were college graduates led Georgia toward many of the progressive reforms which ultimately made it part of a truly New South.

Early in the nineteenth century, male champions of higher education for women in Georgia, influenced in many instances by Ezra Willard's writings, were from the congregations and schools of the Presbyterians. Landon Greene

¹Joan Elizabeth Barbour, "College Education for Women in Georgia Before the Civil War" (Honors Paper in History, Emory College, 1972), pp. 23, 90 in Special Collections, Woodruff Library, Emory University. See also Green, pp. 199-219.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUNDS AND BEGINNINGS:

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR GEORGIA WOMEN IN THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

Georgia's colleges were established haphazardly and sporadically to meet the perceived needs of local communities and churches. During the antebellum period, a ladies' seminary in a town was considered an "index of progress." Girls' schools brought business as well as culture to a community and almost always attracted a male academy. The churches seemed well-suited to organize schools in the predominantly rural communities of Georgia. Ministers in larger towns were usually the best-educated persons in the area and, since they normally had most of the weekdays off from their ministerial duties, they could double as educators.¹

Early in the nineteenth century, male champions of higher education for women in Georgia, influenced in many instances by Emma Willard's writings, rose from the congregations and schools of the Presbyterians. Duncan Greene

¹Joan Elizabeth Barbour, "College Education For Women in Georgia Before the Civil War" (Honors Paper in History, Emory College, 1972), pp. 23, 90 in Special Collections, Woodruff Library, Emory University. See also Green, pp. 199-219.

Campbell (1787-1828), a lawyer and educator in Wilkes County, Georgia, after 1807 served as principal and teacher of a very successful female seminary in Washington, Georgia. Principal Campbell read Emma Willard's treatise, A Plan for Improving Female Education, which had been submitted to the New York legislature and published in 1819. It stirred Campbell's imagination, and through his early political efforts it produced lasting benefits for Georgia's young women. In November of 1825, while serving as Speaker pro tempore of the State Senate, Campbell introduced the first bill to support female education in Georgia. Although it passed the House with a large majority, it was unexpectedly defeated in the Senate. Nevertheless, it focused attention on the subject and made later gains possible.²

²Barbour, p. 17, and Elbert W.G. Boogher, Secondary Education in Georgia, 1732-1858 (Camden, NJ: I.F. Huntzinger Co., Inc., 1933): 212. See also Samuel Luttrell Akers, The First Hundred Years of Wesleyan College, 1836-1936 (Macon: Beehive Press, 1976), pp. 4-6 (The female education bill of 1825 is printed on page 5); Dictionary of Georgia Biography, 1983 ed., s.v. "Campbell, Duncan Green," by Robert M. Willingham, Jr., hereafter cited as DGB; Willystine Goodsell, ed., Pioneers of Women's Education in the United States: Emma Willard, Catherine Beecher, Mary Lyon (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1970), pp. 45-81; John C. Butler, Historical Record of Macon and Central Georgia.... (Macon: J.W. Burke & Co., 1879), pp. 115-121; and D. Orr, p. 389, who spells Greene with an "e" at the end. George White, Statistics of the State of Georgia . . . (Savannah: W. T. Williams, 1849) and Historical Collections of Georgia (New York: Pudney and Russell, 1854) which includes pictures of Wesleyan and other female colleges; and Otis Ashmore, "Wilkes County, Its Place in Georgia History" Georgia Historical Quarterly 1 (1917): 66.

In May 1834, after commencement at Franklin College of the University of Georgia, Duncan Campbell's son-in-law, Daniel Chandler, a Presbyterian elder, made an inspiring address before the influential Demosthenian and Phi Kappa Societies, espousing state-supported higher education for Georgia women. Chandler eloquently and passionately advocated creating educational opportunities for women equal to those available for men at the University of Georgia. The audience was so moved that five thousand copies of the speech were ordered printed and disseminated.³

In 1836, Alexander Hamilton Stephens, then a freshman legislator, helped shepherd Congressman Benjamin Rutherford's education bill through the political process. It became law on December 23, 1836, and Georgia Female College was chartered to confer degrees upon women. The panic of 1837 prevented legislative appropriation of funds to implement the law.⁴

³Akers, p. 6; Butler, p. 121; and D. Orr, p. 150, who cites the Georgia Journal October 29, 1834 entry which describes the liberal legislation for the Georgia Female College which was originally designed to develop teachers. See also Daniel Chandler, An Address on Female Education, Delivered Before the Demosthenian & Phi Kappa Societies, on the Day After Commencement, in the University of Georgia. (Washington, GA: William A. Mercer, 1935). The Female Education Act of 1836 is printed in Akers on pages 14-16.

⁴DGB (1983), s.v. "Stephens, Alexander Hamilton" by James Z. Rabun. See also D. Orr, p. 151, Louis Pendleton, Alexander H. Stephens (Philadelphia: Georgia W. Jacobs & Company, 1908), pp. 23-25, 35-38, and Green, p. 214. Dr. James Z. Rabun, retired professor of history at Emory

While the State hesitated to endow a new female college, Macon and the Methodists, under the leadership of the local Methodist pastor, the Reverend Elijah Sinclair, raised money and produced a suitable site. Sinclair won the approval of the Methodist Conference to raise funds. He and the Reverend Lovick Pierce raised twenty thousand dollars in subscriptions. An additional patron of the new school was the Ocmulgee Bank. The bank's charter was granted on condition that the female college also be chartered. The bank later subscribed twenty-five thousand dollars to insure that the college would be located in Macon, thereby enhancing business in the enterprising ten-year-old town. The citizens of Macon also subscribed nine thousand dollars in money and offered a lot on Encampment Hill as a site for the college. With these funds and new buildings, the Georgia Female College was able to open on January 9, 1839, with ninety students registered. By the end of the term in July 1839, there were 168 students enrolled, but only 115 were in the college. Fifty-three were in a preparatory department.⁵

University, said that Alexander Stephens had no real power in the legislature at the time the Georgia Female College was chartered. However, in the 1850's when women's education was popular and expanding, he liked to think of himself as a champion for the ladies and claimed influence in passing the original bill. Conversation, May 4, 1985.

⁵Butler, p. 121; D. Orr, pp. 150-152; DGB (1983) s.v. "Pierce, Lovick" by James W. May, and George F. Pierce, "The Georgia Female College -- Its Origin, Plan, and Prospects," Wesleyan Quarterly Review (May 1964), pp. 93-108.

Not everyone supported Georgia's revolutionary venture in educating women at a higher level. One wealthy man told Lovick Pierce, "No, I will not give a dollar; all a woman needs to know is how to read the New Testament, and to spin and weave clothing for her family." Another said, "I will not give you a cent for any such object. I would not have one of your graduates for a wife, for I could never even build a pig-pen without her criticizing it and saying it was not put up on mathematical principles." Many legislators were simply amused by the new institution. But by the 1850s, Georgians were astounded at the popularity and success of the women's education movement.⁶

Was this institution the first woman's college? Controversy centers around the criteria of a bona fide "college." Many schools for the higher education of women were only secondary schools by today's standards. Often they were described as "finishing schools." In these private, locally-sponsored seminaries, female academies, or institutes (usually run by a minister or a pious matron), young

See also Southern Ladies Book, I, No. 2 (February 1840), p. 66 and Frances Rees, "A History of Wesleyan Female College from 1836 to 1874" (M.A. thesis Emory Univ. 1935), pp. 11-12.

⁶Rees, pp. 11-12, citing Georgia Conference Minutes, 1837, p. 7 and Wesleyan Female College Catalogue, 1881-1881, p. 38. See A. H. Stephen's speech quoted in D. Orr, p. 152 and Akers, p. 12, who quotes the critics of women's education.

white women became "accomplished" in ornamental, lady-like skills, such as piano, voice, painting, or embroidery, and took enough rhetoric, spelling, penmanship, and foreign languages to make them good correspondents and conversationalists. Molding the girls into sterling Christian characters and training them to adorn the parlors of their homes and to be fit companions for their husbands and moral teachers for their children were the first priorities.⁷

Macon's institution aspired to a more sophisticated level of learning than the usual southern seminary. The new female college's curriculum was patterned after those of Randolph-Macon in Virginia, established in 1830, and Emory College at Oxford, Georgia, established in 1836, both Methodist colleges for men. In 1840 the Georgia Female College awarded eleven baccalaureate degrees, the first ever given by an institution chartered to confer academic degrees upon women. Two years later the institution came under the direct control of the Methodist Conference, and its name was changed to Wesleyan Female College.⁸

⁷Barbour, p. 90. See also Elaine Kendall, "Founders Five," American Heritage xxvi, 2 (February 1975): 33-48, and Anne Firor Scott, The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics 1830-1930 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 4-21.

⁸Akers, p. 25; K. Orr, pp. 143-144. For short biographies of the first graduates see Akers, pp. 36-89. Catherine Elizabeth Brewer (Benson) (1822-1908) got the first sheepskin because of the alphabetical listing, followed by Sarah V. Clapton (Pierce), Elizabeth Flournoy

The original faculty included four men with A.M. degrees, three of them clergymen. They were assisted by teachers in the Fine Arts Department and Domestic Economy division who had no advanced degrees. The science professor, Thomas B. Slade, had visited Emma Willard's school in New York and purchased some beautifully made "philosophical apparatus" there. He brought this laboratory equipment and the Emma Willard model to Macon with him from Clinton Female Collegiate Seminary in Jones County, along with thirty Clinton students.⁹

(Branham), Ann Elizabeth Hardeman (Griswold), Julia Mounger Heard (Elder), Martha Heard (Beal), Sarah M. Holt (Ward), Matilda J. Moore (Breazeal), Harriet Matilda Ross (Colquit) (Boring), Mary L. Ross (Grimes), and Margaret A. Speer (Stovall). See also Georgia Messenger and the Macon Telegraph, May-June 1840 and chart of Methodist colleges in Robert Glenn Massingale, "Collegiate Education in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1902-1939" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1950): 666 and Walter Crosby Eells, Degrees in Higher Education (New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1963) on pp. 89-90, gives a short, clear definition of Wesleyan's first baccalaureate degrees for eleven women in 1840 and Oberlin's Bachelor of Arts degrees granted to three women in 1841.

⁹Akers, p. 26-28 and DGB (1983), s.v. "Pierce, George Foster," by James W. May, and s.v. "Slade, Thomas Bog," by G. David Anderson. The popular and capable young president of Wesleyan was the Reverend George Foster Pierce (1811-1884), an honor graduate of Franklin College at the University of Georgia and an ordained Methodist minister, who taught Moral and Mental Philosophy, Logic and Belles Letters [sic], and Evidences of Christianity. Another Methodist minister, the Reverend William Holmes Ellison, also an able writer and speaker, was professor of Mathematics and Astronomy. Thomas Bog Slade (1800-1882), who was an honor graduate of the University of North Carolina in 1820 as well as a Baptist minister, was invited to become professor of

The original curriculum included the Latin and Greek which qualified the course offerings as "higher education," but ancient languages were not required courses and cost an extra fee of five dollars per quarter. French, less venerable and somewhat down the scale in difficulty from the ancient languages, was required for the young ladies.¹⁰

Natural Science and Botany. Adolphus Maussanet [Maussinett], "a man of sterling merit, but a man of few words," taught the very necessary elements for a proper classical curriculum: Latin and Greek and Modern Languages. Professor John H. Uink and Martha J. Massey taught music. She was the drawing and painting instructor as well. Maria T. Lord assisted her. Mrs. Kingman, who directed the college's department of Domestic Economy, was also a mantua maker and milliner in town. B. B. Hopkins was principal of the Primary School, which was a "feeder," "preparatory," or "fitting" school for the senior college. Akers, pp. 29-30, 50-51. In 1839, Slade established the Kirch Laboratory at Georgia Female College. Pictures of his electric generator and the electric conductor are in Akers between pages 42 and 43. He served as academic dean and science professor for only a year and a half but "the Slade influence" on science continued at Wesleyan. In 1844 he moved to Columbus, Georgia, and established a female institute, Sladeville Hall. DGB (1983), s.v. "Slade, Thomas Bog," by G. David Anderson.

The six-acre plot Slade acquired in the front of the college campus for a botanical garden remains today as a city park in Macon. Akers, pp. 29-30. See also biographical sketch in D. Orr, pp. 418-14 and Woody, p. 17, citing Southern Christian Advocate, April 3, 1840, p. 166. For some of the lecture notes from the 1840s at Wesleyan Female College see the Winship/Flournoy Papers at the Atlanta Historical Society. See also Catalogue of the Officers and Pupils in the Georgia Female College, with the Statutes of the College, and the By-Laws of the Faculty (Macon: S. Rose & Co., 1839), p. 4.

¹⁰Akers, pp. 24-25. See also Clarence Moore Dannelly, "The Development of Collegiate Education in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1846-1902" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1933): 78-79 for a discussion of Wesleyan's qualifications as a college and Akers, p. 53. Latin was not a required subject until 1853.

Thus the curriculum offerings were similar to those of men's colleges, but the graduation requirements were not. The course of instruction emphasized English, French, and science (geography, geography of the heavens, chemistry, astronomy, and especially botany) because of the qualifications of its faculty in those areas.

By the 1850's opportunities for women's higher education in Georgia had become widespread. Colleges and collegiate institutes were popping up all over the state (perhaps reflecting growing southern nationalism), too many and too fast to insure the financial support necessary to keep high quality schools solvent. A few private colleges were founded, mainly by the Masons and by husband and wife teams, but most of the institutions of higher learning for women were established by Protestant churches.¹¹ By 1860, the Methodists had established at least six additional women's colleges in Georgia, but only Wesleyan, La Grange College (1833), and Andrews College (1854) survived the Civil War.¹² (See Appendix I.)

¹¹D. Orr, pp. 151-152. See Appendix I of this dissertation and the chart of Georgia Female Colleges incorporated before the Civil War in Barbour, pp. 21-22.

¹²See Barbour, pp. 21-22; Massengale's listing on pages 666-667, and Dannelly list in Table III, pp. 376-393, which omits Young's Female College established in 1860.

1. LaGrange Female College, related to Methodists (1846).
2. Wesleyan Female College (1843).
3. Madison Female College (1850).

Wesleyan was able to weather the depressed economy because of generous bequests from philanthropist, George I. Seney of Brooklyn, New York, son of a Methodist minister and an acquaintance of Wesleyan trustee Atticus Green Haygood. On April 1, 1881, Seney gave Wesleyan fifty thousand dollars, a substantial donation which ensured the college's survival and expansion. Seney saw this and similar gifts to other colleges as his part in healing the wounds of war. His continued munificence, amounting to a total of one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars in gifts to Wesleyan, made possible the renovation of the college building,

(See Appendix I.)

4. Georgia Methodist Female College, Covington, Georgia (1882), under the Masons from 1852 to 1882.

5. Cassville Female College (1854).

6. Andrew College, Cuthbert, Georgia (1854).

Dannelly does not include the Griffin Collegiate Seminary For Young Ladies or Griffin Female College projected in 1852 when the Presbyterians opened a school there, which is on Barbour's list.

See also Mrs. Isabella Margaret Elizabeth (John) Blandin, History of Higher Education of Women in the South Prior to 1860 (New York: Neale Publishing Co., n.d. [1909]; reprint ed., Washington, D.C.: Zenger Publishing Co., 1975): 147-148; Inez Cumming, "Madison: Middle Georgia Minerva" Georgia Review 5 (Spring 1951): 129; The Griffin school was mentioned in Lewis H. Beck, "Griffin: Early Cultural and Military Center of Georgia," Georgia Review 4 (Winter 1950): 331-339. The Cassville college and Young's Female college are listed by Barbour on pages 21 and 22. See also D. Orr, p. 154. The Thomasville college was named for Major E.R. Young. See Department of Agriculture, O.B. Stevens, R.F. Wright, Commissioners, Georgia: Historical and Industrial (Atlanta: The Franklin Printing and Publishing Co., 1901), p. 385. Young's college became a private, Presbyterian-related school by 1900.

See also Works Progress Administration, Boxes 1-6, Georgia Records Survey, Georgia Educational Institutions Ms. 1063 in the Georgia Collection in the Special Collections

the purchase of books and equipment, and the endowment of two academic chairs, the George I. Seney Chair of Philosophy and the Lovick Pierce Chair of Mathematics and Astronomy.¹³

The Methodists' major competitors for patrons were Baptists, who established five women's colleges in Georgia before 1861. In the 1840's the Baptists vied with the Methodists for patrons in LaGrange by establishing the Southern Female College. The same situation occurred in Madison. The Baptists' most lasting prewar institution was Monroe Female Collegiate Institute in Forsyth, which after the turn of the century was renamed Bessie Tift College.¹⁴ (See Appendix I.)

Division, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Georgia. Hereafter cited as WPA, UGa.

¹³Akers, pp. 108-111. In 1943 benefactor's Day was changed from April 1st to October 15th and discontinued in 1963.

¹⁴D. Orr, p. 154 and Blandin, p. 141. See also Barbour list, pp. 21-22.

1. La Grange Collegiate Seminary for Young Ladies (1850)
2. Madison Collegiate Institute (1850)
3. Baptist Female College of South-Western Georgia in Albany (1851)
4. Woodland Female College, Cedar Town (1856)
5. Rome Female College (1857) with the Presbyterians.

In 1857, I.F. Cox became president of Southern and Western Female College. During the Civil War, he taught some college classes in the Baptist Church building in LaGrange. From 1855 to 1864 the Western Baptist Association owned a one half interest in the college. In 1895 it became Cox College and moved to College Park, Georgia.

D. Orr, p. 154. See also Cumming, p. 129, and Robert Gardner, The Rome Baptist Church, 1835-1865 (Rome, Ga: First Baptist Church, 1975): 45, and Boogher, p. 272.

Baptists were strongly associated with community efforts to establish Cherokee Female Institute in Rome in the 1850's. Alfred Shorter and Augustus R. Wright, both members of the Rome Baptist Church, were trustees. Classes began by 1853. When the Rome Female College opened in 1857 under Presbyterian auspices, the Cherokee Institute (Baptist) was discontinued. Although the Rome Female College was never under Baptist control, it had enthusiastic Baptist support. Here, for a time at least, two denominations cooperated instead of competing. The Rome Female College survived the Civil War only by refugeeing to North Carolina, leaving Rome again without a college.¹⁵

In 1872 Luther G. Gwaltney, pastor of Rome's First Baptist Church, urged his congregation to establish a new college for the "daughters of the Cherokee country." The following year a group of interested members met in the basement of the church. Gwaltney, as pastor, and Colonel

Two Georgia Baptist female colleges closed before the Civil War: Woodland Female College in Cedartown in Polk County (1851-1859) and Southwestern Female College (1853-1860) in Randolph County.

In 1907 Mrs. Bessie Willingham Tift contributed over \$100,000 to Forsyth (or Monroe) Female College, a Baptist institution since 1849, and the school was renamed Bessie Tift College in her honor.

¹⁵Gardner, Church (1835-1865), p. 45 and Hill, p. 14. Briefly in 1857 a female school was probably run at the Rome Baptist Church by the pastor, Shaler G. Hillyer during his thirty-three month pastorate. See also Ethel Wilkerson, Rome's Remarkable History (Rome, Ga.: Privately Printed, 1966): 6-16 and Box 3 WPA, UGA.

Alfred Shorter and his wife Martha, as lay members of the First Baptist Church, became the co-founders of Cherokee Baptist Female College. Colonel Shorter was named chairman of the predominantly Baptist Board of Trustees. From 1873 to 1877 the school operated in a converted brick residence and outbuildings located on the crest of Shelton Hill, high above the town. When Alfred Shorter gave the struggling college twenty thousand dollars for improvements, the Trustees had the existing buildings razed and built a new college edifice on the same site. All told, Shorter gave about two hundred thousand dollars to the college, a 'princely' sum in those days, and in 1879 it was renamed for his wife. Even though Shorter applied to come under the Georgia Baptist Convention, it was only loosely associated with the Convention and "commended" to Baptists until 1902, when it became officially a Baptist school.¹⁶

The Presbyterians, although few in number, were powerful and influential in the movement for higher education for women in Georgia. However, they established only three

¹⁶Wilkerson, p. 17, D. Orr, p. 360, and Gardner, Church (1865-1913), p. 137 and Hill, pp. 15, 23-25, 31. The Baptists founded Georgia Baptist Seminary in Gainesville in 1878 which became Brenau College. The school was under the "commendation and control" of the Baptist Convention for many years, but later was privately owned. In 1928 Mrs. Aurora Strong Hunt gave Brenau \$400,000 for endowment which insured its future. Baptist colleges are fully discussed in B.D. Ragsdale, The Story of Georgia Baptists (Atlanta: Executive Committee of the Georgia Baptist Convention, Foote S. Davies Co., 1932).

antebellum women's colleges, none of which long survived the Civil War.¹⁷ The first Presbyterian college was established and conducted at Rome, Georgia, from 1857 to 1863 by the Reverend John McKnitt M. Caldwell (1812-1893), a North Carolinian from a long line of Presbyterian ministers. His wife, Caroline Livy Caldwell (1820?-1886), had been a student under Emma Willard at Troy Female Seminary in New York from 1837 to 1841. In 1845, shortly after her arrival in Rome, she began the Cherokee Female Academy, a "feeder" day school for the Cherokee Female Institute and later for the Rome Female College, led by her husband. In 1857 when the Rome Female College opened under the sponsorship of the Presbyterian Synod of Georgia, it was patronized and supported by the Baptists of the community as well as the Presbyterians. Financial strain, however, and the precarious situation on the eve of the Civil War caused the Synod to withdraw the "aegis of its protection and support."¹⁸ In 1863 the Female College left Rome for the

¹⁷ Stacy, pp. 158-176, Wilkerson, pp. 7-16, and Box 3 WPA, UGA.

¹⁸ WPA, UGA. From 1853 to 1857 Colonel Simpson Fouché built and organized Cherokee Female Institute, a privately owned boarding school on a "beautiful site" on Eighth Street overlooking Rome. Stacy, p. 164-166; 167-171; Dr. Tenny's typescript on Presbyterian colleges in Georgia is at the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Montreat, N.C., p. 3, and the memorial to the Reverend John McKnitt M. Caldwell in the minutes of the Synod of Georgia, 1893, pp. 16-19. He was educated at Franklin College but did not finish a degree. He graduated

remainder of the Civil War and transferred the entire faculty and many of the scholars to Concord Female College, a Presbyterian school in Statesville, North Carolina. In 1868, it moved to Edgeworth Female Seminary in Greensboro, North Carolina, where it remained until the summer of 1871. It came back home to Rome at the end of Georgia's Reconstruction period and flourished briefly, but suffered severe financial reverses in the 1880's. The last class was graduated in May 1890. After the closing of the Rome Female College, the citizens united to patronize Shorter, the town's one and only woman's college, by then securely established.¹⁹

The Presbyterians established two other women's colleges in the 1850s: Greensboro Female College and Griffin

from Union Theological Seminary in Virginia in 1835. In June of 1844 he married Caroline Elizabeth Livy (or Libbey) from New Hampshire. The following year, on their way from Kentucky to a pastorate in Selma, Alabama, he became ill in Rome and stayed there over forty-five years.

See also Ann Firor Scott, "The Ever Widening Circle" in Making the Invisible Woman Visible, p. 73.

¹⁹Minutes of the Synod of Georgia, pp. 16-19. Presbyterian-raised Ellen Lou Axson, later Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, and Baptist-bred Martha Harper (Hamilton), adopted daughter of the Shorters, both graduated from Rome Female College. Several thousand young women from the Southeastern states attended the college from 1857 to 1890. See also Wilkerson, pp. 7-16.

Synodical Female College.²⁰ The Griffin Synodical Female College, also called Griffin Collegiate Seminary, was chartered in 1852 in Flint River Presbytery. It was used as a hospital during the war and afterwards turned over to the city of Griffin as a city school. Oversubscription of scholarships and mismanagement of finances were the fatal pitfalls of both of these Presbyterian schools. Many denominational colleges went bankrupt from giving free tuition to the indigent and daughters of clergymen and reducing fees for more than one student from a family.²¹

While the Presbyterian Rome Female College was fading out, some Georgia Presbyterians lobbied vigorously for a strong woman's college led and directed by the denomination, to be located close, but not too close, to Atlanta, the state's growing capital and business center. The Reverend Frank Henry Gaines (1852-1923), minister of Decatur's First Presbyterian Church, wanted to establish a true college for

²⁰The Greensboro school, established under Hopewell Presbytery in 1850, prospered until the War under the leadership of the Reverend Robert Logan.

²¹Stacy, pp. 160-161; 158-164; and 170-171. Dr. Tenney's typescript, p. 3. For an engraving of the Greensboro Female College, see frontspiece in The Home, the School and the Church of the Presbyterian Education Repository, C. Van Rensselaer, ed., vol. ix (Philadelphia: C. Sherman & Son, 1859).

For biographical material on some of the Presbyterian leaders of the Greensboro college, see "Who's Who" in Robert Manson Myers, ed., The Children of Pride: A True Story of the Civil War (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972). See also Beck, pp. 331-339.

women in Decatur, only six miles from Atlanta. Colonel George Washington Scott, a wealthy elder in Gaines' congregation who made a fortune in the fertilizer business, wanted to "glorify God" by underwriting the project. In 1889, Scott offered enough money to get the Decatur Female Institute started. Because of his generous bequests, the institute was named Agnes Scott for his mother. Although the institution was never officially under the control of the Presbyterian Synod of Georgia, down to 1920 Agnes Scott's president and its Board of Trustees were required to be members of that denomination. This school, the Presbyterians' singular success, became a model for other denominational colleges in the South.²²

The Civil War severely disrupted southern education and caused many of the antebellum schools to close. The seminary for young ladies, the prewar educational model for women, was no longer valid in the postwar South. Several of the northeastern Seven Sister colleges were founded during this period, offering new educational models for women's higher education. During the 1870's and 1880's a few more

²²McNair, pp. 1-7, 9-10, 15-19, and Stacy, pp. 158-176. See also Dr. Tenny's notes and the files on the Presbyterian Commission on Higher Education at the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches in Montreat, N.C. Young['s] Female College in Thomasville was chartered in 1860 but did not begin operation until 1868. A highly successful school under Professor John Baker, it was put under the care and management of Macon Presbytery in 1903 when he died. Stacy, p. 179.

female colleges for white women came into existence, and the first black educational institutions were established in Georgia. Negro women had access to most of the new black schools through their normal or teacher-training departments. In 1900 Spelman Seminary was the only school with instruction exclusively for black women in Georgia or the South.²³

By the end of the nineteenth century, Atlanta had become a center for Georgia and indeed for the South for black education. Six of the seven private Negro colleges in Georgia were located in Atlanta, more than in any other city in the world at that time. The institutions were well supported by Northern philanthropy and church home mission societies.²⁴

²³Stringer, pp. 150-151. In 1873 Bennett College was founded as a co-educational school by the Methodist Episcopal Church in Greensboro, North Carolina and was reorganized as a women's college in 1926. See also Beverly Guy-Sheftall, "Black Women and Higher Education: Spelman and Bennett College Revisited," Journal of Negro Education 51: (Summer 1982): 279. Professor Sheftall's article also mentioned two Negro women's colleges, Barber Scotia in North Carolina and Houston-Tillotson in Texas, both of which also started out as co-educational colleges in the nineteenth century. See also Vincent P. Franklin and James D. Anderson, eds., New Perspective on Black Educational History (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 19), especially June O. Patton, "The Black Community of Augusta and the Struggle for Ware High School": 45-59.

²⁴E. Merton Coulter, A Short History of Georgia (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1933), p. 405. See also Beverly Guy-Sheftall, Finding a Way: The Black Family's Struggle For An Education At the Atlanta

Although the earliest Negro colleges were predominantly male, they did contain female departments. Atlanta University, founded by the Freedmen's Bureau in 1869 and supported by the American Missionary Society and the Congregationalist Church, was initially a preparatory school with a normal department to train teachers. The college had a non-discriminatory admissions policy and admitted men and women regardless of color or sex. In 1872 a collegiate department was added, as well as practice teaching and courses in educational theory. Although the students at Atlanta University represented sixty-four Georgia counties and eight other states, all the teachers were Northerners, many of them members of the Congregationalist Church, which intensified the church and out-of-state influence on the University. Most of the women students at Atlanta University were in the normal department, a two-year professional course for teachers, with three years of college preparatory courses as a prerequisite.²⁵

University Center (Atlanta: African-American Family History Association, 1983).

In 1900 Governor A.D. Candler admitted that the black colleges in Georgia were richer than all the colleges and universities of white Georgians.

²⁵Coulter, pp. 404-405 and D. Orr, pp. 363. See also Charles Edgeworth Jones, Education in Georgia, Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, No. 4, 1888 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1889), pp. 147-148, and Clarence Bacote, History of Atlanta University: a Century of Service, 1865-1965 (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1969).

The northern Methodists entered the Negro educational venture in Atlanta with Clark University. Founded in 1870 by the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Northern Methodist Church and Bishops D. W. Clark and Gilbert Haven, Clark had a primary department and a coeducational normal school to train teachers. Unique at the time, Clark opened the first home economics department. The Thayer Home at Clark University was designed to teach young women the basics of house-keeping and homemaking and served as a boarding department for Clark University "coeds." Coeducational Morris Brown College, established in 1885 through the efforts of Southern Negroes and supported by the African Methodist Episcopal

Up to 1889 New Englanders furnished two-thirds of the money for Atlanta University. R. R. Graves of New York founded and endowed the library. Other contributors were the John F. Slater Fund which contributed \$1,400 yearly. Tuthill King of Chicago and J.H. Cassedy and William E. Dodge of New York gave scholarships of \$5,000. Some money came from the Plainfield and Garfield funds. Several benefactresses were involved: Mrs. Valeria Stone of Massachusetts, who gave Stone Hall and a \$50,000 contribution, and Mrs. L. J. Knowles of Massachusetts, who gave the Knowles Industrial Building.

Because of their open admissions policy, in 1887 the state withheld the annual appropriation of \$8,000 for Atlanta University until a plan could be devised to spend the state money on the "colored race" exclusively in a non-mixed school. In 1891 the unused funds were applied to the endowment of the Georgia State Industrial college for Colored Youths, located southeast of Savannah, near Thunderbolt.

By 1916 the sixty-acre campus within the Atlanta city limits had buildings and facilities valued at \$158,450.

Lucy Laney (1854-1933), outstanding Negro woman educator, was in the first graduating class of 1872 at Atlanta University. DGB (1983), s.v. "Laney, Lucy Croft," by Eva Adams.

Church, also offered college-preparatory and normal courses, since most of the female students were studying to become teachers.²⁶

Atlanta Baptist College for Men was formed in Augusta as "The Augusta Institute" in 1867 by the American Baptist Home Mission Society in New York (ABHMS). In 1879 the institute moved to Atlanta and became "Atlanta Baptist Seminary." In 1897 the name was changed to Atlanta Baptist

²⁶D. Orr, pp. 365-366, and C.E. Jones, p. 151. See also Thomas Jesse Jones, *Negro Education*. "A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States." Prepared in co-operation with the Phelps-Stokes Fund. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin 1916, No. 39, vol. 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917), p. 217-20. In 1872 the school moved from the corner of Whitehall and McDaniel Streets to a four hundred-acre campus on Atlanta's south side. Mrs. Augusta Clark Cole, Bishop Clark's daughter, made a large bequest to the university after the Bishop's death and thereafter the school was called Clark University.

Clark University's campus was near Gammon Theological Seminary, which was established in 1883 through the efforts of Bishop Henry White Warren and northern Methodists to train Methodist ministers. Philanthropist Elijah H. Gammon of Batavia, Illinois gave over a million dollars to the seminary and \$25,000 to Clark's Bible department. Gammon established a well-endowed theological seminary, with a strong faculty, adequate buildings, an excellent curriculum, and a valuable library with archival holdings from Africa. In 1894 the Reverend William Fletcher Stewart established the Stewart Missionary Foundation for Africa to interest Negro churches and schools in African missions. Although Gammon Theological Seminary did not admit women, it did influence women's education in Atlanta. Having the Missionary Foundation at the seminary may help explain Spelman's early activity in African missions and exchange student programs with Africa.

From 1887 to 1890 Morris Brown received funds from the state when the legislature cut off the appropriations for Atlanta University because the school admitted whites. Coulter, p. 405, and D. Orr, pp. 364, 367, 368, 374.

College. In 1913 the college was renamed Morehouse to honor Dr. Henry L. Morehouse, the corresponding secretary of the ABHMS. Atlanta Baptist allowed Negro women to attend its college level classes through a coordinate campus or "annex" arrangement with nearby Spelman Seminary, also supported by ABHMS and its female auxiliary, the Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society (WABHMS).²⁷

The only private Negro college in Georgia located outside of Atlanta was Paine Institute, founded in 1883 by the Southern Methodist Church, and located on Broad Street in Augusta. A coeducational college from its beginning, it is one of the few private schools for blacks owned and taught by Southern white people and was the only institution for Negroes maintained by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.²⁸

The state established two institutions for Negro higher education. Georgia's only State Industrial College was located near Savannah at Thunderbolt. The state's inspiration seems to have been to get the agricultural "land grant" scrip from the federal government and to provide a "more

²⁷After 1906, when John Hope became the first black president of Atlanta Baptist College, the school rapidly became the leading Baptist college for Negroes in Georgia. D. Orr, pp. 366-367. See also Benjamin Griffith Brewley, History of Morehouse College (Atlanta: Morehouse College, 1917), p. 103ff.

²⁸D. Orr, pp. 372-373.

appropriate" education than the private schools offered. By the turn of the century the college offered courses in pedagogy, agriculture, and various trades. In 1915, it had an enrollment of 547; of this number 105 were women. In 1895 Fort Valley State College in Peach County was opened as a state-supported normal school which admitted Negro women. The school was established by the leading white and Negro citizens of Fort Valley. John W. Davison, a graduate of Atlanta University, led the effort. These Negro schools often depended on philanthropy as well as state funds.²⁹

In 1880 the Woman's American Home Mission Society (WABHMS) of New England commissioned Sophia B. Packard to survey the freedmen's condition in the post-Reconstruction South. She was joined by her friend and co-teacher Harriet E. Giles. Both were appalled at what they found and felt called of God to start a school for women to help "uplift" the Negro race. At first WABHMS felt that the idea was "overwhelming" and that the two women were too old for the task (Packard was fifty-seven and Giles, forty-eight), but the courageous pioneers prayed and persisted and raised support on their own from the First Baptist Church of

²⁹D. Orr, pp. 373-374, Stevens, p. 374. Anna T. Jeanes gave \$5,000 for the construction of a girls' dormitory, the first contribution of this generous Quaker woman from Pennsylvania for the education of Negroes in the South. Her gift was matched by \$5,000 from the General Education Board, John D. Rockefeller's foundation operating out of New York.

Medford, Massachusetts. Subsequently WABHMS assured them of the society's backing and blessing.³⁰

On April 2nd, 1881, these two schoolteachers met with the Reverend Frank Quarles, the most influential black Baptist in Georgia and pastor of Friendship Baptist Church in Atlanta, who had been praying for "the Lord to send Baptist teachers for our girls and women." He offered Packard and Giles the damp and dark basement of the church for the schoolroom. "Father Quarles" got a group of local black ministers together to solicit help and to spread the word by circulars and handbills about the opening of the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary. In 1882, when Packard and Giles went to Cleveland, Ohio, and visited Wilson Avenue (Baptist) Church, they met and converted John D. Rockefeller to the cause of black female education.³¹

Rockefeller's original gift in 1884 made it possible for the school to remain a separate institution for women and girls and to move out of the basement schoolroom into the "barracks," several Union Army surplus buildings located on a nine-acre lot in Atlanta's West Side. In gratitude, the Boards of both the ABHMS and the WABHMS voted to name

³⁰ Guy-Sheftall, Cent. p. 13. See also Read, pp. 42-49, which includes pictures and portraits of the founders.

³¹ Ibid. See Guy-Sheftall, Cent., p. 114, and footnote #6 on p. 118 for the genealogy of the Quarles' family at Spelman, and Read, pp. 13-27 for the Founders' educational background.

the University of Georgia campus in Athens admitted women to its summer institute for the first time.³³ In the last third of the nineteenth century, several normal schools and normal departments in Negro colleges sprang up for the Negro community in Atlanta, Augusta, Fort Valley, and Savannah, and two received some state support. Normal schools were desperately needed to train teachers for Georgia's predominantly black rural areas.³⁴ The level of the normal schools for blacks and whites varied, but most offered two or three year courses or a series of summer institutes which rather hurriedly, and in some instances halfheartedly,

for the white women so that they could better support white leadership for the State.³⁵ The white and black teachers, black and white, helped paralyze Georgia's governmental leaders to join forces with the North

³³D. Orr, pp. 349-350. See also E. Merton Coulter, pp. 402-403. The Rock College was later changed to the Georgia State Teachers College and in 1933 was made the Department of Education of the University of Georgia. Georgia Normal and Industrial College (GNIC) became a four year college and awarded the A.B. degree in 1917.

³⁴D. Orr, pp. 361-378. Negro colleges which admitted Negro women in their teacher training departments were: Atlanta University, Clark University, and Morris Brown College. Morehouse College for Men had an "annex" arrangement with Spelman Seminary which allowed the women to take college preparatory courses on the Morehouse campus. In 1929 all these colleges associated and became the Atlanta University Center for Negroes, similar to centers functioning in Nashville, New Orleans, and the Durham area. In Augusta, Paine College admitted women. Two state colleges for Negroes were Georgia State Industrial College near Savannah, established 1890, and Fort Valley High and Industrial School, established in 1895, which became Fort Valley State College.

readied teachers to go into the field of education, where the "harvest was ripe and the laborers few."³⁵

By the turn of the century, state leaders were being pressured to provide more funds for the higher education of white women. Philanthropic individuals from both the North and South had encouraged women's education in Georgia with grants of money. White women pointed out the irony that Negro women were being given more opportunities for higher education in Georgia at a lower cost than whites because of grants by the Northern "money moguls." White women urged the "chivalrous" state legislature to provide higher education for the white women so that they could intelligently support white leadership for the State.³⁶ The need for teachers, black and white, helped persuade Georgia's governmental leaders to join forces with philanthropists in the North and the South, but it was mainly through church and private philanthropy that the four schools discussed here were able to influence the nature of female education in Georgia.

³⁵Amory Dwight Mays, Southern Women in the Recent Educational Movement in the South, eds. Dan T. Carter and Amy Friedlander (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892; reprint ed., Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978) discussed women's relationship to the revival of southern education in the 1880s and 1890s. It also suggested that aristocratic white women were the best teachers for Negro students.

³⁶Alice Lloyd, "Education for Southern Women," Proceedings of the Tenth Conference for Education in the South (Pinehurst, N.C.: Executive Committee of the Conference for

Conclusion

The private white women's colleges established by 1900 in Georgia, like those founded before the Civil War, were church-related schools, segregated by sex and race. They struggled to provide both secondary and "higher" education on the same campuses. Even in the late nineteenth century the attached academies were reminiscent of the antebellum seminaries or "finishing schools" for "young ladies" which had dotted the map around Georgia's larger towns before the Civil War. Most of these women's "colleges" floundered or flourished financially according to the economy. In order to survive during the nationwide depression of the 1880's and early 1890's, a college needed a wealthy benefactor such as Shorter, Wesleyan, and Agnes Scott had, or a prospering alumnae group and supportive town, as in the cases of Wesleyan and Shorter.³⁷

Education in the South, 1907), pp. 224-225. See also Friedlander; in Goodenow and White, p. 79. Mary Kay Benedict, "The Higher Education of Women in the Southern States," ed. S.C. Mitchell, vol. 10: The South and the Building of the Nation (Richmond: Southern Historical Publication Society, 1909): 258-271; and J. Morgan Kousser, "Separate But NOT Equal: The Supreme Court's First Decision on Racial Discrimination in Schools," Journal of Southern History 46 (February 1980): 17-44.

³⁷ See Chart, Appendix I, for a listing of the Georgia female colleges and colleges admitting females in existence in 1900. See Massingale, Table XVI, p. 666ff. Stevens, p. 373 (Wesleyan photo), p. 381 (Shorter photo), p. 382 (Agnes Scott photo). For general female educational trends see Patricia A. Stringer and Irene Thompson, eds., Stepping Off the Pedestal: Academic Women in the South (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1982). It includes

Spelman was a private church-related Negro seminary, with a collegiate department attached. It was not strictly a female college, as its students attended classes at all-male Morehouse. Nevertheless, Spelman insistently maintained a separate female organization for the major part of its educational efforts and kept the young women protected and in their spheres at Morehouse, very much as co-educational Oberlin did before the Civil War.³⁸ Spelman, like its white counterparts in this study, had the necessary requirements to survive in the 1880's and 1890's in Georgia: philanthropic backers and a loyal and enthusiastic alumnae. However, it lacked the local citizen support accorded to the white colleges.

By the turn of the century, Georgia white women, for a nominal amount of money, could attend two state normal schools and about a dozen private institutions scattered through the state, each claiming to provide higher education at the college level. Black women had one female seminary but also might attend six male colleges on a coeducational basis and one under an "annex" arrangement. Urban Atlanta's closely-clustered opportunities for Negro education made

a valuable essay by Virginia Shadron, Eleanor Hinton Hoytt, Margaret Parsons, Barbara B. Reitt, Beverly Guy-Sheftall, Jacqueline Zalusky, and Darlene Roth entitled "The Historical Perspective: A Bibliographical Essay" on pages 145 through 168.

³⁸ Solomon, p. 21.

available to black women education of a higher quality than that available elsewhere in the state.³⁹ The four denominational colleges which are under investigation, Wesleyan, Shorter, and Agnes Scott for white women and Spelman for Negro women, had been established, but they could not achieve the status of true colleges and meet new accreditation standards without additional backing from philanthropists and the continued support of the local constituencies which, in the case of the white schools, had been their staunchest backers.

³⁹ See chart of Georgia colleges in Appendix I. See also William Newton and Georgia W. Penniman, eds., An Era of Progress and Promise, 1863-1910: The Religious, Moral and Educational Development of the American Negro Since His Emancipation (Boston: The Pricilla Publishing Co., 1910) which includes photographs, charts, and statistics about all the Negro church-affiliated colleges.

CHAPTER II

WOMEN'S COLLEGE TOWNS (1900):

TOWN AND GOWN IN MACON, ROME, DECATUR, AND ATLANTA

The setting for women's education was important. The college town or city provided patrons, the cultural arena, the financial support, and the boosterism needed for such an investment as higher education for Southern women. According to the values of the region still prevailing at the century's turn, woman's place was in the home. In her "true sphere" as wife and mother, or servant, she did not really need to go to college. If, however, a college was located nearby, some women got an opportunity to sample higher education. Because the town or city in which it was located provided most of the patrons and pupils for the school, the size of the community and the accessibility of the college to the town determined to a large extent its stability and its ultimate success. The institution's financial backing or endowment, sometimes substantially subscribed to by the townspeople, affected the quality of the college's educational offerings and its ability to maintain high standards.¹

¹Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University. A History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962): 307-328. See also Benedict, p. 259, 267-269 and Kenneth R. Johnson, "Urban Boosterism and Higher Education in the New South: A Case Study [Florence, Alabama], Alabama Historical Quarterly (Spring and Summer 1980): 40-58.

Not only the towns but the campus architecture of the woman's college influenced the development of female education. In the antebellum period many women's colleges were located in large houses or in clusters of "cottages" designed to simulate family life in a little town or village. Although a few colleges, like Spelman, retained elements of the cottage system, most women's colleges, after the opening of Vassar's Main Hall in 1865, opted for a single large protective building where all of the school's functions were carried on under constant supervision by the teachers. These secluded enclosures helped make rigorous discipline possible. The large single-sex college buildings protected the young women from men and the outside world; they also made possible the close bonding of many like-minded women who formed support groups which became a progressive force in their communities after their graduation.²

"Where shall I send you off to school?" a middle-class Georgia father might inquire of his bright fourteen or fifteen-year-old daughter around the turn of the century. "Will you send me to college, dear Papa, like my brother?" a dutiful and expectant young white lady might ask. With numerous opportunities available, a Georgia girl of moderate means might realistically hope to go to college. The teenaged Negro girl in Georgia who aspired to higher

²Horowitz, pp. 3-7.

learning would be rarer than a white one, but there were some whose families had been interested in getting an education even before the end of the Civil War. Some black families, taught in "contraband schools," had acquired a basic education and desired more after emancipation.³

Wesleyan Female College (1900)

For sixty years "Old Wesleyan" had reigned over Macon from a hilltop in a fashionable residential section of town. In 1900 its remodeled college buildings consisted of a series of connecting structures which formed an enormous rambling brick edifice, five stories high in the central

³Stevens, p. 895, 394. In 1900, out of a total state population of 2,216,331, there were 15,974 pupils enrolled in private high schools and colleges. There were 10,097 in those for whites and 4,877 in those for Negroes. In 1900 the average tuition was about \$225.00 for whites and \$70.00 per year for Negroes.

Josephine Harreld Love wrote that her grandfather, William Jefferson White, child of a Cherokee Indian and born free, organized and taught slaves, black freedmen, and their children in "blockade schools" or "contraband schools" from 1853 until the Civil War in secret locations in Georgia. He was later an agent for the Freedmen's Bureau. Special address printed in the Morehouse College Bulletin 44, 14 (Spring 1982): 6. See also Walter D. Cocking, "Report of the Study on Higher Education of Negroes in Georgia" (Athens: University of Georgia, 1938), pp. 21-22 (mimeographed) and Philips Forer and Josephine F. Pacheco, Three Who Dared: Prudence Crandall, Margaret Douglass, Myrtilla Miner--Champions of Antebellum Black Education (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984). Margaret Douglass taught black students in Norfolk, Virginia, and Myrtilla Miner taught them in Washington, D.C. See also Rudolph, College, pp. 313, 316.

area. It was topped with a mansard roof, punctuated with dormer windows and adorned with three towers, one containing the college clock. By 1900 Wesleyan had added a handsome twenty-five thousand dollar four-story brick building named Roberts Hall in honor of Dr. J. W. Roberts, president of the college, whose management had recently "turned the college around" and headed it for "rapid advancement." The up-to-date, four-story facility attached to the east end of the college building had an electric elevator, but was lighted with gas until 1904. The popular Natural Science Department at Wesleyan filled seven rooms on the lower floor of Roberts Hall, where Professor W. B. Bonnell, Head of Science, had arranged the new chemical lab, with its physical apparatus and the mineral cabinet for all the college's budding young female scientists. The upper floors were used as a dormitory.⁴ Porches and colonnades encircled the college complex and connected the academic building, with the chapel and the new dormitory, Roberts Hall. The architecture of "Old Wesleyan" was eclectic, remodeled from Greek revival style to a gracious Victorian-Gothic hodgepodge. A head-high brick wall enclosed the four-acre triangular campus, bounded by College, Washington, and Georgia Avenues. Behind the wall

⁴ Wesleyan Faculty Minutes, May 15, 1885, to March 23, 1891, and from 1897 to 1898, in Registrar's office at Wesleyan College, Macon. Akers, pp 108-113, 125, and Stevens, pp. 378, 381-281.

were flower gardens and shade trees where Wesleyan girls could promenade in seclusion from the city. But the area was easily accessible to townspeople.⁵

Macon (1900)

Situated near downtown Macon, Wesleyan Female College was a cherished project and source of pride for the city. Many Wesleyan alumnae lived in the town and watched with excitement as the girls arrived each September and were graduated each May. Often college-related events were held in alumnae homes and in Macon churches, especially nearby Mulberry Street Methodist Church. The college girls enjoyed walking into the business area in chaperoned groups to shop or get a soda at the pharmacy and to attend lectures and concerts. Local people, matrons, little girls, even some boys and men, attended Wesleyan's Conservatory of Music or took private voice or piano lessons from Wesleyan's faculty members. Macon's city fathers considered the Wesleyan college women when planning cultural events. Through the years, city businesses supported Wesleyan's yearbook and creative writing publications with advertisements. The

⁵Stevens, pp. 381-82. A 1900 photograph of Wesleyan appears between pages 386 and 387. In 1881 New York philanthropist George I. Seney gave Wesleyan \$125,000 to finance the remodeling and enlargement of the college buildings. In 1900 \$35,000 of his grant formed a permanent endowment for Wesleyan.

college administration debated granting a holiday for the County Fair or censoring an entertainment in town.⁶

Turn of the century Macon, Georgia's "Central City," in Bibb County, was a rich, "modern," flourishing business and manufacturing town. The Central of Georgia and the Southern Railways connected Macon with cities in all directions. Macon had forty-eight manufacturing establishments operating in her limits with an aggregate capital of five million dollars and eight banks with total capital of \$2,063,500. The manufacturers employed 4,500 operatives, who produced between ten and eleven million dollars worth of goods. Its express companies and warehouses were doing a profitable business. The peach crop in 1900 had been "fairly good," and cotton was bringing twelve cents a pound. During the year, Macon wholesalers had increased their business by twenty-five percent.⁷

⁶ Macon Telegraph, January 5; May 26, 28; September 11, 12, 1900; Sept. 8, 1901. See also Wesleyan Faculty Minutes, January 8, 1907; May 25, 1907, and the Wesleyan Matriculation Book (1898 to 1921), which records the number of local people who attended Wesleyan. In the 1912-1913 session several nine, ten, and eleven year old girls took gymnasium at Wesleyan. In 1899 The Adelphean annual was published and the following year the Phi Mu came out with local advertisements. Akers, pp. 135-136. The Wesleyan, a journal, carried ads also.

See also Walter E. Steinhaus, "Music in the Cultural Life of Macon, Georgia, 1823-1900; diss. Florida State Univ. 1973.

⁷ For details on Macon's "splendid" business condition see the Telegraph, Jan. 3, 1901. See also Stevens, p. 549 and George Gilman Smith, The Story of Georgia and the

Macon was described as a "beautiful" city with all the modern amenities -- well-paved streets, lighted by electricity; handsome public buildings; elegant private residences; pretty parks; a first-class system of water works; an up-to-date electric plant; and two lines of electric railway with tracks reaching out to every section of the city and the suburbs. The population within the corporate limits was 23,272. The suburban district of Vineville, with 7,787 people, and East Macon, with a population of 5,078, increased the total to 36,137, which made Macon the fourth largest city in Georgia in 1900.⁸

Macon had what its residents considered to be the "very best" educational facilities: a "splendid" system of public schools for blacks and whites, plus private schools, and colleges. Most of the private schools were sponsored and run by local churches. In addition to Wesleyan for women,

Georgia People, 1732 to 1860 (Franklin Printing & Publishing Co., 1900), pp. 535, 340-543.

⁸Stevens, pp. 549, 551, 552. The population of Macon according to the 1900 census included 5,771 white males and 5,940 white females, a total of 11,711 whites. There were 4,886 colored males and 6,675 colored females, a total of 11,561 Negroes. Including the two million dollar Bibb Manufacturing company mills, there were 5 cotton mills, 3 knitting mills, 8 iron foundries, and 2 large cotton oil companies as well as ginning and compressing facilities.

Stevens recorded the city populations in Georgia on page 901 as follows: Atlanta (89,872); Savannah (54,244); Augusta (39,441); and Macon and suburbs (36,137). Columbus was next in size with a total population of 17,614. Stevens, p. 664 and 776. Macon's population shift to the suburbs is recorded in the Telegraph, September 23, 1900.

there were Mercer, a Baptist university "for boys"; St. Stanislaus (formerly called Pio Nono), a Roman Catholic college for priests; and the Mount de Sales Academy, a Catholic high school for girls. A normal school "for ladies" was located at the Alexander School building. The Ballard Normal School was "for colored pupils." The Hebrew Ladies Aid Society ran an Industrial School for mill operatives on the second floor of the Price Free Library. In January of 1900 the Industrial School expected two hundred pupils to attend on the three nights a week it was open. Free kindergartens were also being organized to accommodate working families.⁹ The State Academy for the Blind in Macon had separate departments for blacks and whites in sections of the city "remote from each other."¹⁰

Macon had several charitable organizations for white people. There were three orphan homes: the Appleton Home, under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Orphan Home of the South Georgia Conference of the Southern

⁹Stevens, p. 550. See also Macon Telegraph, January 7, 23, May 25, 27, 1900; April 24, Dec. 22, 1901.

Macon's night school for the mill workers and the poor in the Price Free Library was located in a two-story brick building at the intersection of First and Arch Streets.

Three free kindergartens (Willingham, Parents and Payne's Mill) were mentioned in the Macon Telegraph, December 22, 1901, and a fund-raising effort on February 14, 1913.

¹⁰Stevens, pp. 402, 550.

Methodist Church, and Mumford's Industrial Home.¹¹ Other charitable homes and church projects were the City Hospital on Pine Street, the Julia Parkman Jones Home for Indigent Ladies, operated by the Episcopal Church; the Roff Home, with hospitals attached, for the poor of Bibb County; the Home for the Friendless, and the Door of Hope, a place of refuge "for fallen women who seek to be restored to a life of purity," a Methodist project.¹²

Macon's numerous organized social welfare services and institutions indicated the need for such agencies in a growing manufacturing city. In 1900 the white women were organizing and revitalizing service projects in the town. From 1900 to 1920 manufacturing and the population continued to increase, and Macon needed even more social welfare services organized and staffed with willing volunteers. The gracious social activities of "old Macon" continued, but many local leaders, the educated church women especially, organized and went to work to meet these community needs.¹³

¹¹Ibid., pp. 406, 550. Appleton was a philanthropist from New York.

¹²Macon Telegraph, January 23, April 8, 1900; January 20, April 24, 1901.

¹³Macon Telegraph, April 8, 1900; April 24, 1901.

Shorter Female College (1900)

Shorter Female College was the "pride of Rome" and sat "like a queen" in a close-in residential section on one of the city's seven hills, a hundred feet above the neighborhood and accessible by steep steps from Elm Street. Its multi-towered brick building, crowning the "lofty" hill, was much admired by the city's residents. The dormitory building was a graceful and substantial four-story structure, connected by porches and interior halls to the academic building, chapel, and music and art building. All were lighted by gas and heated by steam. The buildings, in Victorian-Gothic design with pointed towers and a modified mansard roofline, were trimmed with marble. The front steps, which led into the second story of the central building, were of wrought iron. Shorter's campus was not enclosed by a fence but sat secure and protected on its hilltop, encircled by broad, neatly graveled, terraced walks, bordered by evergreen hedges, trees, and flowering shrubs. Off the crest of the hill on the back campus were the servants' houses.¹⁴

In 1900 Shorter College advertised its educational extras: a "fine equatorial telescope," "excellent chemical

¹⁴Stevens, p. 383. A photograph of Shorter College appears opposite p. 390. See also Gardner, Hill, pp. 30-34. Elm Street is now East Third Avenue and Alpine Street is now East Third Street.

and biological apparatus" and a "large and finely equipped gymnasium." About half the student body were day students and lived at home in the neighborhood. The others boarded at the college dormitory, which was set up just like a "Christian home." Boarding students usually arrived by train, either by connection with the Western and Atlantic, which ran south to Atlanta and north to Chattanooga, or by the great Southern Railroad network with connections in all directions, including northeast to New York, Philadelphia, and Washington City.¹⁵

Some Shorter alumnae married local people and continued to live in the town. They often invited the college women to entertainments in their homes. Several of the local churches opened their facilities to the college for meetings and concerts. Rome First Baptist Church usually had Shorter's baccalaureate sermon and for many years reserved several pews for Shorter students. Some of Rome's first educational and charitable service projects were organized by the Shorter Alumnae Association and were staffed with Shorter student volunteers.¹⁶ The townspeople took art and music lessons at the college and supported art shows and

¹⁵Stevens, pp. 381, 659. Shorter cat. (1900-01), pp. 10-19.

¹⁶Gardner, Hill, p. 75; Gardner, 1865-1913, pp. 187-189; Jennie June Cunningham Croly, The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America (New York: Henry G. Allen & Co., 1898): 367-369.

recitals and concerts in St. Cecilia Hall, which afforded the community a comparatively high level of cultural activity. The city leaders provided opera and theater at the Nevin Opera House and supported Shorter's building efforts and fund raising. Beginning at the turn of the century, Roman business and professional men subscribed to Shorter's annual photograph album, The Iris, and other student publications.¹⁷ Many Southern families felt that Rome would be a healthful, cultured, and protected place for their daughters to acquire a higher education and ladylike refinement, undergirded by the Christian ethic.

Rome (1900)

In 1900, Rome was the sixth largest urban center in Georgia. Rome proper had a relatively small population of only 7,291 people; however, the Rome district, which included the east and north Rome suburbs, was twice that size, boasting 14,035 people. An "elegant" electric streetcar system reached out to the suburbs in all directions and brought local students to Shorter each day. The city had a state supported public school system as well as an

¹⁷Gardner, Hill, pp. 70, 72, 83, 90. See also Ethel Wilkerson, Rome's Remarkable History: Institutions, Personalities and Musical Achievements (Rome, Ga.: Brazelton/Wallace, 1966).

"excellent" private system of its own.¹⁸ In nearby Cave Spring was the Georgia Academy for the Deaf and Dumb, opened in 1849, enlarged through the post-Civil War years, and equipped with modern conveniences. In 1882 a separate department for Negro deaf mutes was opened and located 250 yards away. The Baptist Hearn Institute and Hearn Female Seminary, as well as the Methodists' Wesleyan Institute, also were located in Cave Spring.¹⁹

At the turn of the century Rome was becoming a busy commercial and manufacturing town. Steamboats plied the Oostanaula and Coosa Rivers, and the swift-flowing Etowah provided water power to run factories and flour and grist mills. Its railroads gave the city valuable connections in all directions for freight and travel. The city was the manufacturing center for northwest Georgia, boasting an iron furnace, rolling mills, foundries, and machine works; brick works; a scale manufacturer, and a stove works. Rome was the seat of Floyd, one of "the most progressive" counties in

¹⁸Stevens, pp. 659, 663-664. The 1910 census of the city of Rome listed 2,147 white males and 2,310 white females, making a total of 4,457 white people. There were 1,243 Negro males and 1,591 Negro females, making a total of 2,834 Negro residents of Rome. See also George Magruder Battey, Jr., A History of Rome and Floyd County, State of Georgia, United States of America, Including Numerous Incidents of More Than Local Interest: 1540-1921 (Atlanta: The Webb & Very Co., 1922).

¹⁹Stevens, pp. 401-02, 659, 660, 663. Cave Spring had a population of 824 inhabitants, but the district contained 2,283 people.

Georgia. It abounded in churches, for Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians. The Roman Catholics had representation also, and the Jews had a synagogue at Rome at the turn of the century.²⁰

Agnes Scott College (1900)

Contemporaries judged Agnes Scott Institute in Decatur to be "one of those excellent schools for girls, for which Georgia is so noted." The young ladies' seminary was located eight miles east of Atlanta, across from the Georgia Railroad's station where fourteen passenger trains passed daily. The campus, as it appeared in 1900, owed much to the ideas and money of Colonel George Washington Scott. He had made trips north to investigate school buildings and designs, and in 1891, when "Agnes Scott Hall" was dedicated, it was the "last word" in a modern college building, with electricity, steam heat, hot and cold running water, and

²⁰Ibid. Jews had synagogues in all of the cities and important towns. In 1900 there were 6,200 Jews in Georgia. Stevens, p. 414. In addition, in 1900 Rome had a cotton factory, hollowware and iron factory, steam ginners, cotton compress, plow factory, gas works, electric light plant, electric street railroad, cottonseed-oil mills, packing factory, steam tannery, a furniture factory, excelsior works, broom factory, mattress factory, carriage and wagon factory, and acid phosphate works. Floyd County had an aggregate value of whole property for white taxpayers amounting to \$8,506,944 and for Negro taxpayers amounting to \$168,057. See also Stevens, pp. 659, 663, and Rome Tribune for 1900-1901.

inside sanitary plumbing, conveniences seldom found in college buildings before the turn of the century.²¹

In 1900 Agnes Scott Hall was the very model of a proper woman's college building and sat confidently on the outskirts of Atlanta. The "massive edifice" was located on a five-acre site on the south side of the Georgia Railroad, two blocks from the Decatur Square. Architecturally it was impressive and reminiscent of such buildings as Vassar's Main Hall. Constructed of red brick, with granite facings and marble tracers, it rose four stories above the basement. A straightforward Victorian structure with a peaked roofline, it featured a tall central bell tower over a Richardsonian arched entrance which was flanked by marble demicolumns on either side of the stoop. An octagon tower with a pointed roof guarded the west end of the building. The front campus was edged with a low wooden paling fence which marked the campus boundaries. A summerhouse graced the front yard, and a brick steam plant and laundry were located at the rear of the main building. Three or four frame houses, where the president and some of the faculty and

²¹Stevens, pp. 382, 628, 631; McNair, pp. 13, 14, 21. See also 1900 campus view between pages 122 and 123 in McNair. In 1890 Colonel Scott invested \$112,250 in Agnes Scott Hall, the largest gift even made to education in Georgia up to that time. The dedicatory service was held Nov. 12, 1891. See Horowitz, pp. 3-5 and 34-36 for a discussion of James Renwick, Jr.'s plan for Vassar's main building, which is derived from a hospital or asylum design and was possibly one of Colonel Scott's models.

students lived, surrounded the main building. Sandy paths radiated out from Agnes Scott Hall to the front gate and to the other buildings on the campus. Benches were spaced about on the grass under oaks and pine trees.²²

Decatur (1900)

Decatur gave Agnes Scott its small town setting. Founded in 1822, it was an "old town," but also an enterprising one, boasting a handsome new sixty-thousand dollar courthouse in the middle of the town square and capitalizing on its accessibility to the big city of Atlanta. In addition to the Georgia Railroad, three lines of electric railways connected Decatur to Atlanta, and from there to everywhere else. By 1900 people had settled along the tracks which served as commuter lines to Atlanta. Day students came to Agnes Scott on the cars, which had a stop near the back campus. The Decatur Militia District, including the town and the adjacent thickly settled territory, contained 4,360 inhabitants, of whom only 1,418 lived in the town.²³

Decatur was proud of the Agnes Scott Institute, and the citizens spread out the welcome mat for the boarding

²²Agnes Scott cat. (1900-01), pp. 72-75, and frontispiece, 13 and 73; see also Stevens, p. 631, and McNair, pp. 13, 14, 21.

²³Ibid., pp. 628, 631. See also Caroline McKinney Clarke, The Story of Decatur,, 1823-1899 (Atlanta: Higgins-McArthur/Longino and Porter, 1973).

students who came to school from out of town. Decatur churches encouraged the college girls to become associate members of their congregations during the school year, and the college faculty members were also active in the local churches. Decatur Presbyterian Church was within walking distance, and students marched in chaperoned groups to Sunday services there. Decatur merchants advertised their wares in the school newspaper, The Agonistic, and subscribed to Agnes Scott's picture and literary publication, The Aurora, and later to the Silhouette, its annual.²⁴

In 1900 Decatur was a small but growing town with several educational and church-related institutions: a public high school; a private secondary school; the Donald Fraser School for Boys, and the North Georgia Methodist Church Orphans' Home. The place was developing commercially and industrially. A few miles out from Decatur, at Ingle-side, was the cotton mill of the Scottdale Manufacturing Company. Also just out of town were several fertilizer factories, one of which was the George W. Scott Fertilizer Company, described as "mammoth."²⁵

Atlanta's cultural offerings were one of Agnes Scott's advertised attractions. For several years Atlanta theater and opera house performances were "off limits" to Agnes Scott students, for the theater was considered immoral.

²⁴Clarke, pp. 137-144. See also Stevens, p. 406, 631.

However, the young women did go to the city for lectures and concerts, and the Institute's School of Music gave a few private recitals in the city.²⁶

When Agnes Scott girls went to Atlanta for cultural experiences, they were heavily chaperoned and guarded. When they visited in the homes of their day student friends, many of whom lived in Atlanta, they were carefully signed out to parents, relatives, and friends, with notes specifying return times and arrangements. Atlanta was the big city in Georgia, and proper young ladies did not venture anywhere without an escort or a chaperone. They were required to be under the protective care of a home, be it the college or a friend's, by the posted "time limit" when the shadows fell.²⁷

²⁵Stevens, p. 631; McNair, p. 19. The George W. Scott Fertilizer Company later merged with the Comer Hull Company of Savannah and was renamed the Southern Fertilizer Company. Between 1940 and 1945 it was bought up by the Great Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company.

In 1900 Georgia used more fertilizer than any other state. There were thirty-six new cotton factories and 112 fertilizer plants in Georgia. Coulter, pp. 389-390.

²⁶Agnes Scott cat. (1900-01), p. 72 and McNair, p. 332. The Atlanta Constitution, May 13, 1900, carried a notice on the Society page of an Agnes Scott recital at Phillips and Crews, Friday evening, May 26th, at 8:15 p.m.

By 1910 English Professor J.D.M. Armistead (1905-1923) secured permission for Agnes Scott students to see four plays a year in Atlanta. See Agonistic, May 23, 1923.

²⁷See McKinney notebooks in Dr. W. Edward McNair's office, McCain Library, Agnes Scott College. Hereafter cited as McKinney notebooks.

Less than ten miles separated Agnes Scott Institute in the northeastern section of Atlanta's urban center and Spelman Seminary in the southwest section, and yet the two women's colleges were as remote from one another as if they had been on different continents, because one was for white "young ladies" and the other for "colored girls." Spelman's white faculty was ostracized from Atlanta's white society. One of the few white Atlantans known to have received them was Mary Temperance Connally, granddaughter of Georgia's Civil War Governor, Joseph Emerson Brown (1821-1894) and wife of John Schaffner Spalding. She was an ardent Baptist and invited Miss Packard and Miss Giles to call at her home. Mrs. Spalding sent many needed items (clothes, bedding, etc.) to Spelman, gave employment to Negro students working their way through school, and donated "a mile of violets and roses" to beautify Spelman's gulley-ridden campus, which some white Atlantans referred to as "that nigger school" on the West Side.²⁸

²⁸Map "City of Atlanta and Vicinity," William A. Hansell, Chief of Construction Departments (1929) at the Atlanta Historical Society. Hereafter referred to as Atlanta Map (1929). See also Deaton, pp. 165-216, especially the map of Negro districts in Atlanta on p. 172.

Interview with Frances Spalding Bryan, November 1984, Atlanta, Georgia. Mary T. Connally Spalding was later elected a Spelman trustee. See also Read, p. 142 and DGB (1983) "Brown, Joseph Emerson," by Joseph H. Parks and Franklin M. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events, (New York: Leurs Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1954), vol. 3, p. 403.

Spelman (1900)

By the turn of the century, Spelman sat proudly in Atlanta's West End on a twenty-acre campus, bounded by Greensferry, Culver, Leonard, and Ella Streets. Four of the five Union Army surplus buildings, purchased with Rockefeller's first gift, were still standing. The four frame barracks were linked by front porches and connecting colonnades and served as the dormitories. Barracks Number One, an old barn which had been used as the Union officers' quarters, became the residence for Packard and Giles and some other faculty members. In 1886 Rockefeller Hall, with a cavernous Syrian-arched entranceway, was built and housed administrative offices on the first floor and dormitory space on the second and third. Some classrooms and Howe Memorial Chapel were also located there. In 1886 Packard Hall, a residence hall for teachers and students, replaced Union Hall, which had burned. The next year Quarles Library was added, and Packard Annex made space for the kitchen, serving room, music rooms, and printing office. In 1890 a Rockefeller gift made possible the building of a laundry, and in 1893 Giles Hall, which accommodated the elementary and normal training schools and contained class assembly and dormitory rooms for teachers and students. Primarily through Rockefeller funding, the school had added three substantial brick buildings (Rockefeller, Packard, and Giles

Halls) which fronted an interior quadrangle, encircled by a sandy buggy path and criss-crossed by footpaths.²⁹

In 1900 John D. Rockefeller gave two hundred thousand dollars to Spelman for more "much needed" improvements. The new Rockefeller grant enabled the school to build four new brick buildings: Morgan Hall (a dining room and dormitory), Morehouse Hall (a dormitory), Reynolds cottage (the President's residence), and MacVicar Hospital. A new power plant produced heat and light for all seven buildings, and a new iron fence was put up to enclose the entire campus and protect it from the surrounding neighborhood.³⁰

In 1897 Spelman Seminary worked out an arrangement with nearby Atlanta Baptist College/Morehouse so that a few women who were prepared to take a collegiate course could have the protection of a woman's college faculty and boarding facility as well as the rigor of a man's college curriculum, and could work toward a liberal arts A.B. degree. The Morehouse

²⁹Guy-Sheftall, Cent., pp. 22, 35. See also Read, pp. 77-86; plate VII, opposite p. 30 for photograph of Union Hall and Army Barracks, and Plate XIX, opposite p. 272, for Barrack Number One. In 1976 Rockefeller, Packard, and Giles Halls were placed on the National Register of Historic Sites and Districts. For detailed architectural descriptions see Atlanta Historic Resources Workbook (Atlanta: Atlanta Urban Design Commission, 1978), pp. 54-56 and pp. 230-231.

³⁰When groceries were ordered from Atlanta merchants, white delivery men refused to deliver the supplies to the Spelman kitchen inside the campus. Instead they threw the orders over the fence forcing the students and faculty to carry them into the building. Guy-Sheftall, Cent., p. 34.

campus was only a block away across Greensferry and Chestnut Streets out the back gate, an easy walk for the "co-eds" and their faculty chaperone from Spelman.³¹

Atlanta's cluster of Negro colleges within the city limits was unique in the South at this time and led to the development of the Atlanta University Center in 1929. Having several colleges, endowed by different constituencies, close together in a growing city was vital for the success of higher education for Negroes in Georgia. Without the concentration of facilities, faculties, and libraries, generously supported by Northern beneficence, Negro education in Georgia might never have reached a higher or collegiate level. This was especially true of Negro women's education.³²

Atlanta (1900)

At the turn of the century, Atlanta was a relatively young city, but it was bursting with energy, people, and potential. Sherman had burned it in 1864 on his way through Georgia. Signaled by the success of the Cotton States and

³¹Guy-Sheftall, p. 18, and Atlanta map, 1929. Atlanta University campus was four blocks away at the intersection of Chestnut and Beckwith Streets.

³²Other Negro colleges in Atlanta in 1900 were Clark, Morris Brown, and Gammon Theological Seminary. See Chapter I of this dissertation. D. Orr, p. 363, Coulter, p. 405, and Deaton, pp. 64, 66, 67, 176-181.

International Exposition in 1895, economic prosperity returned. By 1900 Atlanta had reached a population of 89,872 inhabitants. Counting the immediate suburbs, Atlanta had over a hundred thousand (103,425) people. It was the largest commercial center in Georgia and the largest city between Washington, D.C., and New Orleans. Businessmen commuted from points within a twenty-mile radius of the city on the numerous lines of steam and electric railways.³³

In 1900 Atlanta was a great commercial trademart, connected with the whole state and the nation not only by her "magnificent" railroads and suburban electric trolleys, but also by long distance telephones to leading cities, and telegraphic communication with every quarter of the globe. Atlanta, as the state capital, had imposing public buildings, especially the million dollar domed capitol. In 1899 downtown grocery stores did a brisk twelve million dollar business, dry goods stores made ten million dollars in sales, and the retail hardware business grossed more than

³³Thomas Mashburn Deaton, "Atlanta During the Progressive Era," diss. Univ. of Georgia 1969, pp. 1-34. See also Stevens, pp. 670, 671, 676. In 1900 Atlanta's suburbs had the following number of residents: 6,558 at Cooks'; 3,226 at Black Hall (Oakland Cemetery); 1,552 at Edgewood and 2,217 at Peachtree. There were 13,553 people in Atlanta suburbs. The city of Atlanta had 35,334 white males and 36,257 white females, making a total of 53,905 white people in Atlanta. There were 14,943 Negro males and 21,024 Negro females, making a total of 35,967 Negroes in Atlanta.

six million dollars. Twenty Atlanta banks had a total capital of more than three million dollars, and twenty building and loan associations had capital representing two million dollars more. In Atlanta and vicinity, mills and manufactories abounded. There were nine cotton mills and one woolen mill, with an aggregate invested capital of \$1,860,000. Other manufacturers produced: iron machinery (13), wagons and carriages (5), furniture (13), candy and crackers (7), tobacco (10), paint and oil (4), cottonseed oil and byproducts (8), commercial fertilizer (10), paper bags (5), rugs (1), proprietary medicines (14), coffins (3), bottles and carbonated drinks (6), and ice (1). All these industries represented an invested capital of \$9,454,000 and employed more than ten thousand operatives with an annual payroll of more than ten million dollars. In 1870 the taxable property in Atlanta had been \$9,500,000. By 1901 it was \$47,986,535. Whites owned \$47,097,550 of the total and Negroes, \$888,985.³⁴

Downtown Atlanta was a bustling distribution point and a busy commercial center, but life was gracious and leisurely out in the suburbs, where attractive residential areas were studded with parks and beautiful homes. The United States census credited Atlanta with a larger

³⁴Stevens, p. 671, 672, 675, 676, 916; Atlanta Constitution, May 18, 1900.

Inches 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Centimetres 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

Centimetres

TIFFEN Color Control Patches

© The Tiffen Company, 2007

Blue

Cyan

Green

Yellow

Red

Magenta

White

3/Color

Black



percentage of homeowners than any city of its size in the southern states. Paved streets in town, macadamized roads out of town, waterworks, gas and electric light plants, and suburban electric railways indicated its urban status. Hotels were numerous and "first class." The public schools were "up to the highest mark." More than a hundred churches, many with large memberships, represented every Christian denomination, and the Jews were present as well.³⁵

In addition to the Negro college center in the Southwest sector of the city, Atlanta had several business and medical colleges, a law college and two dental colleges. Public and private day schools were supplemented by a large night school connected with the public school system and another under the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). The best known technical school in the South by 1900 was the Georgia School of Technology, which had opened its one

³⁵Atlanta Constitution, May 18, 1900; Stevens, pp. 671, 675, 676. See also Harvey K. Newman, "The Role of Women in Atlanta's Churches 1865-1906," The Atlanta Historical Journal 23, 4 (Winter 1978-80): 17-30.

hundred thousand dollar plant in Atlanta in 1885 to usher in the new industrial age.³⁶

At the turn of the century, metropolitan Atlanta was a segregated city where Jim Crow laws reigned. Blacks composed more than one third of the population. Most of them lived in six areas or pockets scattered about on the south and west sides of the central city. A small number of black Atlantans were very poor wandering vagrants, just arrived from the rural countryside. Most of the Negroes worked as domestics and servants. A very small group at the top of the black social pyramid were influential, educated, and economically secure property owners. This educated elite tended to live in the West Side where the Negro colleges were clustered. The neighborhood near Spelman, along Chestnut Street, had very nice houses where whites had lived before moving out to suburbs. The proximity of the city's garbage dump between Beckwith and Fair Streets, from which the smoke and fumes of burning refuse assailed the nostrils

³⁶Stevens, p. 374, 677. See also E. Merton Coulter, A Short History of Georgia (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933), p. 401; Melvin W. Ecke, From Ivy Street to Kennedy Center: Centennial History of the Atlanta Public School System (Atlanta: Atlanta Board of Education, 1972), p. 45; James E. Brittain and Robert C. McMath, Jr., "Engineers and the New South Creed: Formation and Early Development of Georgia Tech," Technology and Culture 18 (April 1977): 175-201, and Robert C. McMath, Jr., Ronald H. Bayor, James E. Brittain, Lawrence Foster, August W. Giebelhaus, Germaine M. Reed, Engineering the New South: Georgia Tech, 1885-1985 (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1985): 3-103.

of those who sat on their porches on hot, still nights, detracted from it. The West Side had pockets of vice, filth, and crime. In 1900 there were no social services for Negroes in Atlanta, a situation which spurred Atlanta Negro women under the leadership of Lugenia Burns Hope (1871-1947), to form a very effective pressure group, the Neighborhood Union, to do something about it.³⁷

In 1900 Atlanta's Negro society was in flux and confusion. The city's white leadership was drawing the "color line" taut. Its Negro leadership was advocating conflicting racial philosophies. Booker T. Washington in his Atlanta Compromise speech in 1895 had spoken of accommodating the whites and of lifting the Negro race up by its own bootstraps through self-help and industrial education. In 1897 Harvard-educated Dr. William Edward Burghardt DuBois (1868-1963) joined the Atlanta University faculty and continued

³⁷ See Negro population statistics in footnote #33. Deaton, pp. 166ff, especially pp. 168, 169, 172, 210. Page 171 includes a map of the Negro districts in Atlanta. See also Shivery, pp. 24-25, 75-76; Rev. Edward R. Carter, The Black Side. A Partial History of the Business, Religious, and Educational Side of the Negro in Atlanta, Georgia (Atlanta: Privately Published, 1894; reprint edition Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1971): 20-25; Dorothy Slade, "The Evolution of Negro Areas in the City of Atlanta," M.A. thesis, Atlanta University, 1946; John Dittmer, Black Georgia in the Progressive Era 1900-1920 (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977): 12-16. Lugenia Burns Hope (1871-1947) was a Spelman faculty member and wife of professor John Hope, the first black president of Atlanta Baptist/ Morehouse College. See DGB (1983), s.v., "Hope, Lugenia D. Burns" by Jacqueline A. Rouse.

his sociological research on the Negro race. He preached equal education and opportunity to develop the "talented tenth" who would lead the race upward and out of ignorance and poverty. DuBois joined with Spelman trustee William Jefferson White (1831-1913), the influential Negro editor of the Georgia Baptist, to form the Georgia Equal Rights League, which took a strong position for equal rights.³⁸

The Supreme Court had handed down two decisions which sanctioned segregation by formulating the "separate but equal" doctrine for transportation (Plessy vs. Ferguson, 1896) and education (Cummings et al vs. Board of Education of Richmond County, 1898). The latter case arose from conflict between the races over funding for high school education for Negroes in Augusta. Although no race riots had occurred in Atlanta before 1900, there was tension between blacks and whites when they came together for public events and on the streetcars. Lynchings were reported with lurid details in the newspapers, and the educated elite in the black community engaged in heated journalist discussion about the movement for complete segregation and attempts to

³⁸Deaton, p. 206 and Dittmer, pp. 3-7. See also John M. Matthews, "Black Newspapermen and the Black Community in Georgia, 1890-1930," Georgia Historical Quarterly 68, 3 (Fall 1984): 356-381 and DGB (1983), "DuBois, William Edward Burghardt" by James A. Burran and "White, William Jefferson" by Bess Beatty.

disfranchise blacks. Tensions and tempers were rising and a clash seemed inevitable.³⁹

White Atlanta did not have as close a relationship with its Negro colleges as it did with nearby schools for whites. Spelman students and faculty found much of their social life and support in the neighborhood near the Negro colleges. When students went into Atlanta, they rode in the back of a trolley car. The Atlanta Constitution reported Spelman's fifteenth anniversary events in 1896 in considerable detail but most college events and alumnae activities were reported only in the Spelman Messenger, and some social activities were published in a column called "Spelman Dots" in the Atlanta Independent, a Negro journal.⁴⁰

Wesleyan, Shorter, and Agnes Scott, located in specially designed buildings in nice residential areas, were the "pride and joy" of their towns and local churches. The city fathers and civic boosters bestowed many privileges on and offered advantages to their women's colleges. On the

³⁹Deaton, pp. 169, 204, 205, 208; Atlanta Independent, April 6, 1907; June Patton, "The Black Community of Augusta and the Struggle for Ware High School, 1880-1899" in New Perspectives on Black Education History, eds. Vincent P. Franklin and James D. Anderson (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1979): 45-49 and J. Morgan Kousser, "Separate But NOT Equal: The Supreme Court's Decision on Racial Discrimination in Schools" Journal of Southern History 46 (February 1980): 17-44.

⁴⁰Davis to Corley, Aug. 7, 1984; Guy-Sheftall, p. 21; Read, pp. 92-93, 133-134; Atlanta Independent, February 6, 1904, March 5, 1904.

other hand, Spelman was located near the Atlanta city dump in Union Army surplus buildings and shunted out of sight. White Atlanta's civic boosters treated Spelman like a "step-child," underscoring the contrast between the town and gown relationship for the Negro colleges in a segregated city. Spelman and its administrators looked primarily to the North for its support and nurture, to Rockefeller who underwrote the cost of all of the new brick buildings on campus and to the women of the American Baptist Home Mission Society of New England who sent dedicated teachers and contributions to sustain Negro women's higher education in the South. The Negro college students and faculty found social interests within the Atlanta black community where college-educated black women rose up and worked to uplift their own poor and deteriorating neighborhoods.

¹⁰ Mary Kay Benedict, "Higher Education of Women in the Southern States," in *The South in the Building of a Nation*, ed. S.C. Mitchell (Richmond: Southern Historical Publication Society, 1909):10, 258-271.

CHAPTER III

PATRONS AND PUPILS: THE FEMALE STUDENT BODY

After a southern family selected a female college for a daughter, how did she get accepted? Southern seminaries and secondary schools were notoriously varied and not of very high quality. Most of the secondary school graduates were not prepared for college work. This became glaringly apparent if a southern girl entered one of the northeastern colleges. Usually they were put back a year or made to repeat some of the courses taken in the southern "college."¹

Admission Procedures and Entrance Requirements

In 1900 Georgia women's colleges had a difficult problem because of "the wide-spread lack of thorough preparation" which often caused "serious disappointment to applicants for the collegiate department." Usually people in a college town sent their daughters to the local academy or preparatory school which was administered and run by the college as a "fitting school" or "feeder" for the college level. Many Georgia communities, however, did not offer the required college preparatory courses in their local schools. Consequently out-of-town applicants who were not ready or

¹Mary Kay Benedict, "Higher Education of Women in the Southern States," in The South in the Building of a Nation, ed. S.C. Mitchell (Richmond: Southern Historical Publication Society, 1909):10, 258-271.

who could not pass the entrance test were put in special classes called "sub-freshmen" and "irregulars."²

In 1904 Wesleyan had an academy with a secondary and a sub-freshman class. The catalogue warned that the secondary levels of Wesleyan would be phased out in the next two years in line with the recommendations of the Educational Commission of the Southern Methodist Church. The 1900 to 1901 session at Agnes Scott Institute listed at least 182 students taking various catch-up courses in the Preparatory and Primary Departments. There were eighteen young ladies taking remedial spelling, 142 taking English, and 135 taking Bible. As late as 1912 Shorter had an academy, a preparatory school designed for girls from thirteen to seventeen years old who could not find the "best educational advantages" in their home towns. Local girls who needed "individual attention" were also encouraged to attend Shorter Academy.³

²Agnes Scott cat. (1900-01), p. 15. See also Dr. Gaines to Dr. Wallace Buttrick, June 5, 1902, in files of the General Education Board (GEB) in the Rockefeller Archives (RAC), Tarrytown, N.Y. Hereafter referred to as GEB, RAC.

³Wesleyan cat. (1904-05), p. 19; Agnes Scott cat. (1900-01), p. 103; and Shorter cat. (1912-13), p. 77. The academies were phased out before 1920: Agnes Scott in 1912 and Wesleyan and Shorter in 1916. See McNair, p. 42; Akers, p. 123; and Gardner, Hill, p. 173.

Most black women in Georgia had no preparation for college level work, even though there were a number of secondary schools and academies in Georgia for black pupils. In its beginning years Spelman spent most of its efforts training girls in kindergarten, in elementary school, and in high school, which included a normal and industrial department. In the 1900 to 1901 session, Spelman had 669 students, with 503 in kindergarten and elementary school and 129 in the high or secondary school level. Only five were in college, working toward a B.A. degree.⁴

In the early days of preparatory schools attached to the women's colleges, a few local boys were admitted. Although the catalogue declared they would "not be received in the future," Shorter had several young men enrolled as part-time students as late as 1920. Six boys were listed as alumni of the Agnes Scott Academy but got their names "erased" when it became embarrassing to them at a more mature age. As late as 1920 young men were listed in the

³Clarke, *Church*, p. 74; McNair, p. 4. See also Wess-lynn, Shorter, and Agnes Scott matriculation ledgers and catalogues. In 1916-17, Harold Gaines, son of the Dean, was regularly enrolled as a day student at Shorter. Throughout these years several males were enrolled as part-time students there, with as many as eleven one year. *Shorter*, pp. 157-158.

⁴Spelman cat. (1901) printed in Guy-Sheftall, *Centennial*, pp. 36-37. See chart in Chapter VII (Alumnae) for the numbers of Spelman college graduates and high school graduates from 1900 to 1920.

music departments of both the black and the white women's colleges, taking violin, piano, and organ.⁵

Older women, over 25 or with married names, who were local ladies or the wives of professors, appear on the colleges' lists. This was especially true in the art and music departments, where they took courses as day students. The married or "return to college" women were classified as "special" students at Agnes Scott. Many mature black women, catching up on their education by learning to read and write in the 1880s and 1890s at Spelman, were over the traditional college student age. A photograph of a class of eight women graduates showed one with a joyful and radiant face who was obviously pregnant at her graduation.⁶

Because southern girls, black and white, were routinely ill prepared in the Georgia schools, private and public, the entrance requirements at Georgia colleges were for many years indefinite or not published in the catalogues, so that the schools could admit students in a special or irregular

"possess an adequate knowledge of all subjects belonging to the preceding classes." The college admitted graduates of

⁵Clarke, Church, p. 74; McNair, p. 4. See also Wesleyan, Shorter, and Agnes Scott matriculation ledgers and catalogues. In 1916-17, Harold Gaines, son of the Dean, was regularly enrolled as a day student at Shorter. Throughout these years several males were enrolled as part-time students there, with as many as eleven one year. Gardner, pp. 157-158.

⁶Matriculation Ledgers and catalogues at Wesleyan, Shorter, and Agnes Scott. See also photograph in Guy-Sheftall, Centennial, p. 26, for an early Spelman graduating class.

status in the event they did not meet the requirements. The four church colleges admitted any female applicants who could pay the tuition and "pass" their entrance requirements. Students who did not meet all requirements were accepted "conditionally," on probation, until they proved their abilities. Southern women's colleges, woefully lacking in endowments, needed all the tuition payments they could get in order to meet their financial obligations. The "requirements" for admission at the schools were a "testimonial" or a certificate from a teacher or the principal of the secondary school and passing an entrance examination given by the college during the two days of testing and placement of new students at the beginning of the fall term. The number of credits and specific courses required were not always mentioned in the catalogues, and when they were, exceptions were often made.⁷

At Shorter an applicant for admission was expected to have good character, good habits, and good intentions and to "possess an adequate knowledge of all subjects belonging to the preceding classes." The college admitted graduates of the Rome public schools to the freshman class without examinations. By 1907-08, various state universities in the

⁷Shorter cat. (1900-01), pp. 19-21; Spelman cat. (1900-01), p. 44; Wesleyan cat. (1900-01), pp. 25-26 and Faculty Minutes for 1900 to 1901 which gave evidence that exceptions were often made at Wesleyan. Spelman had placement testing in January also.

South compiled a list of preparatory schools whose graduates could be admitted without examination. Shorter adopted the list, as did Agnes Scott and Wesleyan. Shorter recommended for the "finest of results" at their college that the entering students should have six years of primary preparation and four years of academic preparation. If a student was one semester short, Shorter would allow her to enter the freshman class and make up the deficient work during her first two years at Shorter. This was true at Wesleyan as well.⁸

Although the longer-established colleges (Shorter and Wesleyan) announced vague requirements and often by-passed them, Agnes Scott, founded later and jockeying for an academic reputation, set its entrance requirements high and held to them, at least most of the time. In 1900 Agnes Scott Institute required for entrance into the Freshman class of the collegiate level a demonstration of proficiency in elementary English rhetoric. Each applicant had to write a theme on an assigned subject. The catalogue warned the students that spelling, grammar, punctuation, and paragraphing would be noted and that no student would be admitted whose theme was "notably deficient" on those points. In literature the well-prepared student should have

⁸Shorter cat. (1900-01), pp. 19-21 and Wesleyan cat. (1900-01), pp. 25-26.

carefully studied "Evangeline," "Karamos," "The Great Stone Face," A Christmas Carol, and Mosses from An Old Manse. Other masterpieces of British and American literature could be substituted.⁹

In mathematics an Agnes Scott applicant should have completed arithmetic and studied algebra to involution, in Wells' text or the equivalent. Latin was traditionally the "heavy" requirement and the one hardest to fulfill. In 1900 Agnes Scott required Tuell and Fowler's First Book in Latin, or its equivalent, and at least two books of Caesar with a careful study of forms and syntax. The student had to be able to demonstrate her ability to sight-read and to write a prose composition based on Caesar. French or German had to be presented to satisfy the modern language requirement. In French, the principles of grammar and syntax in Chardinal's Complete French Course and the irregular and most used regular verbs had to be mastered. In addition, the young lady had to demonstrate her ability to translate easy French prose into English. If she presented German as her modern language, she should have studied Joynes-Meissner's Grammar, Shorter Course, or equivalent, and Studien und Plaudieren, First Part, or equivalent. In history, students should have studied Fyffe's History of Greece, or Creighton's History of Rome or equivalent. Students should have mastered Maury's

⁹Agnes Scott cat. (1900-01), p. 16. New York.

Physical Geography or Blaisdell's Physiology for their science requirement.¹⁰

Agnes Scott found that a rigid entrance exam was not a true test of a student's ability and would admit students to the Freshman or academic classes "on probation" with a certificate from "approved" high schools.¹¹ Later, after actual tests in daily recitations, changes would be made if necessary. But all students had to pass a satisfactory examination in arithmetic to be admitted or to pass to the next level course. In 1900 no mention was made of age requirements, except that applicants to the academy level had to be between thirteen and fifteen years old, or of the number of units (years of study) which must be presented in each of the required subject areas. Agnes Scott required signed laboratory notebooks and journals as examples of the

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 17. Before standardized intelligence tests in the early twentieth century, Latin served as an intelligence index of a student's ability to do college work. Elizabeth Barber Young, A Study of the Curricula of Seven Selected Women's Colleges in the Southern States (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1972): 108, 111.

¹¹ Wesleyan and Shorter had arrangements with the Macon and Rome public schools and followed Agnes Scott's list of "acceptable" private girls' seminaries and public high schools.

Spelman had an automatic acceptance policy for Negro high schools and academies associated with the WABHMS or the American Baptist Home Mission Society of New York.

content of the applicants' high school courses in science and English grammar and composition.¹² Agnes Scott's insistence on high academic standards led to its recognition nationwide as an accredited college before any other women's college in the state. In 1900 Agnes Scott Institute had an arrangement with Cornell, the Woman's College of Baltimore (later Goucher), Mount Holyoke, Wellesley, and Vassar to admit Agnes Scott sophomores who had finished the classical course into their freshman classes without examinations. Students preparing to transfer to the more rigorous curricula of the northeast could drop the Bible requirement in their second year and take chemistry or a third language. After Agnes Scott became a full-fledged college in 1907, its graduates were accepted in the northeastern colleges at grade level. Emma Katherine Anderson, class of 1918, transferred to Wellesley as a junior after two years at Agnes Scott and found herself to be well prepared. Southern students who transferred to northeastern colleges and succeeded raised the reputation of their southern colleges in the North.¹³

¹²Agnes Scott cat. (1900-01), pp. 18-19. See Agnes Scott Archives in the McCain Library where a few admission-notebooks are stored.

¹³Agnes Scott Institute Catalogue, 1900-01, pp. 18, 20. Emma Katherine Anderson, '18, taped interview in 1980 in possession of Kent Anderson Leslie, Decatur, Georgia. See also McNair, pp. 29-31.

Financial Arrangements

As soon as the applicant arrived on campus, her parent or guardian signed a ledger and paid approximately half of her board, tuition, and fees. At Wesleyan in 1900, board was about \$125 and tuition fifty dollars per annum with fees running costs up to about twenty-five or thirty dollars more. At Shorter, \$225 would buy a student a nine months course of study. But for the finest instruction there, including music or art, the bill might run up to \$375 a year. At Agnes Scott boarders paid \$255, and day students paid fifty-four dollars a year for freshman and sophomore classes and sixty-four dollars for junior and senior levels.¹⁴

At Spelman everyone who could work off some of the \$90.00 to \$100.00 annual board charges did so, as in the case of Ethel McGhee (Davis), who washed dishes and cleaned her dormitory's bathrooms. The Spelman alumnae files and the Spelman Messenger, a news magazine produced, edited, and typeset at Spelman, was full of examples of rural black folk who wanted the best of education possible for their

¹⁴Wesleyan cat. (1900-01), pp. 21, 27; Ibid. (1905-06), p. 41; Shorter cat. (1900-01), p. ; Gardner, Hill, pp. 79-80; Agnes Scott cat. (1900-01); p. 81. See also J. Belknap Smith family letters, written by family members at Shorter from 1891 to 1899, were published in The [Shorter] Bulletin (Fall 1974), p. 3ff. The widowed mother of three girls at Shorter Academy and College had to pay a staggering minimum of \$615.00 to Shorter annually.

daughters and sent them at great sacrifice to Spelman. Many women went back home to the rural areas of Georgia and the South to teach others. Often the young Negro teachers were not even paid, or were paid only what could be taken up as an offering at the local Baptist or Methodist church. The work-study emphasis at Spelman was tied in with the industrial arts education program. Some wealthy Negro students, mainly from the North, went to Spelman, but they were usually unhappy and often did not finish there.¹⁵

During the second decade of the twentieth century, the white women's colleges also began to offer opportunities for students to work off some of their tuition. From 1915 to 1919, Julia Lake Skinner (Kellersberger), '19, shelved books in the library and played the piano for gymnasium classes on her work scholarship at Agnes Scott. She earned her graduation fees by collecting laundry and dry cleaning in her dormitory for an Atlanta laundry establishment. By 1917 there were work scholarships at Shorter and Wesleyan

Agnes Scott. Spelman students were enjoined to bring clothes that were "sensible, neat, and simple". Jack

¹⁵Guy-Sheftall, Cent., pp. 16-17. The Spelman alumnae files and the Messenger from 1900 to 1920 were full of examples. Davis to Corley, July 10, 1984. A survey of Spelman's student body taken in 1908-09 revealed that over half of the boarders were working their way through school; 53 percent of all the students had fathers who were skilled laborers or professional men and 35 percent were the children of widows. Read, p. 156.

and Wesleyan for laboratory assistants and book store and tea room employees.¹⁶

In addition to tuition and fees for lab, piano, physician, diplomas, library, or extra help in languages, a college girl needed to have money for clothes and travel. At the turn of the century a girl's clothes were hand-made at home or by a dressmaker. The traditional collegiate outfit was a white Gibson girl blouse, perhaps with a bow tie at the neck, and a long dark skirt. Such items as proper shoes (high top, with buttons), shawls, coats, warm black stockings, one street suit, one high-necked evening gown, and warm underwear, were carefully prescribed under the "General Information" heading in the college catalogues. An additional clothes cost at the white schools was a "gym suit." Shorter's gymnasium outfit was a blouse waist and garnet flannel bloomers. Wesleyan students wore a dark blue flannel blouse and a short skirt. A dark divided skirt and high top tennis shoes were required in the gymnasium at Agnes Scott. Spelman students were enjoined to bring clothes that were "sensible, neat, and simple": dark

¹⁶Taped interview with Julia Lake Skinner (Kellersberger), November, 1984, from her home in Melbourne Beach, Florida. She thought she might have been the first student at Agnes Scott to have a work scholarship. See her biographical sketch in Chapter VII of this dissertation. Julia Lake Skinner Kellersberger thought the name of the Atlanta laundry was Trio. See also Gardner, Hill, p. 159 and Akers, pp. 131, 141 and Wesleyan Faculty Minutes, which mention work scholarships.

skirts, thick shoes, rubbers, a waterproof, an umbrella, and warm underwear were listed. All four women's colleges tried to de-emphasize clothes, but in the comments made by students, clothes continued to be noticed, admired, and commented upon.¹⁷

Travel expenses were low compared to today's costs but had to be factored into the total cost of a girl's college education. The train fare between Rome and Thomson, Georgia (150 miles), was about \$5.97 a frame (ticket). Carfare for day students in Atlanta was a nickel in 1900, but later went up to seven cents.¹⁸

Clothes and travel cost about the same for Negro college girls at Spelman as for white students at the other colleges, but they were less affordable for most of the blacks. The corseted bodice, high necked collars, Gibson girl sleeves and long dark skirts were as popular on the Negro campus as on the white. Students "saved" their skirts

¹⁷Agnes Scott cat. (1900-01), pp. 76, 87. Shorter cat. (1904-05), p. 16. See Smith letters from Shorter in The Bulletin, (Fall 1974), p. 3ff. Wesleyan cat. (1900-01), pp. 51, 63. See also Ibid. (1909-10), p. 38.

Wesleyan had to have very strict rules concerning graduation dresses. Over the years, the dresses became more elaborate and the girls more competitive about them. See Wesleyan Board of Trustees Minutes and Wesleyan cat. (1904-05), p. 96, which quotes the regulations of the Board of Trustees about commencement dresses.

¹⁸Smith letters from Shorter in The Bulletin (Fall 1974), p. 18; Atlanta Weekly, Oct. 10, 1982, p. 18. Julia Anderson McNeely interview, Aug. 1984, Marietta, Georgia.

and blouses by wearing aprons while they did their required housekeeping and table serving chores. Some of the white muslin commencement dresses worn by the Negro graduates were the most elaborate and detailed available, for they were made by trained dressmakers, the graduates' mothers, or by the students themselves. A number of the Spelman students were expert seamstresses and milliners who worked for white customers. Although Spelman had no formal athletic program, an early 1900's picture shows Spelman girls dressed in dark ankle-length skirts, black hightop shoes, and baggy white athletic sweaters as they play basketball in front of Giles Hall. Women could not participate in games like basketball, tennis, or golf, or ride bicycles with much ease until later when they began to wear more sensible outfits.¹⁹

Family Connections

Families selected colleges for their girls so that the family could be close together. Often girls went where their mothers or their aunts had gone. Sometimes their cousins were there or relatives lived nearby in the town. Usually there was a family connection or personal friendship that attracted the student to the college she attended. Sallie Parna Barker (Hill) grew up near the Wesleyan campus,

¹⁹See Frankie Quarles' (Spelman, class of 1902) graduation dress on the cover of Guy-Sheftall, Cent., the front of the Time Line inside, and p. 114. See also Ibid., p. 28.

where she later went to college and graduated in 1873. She sent her daughters to Wesleyan until the family moved to Athens where her husband, Walter Barnard Hill, was chancellor of the University of Georgia. When he died in 1905, she moved back to Macon and taught Wesleyan professors' children. Mary Louise McKinney (1868-1965) arrived at Agnes Scott in 1890 as the Institute's first English teacher and attracted three succeeding generations, her niece, grand-niece, and great-grandniece, to the campus and into the alumnae fold.²⁰

Jack Long (Willingham), class of 1911, went to Shorter because her widowed mother had moved to Rome from Eufala, Alabama. Two of her favorite teachers at Shorter were the Waddell sisters, whom she had known in Alabama. "Miss Sallie" taught math, and "Miss Bessie" taught history. Jack wanted to go to Shorter because her older sister Martha, class of 1909, was there. When her sister graduated and went to New York to pursue a career in voice, Jack did not

²¹ Interview with Mrs. O. P. Willingham, Shorter, class of 1911, March 13, 1984. See also Shorter cat. (1912-13), p. 107, and Gardner, Hill, p. 77-125. Jack Long's father died before she was born, and she was named for him. The

²⁰ Wesleyan cat. (1904-05), Alumnae Register, p. 107; Mrs. Walter B. Hill to Dr. Wallace Buttrick, Feb. 8, 1908, in the GEB file, GA #192, at the RAC, N.Y. See also DGB (1983), s.v., "Hill, Walter Barnard" by Mary Kathryn Mathis. See also McNair, p. 344-345. Miss McKinney's nieces are Caroline McKinney (Hill) (Clarke) '27, Louise McKinney Hill (Reaves) '54, and Carol Reaves (Wilson), '82.

continue and finish her work toward a college degree for it did not seem important to her "in those days."²¹

Some of the families who were the educational leaders, founders, trustees, and presidents of the women's colleges, sent their daughters to "their college." Daughters of clergymen and church leaders flocked to the denominational colleges. Sarah Patton (Cortelyou) was the daughter of Dr. John H. Patton, minister of the Presbyterian Church in Marietta. In 1914 when she was ready for college, her uncle, the Reverend James G. Patton, was the minister at the Decatur Presbyterian Church. There was no doubt that Sarah, precocious and talented, would go to Agnes Scott, which was near family, affiliated with the Presbyterian Church, and gave scholarships to ministers' daughters. Several others in Dr. John Patton's Marietta congregation went to Agnes Scott also. Eileen Gober graduated from the Institute in 1901. The Anderson sisters, Julia ('17) (McNeely) and Emma Katherine ('18) attended Agnes Scott College for several

²¹Interview with Mrs. O. P. Willingham, Shorter, class of 1911, March 13, 1984. See also Shorter cat. (1912-13), p. 107, and Gardner, Hill, p. 77-125. Jack Long's father died before she was born, and she was named for him. The three daughters of Rome Mayor William F. Ayer went to Shorter: Nellie, '77, Anna, '86, and Marie Celeste, '95. Shorter cat. (1912-13), pp. 94, 98, 95. Marie Celeste Ayer was an art instructor at Shorter for three years before her marriage to Congressman William H. Fleming in 1900. Rome Tribune, August 21, 26, 1900. See also Gardner, Hill, p. 61.

years. Julia wanted a more practical applied art education than could be obtained at Agnes Scott. After two years there, she transferred to art school in New York City. Emma Katherine transferred from Agnes Scott to Wellesley at the same time that her sister went north.²²

Families tried to stay together even if they were overseas students. Wesleyan had a China connection for over a decade. Charlie Jones Soong (1866-1918) was trained as a Methodist missionary at Trinity College, later Duke University, and Vanderbilt Divinity School. He and his dedicated Christian wife, Ni Kwe-tsung (1869-1931) who had been educated at the Bridgeman School for Girls, a Methodist mission school in Shanghai, sent their three daughters to Wesleyan in Macon because of Methodist missionary connections, particularly with the Reverend William Blount Burke (1864-1947) of Macon and because they wanted the best "Western" Christian education possible for their family. In 1905 Ai-ling, who became Mrs. H. H. K'ung, came to Wesleyan escorted by missionary friends. In 1908 Ching-ling, who became Mrs. Sun Yat'sen, and nine-year-old Mei-ling, who became Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek, followed their elder sister to Macon and Wesleyan. When Charlie Soong's eldest son, Soong Tse-ven, called

²²Interview with Julia Anderson (McNeely), August 1984, Marietta, Georgia.

"T.V.", went to Harvard in 1912, Mei-ling transferred to Wellesley in Massachusetts to be near her brother.²³

Spelman had a Congo connection for many years, sending Negro missionaries to Africa and training Africans for Christian missions in their native land. In 1889 Nora Gordon, '88, was the first Spelman graduate to go to the "Dark Continent." She brought three native Africans to Spelman: Vunga, Margaret Rattray, and Suluca. Vunga, who was adopted by a Scots missionary, Dr. Joseph Clarke and called Lena Clarke (Whitman), completed missionary training in 1895. After returning to the African mission, she became a gifted linguist and served as a Bible translator. Margaret Rattray was brought from Africa when she was only twelve, and spent nine years at Spelman. In 1900 she returned to Ikoto on Lake Ntomba where she directed the mission's girls' work. In 1925 she was awarded King Albert's medal of honor, the first black woman ever to receive it.

Suluca, or Emma Yongeblood [Logan], '06, studied at Spelman

²³Florence F. Corley, "Go Home, Foreign Devils! Christian Missionary Activities and the Anti-Christian Movement in Twentieth Century China," Southeast Conference Association for Asian Studies, *Annals* 6 (January 12-14, 1984): 40-52. See also Wesleyan *ZigZag* (1906), n.p.; and the *KuKlux*, p. 50.

Mei-ling Soong, President Ainsworth's daughter, and another friend had a "special" class. The Methodist church and the Wesleyan faculty saw to the underaged children's education and arranged for Mei-ling to spend one summer at Reinhardt, a Methodist college in North Georgia. See Emily Hahn, *The Soong Sisters* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1977), pp. 44-58.

and became a nurse. Financially unable to return to her native land, she practiced in a hospital in Tennessee. Clara Howard, '87, the second alumna missionary to Africa, was given a young Congolese child, Flora Zeto, whom she brought back to Georgia with her. In 1915 Flora Zeto graduated from Spelman High School, and in 1919 she married Dr. Daniel Malekebu in the Spelman Chapel. In 1926 they built a mission in Nyasaland which included a "Spelman Hall."²⁴

Financial Resources

Family income was another important factor in determining the nature of the student body of woman's colleges. Most of the families whose daughters attended Wesleyan, Shorter, and Agnes Scott were rather well-to-do, with fathers in business and the professions. In 1914 the

²⁴Read, pp. 349-357 and Guy-Sheftall, Centennial, pp. 16, 19, 33, 98, 100. See also Spelman Messenger 1900-1920 and WABHM's The Baptist Home Mission Monthly, 42, 10 (October 1895): 363-392, which includes pictures and missionary biographies. This issue was a special number on Spelman Seminary. For a detailed description of Spelman's Africa connection see Spelman in Africa, Africa in Spelman (c. 1922), a printed booklet with pictures and a map in the Spelman file at the Atlanta Historical Society.

In 1905 Daniel Malekebu literally ran away from his home in Nyasaland to follow his beloved missionary teacher, Emma DeLaney, '96, back to Georgia. He met Flora Zeto, who lived with Clara Howard, at Spelman when he visited Emma DeLaney there. These stories are models for the Negroes and Africans in Alice Walker's Pulitzer Prize winning The Color Purple. Walker attended Spelman from 1961 to 1963. In 1965 she received the B.A. from Sarah Lawrence College. See Guy-Sheftall, Centennial, p. 106.

Shorter Argo published a picture of twenty-six girls who were doctors' daughters, which was double the number of preachers' daughters at the college. All of the three white church colleges had yearbook photographs of ministers' daughters who attended their schools. Annual pictures also revealed that many students were daughters of alumnae and had sisters in school with them. In the white church colleges the daughters of ministers received scholarships and discounts to cut tuition costs for the low-paid clergy. Missionaries' came under the scholarship umbrella for the clergy, and there were often several missionaries' children on the campuses. The schools also offered a reduction in cost for more than one daughter from a family.²⁵

Each college had some special programs for additional tuition grants. Wesleyan offered scholarships for "worthy girls" in financial need. Annually Shorter Trustees nominated fifteen to twenty students as "beneficiaries" whose tuition charges were waived. Agnes Scott had some funds for "worthy girls of Presbyterian parents who are unable to provide a collegiate education for their daughters." Agnes Scott's Rebecca Steele Scholarship of five thousand dollars,

²⁵ Shorter Argo (1914), pp. 166, 177, 178. See Wesleyan ZigZag; and Agnes Scott Silhouette and Read, p. 385, which tells of the founding of a Granddaughters' Club at Spelman in 1910. See also Agnes Scott, Wesleyan, and Shorter catalogues.

given by A. B. Steele of Atlanta in memory of his mother, aided "poor country girls." A tuition grant for "excellence" academically was also given to the student with the highest average above ninety in her class. Colleges' records, showing how many recipients there were, revealed that the poor but worthy girls who received scholarships were few in number (unless the clergy are included) on the white church college campuses.²⁶

Black families did not have the same level of resources as whites; therefore they influenced their daughters and young relatives to work toward a higher education, even if they had never had the opportunity themselves. One third of the Spelman patrons were widows who wanted their girls to have a better chance in life. Black families, in contrast to white families, chose to educate their daughters before their sons, for there were more job openings for educated Negro females than for educated Negro males. Ethel McGhee's aunt, who worked in Atlanta, persuaded Ethel's mother to allow her eleven-year-old niece to go to school at Spelman. It was hard for the McGhees to give up Ethel's income as a productive cotton picker in Meriwether County. Ethel's

²⁶ Agnes Scott cat. (1900-01), pp. 82, 83, 87; Minutes of the Trustees of Shorter Female College (July 3, 1900), p. 191 (Aug. 22, 1901), p. 209 (1907), p. 305. See also Minutes of the Trustees of Wesleyan College. The data sent in by the colleges to the GEB also reveal the number of scholarship recipients.

mother was a cook in rural Greenville and had no way of taking care of her daughter's monthly ten dollar board and tuition payments. Ethel worked with another girl for part of her tuition, and earned three dollars a month by washing silver, cups, and saucers for five hundred people three times a day. Her mother paid the balance. Girls such as Ethel McGhee who worked their way through school were not unusual at Spelman.²⁷

Black families that helped build Negro women's education in Georgia were loyal to Spelman and encouraged their progeny to attend the school for succeeding generations. The Quarles family, which included Frankie Quarles (Johnson) (Young), '02, daughter of "Founding Father" Frank Quarles and his wife, Selena, '88, attended Spelman for five generations. The first Spelman graduate at the college level, Claudia White (Harreld), '01, was the daughter of the

²⁷Read, p. 156, Lerner, Majority, pp. 74-75, Beverly Guy-Sheftall, Finding A Way: The Black Family's Struggle for an Education at the Atlanta University Center (Atlanta: African American Family History Association, Inc., 1983), catalogue for the photographic documentary on Negro education in Atlanta exhibited at the Robert W. Woodruff Library at the Atlanta University center from February, 1984, to February 1985. Davis to Corley, July 10, 1984. See Spelman Messenger from 1900 to 1920 and alumnae files in the Rockefeller Hall office at Spelman for more examples. See also Jeanne L. Noble, The Negro Women's College Education (New York: Columbia Univ., 1956); Marion V. Cuthbert, "Education and Marginality: A Study of the Negro Woman College Graduate," diss. Columbia Univ. 1942; and E. Wilbur Bock, "Farmer's Daughter Effect: The Case of the Negro Female Professionals," Phylon 30 (Spring 1969): 17-26.

Reverend William Jefferson White, the founder of Atlanta Baptist College, first vice president of the Spelman Board of Trustees, and the editor of the influential Negro news journal, the Georgia Baptist. Her daughter Josephine Harreld (Love), '33, was raised on the Spelman campus and went to high school and college there. In 1910 President Lucy Houghton Upton organized a "Granddaughters' Club," made up of students whose mothers or aunts had attended the seminary, an indication of the interest and the large number of alumnae who sent their daughters back to Spelman.²⁸

Geographical Distribution

Because of the family networks and wealth factors, the geographic distribution of the female student population in the four women's colleges was not very widespread or diverse. Most came from Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, and some from North and South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. In 1900 Agnes Scott had three young ladies from Illinois: Alice Hanna, daughter of J. H. Hanna, and Marguerite and Theodora Shonts, daughters of railroad magnate Theodore P.

²⁸Guy-Sheftall, Centennial, pp. 18, 25, 114; Read, p. 385; and John M. Matthews, "Black Newspapermen and the Black Community in Georgia, 1890-1930," The Georgia Historical Quarterly 68, 3 (Fall 1984): 357. See also Claudia White Harreld's biographical sketch in this dissertation in Chapter VII. The white colleges started Granddaughters Clubs also.

Shonts of Chicago and New York. Shonts endowed the college's Library Prize and hired a Negro personal maid for his daughters for the year they boarded on the campus. Agnes Scott had a student, Cornelia Hope, from Japan, but she was the daughter of an American missionary, the Reverend S. R. Hope. Wesleyan had the Soong sisters from China from 1905 to 1913. Shorter's student body was primarily from Rome, northwest Georgia, and northeast Alabama, and Tennessee. One student was a missionary's daughter from Honduras.²⁹

Spelman students seem to have had more diverse and widespread geographical origins than the white colleges. In 1900, five percent of the total 669 student body (about thirty-three girls) came from other regions. Just about one half of the students (336) were boarders and one half (333) were local day students. In 1900 five students were from the Congo, thirteen from Colombia, two from Honduras, and the Christian Science churches, for which there were no local congregations, appeared on the registers.

²⁹ McKinney notebooks, in Dr. W. Edward McNair's office, McCain Library, Agnes Scott College, hereafter cited as McKinney notebooks. See also Alumnae files, Agnes Scott College and Agnes Scott cat. (1900-01), p. 82, previously cited; Shorter's catalogues from 1900 to 1920; and Gardner, Hill, p. 158.

In 1900 T.P. Shonts toured the South looking for a college for his daughters. He looked at Shorter but chose Agnes Scott. Brochure of interesting facts about Rome, Georgia, for the "Third Annual Home-Coming Celebration," October 10th through October 15th, 1921, n.p. Theodora married a duke and became Duchesse de Chaulnes. Marguerite became Mrs. Rutherford Bingham. Alumnae files, Agnes Scott College.

two from Jamaica, making Spelman the most international of the campuses in this study.³⁰

Religious Affiliations

In large ledger books at Shorter and at Wesleyan, the registrars entered tuition payments and recorded the students' church affiliations or preferences. At both schools, at least during the first decade of the century, students were required to go to church on Sunday and present proof of attendance. In 1916 local church affiliation was still encouraged, and church attendance on Sundays was "expected" at Agnes Scott. The church preference records at Shorter and Wesleyan revealed that most of the young women belonged to the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian denominations, but other churches were listed, including the Lutheran, Episcopal, and Christian. Occasionally the Universalist and the Christian Science churches, for which there were no local congregations, appeared on the registers.³¹

³⁰Spelman cat. (1901), reproduced in Guy-Sheftall, *Cent.*, pp. 36-37.

³¹Wesleyan's Matriculation Ledgers, in the Registrar's office and Shorter's Students' Journal in the Memorabilia Room at Shorter College indicated that Baptists, Methodists, Lutheran, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Christian denomination predominated on the white women's campuses. These records also recorded each student's age. See also Willie May Sheets' (Shorter '16) student scrapbooks. She saved her church attendance cards from Rome First Methodist Sunday School for Jan. 24, 1915. The [Agnes Scott] Agonistic in 1916 referred to students' local church affiliations in Decatur.

A few Jewesses attended the three white Christian colleges. They took the required Bible courses and attended the required chapel services. Some were allowed to omit the New Testament Bible course, which became an elective by 1920 at Wesleyan. Sylvia Kaplan (Cohen), '21, and her younger sister Freda Kaplan (Nadler), '26, felt that they were "special" at Wesleyan. Their Bible professor respected their Judaism. Their father, a successful and respected Jewish merchant in Macon, was an Old Testament scholar who attended the local Temple on Saturday but often went with friends to the Mulberry Street Methodist Church's Solomon (Men's) Bible Class on Sundays. Kaplan, a close friend of Wesleyan's president, selected Wesleyan because he wanted his girls to have the best education available for women.³²

Denominational affiliations at Spelman were also predominantly Baptist and Methodist, although there were a few black Congregationalists. The white Women's American Baptist Home Missionary Society (WABHMS) of New York emphasized attempts to convert the black young women who came to Spelman from rural and unchurched areas in Georgia and the South. Spelman's white administration encouraged the Negro

³²Freda Kaplan Nadler, class of 1926, interview, March 15, 1984, in Macon, Georgia. Sylvia Kaplan (Cohen), class of 1921, became Wesleyan's first alumnae director.

Agnes Scott's and Shorter's catalogue student lists indicated that several Jewish women attended and graduated from the Christian colleges between 1900 and 1920.

women to give oral testimony to their conversions to Christ while they lived on the campus. Over the Howe Memorial Chapel was the school's goal: "Our Whole School For Christ." A sincere but intense religious commitment was stressed "forenoon, afternoon and night" with Bible classes, Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), missionary and prayer meetings, daily devotions during the weekdays, and Bible study and Vespers on Sundays. Ethel McGhee (Davis), '19, judged Spelman's religious emphasis to be "very conservative." In accord with most denominations in the South, the Northern-based WABHMS felt that dancing was sinful, and it was not allowed at Spelman before 1920. When Ethel McGhee found it being taught in her gymnasium classes at Oberlin, she wrote back to her Spelman mentors about her change of attitude. To her amazement she became the object of pity and deep concern and was promptly added to the school's prayer list. Dean Edith Brill wrote Ethel McGhee a short but pointed note with this question about her witness at Oberlin: "Holding the Cross of Christ high, dear?"³³

³³ Many of the educated elite in the Atlanta Negro community near the colleges belonged to the First Congregational Church. The Congregationalists were instrumental in founding Atlanta University. Clarence Bacote, History of Atlanta University: A Century of Service, 1865-1965 (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1969), p. 242, 251.

Ethel McGhee (Davis) to Florence Fleming Corley, June 26, 1984. Ethel McGhee Davis became Spelman's first black administrator in 1926. Hereafter cited as Davis to Corley.

Living Arrangements

The campus context for the student body was the college dormitory, the students' Christian home away from home. All the schools advertised that fact. Agnes Scott's catalogue for 1900 emphasized the Christian atmosphere of the young ladies' living quarters, went into great detail about the genteel and healthful appointments of the girls' spacious rooms, and included pictures of the interiors. One view showed a sunny room with two single oak beds, two rocking chairs, a straight chair, a chest of drawers with mirror, two trunks under arched windows with shades and curtains, two large wardrobes, a steam radiator, and a fireplace with a kindling basket beside it and a framed portrait over it. In the center of the room beneath a ceiling drop electric light with a ruffled shade was a small book table. A large patterned carpet covered the floor. The Attendant of the Infirmary inspected the Agnes Scott dormitories daily to insure neatness and health. Shorter's and Wesleyan's catalogues had pictures of similar living accommodations for their students in large centrally located dormitory buildings.³⁴

Dancing was frowned upon at Agnes Scott, Shorter, and Wesleyan but was allowed with other girls as "folk" dancing in the round at May Day Festivals or in rhythmic exercises in physical education classes.

³⁴Agnes Scott cat. (1900-01), pp. 75, 79; Shorter cat. (1909-1910), n.p.; Wesleyan cat. (1900-01), after p. 62.

Spelman's dormitory arrangements and interiors were similar to those on the white campuses except that the students were located in several residence halls, organized as six families under a "cottage system" similar to Smith's. A photograph of an early dormitory room at Spelman showed two young Negro women, sitting in straight desk chairs, one at a reading table with a kerosene lamp and the other musing in front of a chest of drawers with a dozen framed family pictures. A card and a whisk brush hung by the mirror. A fringed cloth covered the desk table. The single beds were made of iron and painted white.³⁵ In 1900 Spelman housed over three hundred black boarding students and their white teachers in five multistoried buildings on the twenty-acre campus.³⁶

Rules and regulations for dormitory life were maternalistic and numerous. Penalties and policies were published

For more on women's colleges' architecture and designs for dormitories in the northeast, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, Alma Mater, Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), especially pp. 28-41 on Vassar.

³⁵ Spelman cat. (1899-1900), p. 43. Guy-Sheftall, Cent., p. 21. See also Davis to Corley, Aug. 7, 1984. Ethel Davis wrote that four girls lived in her Spelman dormitory room and slept on two iron single beds and two folding cots which were stored during the day under the iron beds.

³⁶ Guy-Sheftall, Cent., p. 35, and Spelman cat. (1900), pp. 42-43.

in the catalogues. Health was a great concern because many felt that young women, if educated too long and too rigorously, would ruin their health. Quiet times, especially on the Sabbath, were rigidly enforced on all the campuses. Lights were out at nine and not to be turned on before six in the white dormitories.³⁷ Once a week the black students had to be up at four o'clock in the morning to do their laundry before breakfast at 5:45. Ethel McGhee (Davis) reported that, as assistant to the faculty housemother, she was in charge of getting everyone up on all three floors of her hall.³⁸

Getting the students to eat balanced diets at mealtime was another concern of the women's colleges. Parents were warned not to send boxes of food to their daughters. This rule was strictly adhered to in the Negro dormitories, but was blatantly disregarded in the white. The girls at Agnes Scott, Shorter, and Wesleyan lived for midnight parties and chafing dish soirées after "lights out," much to the chagrin of the housemothers and faculty residents. By 1916 the parties given at Agnes Scott were written up in the college

³⁷See Agnes Scott, Shorter, Wesleyan, and Spelman catalogues.

³⁸Davis to Corley, July 10, 1984. See also Read, p. 155. Edith Rickert, "What Has the College Done for Girls: A Personal Canvass of Hundreds of Graduates of Sixty Colleges," Ladies Home Journal 29 (January-April 1912), published the results of her findings on the effect of college on the health of the graduates.

newspaper, The Agonistic, and all who attended listed in the social column. Wesleyan girls smuggled food in via day students and in their trunks. Shorter girls were let down into the kitchen storeroom through the dumb waiter shaft, and others ate in their closets by candlelight.³⁹

Conclusion

Several important factors influenced the character of the church college student body. There were few secondary schools to prepare women for college level work, and many entered college as special students or had to be brought up to grade level in the academies attached to the women's colleges. The women's colleges fostered alumnae and kinship connections that kept many of the same families as long-standing patrons of the schools, which led to relatively homogeneous student bodies, sharing similar values and educational goals. Many of the patrons of a college had been instrumental in its founding or in staffing its administration or faculty or had served on its Board of Trustees. Often patrons were church officials of their denominations

³⁹Read, p. 155. See also Davis to Corley, Aug. 7, 1984. Shorter Argo (1912), n.p.; Gardner, Hill, p. 105; Agnes Scott Silhouette (1916), p. 173; Wesleyan KuKlux (1913), p. 181. Wesleyan Faculty Minutes, September 11, 1906. Edith Rickert mentioned the positive value of the midnight feasts and after lights gossip and philosophical musings in her 1912 survey of female college graduates published in the Ladies Home Journal.

or civic and state leaders in education or benevolent organizations.

Many white clergymen's daughters attended the church colleges on scholarships. Very often the white families were relatively well off and had a heritage of valuing higher education. Most Spelman patrons were poor laborers, professionals, or widows. Some were Negro ministers who did not get a regular salary and were sending their daughters to a school with no scholarships. Many Spelman students were the first in their families to have an education. Nevertheless, many Negro families sacrificed to send their daughters to college so that they could get good jobs, education and Christian conversion and commitment than did the white female colleges did. Whites left the conversion of the women students to their families and their local churches. Nevertheless, the white church colleges thoroughly reinforced the Christian atmosphere and values of evangelical Protestant. Described as conservative in theology, these Christian colleges admitted Jews and even pupils from the newer, more liberal sects. This policy gave a little diversity to the religious persuasions on the campuses. Because of foreign missionary connections, Wesleyan and Spelman had a few international students on their campuses. Nevertheless, about half of the students were local people who attended the colleges as day students.

The four female colleges in this study, associated with the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches, were really not denominational schools, but they were thoroughly evangelical Protestant. Described as conservative in theology, these Christian colleges admitted Jews and even pupils from the newer, more liberal sects. This policy gave a little diversity to the religious persuasions on the campuses. Because of foreign missionary connections, Wesleyan and Spelman had a few international students on their campuses. Nevertheless, about half of the students were local people who attended the colleges as day students.

Boarding students were supervised and monitored closely by teacher-chaperones at all four campuses. The attitudes of the white teachers toward the education of the black

Savior and to witness for him during school sponsored religious emphasis weeks and locally sponsored revivals. women were different from the white teachers towards the white women. Sometimes white teachers dealt with white students with a wink at the regulations, and the students had fun trying to outwit the supervising teachers and "the rules." But this was not so on the black campuses. To break a rule was a mortifying experience, and the younger students at Spelman were in awe and terror of the strict discipline of the teachers. Spelman's work/study campus routine was serious business, with no time left unscheduled for getting into trouble.

The Negro female college put more emphasis on moral education and Christian conversion and commitment than did the white female colleges did. Whites left the conversion of the women students to their families and their local churches. Nevertheless, the white church colleges thoroughly reinforced the Christian atmosphere and values of the girls' presumably Christian homes. Students were provided frequent opportunities to accept Christ as personal

Noble, p. 24. Davis to Corley, July 10, 1984; August 7, 1984. See also Elizabeth Ihle, "Black Women's Higher Education in the South," paper given at an Educational Symposium, Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia, 1983; Anne Filer Scott, The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 167-170, and Carl N. Degler, At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 279, 291-92.

Savior and to witness for Him during school sponsored religious emphasis weeks and locally sponsored revivals.

In the Negro college, the leadership assumed that the girls came from backward and unconverted homes. Therefore, it was the duty of the more enlightened school administrators and teachers to press for conversions among the students and lead them to Christ so that the young Negro women might live by society's prescribed ideal behavior and "blot out the sins of their slave foremothers." Dr. Jeanne Noble, in her pioneer study of collegiate education for black women, said that Negro women's education was based on a "philosophy which implied that she was weak and immoral and that at best she should be made fit to rear her children and keep house for her husband." In contrast, the white women were idealized and presumed pure and saintly and placed on a pedestal by southern society.⁴⁰

⁴⁰Noble, p. 24. Davis to Corley, July 10, 1984; August 7, 1984. See also Elizabeth Ihle, "Black Women's Higher Education in the South," paper given at an Educational Symposia, Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia, 1983; Anne Firor Scott, The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 167-170, and Carl N. Degler, At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 279, 291-92ff.

CHAPTER IV

THE FACULTY FAMILY: ROLE MODELS, HOUSING, ACADEMIC
CREDENTIALS, AND SALARIES

The period from 1900 to 1920 saw changes in the relationships between faculty and students, in the qualifications of teachers, and in faculty salaries and living conditions. The faculty and administration of Georgia's women's colleges stood to the students in loco parentis. The entire campus community was related like a family; the women's alma mater was truly a foster mother.¹

Faculty Role Models

In the early nineteenth century, the college president was a parental figure. The students were directly responsible to the president for their behavior at college. The president was usually a male clergyman in the white women's church colleges. At Wesleyan, the president had immediate

¹In 1900 the line between faculty and staff designations was blurred. Teaching and administrative duties were considered faculty responsibilities. At co-educational colleges there was already a distinction between faculty and staff, especially where female employees were concerned. Negro employees were routinely called "help" or "servants," not "staff" at the white schools. See Agnes Scott, Shorter, Wesleyan, and Spelman catalogues for 1900, which list the Faculty and the areas of instruction, administration, and staff functions they performed. A female faculty member might supervise a dormitory as well. See also Horowitz, pp. 38, 104, 110, and particularly the discussion of the Smith family cottage system on pages 71 to 80.

and discretionary power over "his girls." Once a bored young lady, wishing to defy the rules on a dare from another girl, dangled her bloomers out of the second story window of Roberts Hall which fronted on a residential Macon street. President William J. Roberts (1898-1905) happened to be walking down College Street and saw the signalling "unmentionables." He noted the window, came immediately into the building, notified the Lady Principal, and had the student shipped home with her undergarments that very day.²

The sense of family was reinforced by campus weddings, births, and funerals. The married faculty raised their families in sight of the college, adding a home-like atmosphere. In 1916 Agnes Scott students enjoyed all the preparation and excitement for the wedding of two faculty members, Christian W. Dieckmann, professor of music from 1905 to 1950, and Emma Pope Moss, class of 1913 and instructor in English from 1913 to 1925. The girls serenaded the couple at their East Lawn cottage with "I Wonder Who's Kissing Her Now." Then Inman Dormitory's comb brigade played the "Wedding March," concluding with a grand finale of "Good Night Ladies." The day after Shorter opened the new campus on The Hill, October 17, 1911, Dean John W. Gaines' wife gave

² Wesleyan Faculty Minutes are full of disciplinary cases determined by the president, sometimes with counsel from the faculty. The bloomers story was told by Librarian Tina Roberts during an interview, March 14, 1984, in Willet Memorial Library at Wesleyan. See also Akers, pp. 123-124.

birth to a baby daughter, Frances Marian, in their dormitory apartment. The newspaper said the baby could give the college yell immediately. The class of 1912 adopted her as its mascot. The Gaineses were warmly admired by Shorter students. When the popular faculty couple noticed a lonely girl, they usually would invite her for a drive around town in their automobile.³

Many faculty men married students or colleagues. Samuel Guerry Stukes (1913-1957) was one of the most popular and effective teachers at Agnes Scott. During his tenure, he taught education, philosophy, psychology, and Bible. In 1924, the thirty-seven-year-old bachelor married one of his students, Frances Gilliland, class of 1924. Alex Mathews Arnett, Shorter history professor from 1912 to 1917, married librarian Ethel Stephens, class of 1912, in the first campus wedding held at Shorter's new campus on The Hill.⁴

Only a few female college teachers were married. Gussie O'Neal (Johnson), on the Agnes Scott Music faculty from

³The Agonistic, vol. 1, no. 9 (April 7, 1916), p. 13. Gardner, Hill, pp. 145, 169; Argo (1912), n.p.; Argo (1915), p. 22. See also conversations with Adele Dieckmann McKee, '48, July 7, 1985, Decatur, Georgia, who recalled growing up on the Agnes Scott campus.

⁴McNair, pp. 352-353. According to Professor Emeritus W. Edward McNair, Dr. Stukes was the last bachelor hired at Agnes Scott until he was hired in 1952. The Stukeses had one daughter, Marjorie Stukes (Strickland), class of 1951, who lives in Decatur. For more details of the Arnett's wedding, see the biographical sketch of Ethel Stephens Arnett (1891-1930) in Chapter VII of this dissertation.

1910 to 1912, from 1914 to 1917, and from 1925 to 1934, seems to have taken leaves of absence from teaching voice to raise a family. Spelman graduate Claudia White married her colleague on the Morehouse faculty, Kemper Harreld, Professor of Music, in 1910 and continued to teach German and the classical languages until the birth of their first child in 1914.⁵

Most female college faculty members were unmarried women or widows who, during the early part of the twentieth century, lived in the halls as resident house mothers. As such, they assumed counseling as well as teaching duties all day and all night. The lady principals, or the deans or the matrons, as they were sometimes called, ruled the dormitories until student governments came on the scene. Student governments were organized between 1905 and 1912 at Wesleyan, between 1906 and 1912 at Agnes Scott, and between 1908 and 1917 at Shorter. After the inauguration of student governments, the faculty's authority moderated, and the students assumed some of the dormitory responsibilities, such

⁷The *Academy*, March 10, 1916. See also Amy Friedlander, "Not a Veneer of a Sham: The Early Days at Agnes Scott," *Atlanta Historical Journal*, vol. XXIII, no. 4 (Winter, 1979-80), p. 38, and "A More Perfect Christian Womanhood," *Atlanta Journal*, for a New South, 1916, p. 1.

⁵Gussie O'Neal (Johnson), class of 1911, married her music professor Lewis H. Johnson who was on the Agnes Scott faculty from 1910 to 1950. She was his assistant supervisor of practice. McNair, pp. 375, 383; and Agnes Scott Bulletin, October 1948, p. 64.

Josephine Harreld Love to Corley, August 13, 1984, and August 26, 1984. See also Chapter VII of this dissertation for a biographical sketch of Claudia White (Harreld).

as fire drill supervision, and monitoring after "lights out" under an honor system.⁶

When teaching faculty lived off campus, some rented college-owned cottages nearby or boarded in town at their own expense. Because of the teachers' very low salaries, Agnes Scott furnished women teachers room and board in the college dormitories at a much lower rate than the going rate in Decatur, thus keeping them on campus. The close family-like relationship was maintained with teachers inviting students for afternoon teas and taffy pullings in their rooms or private residences. The Agonistic reported that Agnes Scott Professor Lillian S. Smith (1905-1938) had her Latin 10 class come to her rooms for tea and sandwiches after reading a Latin comedy.⁷

⁶ Wesleyan Faculty Minutes, Dec. 8, 1911, and Jan. 5, 1912. See also Akers, p. 134; McNair, p. 315; Gardner, pp. 107, 175. Spelman had no student government until 1942 when the Student Association was formed. See Timeline insert in Guy-Sheftall between pp. 48 and 49.

⁷ The Agonistic, March 10, 1916. See also Amy Friedlander,, "'Not a Veneer or a Sham': The Early Days at Agnes Scott," Atlanta Historical Journal, vol. XXIII, no. 4 (Winter 1979-80), p. 38, and "A More Perfect Christian Womanhood: Higher Learning for a New South" in Ronald K. Goode-now and Arthur O. White, eds., Education and the Rise of the New South (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 19181), p. 83. See also Ga. 39, GEB, RAC, for rental rates in Decatur. A letter from Frank H. Gaines to Trevor Arnett, February 23, 1920, disclosed that in 1920 board in Decatur ranged from \$40.00 to \$50.00 per month. Seven and eight-room houses rented for from \$60.00 to \$75.00 per month. Single rooms averaged from \$15.00 to \$20.00 furnished.

The women faculty members, especially the lady principals or deans, were mother models, counsellors, and academic teachers for the girls. In the first decade of the twentieth century the lady principal was in charge of the students' academic as well as social adjustment. Later she was known as Dean, but this was simply a change in nomenclature, for her administrative and teaching duties remained.⁸

Later in the period, after housemothering requirements were lightened, teachers were free to arrange housing for their own convenience. Mary Louise McKinney, Professor of English at Agnes Scott from 1891 to 1937, and Dr. Mary Frances Sweet, the college physician and professor of physiology and hygiene from 1908 to 1937, roomed together on the campus in Green Cottage, where a group of teachers and a few students had rooms. When it burned in 1902, they moved into a one-room arrangement in a dormitory called Old White House, where the winters were long and cold, Miss McKinney remembered. Later Dr. Sweet lived for a time in a house with her brother, "Mr. Fred," and her mother on South

⁸For more on women's colleges' faculty housing, see Horowitz, pp. 179-197. See also Lois Kimball Matthews, The Dean of Women (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915), and McNair, pp. 20, 95. Not until 1938 after Dean Nannette Hopkins' death did Agnes Scott College redefine the office, dividing it into two offices, Dean of the Faculty and Dean of Students.

Candler Street beside the campus. Later Miss McKinney had her own house on South Candler Street.⁹

Anna Irwin Young, an unmarried teacher at Agnes Scott from 1898 to 1920, had two sets of duties in the daytime and tutored after hours in her on-campus dormitory residence. Anna Young attended Agnes Scott Institute from 1893 to 1895. In 1898 she was appointed to teach in the Institute's mathematics department, and she also served as librarian from 1898 to 1902. While teaching her classes, Professor Young studied at her alma mater, which had become Agnes Scott College, and earned a B.A. degree in 1910. During a leave of absence in the 1913-1914 session, she completed her M.A. degree at Columbia University. The students appreciated her excellent teaching, her genuine concern that they do well, and her understanding of their difficulties with her subject. A senior, suffering from fear-of-math syndrome because of repeated failures in trigonometry, was so scared during her final examination in the subject that she forgot everything in the glaring light in the classroom and did not even try to work the problems. That night Miss Young sent for the distraught senior to come to her room, where she

⁹The Agonistic, October 13, 1916; James Ross McCain, "Miss McKinney," Agnes Scott Alumnae Quarterly, vol. 43, no. 3 (Spring 1965), pp. 11-12; "In the Agnes Scott Tradition," Agnes Scott Alumnae Quarterly 25 (Autumn 1946): 20-23, 39; Louise McKinney file, Agnes Scott College Archives; McNair, p. 90, 149, and interview with Caroline McKinney Clarke, Decatur, Georgia, March 10, 1983.

reassured her calmly but firmly, saying, "I know you know this, and I know you can work these problems. Sit down in that chair and work them." In the quiet of her professor's room she worked them and passed.¹⁰

Mary Louise Cady, a graduate of Radcliffe and Bryn Mawr, was an informed and popular history teacher at Agnes Scott from 1908 to 1918. She also taught political economy and sociology. By the second decade of the century she was able to live by herself off campus. In 1917 Professor Cady, who had also studied at the University of Berlin in 1907, gave a series of lectures on "The World at War" for the college Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). The YWCA girls adored her, hung on her every word, and flocked to her office to become history majors. Her fans panicked when she went to Washington, D.C. in April 1917, thinking she might be leaving to go overseas to support the war effort. As president of the Southern Association of College Women, she was attending the organization's conference at the capitol. The Agnes Scott newspaper, The Agonistic, announced that Professor Cady's students would "miss her smile that she always finds even for the thickest skulls among us" but that the class "cuts sound exceedingly tempting to most of us" too. In 1919, Miss Cady did leave

¹⁰"Miss Anna" [Young] tribute (1873-1920) in McNair, pp. 355-356. Agonistic, September 21, 1920, p. 1. See Horowitz, pp. 185-188 on faculty housing.

Agnes Scott to become the executive secretary of the National Board of the YWCA. ¹¹

Though she did not teach after 1897, Eliza Frances Andrews (1840-1931) was an interesting role model at Wesleyan around the century's turn. In 1885, after Wesleyan gave her an honorary degree and invited her to join the faculty as the journalism and French teacher, she moved to Macon and lived off campus. Her students remembered her as a trusted counselor and loving friend, but also as a good disciplinarian. She was described as of medium height, lithe and graceful, and independent-spirited. One alumna recalled that when she was over forty, she rode her bicycle to and from school, "just like one of us kids," which caused eyebrows to rise in the community. She continued to exert an informal influence on the Wesleyan students through her lectures on the Chatauqua circuit and often offered them an alternate point of view. In 1901, when she spoke in the Wesleyan parlors on "What the Century Has Done for Women," she warned that in a single-sex college such as Wesleyan, one got a look at the world and life as if through one eye.

¹¹Miss Cady worked with the national YWCA as well as the Southern Association of College Women, which did pioneer work in the standardization of women's colleges in the South. See Chapter V (Curriculum) for more on the Southern Association of College Women and Chapter VI (Extracurricular) for more on the YWCA campus activities. Agonistic, February 9; March 9, 30; April 13, 1917, and January 24, 1920. Agnes Scott Silhouette (1918), p. 127. Cady was mentioned on the Wesleyan campus as a YWCA worker in 1919.

Her extracurricular interest in science, especially biology and botany, reinforced Wesleyan's strength in that area. In 1904, the college adopted her popular text, Botany All the Year Around (1903). She also edited and taste-tested some of the recipes in the Wesleyan Alumnae's Macon Cook Book (1909), for, as a faculty member, she had often confiscated or joined in the feasts from the Thanksgiving and Christmas food boxes sent by alumnae to their daughters at Wesleyan.¹²

Single male faculty members and families of married faculty also lived near the campuses. The men were on call to protect the women in an emergency. Dr. J. D. M. Armistead, an English professor at Agnes Scott from 1905 to

¹²In 1911 Andrews wrote and published A Practical Course in Botany, which has a modern ring as it examines the interdependence of the botanical and the natural and man-made environments. Macon Telegraph, April 5, 1901, p. 6. See also DGB (1983), s.v., "Andrews, Eliza Frances," by Barbara B. Reitt; Garnett Andrews Papers, 1816-1928, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, which include many of his sister's papers; Spencer Bidwell King, Jr.'s introduction to Andrews' The War Time Journal of a Georgia Girl, 1864-1865 (New York: D. Appleton Co., 1908; rpt. Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing Co., 1976), p. xiii, tells of her bicycling, and Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore, eds., A Woman of the Century..., 1893; rpt. Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1967, pp. 26-27, gives a biographical sketch. See also E.F. Andrews, ed., Macon Cook Book: A Collection of Recipes. Tested principally by Members of Benson-Cobb Chapter, Wesleyan College Alumnae, Macon, Georgia. (Macon: The J.W. Burke Company, 1909) in the Wesleyan Library, Macon, Georgia.

Even faculty at the Seven Sisters had to watch their behavior. In the early 1890s when Professor Lucy Salmon began riding her bicycle on the Vassar campus, President James M. Taylor forbade her to wear the necessary divided skirt. Horowitz, p. 180.

1923, spent several nights with the young ladies in Rebekah Scott Dormitory during the turbulent weekend of the Atlanta race riot in September of 1906. Fantastic rumors got out that rioters were marching to Decatur. Of this thirty-five-year-old "knight in shining armor," Miss McKinney wrote, "I think he had a pistol!"¹³ the position of dean. However,

Roles of lady principals at the colleges varied because of differences in their capabilities, duties, situations, personalities, and goals for the girls they were nurturing into womanhood. Nannette Hopkins, a graduate of Hollins Institute in Virginia, became Lady Principal (later Dean of Women) at Agnes Scott in 1889. Her portrait revealed her aristocratic bearing ("to the manner [sic] born," wrote one of her students), her clear-eyed commitment, and selfless "Agnes Scott Ideal." The faculty adulated her inner peace which they felt "came from God." Both students and teachers felt her tranquilizing power over all in need of her help or counsel. Anne Hart (Eugen), class of '21, said Dean Hopkins

¹³ McNair, pp. 331-333. See also John Dittmer, Black Georgia in the Progressive Era 1900-1920 (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, copyright 1977; Illini Books edition, 1980), pp. 126-131. This gives an excellent account of the Atlanta race riots, which started on September 22, 1906. See also Atlanta Georgian, September 24, 1906, and Atlanta Independent, Sept. 29, 1906. In the northeast, they were reluctant to let women live alone even in row houses. At the turn of the century Vassar women faculty members were not allowed to rent the row houses on the campus. They were reserved for male faculty members and their families in order to give the college 'a more normal character' and provide protection from danger. Horowitz, p. 187.

Christian devotion to her task as "fostering mother" to her girls.¹⁴ Colonel George Washington Scott felt that "Miss Hopkins" was like his own mother. The Agnes Scott Institute's faculty minutes reveal that for a year or two after 1889, when she was hired, there was a recurring discussion about finding a man for the position of dean. However, twenty-nine-year-old Nannette Hopkins, with no college degree, no world travel, and only a few years of teaching experience, measured up to the new position at the new institute as an administrator and teacher of mathematics and history. Very soon the matter of her replacement was dropped, and she served Agnes Scott with distinction until 1938, nearly half a century. She molded her girls by the Christian principles and high scholarship envisioned in the "Agnes Scott Ideal." The faculty eulogized her inner peace which they felt "came from God." Both students and teachers felt her tranquilizing power over all in need of her help or counsel. Anne Hart (Equen), class of '21, said Dean Hopkins

¹⁵The "Agnes Scott Ideal" was published under "General Information" in the catalogue in order to keep it ever before the students and faculty and remind them that the college was founded for the "higher Christian education of young women. 1) A liberal curriculum, fully abreast of the best institutions of the land. 2) A sound curriculum, with

¹⁴Nannette Hopkins was born in Sandersville, Virginia, in 1860. She taught at Louise Home School and the Valley Seminary in Waynesboro, Virginia, before coming to Agnes Scott. McNair, pp. 5, 20, 92-95; picture between pp. 122 and 123; and J.R. McCain, "The Story of Agnes Scott College, 1889-1934," and Louie Dean Stephens (Markey), class of 1922, interview, September 1984, Marietta, Georgia.

was the "one common tie that bound all former students to Agnes Scott."¹⁵

In contrast, Shorter's mother model, Lessie Southgate Simmons, wife of President Thomas Jackson Simmons, had a more bustling, flamboyant style. Actually she was not designated as the lady principal but served as Supervisor of the Home Department. As the president's wife, with no children of her own, she felt she had much to share with "My Dear Girls." Before each vacation, she wrote a letter of advice to the students about how to be good daughters, which she signed "Your Other Mother." The Simmonses worked in separate spheres on the faculty and at church. President Simmons was a member of the Rome First Baptist Church and professor of psychology and ethics. Mrs. Simmons was a member of the First Methodist Church and professor of piano and voice and lecturer on aesthetics. They supervised the boarding department together. The Shorter girls stood in

¹⁵The "Agnes Scott Ideal" was published under "General Information" in the catalogue in order to keep it ever before the students and faculty and remind them that the college was founded for the "higher Christian education of young women." A liberal curriculum, fully abreast of the best institutions of the land. 2) A sound curriculum, with text-books along all lines in harmony with the Bible. 3) The Bible a Text-book. 4) Thoroughly qualified and consecrated teachers. 5) A high standard of scholarship. 6) The Institute a model Christian home. 7) All the influences in the school to be made conducive to the formation and development of Christian character. 8) The glory of God the Chief end of all." See Agnes Scott cat. (1900-01), p. 68, and McNair, p. 11, 93-94.

awe and fear of her and familiarly called her "Lessie Southgate" behind her back. In 1902 Mrs. Simmons renovated Bayard House dormitory, renamed it Bellevue, and moved the presidential residence and her music studio there. In her flamboyant style she named the parlors "the Grand Salon," "the Italian Parlor," "the Curio Room," "the Chinese Room," and "the Dutch Room," and filled them with musical instruments and acquisitions from all over the world.¹⁶

Although the social graces were not previously neglected at Shorter, Mrs. Simmons put more emphasis on "social training." During her administration, afternoon tea was served daily at 4:00 o'clock in the parlors, and the girls

¹⁶Lessie Southgate Simmons was born in Louisville, North Carolina, in 1863. She received voice training in Virginia at the Grand Conservatory of Music in New York City, and private instruction in Berlin and Paris. She studied under E. Delle Sedie, "the authority for all that pertains to the culture of the human voice." Critics described her voice as a "dramatic soprano of great brilliancy." She directed a music school in Durham, North Carolina, before her marriage in 1891 and led the music department at Union Female College, Eufaula, Alabama, where her husband was president from 1893 until he came to Shorter in 1898. Gardner, Hill, p. 77. See also Lillian Daley '09 scrapbook for Mrs. Simmons' letters and Gardner, pp. 91-92. Shorter cat. (1900-01), n.p. and (1909-10), p. 7.

In the early 1900s young ladies in the South would not dare to call a married woman by her maiden name to her face. It would be too familiar and disrespectful.

President T. J. Simmons was born at Wake Forest College, North Carolina, where his father was a professor. He received the M.A. degree there in 1883 and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. In 1893 he became president of Union Female College in Eufala, Alabama. In 1910, after his time at Shorter, he became President of Brenau College in Gainesville, Georgia. Gardner, Hill, pp. 77, 130-131, 1152ff.

were expected to be present. They "dressed" for the evening meal, after which they assembled with the faculty for "reading and social converse." On Monday evenings, and occasionally on Saturday mornings for day students, Mrs. Simmons lectured on proper conduct on trains and in the presence of young men, taught the girls good table manners, and suggested styles and colors of dresses. Mealtime was a supervised practice session where Mrs. Simmons would give a crack on the hand with a ruler if a girl failed to handle her silver properly. Students continued to practice lady-like behavior at regular receptions and musicales, and other more formal occasions.¹⁷

In 1908-09 President Simmons got into serious trouble for failing to exercise his in loco parentis authority during Shorter's overseas campus experiment, the American College of Fine Arts, in Florence, Italy. The college's reputation was damaged, and the president lost his job, as did the matron, Mrs. Caroline Whitmire. Matron Whitmire was co-director, with Mrs. Kate R. Beckwith, and recruiter for the Florence campus. While a student at Shorter's American College of Fine Arts overseas, eighteen-year-old Fayette Morgan eloped with W. Prescott Craig and married him in Canterbury, England. All of this was done under Mrs.

¹⁸Gardner, Hill, pp. 118-121. See also New York Tribune, December 1909, issues for more details. See also Shorter cat. (1908-09), separate twenty-four page "Preliminary Announcements" of the overseas school, and Shorter's Minutes, May 31, 1909, which denied Shorter's responsibility for the Florence School.

¹⁷Gardner, Hill, p. 91.

Whitmire's dutiful chaperonage. She wrote Fayette's father, J. L. Morgan of Marion, North Carolina, that his daughter's deportment had been "absolutely perfect" during the two-week waiting period. Morgan had refused Craig's proposal to marry Fayette the summer before and was furious with President Simmons and Mrs. Whitmire for aiding and abetting the marriage. He sailed for Europe to try to stop it, but, arriving too late, he spent the remainder of the year dragging his displeasure out into the public in the Rome Tribune-Herald. This juicy gossip was picked up by newspapers all over the country, much to the embarrassment of the Morgans, Mrs. Whitmire, the Simmons, and the friends and trustees of Shorter College.¹⁸

Wesleyan students remembered their English professor, Alice Culler (Cobb), and their history and English professor, Mrs. Maria M. (Weaver) Burks, as their female role model in the early 1900s. Both women were widows when they were employed at Wesleyan and as such were considered especially well qualified as housemothers and teachers of young women. Teaching was considered respectable employment, and the job usually provided housing and gave

¹⁸Gardner, Hill, pp. 118-121. See also Rome Tribune-Herald, December 1909 issues for more details. See also Shorter cat. (1908-09), separate twenty-four page "Preliminary Announcements" of the overseas school, and Shorter Trustee's Minutes, May 31, 1909, which denied Shorter's connection with and responsibility for the Florence School.

scholarships to daughters who could live in the dormitory also. In the 1880's and 1890's Mrs. Cobb was Wesleyan's outstanding lady principal and the first president of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Southern Methodists' South Georgia Conference. As such, she inspired Wesleyan students to support the foreign mission enterprise and went to China in 1906 to visit the Methodist schools there, particularly McTyeire in Shanghai where Ai-ling Soong had graduated. In 1904 Mrs. Burks assisted the president in disciplinary matters as supervisor of the boarding students. She was famous for her feminine counsel, for fanning nervously with a palmetto fan, and for tucking bits of tulle or lace handkerchiefs into the necklines of girls' dresses when they were too low-cut for her sense of propriety. Mrs. Burks raised her daughter, Margie, class of '05, in the dormitory. After 1908, Mrs. Burks was surrogate mother for ten-year-old Mei-ling Soong. When Margie Burks graduated, she became a tutor on the Wesleyan faculty and the special teacher for Mei-ling.¹⁹

¹⁹"The Chinese Sisters Soong Came to Wesleyan," Alumnae Magazine, February, 1941, n.p., Wesleyan cat. (1904-1915), p. 24; The Wesleyan, April 1908, p. 278. The ZigZag (1911) was dedicated to Margie Burks. See Ibid., p. 5. See also the centennial questionnaires, which comment on remembered faculty members. Wesleyan Alumnae archives. Alice Domingos, Wesleyan alumnae director, remembered Mrs. Burks and the tulle tucking.

Alice Culler Cobb graduated from Wesleyan in the class of 1858, and received an automatic A.M. in 1868. See ZigZag (1902), p. 17. See also Mary Culler White, The Portal of

The matrons at Wesleyan were responsible for the physical health of the girls as well as for their moral development. Josephine Skaggs, who served as Wesleyan's dormitory matron at the turn of the century, was educated at the Synodical Institute, Talladega, Alabama, and the Montgomery Infirmary and Medical Training School. In 1905 Mrs. Florrie Cook White, a widow, came to live in the Wesleyan dormitory as the housemother/matron. She often wore a stiff white nurses' uniform and lived next to the dormitory infirmary room. Mrs. White was a respected and trusted staff officer and often gave talks to the girls at YWCA meetings about how to live together in harmony and to grow in Christ.

In 1913, after student government began, the matron lost some of her power. Quiet rules during study periods and "The Silent Hour" on Sundays began to be relaxed. In October 1913 noise was particularly bad on the fourth floor of Georgia Hall, and two girls were "restricted" to the Wesleyan campus. By May 1918 the noise level had reached

Wonderland: The Life-story of Alice Culler Cobb (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1925), pp. 35, 52, 74, 174-75. For more on Cobb see Chapter VII (Alumnae) of this dissertation and Scott, Invisible, p. 321, who believes that Alice Culler Cobb should have been made president of Wesleyan when the post fell vacant in the 1890's. However, the Board of Trustees voted that only a Methodist minister could be chosen, automatically ruling out the best-qualified woman.

Mrs. Maria (Weaver) Burks received an honorary degree from Wesleyan in 1883 and studied at Chicago and Harvard. She served as professor of history and English literature as well as librarian for a time.

the highest volume that Mrs. White could remember in her thirteen years in the dormitory. It was loud not only in the Georgia building but in all the residence halls. The noise was not produced by the girls alone, Mrs. White irately reported at the faculty meeting. She could give cases where teachers had been responsible.²⁰

Spelman founders Sophia B. Packard (1824-1891) and Harriet E. Giles (1833-1909), both whites, were looked up to as the Negro Spelman students' role models until black men and women became involved in the leadership of Spelman. Young students stood in awe of Packard and Giles and felt they were strict, but most Spelman women were lavish with their praise and gratitude for the founders' work. In 1891 Sophia Packard died, unrecognized for the dream she had

²⁰ Mrs. White's night dormitory nurse was "Aunt Anna," a beloved Negro who dosed the girls with cascara and chocolate-covered laxative pills. Wesleyan centennial questionnaires, Wesleyan alumnae office. Wesleyan's ZigZag (1902), p. 18; Veterropt (1918); Wesleyan cat. (1907-1908), p. 6; Ibid. (1909-1910), p. 7; Wesleyan Faculty Minutes, October 10, 1913, May 4, 1918. In 1898, Josephine Skaggs served as a matron in Athens, Alabama, and the following year at Soule College, Murfreesboro, Tennessee. In 1918, there were 300 boarding at Wesleyan crowded into two dormitories and a total of 447 students attending the college that year when it was so noisy. North Georgia Conference Minutes (1907-1908), pp. 26, 27, and Ibid. (1918), p. 50.

June 17, 1984 and later correspondence. However, whites were invited to programs on the campus and in the early 1890s actually visited the campus. See S.B. Richards' diary account for March 4th, 1890, when he and his wife and daughter went to Spelman for a concert, which is quoted in Franklin M. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of its People and Events, vol. 2 (New York: Lewis Historical

brought into reality. Dr. George C. Lorimer, who knew Packard well in Boston, considered her achievements at Spelman "great and deserving to be ranked in the same echelon of workers in unpopular causes as Mary Lyon, Emma Willard, Lucretia Mott, or Catherine [sic] Beecher. Recognition might have come to her," Dr. Lorimer continued, "if her field of work had been almost anywhere in the world except in our own Southern States, where the beneficiaries were American Negroes...a people who have...had their trials and joys and their achievements overlooked, sometimes belittled, more often ignored."²¹

²¹The research on white women teachers who went to the South to teach Negroes is growing. See footnote #25 of this chapter. See also Linda M. Perkins' paper on female teachers under the American Missionary Association, "The Black Female American Missionary Teacher in the South, 1861-1870" in Black Americans in North Carolina and the South, ed. Jeffrey J. Crow and Flora J. Hatley (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1984): 122ff. See also footnote #36.

Read, pp. 1, 4, 13, 124-164. Both Packard and Giles studied and taught at New Salem Academy in Massachusetts, a co-educational preparatory school in their hometown, which their fathers' families had been instrumental in founding. Read, pp. 8-13. See also ibid., pp. 175-186 about the Rockefeller and Spelman families. Correspondence between the founders and Rockefellers is in the Rockefeller Archives (RAC) in Tarrytown, N.Y.

Ostracism of Spelman's white faculty by white Atlantans was confirmed by Ethel McGhee Davis, telephone interview, June 17, 1984 and later correspondence. However, whites were invited to programs on the campus and in the early 1890s actually visited the campus. See S.P. Richards' diary account for March 4th, 1890, when he and his wife and daughter went to Spelman for a concert, which is quoted in Franklin M. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events, vol. 2 (New York: Lewis Historical

Sophia Packard attracted, as Spelman's first teachers, Harriet Giles, Lucy Houghton Upton, Caroline M. Grover and Evelina O. Werden, who were unmarried white women and staunch Baptists. Except for Caroline Grover, these faculty members had only high school or normal school training, but all came from families that valued and supported education. Misses Grover, Giles, and Packard lived together in a five-room cottage at 321 Mitchell Street not far from Friendship Baptist Church and the basement School where Spelman began. In 1891, after President Packard's death, Harriet Giles reluctantly assumed the principalship of Spelman on the condition that Lucy Houghton Upton be her associate principal. Together they made a strong team from 1891-1909, as Miss Giles was rather retiring, with a stern sense of duty, while Miss Upton was imaginative and energetic.²²

Publishing Company, Inc., 1954): 212. Read, pp. 120-123, 142.

Sophia Packard worked eight years, from 1873 to 1881, for Dr. George C. Lorimer, scholar and popular Baptist preacher. She was the family visitor, conducted women's prayer meetings, taught a large Bible class in the Sunday school, and visited the sick in her duties as pastor's assistant at the Tremont Temple and the Shawmut Avenue Baptist Church in Boston. Perhaps, as suggested by recent scholarship, she and Giles came south looking for a broader opportunity to exercise their talents.

²²Harriet Giles (1833-1909) was president of Spelman from the death of Packard in 1891 until her own death in 1909. She was born in New Salem, Massachusetts, and educated at Salem Academy where Packard was her preceptress. She had a teaching certificate certifying her to teach in the Common Schools in Massachusetts in 1849 when she was

President Giles (1891-1909) was loving, although perhaps somewhat patronizing, toward the students and always addressed them as "My dear Girls." She was in charge of discipline and reputedly very strict, but sometimes she was soft-hearted too. She confided in her diary: "I can truly say the mistakes of my life have been many. I have made a great mistake today in not sending one of our girls directly home instead of allowing her to have her freedom and poison

sixteen. She and Packard taught at the same New England schools before coming to Atlanta.

Lucy Houghton Upton (1846-1919) was associate principal with Giles, dean, and interim president from 1909 to 1910. She was born in Salem, Massachusetts into a well-known family of shipmasters. Brought up in a cultured, well-traveled, and educated family, she expected to go to college. But when her mother died in 1874, she assumed the mother role for her younger siblings. Nevertheless, she followed her brother Winslow's education closely through correspondence with him while he studied astronomy at Brown. In 1875 she studied botany at a Harvard summer school session. Mathematics and music were also favorite subjects and she read Latin and Greek as well. She served at Spelman without pay and gave money to students to help them continue in school.

Caroline M. Grover served Spelman from 1882 until 1919 and was the first normal instructor, the Principal of the Model School, and a most successful hall mother there. She had been a teacher near Boston before joining the Basement School faculty in Atlanta.

Evelina O. Werden came to Spelman in 1887 as an English teacher and later served as manager of the Printing Office and editor of the Spelman Messenger. Born in Canada, she was the only college graduate among the first teachers. A graduate of Hamilton Ladies' College, she taught school in Ontario until she heard about Spelman in Cincinnati and came to Atlanta in 1887. Spelman's Grover-Werden Memorial Fountain, dedicated in 1927, was named for these two founding teachers. See Read, pp. 1-164; especially 124, 165-69; and 203-04.

the minds of others." Black people felt "keen joy" in her companionship and admired her "dignity and poise."²³

At Spelman's fifteenth anniversary in 1896, Principal Upton painted new horizons for the graduates, as "physicians, poets, editors, and artists" and proposed that "Spelman ought to become the Wellesley of the South." Dr. Henry L. Morehouse, education secretary for the ABHMS, suggested that it be patterned after Mount Holyoke, a Christian seminary. Others labeled it the "Vassar of the South," indicating how pervasive the northeastern women's college model was among Spelman boosters.²⁴

At the turn of the century the cultural values inculcated by the Spelman faculty role models were white cultural values. At Spelman's twentieth anniversary in 1901, General Thomas Jefferson Morgan, D.D., trustee and corresponding secretary of the ABHMS, said Spelman's aim was to do for the Negro women precisely what was being done for white women by Smith, Vassar, Wellesley, and other institutions. Education at Spelman had a three-fold value, he said. It was an instrument of livelihood, a qualification for service, and a gift of culture. Even a short residence on the Spelman campus left its impress. One student wrote, "When a girl

²³Read, pp. 163, 164. Packard's and Giles' diaries are in the Spelman archives at the college in Atlanta.

²⁴Read, pp. 121, 133, 161-63, 172, 203. See also footnote in ibid., p. 133.

comes to Spelman and returns home, everybody can see great improvement in her manners, housekeeping, and in every respect.... One special thing Miss Giles requires of her girls is quietness, which always shows the mark of a lady."²⁵

The Spelman faculty as a whole was long-lived and loyal. In 1910, when Lucy Hale Tapley became president of Spelman Seminary, she had been on the faculty for twenty years teaching English and mathematics, including six years as head of the Teachers' Professional Department, and eight months as Dean of the Seminary. She served as president until 1927. She was tall and broad-shouldered and walked with briskness and assurance. One alumna wrote, "When I

lost her. In 1911, when President Tapley appointed Sarah M. Brill as the Dean, Miss Brill had been on the faculty for

²⁵Ibid., p. 143. See also *ibid.*, pp. 75, 104, 129, 183, and 142. General Thomas J. Morgan was on the staff of General O. O. Howard and organized and commanded the first Negro brigade in the Army of the Cumberland in the Civil War. He was a booster of Negro education and of Spelman from its genesis. Ridgely Torrence, The Story of John Hope (New York: MacMillan Company, 1948; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, Inc., 1969), p. 138. See also James M. McPherson, "The New Puritanism: Values and Goals of Freedmen's Education in America" in vol. 2 The University in Society, ed. Lawrence Stone (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 615, and James M. McPherson, The Abolitionist Legacy, From Reconstruction to the NAACP (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).

For other sources on northern teachers of freedpersons in Georgia, see Jacqueline Jones, Soldiers of Light and Love: Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873 (Chapel Hill: University of Georgia Press, 1980) and "Women Who Were More than Men: Sex and Status in Freedmen's Teaching," History of Education Quarterly 19 (Spring 1979): 47-59; George A. Rogers and R. Frank Saunders, Jr., "Eliza Ann Ward: Teacher and Missionary to the Freedmen" in Swamp Water and Wiregrass: Historical Sketches of Coastal Georgia (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1984): 139-150.

think of Miss Tapley, I think of a huge oak tree, stalwart, steady, big-hearted, deep-rooted, towering above the ordinary, ever reaching outward and upward, protecting, strengthening, radiating beauty, with her face always toward the sun." President Tapley insisted on order and on rules which sometimes became arbitrary. For instance, long-sleeved woolen underwear had to be donned at a certain time regardless of the weather. At a given date in the spring, students could stop wearing it. But woe to those who did it too soon, for Miss Tapley gently pinched their sleeves to check. Some girls who left off their "woolies" early, wore armlets or half-sleeves under their dresses or blouses to fool her. In 1911, when President Tapley appointed Edith V. Brill as the Dean, Miss Brill had been on the faculty for more than a dozen years. In 1911, on the thirtieth anniversary of its founding, fifteen of the thirty-three members of the faculty had served Spelman for ten or more years. ²⁶

In 1900 the white teachers and administrators at Spelman lived in "six families" or hall groups in Rockefeller Hall. Study hall, supervised by a faculty member, followed every evening except Fridays, when a lecture or a concert might be scheduled. If young men from Atlanta Baptist

²⁶Read, pp. 187, 188, 189, 209; Spelman Gen. cat., pp. 32, 41. Lucy Hale Tapley (1857-1932) was the daughter of a sea captain and lived on a farm near a harbor in West Brooksville, Maine. She was educated at Miss Lucy Henry's private school in Brooksville and at Bucksport Seminary.

Edith Brill was a principal of Spelman's high school department from 1897 to 1900 and served as superintendent of the Normal Department from 1909 to 1910 when she became the dean. She served in this capacity until 1922.

Hall on the second and third floor, in Packard Hall on all three floors, and in Giles Hall. The president lived in Reynolds Cottage, a large, brick, two-story Victorian house with wrap-around porches, also built in 1900. In 1918 some Spelman teachers had more private accommodations in the old nurses' home and isolation ward, built in 1905, which was redecorated and informally called Upton Home. One end of the building continued to be used as an isolation ward until 1927.²⁷

The Spelman faculty supervised a daily schedule on campus that was rigorous, but not too unusual for female dormitory living at the turn of the century. It reveals the campus relationships and how the white faculty and Negro students related to one another. Female staff members oversaw virtually every waking moment of the Spelman girls' lives from the moment of rising (at four a.m. on laundry days) to bedtime at nine p.m. Only from three to five p.m. were the girls really free from direct supervision of either faculty or staff, whether eating, doing chores, or attending class. Study hall, supervised by a faculty member, followed every evening except Fridays, when a lecture or a concert might be scheduled. If young men from Atlanta Baptist

²⁸Read, pp. 106, 141, 155; Spelman cat. (1921-22), p. 106; and Davis to Corley, July 10 and August 7, 1964. In 1925 Ethel McGhee Davis changed the Spelman laundry system when she came back to the campus as an administrator, and hired adult women to do the laundry.

²⁷Guy-Sheftall, Centennial, pp. 21, 35. See also Read, p. 137, 139, 141, and 194; and Atlanta Historic Resources, p. 54, 55, 56 for pictures and architectural descriptions of Rockefeller, Packard, and Giles Halls.

College came over for the event, a social time followed until the nine o'clock bell and the good-night song, which signaled bedtime. The activities with men were heavily chaperoned by the faculty, particularly the walk to the male campus for college classes. All mail (boxes and correspondence) was opened and inspected by the matrons before the students could receive it. On Sunday an extra fifteen minutes of sleep was allowed to mark the special day of rest. No laundry was done on Sunday, but there was a lot of church-going instead, all led and chaperoned by the faculty.²⁸

Negro role models for the Spelman students were few in number until well into the second decade of the twentieth century. One of the earliest, Clara Howard, '87, served as the dining hall matron after returning from the African mission field in 1900. From 1902 to 1904 and from 1910 to 1914 Claudia White (Harreld), '01, was a Negro faculty member on joint appointment at Spelman and Morehouse colleges. In 1904 Lugenia Burns Hope became a member of the

²⁸Read, pp. 106, 141, 155; Spelman cat. (1921-22), p. 14; and Davis to Corley, July 10 and August 7, 1984. In 1926 Ethel McGhee Davis changed the Spelman laundry system when she came back to the campus as an administrator, and hired adult women to do the laundry.

The white women's colleges had Negro staffs to do the housekeeping and laundry. See McKinney notebooks for the story of Agnes Scott's laundry supervisor, Mary Cox, a graduate of Atlanta University.

Spelman faculty, teaching millinery and advanced needlework. Lugenia Hope had done social work in Chicago and was familiar with Jane Addams' Hull House program. Using her organizational and administrative skills, she organized the women in the Spelman and Morehouse neighborhood, and later the entire "West Side" into a Neighborhood Union. The faculties and staffs of the two colleges and student volunteers from both campuses were active in the social service projects which ultimately benefited all of Atlanta.²⁹

The faculties of Morehouse and Spelman were very close, like a large family. Several of the graduates and faculty colleagues got engaged or married each other, and the faculty families visited and attended church at Spelman. Claudia White Harreld ('01) was engaged to Morehouse English Professor Benjamin Brawley ('01), and Ethel McGhee (Davis) ('19) was engaged to Morehouse Professor Garrie Moore ('12). Spelman graduate Hattie Rutherford '03, married John B. Watson, Morehouse professor of math and science in 1907.

³⁰Brawley, p. 97; Guy-Sheftall, *Centennial*, 13, 33; and Torrence, p. 164.

³¹Ethel McGhee, '19, married John W. Davis, '11. He was Registrar and Professor of physics and chemistry at Morehouse and she was Spelman's first black administrator. The

²⁹Louie Delphia Davis Shivery, "The History of Organized Social Work Among Atlanta Negroes, 1890-1935" (M.A. thesis, Atlanta University, 1936), pp. 40ff; and Torrence, pp. 138-140. See also Julia Kirk Blackwelder, "Mop and Typewriter: Women's Work in Early Twentieth-Century Atlanta," *Atlanta Historical Journal* 27 (Fall 1983): 23-24. Mrs. Hope's photograph is on p. 23.

See also Chapter VII of this dissertation, which includes a biographical sketch of Claudia White Harreld. Davis to Corley, August 7, 1984, and Love to Corley, August 13, 1984.

Ethel McGhee ('19), "Student advisor" at Spelman, married John W. Davis ('11), professor of physics and registrar at Morehouse. John and Lugenia Hope's young son Edward played on both campuses as did the daughter of Professors Kemper and Claudia White Harreld. After Sunday afternoon services in the Spelman Chapel, the young boy liked to wander off to the power plant which supplied steam and electricity to both campuses and watch the huge wheel. There his friend William T. Courtney, a Hampton graduate who taught physics at Spelman (1908-09) and was superintendent of buildings and grounds, helped him understand how the steam plant worked and fostered his interest in engineering.³⁰

The close family feeling between the two colleges was particularly felt on November 12, 1909, when President Harriet E. Giles died. Morehouse President John Hope called off a football game with Fisk University after the team had

³⁰Brawley, p. 97; Guy-Sheftall, Centennial, 15, 22; and Torrence, p. 164.

Ethel McGhee, '19, married John W. Davis, '11. He was Registrar and Professor of physics and chemistry at Morehouse and she was Spelman's first black administrator, the "student advisor," after graduating from Oberlin. After getting a M.A. in Personnel and College Administration at Columbia, she returned to Spelman as Dean of Women. After they married in 1930, John W. Davis was President of West Virginia State College, Country Director in Monrovia, Liberia, and educational consultant to the NAACP until he died at age 92. Harvard gave him an honorary degree as "Dean of College Presidents," as his tenure was the longest in terms of continuous service. Davis to Corley, August 7, 1984. See also biographical sketch of Claudia White Harreld, in Chapter VII of this dissertation.

already arrived to play. The Spelman campus mourning was often audible, and the teachers begged the girls not to cry out loud. After a simple service at her home in Reynolds Cottage and an impressive funeral in Howe Memorial Hall, the black hearse passed slowly between two lines of girls singing softly "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot." Actual burial took place in Athol, Massachusetts, next to Sophia Packard. A long low stone bears their names and the words "Founders of Spelman Seminary."³¹

The Search for Christian Faculty Members

Church college faculty members were Christian role models. Each teacher was encouraged to develop a private prayer practice and to be visible in leading a committed Christian life by conducting vespers, by being a faculty advisor to a Bible study or missionary group, and by teaching Sunday School in the community. Faculty meetings were routinely opened with prayer.³² Finding qualified

³¹Read, pp. 147, 160-161. See also Acting President Lucy H. Upton's account of the funeral printed in a report to Dr. Wallace Buttrick in the GEB, Ga. #10 file, RAC, N.Y.

The girls also sang "The City Four Square" around the cortege.

³²James R. McCain, "Keeping a College Christian," p. 6 in McCain file, Agnes Scott Archives, McCain Library. See also Wesleyan Faculty Minutes, Sept. 18, 1900, January 18, 1907.

In the 1890's Wellesley trustees debated reinstituting a religious test for faculty members. President M. Carey Thomas at Bryn Mawr fought the religious battle with her faculty against trustees who wished to return to the

faculty for the women's colleges took a lot of prayer and denominational "networking." Wesleyan, Shorter, and Agnes Scott began their faculty searches in local churches, and Spelman sought teachers through agencies of the American Baptists in the North.³³

After 1900 new faculty members were interviewed about their credentials, degrees, teaching experience, and expectations about chaperoning and extra-curricular activities. At the church colleges, the presidents, who were usually clergymen, were also responsible for the Christian atmosphere of the campus which was predicated on the faculty's Christian commitment. The administrative heads discussed that commitment with prospective teachers. In 1915, under the chairmanship of former President William N. Ainsworth, the Wesleyan Trustees resolved that the president of the college would continue to confer with all new teachers about the depth of their Christian commitment. Dr. Frank Gaines and those who followed him had the faculty subscribe to the Agnes Scott Ideal, and urged them to sign a prayer covenant

college's Quaker origins. She sought talented professors of whatever persuasion and hired a male Jewish professor in the 1890's. However, she required more "Christian character" of her women than her men faculty members. See Horowitz, pp. 179-97, especially pp. 184-85.

³³Agnes Scott, Shorter, Wesleyan and Spelman catalogues.

to pray for each other and Agnes Scott throughout their tenure.³⁴

Sometimes the screening for new faculty members was not complete and embarrassing "affairs" emerged, such as the case of Professor L. Reic Schocei, employed by Shorter in the summer of 1908 without a thorough investigation. His audition and interview indicated his competency as a pianist. Schocei claimed to be a native of Germany and most recently the head of a music school in Iowa. He associated himself with Mrs. Joyce Barrington-Waters of Australia, who had been hired by Shorter to teach piano. Their teaching and concerts were entirely satisfactory. In April and May 1909, the Rome Tribune-Herald ran front page exposés about Schocei, revealing that his real name was Luther R. Shockey, and he was from Davenport, Iowa, and Decatur, Illinois. He had entered into a scheme with Mrs. Barrington-Waters to co-direct a new conservatory of music in Rome, and she had lent him \$150.00 for this purpose. When President Thomas Jefferson Simmons heard of the scheme, he discharged Shockey, on April 24, 1909. Shockey hired a lawyer to vindicate his name, but he skipped town on the evening train while his associate, Mrs. Barrington-Waters, was playing in a recital. She took out a warrant charging him with being a "common

³⁴ Wesleyan Trustees' Minutes; and Akers, pp. 140-141. See also Wesleyan Faculty Minutes, September 18, 1900; nd McNair, p. 11.

cheat and a swindler." The newspaper stories ceased after Shockey's arrest in Decatur, Illinois. But neither Shockey nor Barrington-Waters was on the Shorter faculty in the fall.³⁵

From 1900 to 1920 the administrative heads of the Georgia women's colleges were dedicated Christians, usually ordained ministers. From 1898 to 1921, on the other hand, during the administrations of Thomas J. Simmons and Azor W. Van Hoose, Shorter had scholar-educators and good Baptist laymen. In 1902, during Simmon's presidency, Shorter came under the Georgia Baptist Convention, which kept a check on him and his faculty's orthodoxy; but dropped out from Convention sponsorship in 1914 during Van Hoose's administration. Hiring minister presidents and dedicated Christian faculty members were ways in which the colleges and their Boards of Trustees were able to maintain strong Christian traditions even when a college was not subject to formal denominational controls. Spelman's presidents were consecrated Christian missionaries, Northern Baptists, who had devoted themselves and their faculty, like religious nuns, to the high calling of teaching Negro women and converting

³⁵ Rome Tribune-Herald, April, May, 1909. See also Gardner, Hill, pp. 117-118. President Simmons learned Shockey's real name in October of 1908 but did not dismiss him because of the widespread use of stage names among musicians. See also Shorter Faculty Minutes, 1908-1909.

them to Christianity. Only the most consecrated Christian women were likely to be interested in teaching at Spelman, where the salaries were minute and the white faculty members were ostracized by the white community.³⁶

Academic Credentials

After 1900 the women's colleges were not hiring new faculty without academic degrees from standard colleges, but they still had those without degrees from earlier times. By 1900 at Shorter, only Susan T. Austin, professor of oratory and physical culture, and Z.D. Adams in the business department did not have degrees. At Wesleyan, the ZigZag for 1902 revealed that only two on the 1901-02 faculty had no American degrees: Daniel Koets, professor of modern languages, a graduate of Nijmegen College in Holland and a graduate student at the University of Chicago in 1899, and Anna Pittman Prosser, professor of drawing and painting, who had studied in Paris under Whistler. In 1900-1901 the Agnes Scott Institute listed several women officers and instructors in the process of getting degrees: Louise

³⁶Gardner, Hill, pp. 77, 130-131, 152ff. See footnote #16 for President T. J. Simmons' biographical details. Dr. Azor W. Van Hoose was born in Griffin, Georgia, where his father was pastor of a Baptist Church, and he became a leading layman. He was president of Brenau Female College in Gainesville from 1886 until 1909. In 1911 Mercer University awarded him an honorary doctorate.

McKinney, instructor of English literature; Nannie R. Massie, who taught French and history; and Anna I. Young, who taught mathematics and served as the librarian and who was a graduate student at the University of Chicago. Mary J. Barnett, an Institute graduate, taught history, geography, and physical culture with only an Agnes Scott Institute diploma. In 1900 Spelman had not yet graduated any students from its Collegiate Department. Clara H. Denslow, on Spelman's college faculty from 1895 to 1908 and again in 1919, had no degree listed. She also served as librarian.³⁷ (See Appendix III, Faculty Statistics.)

At the turn of the century, there were many women faculty members at the four colleges, even in high position, who did not have advanced degrees. Professor Maria Weaver Burks, who served as librarian, history professor, and chairperson of the English Literature Department at Wesleyan, had only an honorary A.B. degree conferred by Wesleyan, and summer study at Chicago and Harvard. Agnes

³⁷ Shorter cat. (1900-01), Faculty, n.p.; Wesleyan Zig-Zag (19001-02), p. 17; Agnes Scott Institute cat. (1900-01), p. 9. Spelman cat. (1900-01), pp. 5-6, and Historical Sketch and General Catalogue, 1881-1921. The Spelman Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia. Officers, Instructors, and Matrons, pp. 31ff-43. Lucile Hull, B.M., taught high school-level mathematics, Mabel Parsons taught high school-level English, and Mrs. Esther Mm. Barrett taught history and was a matron with no degrees listed. All were listed as faculty in the College Department in 1900. See also Appendix--Faculty male/female ratios, teacher/pupil ratios, and academic credentials for 1900 and 1920 and Chapter V, which includes the academic credentials of additional faculty members.

Scott's Dean Nannette Hopkins graduated from Hollins Institute. Although she planned to finish her A.B. degree at Vassar or Bryn Mawr, she never was able to find time for advanced study. Nevertheless, she was awarded two honorary degrees for what she had accomplished for education in general, in Georgia and the South.³⁸

Mary Louise McKinney was a full professor of English at Agnes Scott for forty-six years with no degree. She had a diploma, representing a two year program, from State Teachers' College in Farmville, Virginia. She had planned to go to Vassar or Radcliffe for her degree but was never able to take the necessary time off. A self-educated person, she commanded the respect of her colleagues and served steadfastly in key administrative positions. She was head of the admissions committee, and as registrar, she kept some of the best records the college has. The Agnes Scott catalogue, which she edited, was a detailed record of what was being required and taught at the school. It became a model for other southern women's colleges and secondary schools for standards and requirements. In 1906, when Agnes Scott first claimed to be a college, it was immediately accepted in the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges, the first college or university in Georgia to have that honor,

³⁸McNair, pp. 5, 20, and Wesleyan cat. (1900-1901).

due in large part to the work of Professor McKinney. Her colleague Dr. James Ross McCain, later President of Agnes Scott, said that she was the only professor, man or woman, in his acquaintance who was "head of a major department, in what came to be a major college, who had no degree and who did not need one."³⁹

Faculties' academic credentials improved from 1900 to 1920. Regional accrediting associations and educational funding agencies encouraged this trend. Before the turn of the century, some of the male faculty members at the white women's colleges had LL.D.'s, and D.D.'s as well as B.A. and M.A. degrees. Only a few women had earned college degrees. In 1900 almost all the male faculty had at least B.A.'s or B.S.'s; most newly hired women faculty had earned bachelor's degrees; and a few had the M.D. degree. By 1920, some women had earned M.A.'s and several teachers had Ph.B. and Ph.M. degrees. A few had been awarded honorary doctorates. Several men and women at each of the white colleges held Ph.D. degrees. During and after World War I, many of the new women faculty members were graduates of standard colleges in the northeast, and some had M.A. degrees from Columbia,

³⁹ McCain, "ASC, 1889-1939," pp. 4-5; and "Miss McKinney," Agnes Scott Quarterly, vol. 43, no. 3 (Spring 1965), pp. 11-12. See also McNair, pp. 5, 20, 92-94, 344-345, and Agnes Scott cat. (1900-01), n.p.

Chicago, and Bryn Mawr.⁴⁰ (See Appendix III: Faculty Statistics.)

⁴⁰ Agnes Scott, Shorter, and Wesleyan catalogues for 1900 to 1901.

A Ph.B. (bachelor of philosophy) degree was inferior to a B.A. degree (it omitted foreign language) and could be awarded after three years of undergraduate study. Some teachers, black and white, presented this degree after the turn of the century because they could not afford to take time off from teaching for graduate, or even undergraduate, study. A Ph.M. (Master of Philosophy) gave the effect of a master's degree but required only four years of study. Rudolph, Curriculum, p. 138, and Walter Crosby Eells, Degrees in Higher Education (New York: Center for Applied Research in Education, 1963), p. 88. See also Walter Crosby Eells and Harold A. Haswell, Academic Degrees: Earned and Honorary Degrees Conferred by Institutions of Higher Education in the United States (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare: Office of Education, 1960), which is a catalogue of 1,600 degrees and their abbreviations. See also Solomon, pp. 133-38 and Horowitz, pp. 180-181 for a discussion of faculty credentials at the Seven Sisters.

The teaching staff for Radcliffe was a group of Harvard faculty volunteers, for hire of course. Therefore Radcliffe's teachers had the highest credentials in the country and were all male (Horowitz, pp. 95, 102, 238). Barnard, like Radcliffe, had an annex arrangement with an Ivy League male college, Columbia. However, Barnard had some female teachers attached to its own faculty and did not rely exclusively on the all male Columbia staff (Horowitz, pp. 134-37). Bryn Mawr, located near the Johns Hopkins University, had a powerfully academic faculty, including some older established women professors and some younger male professors. President M. Cary Thomas wanted to develop a graduate school at Bryn Mawr and emphasized highly credentialed faculty personnel (Horowitz, pp. 107-180-81).

Vassar, with its strong male leadership, was the role model for women's colleges in the North and South and attracted highly qualified male and female professors. Most of the male professors held higher ranking positions because they had achieved high academic credentials earlier than the women (Horowitz, 4, 33, 37-38, 62, 90, 180). Smith also had well qualified men and women on its faculty with many of the men in leadership positions. Smith hoped to strike a balance between the sexes to simulate normal family life (Horowitz, pp. 71-72). Mount Holyoke and Wellesley were

From 1900 to 1920, as women's institutions for higher education evolved from finishing schools into accredited colleges, teachers were able to teach on a higher level, and research opportunities opened up for able women scholars. The changes were dramatic for women teaching in accredited women's colleges. Dr. Mary Stuart MacDougall (1883-1972) is an example of an outstanding southern woman and nationally known biological scientist-researcher who taught in women's colleges in the South during this period. Her career was launched at two of the Georgia women's colleges in this study, Shorter and Agnes Scott. Miss MacDougall taught biology at Athens [Tenn.] College from 1912 to 1914, at Shorter from 1914 to 1917, and at Winthrop [S.C.] from 1917 to 1919, before coming to Agnes Scott where she became head of the science department and earned a national reputation. She was born in Laurenburg, North Carolina, and received her degree at Methodist-related Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Virginia in 1912 and her master's degree at the

alone near the Agnes Scott campus in a house filled with
 needlework productions. Her career typified the transforma-
 tion wrought in women's higher education

almost totally female communities. Mount Holyoke retained its female leadership but included some male faculty after it became a college in 1893 (Horowitz, pp. 226, 233-34, 304). Wellesley remained an "Adamless Eden." Its faculty included some of the most highly qualified women in the country (Horowitz, pp. 181-82). Wellesley's unique scholarly community is the subject of Patricia Ann Palmieri's revealing dissertation, completed at Harvard in 1981, entitled "In Adamless Eden: A Social Portrait of the Academic Community of Wellesley College 1875-1920."

University of Chicago in 1916. Columbia University granted her the Ph.D. degree in 1925.⁴¹

At Shorter in her younger days, Mary Stuart MacDougall was voted the most popular faculty member and was featured in the 1917 Argo. She left her impress there in a well-developed biology department which inspired the first woman to study medicine at the Medical College of Georgia. MacDougall brought her scholarship and professional enthusiasm to Agnes Scott, where she was also able to develop her science courses unhindered by closed-mindedness and conservative theology. At Agnes Scott she was the awesome "lady of the red robe" who stalked into the biology lecture room while her assistant called the roll. The illusion of aloofness was immediately shattered, however, "for her voice was warm and womanly." "Miss Mac" was a busy and productive research scholar and textbook writer who brought great honor to Agnes Scott, where she remained a faculty member for thirty-three years until her retirement in 1952. She lived alone near the Agnes Scott campus in a house filled with her needlework productions. Her career typified the transformation wrought in women's higher education toward more

⁴¹ McNair, pp. 341-42; Margaret Rossiter, Women Scientists in America; Struggles and Strategies to 1940 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), p. 273; Agnes Scott cat. (1919-1920), p. 6; and Who's Who in America (Chicago: Marquis Co., 1944), s.v.

professional academic participation by faculty which took place in these colleges' faculties between 1900 and 1920.⁴²

Faculties at the four women's colleges utilized their summer time "off" in practical ways, particularly in upgrading their academic credentials. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, teachers in the Georgia women's colleges worked around the clock but for only eight months of the year. In 1900 none of the schools had a summer session, and those teachers without proper credentials flocked to graduate summer schools at Columbia in New York, the University of Chicago, and Bryn Mawr. Others took undergraduate work at Wellesley, Vassar, and Mount Holyoke. Some visited family and friends in their home towns. A few independently wealthy women travelled to Europe or the Holy Land, and some, who had enough money to make the trip

⁴²Gardner, Hill, p. 295; and Argo (1917), p. 135. MacDougall's text, entitled Biology, the Science of Life (1943), was co-authored by Robert Hegner of Johns Hopkins University. In 1927 she was a research associate at the Johns Hopkins University and president of the Georgia Academy of Science. In 1935 she received the Sc.D. degree from the Université de Montpellier in France. In 1931 she was one of the first five female scientists in the country to receive a John Simon Guggenheim fellowship, which she used to study protozoology at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin. From 1942 to 1946 she was president of the Association of Southeastern Biologists. During World War II she was a consultant with the U.S. Public Health Service. She was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and is listed in Who's Who in America. Rossiter, p. 273. Women's academic development will be discussed further in Chapter VII.

vacationed with friends in the North. Spelman allowed some of its boarding students to work through the summertime as housekeepers for administrative staff who lived on campus all year.⁴³

Faculty Salaries

Faculty salaries as revealed in the General Education Boards' records were low compared to other professions. All four schools applied for GEB funds to raise faculty salaries. A comparison of the wage scales on the application forms showed that men's wages were higher than women's, and women at the Negro school got less than women at white colleges. Administrators were paid slightly more than teachers. At Spelman, Miss Giles wrote in 1902 that she could hire an administrator for five hundred dollars but that salary would be less than the person was already making elsewhere. President Giles felt she could get her cheaply because the woman felt the work at Spelman, teaching black women, was her religious duty. In 1901, three Spelman teachers had worked for four hundred dollars for the year but felt they would have to get five hundred dollars the next year in order to make expenses. In 1915 Dr. James Ross

⁴³ See material on the colleges' GEB files, RAC; in the individual college archives and files; Ethel McGhee Davis interviews and letters June, July, and August, 1984; and local newspapers in Macon and Rome.

Spelman had its first summer school in 1921.

McCain's salary as professor of Bible and registrar was \$2,100.00 plus a house at Agnes Scott College. In 1917 Dr. John Hope, president of Morehouse, made \$1,800. In 1918 Lucy Hale Tapley's salary was raised to \$1,800 for twelve months' work as the president of Spelman.⁴⁴ (See Appendix II: Faculty Salaries.)

World War I caused a shifting of personnel at the women's colleges. Women with high credentials, who had been improving their degree status since the turn of the century, joined the faculties, but the ratio of men to women remained about the same between 1900 to 1920. The ratio was about one man to every three women at the white colleges.

⁴⁴The General Education Board's files at the Rockefeller Archives Center in Tarrytown, New York, includes the faculty and administration wage scales for Wesleyan, Shorter, Agnes Scott and Spelman. Just before World War I all four colleges applied to the GEB for funds to raise faculty salaries. In 1919 Rockefeller began to give money for that purpose. The statistics show clear discrimination in wages according to sex, and blacks were paid less than whites of the same sex. (See Appendix: Faculty Salaries.) See also McNair, p. 65, for 1923 salary scale at Agnes Scott.

See Solomon, p. 65, for a comparison of teachers' salaries in the Northeast in the 1890's and p. 225 footnote #4 for details about discrimination in faculty salaries. See also Horowitz, pp. 180, 185, which speaks of the two-tiered system at Vassar and Bryn Mawr, with male professors (having higher academic credentials) on one level and women teachers (without college degrees) in lower pay scales; p. 234 tells of Mount Holyoke's effort to raise full professors from \$1,600 a year in 1910 to \$3,000 by 1920. See also Newcomer, pp. 162-63, and William Clyde DeVane, Higher Education in Twentieth Century America (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1965.) Northern colleges seem to have paid considerably higher salaries than the southern schools. But all the women's colleges, north and south, wanted to increase professors' salaries after World War I.

The Negro college faculty ratio was one female college teacher to three male professors in 1900 and to ten male professors in 1918, because all except one of the professors came from Morehouse, a college for men. (See Appendix: Faculty Statistics, Male/Female Ratios.)

The college administrations became more insistent that their faculties hold degrees from standard or accredited colleges and work toward advanced degrees because the colleges were striving for accreditation by regional and national accreditation agencies, particularly the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in the Southern States (SACSS). The colleges had to meet accreditation standards in order to qualify for foundation grants and matching funds. Teachers' salaries were increased after World War I, mainly through the funds from the Rockefeller's General Education Board (GEB). This was urgently needed to cope with wartime inflation.

Even though the Negro community experienced increasing legal segregation and isolation from the Atlanta white community and local philanthropists during the Progressive era, Morehouse and Spelman were generously funded by northern benefactors, especially Rockefeller's General Education Board (GEB). The steadily enlarging faculty at Spelman and Morehouse included men with degrees from respected northern colleges: Harvard, Brown, Colgate, and Dartmouth, in addition to graduates of Spelman and Morehouse. The women administrators at Spelman continued to assign and pay one

woman professor to serve on the Morehouse college faculty. Most of these female Spelman college teachers held Spelman or Oberlin degrees. (See Appendix III: Faculty Statistics.)

The women administered Spelman in a more old-fashioned way than the men ran the white schools. The Spelman presidents needed a skilled business manager and more cooperation from the larger community to make their meagre budget cover their escalating costs. While administrators gave more responsibility to the white college students, the Spelman administrators were guided by the methods and goals inculcated into the founders. Like Oberlin and Mount Holyoke in the 1830's and 1840's, they kept the students severely monitored, disciplined, and dependent. Although salaries improved, the women's salaries at the Negro colleges were the lowest of all the teachers' wages in this study. (See Appendix III: Faculty Salaries.)

Summary Analysis

The familial relationship between faculty and students gradually changed at the white women's colleges during the first two decades of the twentieth century, from one of constant faculty supervision and surveillance of the girls to one in which students took more responsibility for their own personal behavior under student governments and honor systems. In contrast, strict paternalism continued at the Negro college. As a result, the white colleges' faculty

and white, remained low and lower than men's in comparable members' lives changed from almost no privacy or "off hours" positions. One or two women held high status administrative positions on the women's college staffs, but most women, held lower positions than men faculty members. (See Appendix III: Faculty Statistics.)

faculties also improved their teaching credentials by continuing their educations, primarily during the long unpaid summer vacations. (See Appendix III: Faculty Statistics.)

After the turn of the century, academic credentials from respected standard colleges and teaching experience became more significant factors in hiring faculty for colleges which aspired to be liberal arts colleges of the first rank. Prospective faculty members' Christian faith and commitment was also of primary importance. From 1900 to 1920 male clergymen presidents and male administrative heads predominated at the white women's colleges. White female administrators and teachers predominated at the Negro college. After World War I, the faculties had more qualified women with advanced degrees at the white schools, but women did not hold many high status administrative positions at the white women's colleges. These developments created tension between Negro faculty and white administrators at Spelman and the potential for it between the qualified women professors and their male counterparts at the white colleges.

Although discrimination according to race and sex in wages continued, the GEB helped ease some of the inequalities. In 1920 the salaries of women teachers, both black

and white, remained low and lower than men's in comparable positions. One or two women held high status administrative positions on the women's college staffs, but most women held lower positions than men faculty members. (See Appendix III: Faculty Statistics.)

Curriculum provides the frame for the work of faculty and students. It helps to mold and direct the students' intellectual growth into specific patterns and to lead them toward specific goals. The changes in curriculum in these four women's colleges during the early twentieth century provide significant evidence of changes in attitudes and goals of faculty, trustees, philanthropists, and society. As the better educated women began to play more active roles in society outside the home, this development in turn brought demands for further curriculum changes.

Influences at Work in Molding Curricula, 1900-1920

The most important forces at work influencing curriculum development at the four schools were: (1) the desire to become standard colleges according to requirements of denominational and regional accrediting agencies; (2) the wish to emulate curriculum models of men's colleges and northern women's colleges; (3) the impact of "progressive" ideas on the social sciences, the natural sciences, pedagogy, and physical education; (4) the goal of broadening and professionalizing the fine arts curricula, leading to the creation of separate conservatories and art schools within the colleges; (5) the Home Economics movement, which applied science to the home and affected the colleges' curricula in

CHAPTER V

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different ways; (6) the changing attitude toward religion, which led to the liberalization and restructuring of Bible courses; (7) the growing dependence on philanthropic funding, which dictated changes in some curricular areas and affected faculty salaries and qualifications; 8) the increasingly higher academic qualifications of the faculties, resulting in the greater diversity and higher quality of the courses taught, and (9) the openings on the college faculties created by World War I, which were filled by qualified women scholars who instituted some curricular changes. These forces affected the Georgia women's colleges in a variety of ways. Southern ideals, segregation of the races, the Bible-centered, rural culture; community needs; women's rights movements, and women's changing social roles caused tensions and special emphases to emerge in the various schools.

History of Curriculum Change in Georgia, 1840-1920

The liberal arts curriculum at the four women's colleges evolved and changed during the time from Wesleyan's founding in 1836 through 1920, and passed through four discernible periods. In the early period, from 1836 to 1861, a critical public spirit among some groups showed dissatisfaction with the "finishing school" idea of the female seminaries, academies, and collegiate institutes. Some white Georgians wanted a higher education for their women, equal to that available for men, and they established

Georgia Female College, later called Wesleyan. The founders patterned the woman's college curriculum after the traditional liberal arts curriculum for men. It included and emphasized classical languages, higher mathematics, natural science, and philosophy. The "finishing school" curricula included less advanced courses in reading, writing, arithmetic, and French and emphasized the arts in order to prepare young women for their roles as wives and mothers in the "Young Republic" and the "Old South." In Georgia's church-related schools, Bible was taught, often as a required study, and personal piety was emphasized. In the South, Negro slaves were forbidden by law to be educated, and no facilities for Negro women's education were built in Georgia until after emancipation was declared and the Civil War ended.¹

¹However, some Negro schools did exist in the South before the Civil War. See Chapter I of this dissertation for a discussion of contraband and blockade schools for freed Negroes. Fletcher Green, "Higher Education of women in the South Prior to 1860," in Democracy in the Old South, ed. J. Isaac and Young, p. 195. See also Barbour paper and Benedict, pp. 258-271. For a discussion of contraband or blockade schools for freed Negroes in Georgia, see Josephine Love Harreld's biographical sketch of her grandfather, the Reverend William Jefferson White, printed in the Morehouse College Bulletin, 54, (Spring, 1982), p. 6; Betty Collier-Thomas, "The Impact of Black Women in Education: An Historical Overview," Journal of Negro Education, 51 (Summer 1982): 174-176; and Beverly Guy-Sheftall, "Black Women and Higher Education: Spelman and Bennett Colleges Revisited," Journal of Negro Education, 51, (Summer 1982), p. 279. See also Foner and Pacheco for the stories of Margaret Douglass'

During the period from 1861 to 1886, higher education for white women in Georgia fell behind that in the northeast because of the poverty and dislocation caused by the Civil War and Reconstruction. This was the period of the founding of Shorter (1877) and Spelman (1881) and of five of the northeastern women's colleges: Vassar in 1865, Wellesley and Smith in 1875, the Radcliffe annex to Harvard in 1879, and Bryn Mawr in 1885. Outside the South, older women's schools, such as Mount Holyoke, founded as a seminary in 1837, were carrying further Emma Willard's ideas on female education, which she instituted at Troy Seminary, including religious discipline, seclusion for women, work/study programs, and teacher training. Larger endowments and more stable conditions in the North brought faster progress there, and as time went by, southern women's colleges tended to take northeastern colleges as models in their efforts to adjust themselves to the rapidly changing role of women.² The ornamental branches of the curriculum--music, art, and elocution--survived in the white schools in Georgia and became specialized and vocational areas of study in both the

Negro school in Norfolk, Virginia, and Myrtilla Miner's Negro school in Washington, D.C.

²The northeastern "Seven Sisters" were founded as follows: 1) Mount Holyoke (seminary 1837; college 1895); Vassar (1865); (3) Wellesley (1865); (4) Smith (1875); (5) Radcliffe (1879); (6) Bryn Mawr (1885); (7) Barnard (1889). See Horowitz, pp. 3-7; 225-226.

black and the white women's schools during the later part of the nineteenth century. Conservatories for the arts remained in the colleges in the South rather than becoming completely separate professional schools as they did in some areas, following a pattern of development similar to Oberlin's. Co-educational normal schools, domestic science, nursing, and missionary training departments became available for some Negro women in Georgia during the 1880s.³

From 1886 to 1900, southern women's colleges floundered financially and lacked direction and purpose. During the 1880's and early 1890's, women's colleges, north and south, in an effort to attract students in financially distressing times, offered a wide variety of subjects and became competitive with one another for patrons. At that time the traditional classical liberal arts curriculum was infused with professional subjects, and there was great confusion over curriculum content and curricular offerings in both black and white schools in Georgia. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, white women's colleges in Georgia

³In the 1880's, Wellesley incorporated its music and arts schools into its academic curriculum and required five years to finish a degree in the arts. Smith's Art and Music Schools were on the campus but were administered separately, allowing the fine arts schools to have lower entrance requirements than the college, therefore allowing more students to enter. Solomon, pp. 213-214. See also Robert Fletcher, A History of Oberlin College from Its Foundation Through the Civil War, 2 vols. (Oberlin: Oberlin College, 1943; rpt. New York: Arno Press, 1971).

emphasized southern ideals and general culture. Spelman, secure in the assurance of Rockefeller and northern Baptist support, stressed New England Puritan ideals and general culture in the collegiate program.⁴

In the late 1890's and early 1900's, when many of the denominational colleges were struggling to survive, education boards and commissions were instituted in the Southern Methodist Church, the Georgia Baptist Convention, and the Southern Presbyterian Church to coordinate and systematize education in their jurisdictions. In 1895 the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Southern States was organized at Methodist-related Vanderbilt University under Chancellor James H. Kirkland to promote high standards and to secure philanthropic financial backing for colleges in the region. With a regional accreditation agency setting standards and denominational educational boards giving support and incentives, the women's church colleges in Georgia were pressured into adopting more modern and progressive curricula by 1920. Negro schools were also being

⁴James M. McPherson, "The New Puritanism: Values and Goals of Freedmen's Education in America," in vol. 2, The University and Society, ed. Lawrence Stone (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1974): 615, 624. See also Collier-Thomas, pp. 174-176; Young, p. 196, and Benedict, pp. 258-271.

coordinated and standardized in the late 1890's and early 1900's by Negro associations and accrediting agencies.⁵

Changing into Colleges (1900-1920)

From 1900 to 1920 the old traditional liberal arts curricula at the four Georgia women's colleges developed and changed as the faculties became more professional and the programs more purely academic. The changes in course offerings reflected the South's, and, to a degree, the nation's emphases for women during the Progressive era. All four colleges began the twentieth century with the traditional type of classical curriculum popular in the South,

⁵The Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools in the Southern States was renamed the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, often referred to as SACSS or the Southern Association. In 1898 the Southern Methodist General Conference appointed a Commission of Education to oversee Methodist schools. Women's college education standards were lower than men's for Class A designation by the Methodist Church.

In 1914 the Southern Presbyterians formed the Educational Association of the South with conferences each summer to coordinate and standardize Presbyterian colleges and secondary schools and set up designated feeder schools for Agnes Scott and other Presbyterian colleges.

Also in 1914, the Georgia Baptist Convention's Education Commission established the Mercer System to tie all the Baptist high schools to Mercer University as feeder schools. The university was to assist the secondary schools with lectures and educational conferences. In 1919 the Georgia Baptist Convention attempted to correlate all the Baptist schools in Georgia under Convention control.

In 1920 the Presbyterian Education Association met with the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, in a cooperative venture to form a council of church schools of the South. The systematizing and standardizing of denominational

which put a strong emphasis on ancient languages and literature, mathematics, natural science, and philosophy.⁶ The courses offered by the very small college-level department at Spelman were similar to those of the white schools, but the Negro college was being pressured, because of the desires of white society (especially white philanthropic foundations) to provide a more "practical" education, and therefore developed large vocational and professional

Avery Colton, a North Carolinian, who had had to unscrupulously transfer her southern "college" credits in order to be accepted at Mount Holyoke, founded the Southern Association of College Women at the University of Knoxville in Tennessee. The

group was made up of graduates of standard or accredited schools and colleges was a definite trend in the first two decades of the twentieth century. See Edwin Mims, Chancellor Kirkland of Vanderbilt (Nashville: Vanderbilt Univ. Press, 1940), and dissertations on Southern Methodist education by Massengale and Dannelly. See also George Jackson Allen, "A History of the Commission on Colleges of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools," diss. Georgia State Univ. 1978, and Brawley, pp. 90-92, 114; Stringer, Off the Pedestal, p. 162; and Young, pp. 64, 195-200; Massengale, p. 8; Annual Report of the Executive Committee of Christian Education and Ministerial Relief of Presbyterian Church, U.S. (Louisville, Ky., 1923), pp. 19-21, at the Historical Foundation, Montreat, N.C., and Georgia Baptist Convention, Reports of the Education Commission (1914), pp. 66-69, Georgia Baptist Convention Center, Atlanta. See footnote #10 of this chapter for Negro educational associations.

⁶ Dr. Elizabeth Barber Young's curriculum outline for seven southern women's colleges in 1926-27 is given of pp. viii and ix of her 1932 study of Salem, Judson, Wesleyan, and H. Sophie Newcomb, Goucher, Agnes Scott, and Randolph-Macon women's colleges. See also Thomas Fleming, "Southern Schools and the Ancient Wisdom," in Why the South Will Survive by Fifteen Southern Authors (Athens, Ga.: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1981), pp. 108-111.

departments to produce trained Negro female teachers, nurses, and domestic workers.⁷

Stimulated by the Southern Association's educational guidelines and standards, professional societies of academic women, black and white, formed pressure groups to inform and assist southern schools as well as to push them into coordinating their programs and standardizing their requirements. In 1903 Celeste S. Parrish of Athens, Georgia, and Elizabeth Avery Colton, a North Carolinian, who had had to unscramble her southern "college" credits in order to be accepted at Mount Holyoke, founded the Southern Association of College Women at the University of Knoxville in Tennessee. The group was made up of graduates of standard or accredited colleges, many of them from the northeastern "Seven Sisters," a factor which reinforced the northeastern models and standards in the South.⁸

⁷Read, pp. 191-195. President Lucy Hale Tapley led Spelman into a more dominant vocational emphasis during her tenure from 1910 to 1927. For insight into how and why the Southern Education Board and the General Education Board worked together to promote industrial education for Negroes, see James Douglas Anderson, "Education for Servitude: The Social Purposes of Schooling in the Black South, 1870-1930." (Diss. Univ. of Illinois 1973), pp. 5, 161-191. See also Wayne J. Urban, "Book and Platform over Anvil and Hoe: Horace Mann Bond and the Place of Industrial Education in the Black College Curriculum," paper given to the History of Education Society in Chicago, October, 1984.

⁸See Virginia Shadron, et al, "The Historical Perspective: A Bibliographical Essay" in Patricia A. Stringer and Irene Thompson, eds., Stepping Off the Pedestal: Academic

The Southern Association women investigated secondary schools and colleges and published reports on how they measured up to the standards which the association set. Members also arranged programs called "College Days" in the secondary schools to encourage girls to aspire to higher education and to take the prerequisite courses, which included Latin. The chapters also offered scholarships to academically promising young women, usually the first honor graduates of "approved" high schools. In March 1905, an Atlanta Branch was formed in the basement of the Carnegie Library. In 1907 and 1908 the branch sponsored an educational column in the Atlanta Constitution, edited by Emma Garrett Boyd Morris. In the Southern Association of College Women's Proceedings for 1911, Colton reported that of the 140 southern institutions described as colleges for women, only Sophie Newcomb and Randolph-Macon Woman's College were doing four years of college-level work. This revelation spurred the Georgia women into action.⁹

Women in the South (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1982), pp. 161-163.

⁹In 1921 the northeastern-based Association of Collegiate Alumnae joined with the Southern Association of College Women and formed the American Association of University Women (AAUW). The membership rosters of the Southern Association of College Women reveal the educational background of each member. See also the six reports researched by Colton and published by the Southern Association of College Women. These include Improvement in Standards of Southern Colleges since 1900 (1913), The Junior College

Black women formed separate professional educational associations. In 1910, they founded the College Alumnae Club in Washington, D.C., which became the National Educational Association for College Women in 1923. In 1916 the School Teachers' League was founded by the National Association of Colored Women. These agencies encouraged coordination of high school curricula and academic standards among Negro schools. In Atlanta, Lugenia Hope's Neighborhood Union women made an educational survey which they presented to the City Council in order to get better school facilities and teachers for Atlanta Negro youth. This resulted in the

Problem in the South (1914), and her widely circulated work, The Various Types of Southern Colleges for Women (1916), copies of which are in the Agnes Scott Library and at the Georgia Department of Archives and History.

For more on the career of Colton see Mary Lynch Johnson, A History of Meredith College (Raleigh: Meredith College, 1972), Celeste Parrish's papers at Lynchburg, Va., at Randolph-Macon Woman's College and at the University of Georgia in Athens. In 1914 she surveyed the Atlanta schools and produced a thorough and revealing report. See Melvin W. Ecke, From Ivy Street to Kennedy Center: Centennial History of the Atlanta Public School System (Atlanta: Atlanta Board of Education, 1972), pp. 85-102.

For an overview of the work of the Southern Association of College Women see Emilie M. McVea, "Women's Colleges and the Southern Association," Proceedings of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1922), pp. 108-113. Marion Talbot and Lois Kimball Mathews Rosenberg, The History of the Association of University Women, 1881-1931 (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), pp. 46-62; Elizabeth Avery Colton, in Southern Association of College Women Proceedings (1911), p. 11.

Other Southern Association of College Women branches were founded in Georgia in Macon (1916), in Rome (1919), and in Augusta (1919). Talbot, pp. 48-50.

parrish Report and the revamp of Atlanta Public Schools. Spelman and Morehouse belonged to ABHMS and WABHMS of New York, which coordinated the educational system of church-sponsored secondary schools and colleges for Negroes. Spelman and Morehouse helped maintain and encourage high standards of scholarship in their feeder schools in Georgia and the South.¹⁰

Changes in liberal arts curricula in Georgia's four women's colleges between 1900 and 1920 reflected southern society's needs and emphases. The "ornamental" courses in art and music cherished in Old South finishing schools were upgraded in the twentieth century, and the music departments of Shorter and Wesleyan became near-professional conservatories. Curriculum additions included progressive "social efficiency" courses such as normal school training, business courses, home economics, and physical education. The Negro college inaugurated a much needed nurses' training program; there were, however, no business or physical education

economics and its relationship to the B.A. curriculum varied

with each college.

¹⁰Shadron et al in Stringer, pp. 161-162. See also articles in the Journal of Negro Education 51 (Summer 1982), which is devoted to Negro women's education, especially Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, pp. 216-219. See also Sandy Dwayne Martin, "The American Baptist Home Mission Society and Black Higher Education in the South, 1865-1920," Foundations 24 (October-December 1981), pp. 310-327, and Brawley, Morehouse, pp. 90-92; Lerner, Black Women, pp. 75-77; and Mary M. Carter, "The Educational Activities of the National Educational Association for College Women, 1923-1960," M.A. thesis Howard Univ. 1962.

courses at Spelman at the college level. Bible courses, always present in the church colleges' curricula, became less theological and remote, more up-to-date in content and in teaching methods, and more relevant to the young women's daily lives. Home Economics was added to the curricula of all four women's colleges between 1911 and 1918. Called by various names (Household Arts, Domestic Science, "homemaking," "Home Ec"), it was considered throughout the nation to relate directly to woman's true sphere. It reflected the South's and the nation's ideal for practical, useful, God-ordained, women's education during the Progressive era. Home Economics gained admission to the liberal arts curricula of the four Georgia women's colleges in spite of some of its courses' being labeled "non-academic." At Spelman the practical courses in Household Arts and Sciences were eagerly attended because they meant good jobs and employment at the end of the training. The content and longevity of Home Economics and its relationship to the B.A. curriculum varied with each college.¹¹

¹¹In spite of the fact that one of the pioneers in standardizing Home Economics, Ellen Swallow Richards, was a Vassar graduate, most of the influential eastern private women's colleges did not include "Home Ec" in their curricula. Cooking and sewing classes to fit young white women for the practical affairs of life seemed to be more properly taught in the state-supported normal and industrial schools

After the turn of the century, the Georgia schools looked to the northeastern women's schools for curriculum models so that they could become standard accredited colleges and their students would be accepted at grade level by other standard colleges. Agnes Scott's original model had been Hollins Institute in Virginia, where Dean Nannette Hopkins had been educated. She followed Hollins' preparatory curriculum and devised a plan to upgrade the school each year by dropping the lowest grade and adding new grade at the top. After the turn of the century, Wesleyan and Shorter looked closer home for their modern "progressive" curriculum model and followed the successful leadership toward accreditation offered by their southern sister, Agnes Scott.¹²

and colleges. See Young, pp. 207 and 170 (Table XIII, curriculum foldout) and Mabel Louise Robinson, "The Curriculum of the Woman's College," Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1918, no. 6 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918): 107. See also Frederick Rudolph, Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study Since 1636 (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1977), pp. 124, 138, and Veysey, p. 113, Horowitz, pp. 60-61, 64-65, and Ihle, p. 5. Elizabeth Avery Colton, "The Changing Emphasis in Education of Women in the South," Southern Association of College Women Proceedings, (Montgomery, Alabama, April 13-15, 1916), pp. 11-15, used at the Agnes Scott Library.

12 Mabel Louise Robinson, "The Curriculum of the Woman's College," Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1918, No. 6 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), pp. 7-137. The curricula of Vassar, Wellesley, Radcliffe, Barnard, and Mount Holyoke were described and compared. Young, p. 97.

Because it became a model in its turn, this study will examine the development of Agnes Scott's curriculum in some detail.

Agnes Scott's curriculum in 1900 had a comparatively short history. Therefore it was more malleable and responded more readily to modernization, progressive trends, and accreditation requirements. In 1907 Agnes Scott became the first of the four women's colleges under consideration to achieve recognition by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in the Southern States (SACSS) after only one year under consideration.¹³

In 1900 Agnes Scott's curriculum reflected the high school status that the Agnes Scott Institute claimed at the century's turn. But the institute had definite goals and ambitions to become a true college with high standards of scholarship. The plan was to drop off one grade at the bottom of the curriculum and add a new level at the top each

¹³Agnes Scott Institute was accredited by the Southern Association as a preparatory school in 1898. McSair, pp. 74-76. Agnes Scott was the first college in Georgia and the fifteenth college in the region to be accredited by the Southern Association. In 1903 Randolph-Macon Women's College in Virginia and in 1903 Sophie Newcomb in New Orleans were the only women's colleges accredited in the Southern region by SACSS. However, the Women's College of Georgia (later Coker), which opened in 1888 was the only accredited women's college in the South reported by the U.S. Commissioner of Education in 1890 and also recognized by the New England based Association of Collegiate Alumnae.

In 1916 Agnes Scott was granted a charter to form the first Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa in the state. It was the first women's college in the nation to get a charter. See Pitt Young, pp. 80, 95, 93, 98, and 113.

Agnes Scott's Curriculum Development (1900 to 1920)

Curriculum of the Agnes Scott Institute

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In 1926 Agnes Scott was granted a charter to form the Beta Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa in the state. It was the ninth women's college in the nation to get a charter. See also Young, pp. 80, 85, 93, 98, and 113.

year until all the preparatory levels were discontinued. The Hollins plan on which Principal Nannette Hopkins (1889-1938) had modeled Agnes Scott's original curriculum included a classical course leading to the B.A. and a scientific course leading to the B.S. and was itself patterned after the curriculum of the University of Virginia. Principal Hopkins' scheme was later modified by Agnes Scott's first President, Dr. Frank H. Gaines.¹⁴

Agnes Scott's catalogues were models for other women's colleges. Rockefeller's General Education Board (GEB), a major source of funding for financially strapped southern colleges, insisted that full, precise catalogues be sent in with applications for funds. Consequently, Shorter and Wesleyan wrote for copies of Agnes Scott's bulletin after the school was so quickly accredited. Louise McKinney was largely responsible for the accuracy, clarity, and quality of Agnes Scott's publication. Schools, especially girls' schools, were notorious for "window dressing" in their bulletins. Agnes Scott's catalogues are a gold mine for curriculum researchers, for every required detail was

¹⁴In 1898 Agnes Scott was accredited as a secondary school by SACSS. McNair, pp. 5, 20, 374; Young, p. 97 and footnote #37 on the same page. For more detail about Hollins College see John A. Logan, Hollins, An Act of Faith for 125 Years (New York: The Newcomen Society in North America, 1968) and Frances J. Niederer, Hollins College: An Illustrated History (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1973), especially pp. 15-16 and 29-30.

spelled out and carried through. If Agnes Scott's catalogue stated that Macbeth was required, Louise McKinney would never allow Hamlet to be substituted. If four books of Caesar were required, pages from Sallust could not be used, Professor McKinney insisted. The catalogue gave guidelines, reading lists, and standard courses necessary for high school graduates who might be seeking admission to the college.¹⁵

In 1900 the study of English and the Bible ranked first in importance at the Agnes Scott Institute. Miss Louise McKinney, an exceptionally gifted teacher, was a graduate of the State Normal School in Virginia and had studied at Vassar and Radcliffe. She led the English Literature Department. The first year preparatory school course concentrated on the mastery of composition with required weekly themes and individual conferences to discuss them. Students read selections from the Romantic poets and eighteenth and

¹⁵Dr. James R. McCain's recollections of Professor McKinney are in McNair, pp. 344-345. See correspondence in the GEB files on all four schools. In applying for funding, each college had to send in its catalogue for the board to evaluate. Some were imprecise and confusing. Shorter and Wesleyan wrote to Agnes Scott to get copies of their model catalogue. They followed Agnes Scott's example and received funding and later accreditation.

Dr. James Ross McCain, faculty member from 1915 and president of Agnes Scott College from 1915 to 1923 and an early member of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (SACSS), also was intensely interested in keeping standards high at Agnes Scott. See McCain Papers, McCain Library Archives, Agnes Scott College.

nineteenth century novelists. Second year students continued work in advanced composition and studied oratory and Renaissance drama, as well as fiction and essays on criticism. The faculty assigned frequent themes and gave personal critiques. Technical skill in writing was a recognized strength of the English Department. A systematic study of the history of English literature began in the second year and concluded in the third. Electives on the Romantic Poets and Anglo-Saxon were offered during the fourth year.¹⁶ (See Appendix: Curriculum 1900 for a complete and comparative chart of courses.)

¹⁶Agnes Scott cat. (1900-1901), pp. 9, 22-26. Anna W. Lytle, a graduate of the University of Nebraska, assisted Miss McKinney in the English Department. The first and second year text was Genung's Outlines of Rhetoric. The first year girls studied the poetry of Scott, Keats, Tennyson, and Lanier; Pope's Iliad, Books I, VI, XXII, XXIV; the "Sir Roger de Coverley Papers"; "The Ancient Mariner"; and "The Vision of Sir Launfal" in class. They were required to read Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield; George Eliot's Silas Marner; Cooper's The Last of the Mohicans; Scott's Ivanhoe; and Dicken's Tale of Two Cities. During the second year, students studied Shakespeare's Macbeth, The Merchant of Venice, and King Lear; Milton's Paradise Lost, Books I and II, Comus, "Lycidas," "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso"; Burke's "Speech on the Conciliation with America"; Macaulay's Essays on Milton and Addison; and De Quincey's "The Flight of the Tartar Tribes." Required outside reading included: Shakespeare's Much Ado About Nothing or The Tempest, Midsummer Night's Dream, and Julius Caesar; Blackmore's Lorna Doone; George Eliot's Romola; and Hawthorne's The Marble Faun. The third year class studied "the Prologue" to the Canterbury Tales and "The Knight's Tale"; Spenser's Faerie Queene, Books I and II; Carlyle's Heroes and Hero Worship; and Selections from DeQuincey and Matthew Arnold. Third year students' required reading included George Eliot's Felix

Agnes Scott Institute's mathematics curriculum started with high school courses in algebra and geometry and got no higher than differential calculus. However, these elementary offerings were not too different from those of the men's colleges at the turn of the century. In 1900 while a graduate student at the University of Chicago, Anna I. Young taught all the math classes in addition to her duties as librarian.¹⁷

In 1900 the Latin and Greek Departments of the Agnes Scott Institute were directed by Maude Marrow, a graduate of the University of Mississippi. She taught all of the department's courses, offering Caesar, Cicero, Vergil, Horace, and Pliny, Livy, Tacitus, and Catullus, which showed an unusual concentration in Roman history and philosophy. The Greek Department offered four classes in grammar, with students reading Xenophon's Anabasis, Homer's Iliad, Plato's Apology and Crito, and Thucydides' "Fall of Platea" and

Agnes Scott cat. (1900-1901), pp. 22-31. Latin texts used were Greenough's D'Ooge, and Daniel's second-year book. Holt, Thackeray's Vanity Fair or The Newcomer, Dryden's "Palamon" and "Arcite", and Mrs. Browning's "Aurora Leigh." Anglo-Saxon classes used Bright's Grammar and Reader and Stafford Brooke's History of Early English Literature. The poetry course made a detailed study of Shelley, Wordsworth, Browning, and of Tennyson's "In Memoriam," and special attention was given to the opinions of Carlyle, Emerson, and Coleridge.

¹⁷Miss Nannie M. Lewis, a graduate student at Vanderbilt and the holder of a B.S. degree, assisted Miss Young in mathematics. Nannie Lewis also assisted in physics and astronomy. Agnes Scott cat. (1900-1901), pp. 10, 26-28. Mathematics texts were Well's algebra and Wentworth's geometry.

"Plague of Athens." Sight readings were required in John's Gospel, Aeschylus' Seven Against Thebes, and Sophocles' Antigone. Latin and Greek students were expected to take Greek or Roman History and Mythology which were offered in the History Department.¹⁸

The popular French and German Departments offered three levels of instruction and concentrated on the spoken language.¹⁹ The language teachers, although doing a commendable job, were overloaded, according to the inspector from the General Education Board (GEB). Nannie R. Massie (1890-1910), with no listed degree, taught history in addition to her French classes. Mary Sheppard (1891-1903), a graduate of Western College in Ohio, taught philosophy and pedagogy courses in addition to her German classes. The GEB evaluation of the Agnes Scott curriculum, although generally laudatory, included criticism about overloading teachers.

¹⁸Agnes Scott cat. (1900-1901), pp. 28-31. Latin texts used were Greenough, D'Ooge, and Daniell's second-year book, Gildersleeve-Lodge's grammar, Daniel's prose composition, Allen and Greenough's lines, and the Collins series for a wide range of readings. Greek texts used were White's and Cebes' Tablet, with parallel reading in Church's text. Goodwin's grammar and Meyer's and Miss Swanwick's translations of the Iliad and Oresteia. Greek students studied Mahaffey's Old Greek Life and the Latin scholars used Mackail's Roman Literature and Church's Roman Life in the Days of Cicero.

¹⁹Agnes Scott cat. (1900-1901), pp. 32-34. Massie used Chardenal's French grammar and read selections from Potter, Fortier, and Daudet, and from Grandgent's and Fasnacht's texts. Sheppard selected Collar's and Spanhoofd's German grammar texts.

The GEB Inspector of Schools suggested that Mary Sheppard be relieved of her German classes in order to develop the new course in pedagogy. Inspector David Cloyd considered Agnes Scott's education courses (ethics, philosophy, psychology, history of education, and pedagogy) vital in the developing curriculum because "many of the graduates enter the teaching profession" and "so many of the students teach in the public schools." It was for these reasons that Agnes Scott's funding was delayed one year (a clear example of how philanthropic foundations affected standards).²⁰

The sciences received strong emphasis in the progressive modern curricula. In 1900 the Physical and Biological Sciences Department at Agnes Scott, which included chemistry, physics, biology, geology, and astronomy, was in the capable hands of Dr. Howard Bell Arbuckle (1898-1913), who had earned a Ph.D. degree in Chemistry from The Johns Hopkins University. Nannie M. Lewis (1899-1902), with a B.S. degree from Vanderbilt, was his assistant. Dr. Arbuckle developed three courses in chemistry: organic, inorganic, and qualitative analysis. The courses incorporated required laboratory sessions, lasting from three to seven hours. Students were required to keep a careful record of their experiments, which was an important factor in determining

²⁰David E. Cloyd to Dr. Wallace Buttrick, September 17, 1902, Ga. #39 file, GEB, RAC, N.Y.

their class standing. Dr. Arbuckle offered monthly lectures on industrial chemistry, explaining the manufacturing processes involved in "glass-making, rubber manufacturing, pottery, tanning, dyeing, bleaching, etc." He also promised a final set of brief lectures on the simpler compounds of carbon of the aliphatic and aromatic series. The courses in physics presented the simpler laws and principles of mechanics: heat, sound, light, and electricity, with regular demonstrations and laboratory sessions three hours a week.²¹

The Biology Department offered four courses: General Biology, including zoology and botany; Structural Botany, using the microscope and making slides; Animal Physiology with required dissection of a mammal; and Animal Morphology, studying embryology and comparative osteology in a seven-hour-a-week laboratory session. The traditional geology course embraced physiographic, dynamic, structural, and historical geology. Agnes Scott's course had been updated and used local resources. Students learned the earth's history with particular reference to Georgia's terrain and took field trips to Stone Mountain, considered "a splendid

²¹Agnes Scott cat. (1900-1901), pp. 36-38. Chemistry texts used were Remsen's, Odling's, Muter's, and Cairn's. In addition, Dr. Arbuckle had some of the best reference works by Mendeléeff, Remsen, Bernthsen, Vollhard and Sellers, and Levy and Gottermann as well as current scientific journals "on reference" in the Agnes Scott library. Students' physics textbooks were Wentworth and Hill's and Avery's. Barker's and Ganot's physics texts were used as reference books.

geological problem." The use of Joseph LeConte's geology textbook implies that Dr. Arbuckle was able to reconcile religious beliefs with the new evolutionary approach to earth sciences. A very elementary course in mineralogy and crystallography was offered, supplemented by a mineralogical cabinet of over three hundred specimens given to the department by benefactors including Colonel George Washington Scott. The prerequisites for the astronomy courses were trigonometry and analytical geometry. The catalogue promised that "Though denied the use of the large and refined instruments now at the command of wealthy institutions" (referring to Vassar and Wellesley), photographs and stereopticon views of the instruments in use at the Yerkes and Lick observatories would be described to the Agnes Scott students, and it pointed out that the Institute had a small telescope which added "much interest to these studies." This hint pointed up Agnes Scott's need for better equipment.²²

²²Agnes Scott cat. (1900-1901), pp. 38-42. Biology students used Davis', Needham's, and Bergen's texts. Strasburger's Practical Botany, Martin's Human Body, Sedgwick and Wilson's Biology, Brook's Invertebrate Zoology and Quain's Osteology were also required textbooks. The geology texts for students included LeConte's or W.B. Scott's with Lyell's, Geikie's, Dana's, and G.H. Williams' works on reference. Student astronomers used Young's text with Newcombe and Holden's work as reference. German scientific scholarship was in high repute at the turn of the century. Agnes Scott students seem to have been taught from some of the best research available at the time. See DGB (1983), s.v., "LeConte, Joseph," by Lester D. Stephens. See also

In 1900 Nannie R. Massie (1890-1910) hoped to remove "the prejudice that history is a dry mass of facts and dates" and arouse pupil enthusiasm for history courses. Her classes were encouraged to use the periodicals reading room to prepare for weekly discussions of current events and to clip and collect pictures and articles from magazines and newspapers about the areas and people being studied. Written reports, thousand-word papers, critical use of source materials, outline maps, and atlases were incorporated into the teaching. The four history courses offered were in Ancient Greece and Rome; Medieval and Modern History of the Reformation; French and English history; and the History of Modern Europe from the French Revolution to the Republic in France, and the History of the United States from Exploration and Settlement through Civil War and Reconstruction. For her U.S. history text, Massie used Fiske's History of the United States and Cooper and Estell's Our Country. On her reference shelf she kept Bancroft's History, Old South Leaflets, H.O. White's Life of Lee; Dabney's Life of Jackson; Watson's Life of Jefferson; and Stephens, War Between

Lester D. Stephens, "Evolution and Women's Rights in the 1890s: The Views of Joseph Le Conte," The Historian 38 (February 1976): 239-52 and "Joseph Le Conte on Evolution, Education and the Structure of Knowledge," Journal of Behavioral Sciences 12 (April 1976): 103-19.

Mattie Cobb Howard, no degree (1900-1901), also assisted in the biology laboratory and was superintendent of practice in the school of music.

the States, vividly revealing her southern upbringing and persuasion.²³

The Philosophy Department in the traditional curriculum usually was an umbrella for a variety of courses often taught by a clergyman. At Agnes Scott, however, it was headed by Mary D. Sheppard (1891-1903), a graduate of Western College in Ohio, who offered juniors and seniors traditional courses such as logic, philosophy, and ethics. She also taught subjects such as psychology, history and philosophy of education, and pedagogy, an elective designed "especially for those who desire to make teaching a profession." In the educational psychology course, juniors studied "development of character," school management and organization, and Locke, Rousseau, Page, and Payne. In the History and Philosophy of Education course, senior girls covered the ancient and modern educational literature briefly and tried to keep abreast of current pedagogical

which was the exclusive domain of founding President Frank

Guides, D.D., L.L.D., who led Agnes Scott from 1869 to 1923

²³Other history texts used in Massie's classes were: Myer's Mediaeval and Modern History, Emerson's Introduction to the Middle Ages, and Gibbon's, Guizot's, Froude's, Duruy's, and Carlyle's works as references. In French history she required Montgomery's Leading Facts of French History and Adams' Growth of the French Nation for her students with St. Armand's Works and Stephen's Lectures as references. In English history she used Montgomery's Leading Facts of English History as an outline and supplemented it with Coman and Kendall's History of England. Gardiner's Students' History of England, Green's, Macaulay's, Fielden's and Coman's histories, and Carlyle's Heroes were used as references. In ancient history she used Sheldon's text, Myer's History of Greece and Rome and Oman's Greece. Agnes Scott cat. (1900-1901), pp. 44-47.

literature with emphasis on the principles underlying the "science of education." These latter courses made up Agnes Scott's "normal department," which the administration was touting as "equal to that of any institution in the South" but which would be phased out by 1907. (Its education department has always held a subsidiary position in the curriculum).²⁴

Bible courses at the four church colleges had special problems during the period. Their evangelical Protestant outlook caused tension with the current academic scholarship in contextual criticism of the Scriptures, new archaeological evidence from the Middle East, and Darwin's theory of evolution.

In 1900 Bible courses were basic in the Agnes Scott curriculum and were required. The Christian Scriptures undergirded all the other courses in the school, a characteristic encouraged by most philanthropists. Originally Bible was the exclusive domain of founding President Frank Gaines, D.D., L.L.D., who led Agnes Scott from 1889 to 1923 and wrote his own Bible outline and text materials. As he became older, he was assisted in the department by Dr.

²⁴The texts used in History and Philosophy of Education were Compayre and Painter. The textbooks for psychology and logic were by Hopkins and Poland with collateral readings from Ladd, James, and Dewey. Theoretical and Practical Ethics, open to seniors, studied Hopkins, Dabney, and others. Agnes Scott cat. (1900-1901), pp. 47-49. See also Young, p. 100.

Samuel Guerry Stukes (1913-1957), later the dean, and by Dr. James Ross McCain (1915-1951), who became the president of the college.²⁵

The Reverend Dr. Gaines clearly defined his teaching objectives in the 1900-1901 catalogue. First he intended to give a clear knowledge of Biblical history; second, to give an adequate view of the value of the Bible; and third, to teach "how to study the Bible." His methodology was clearly presented also. The Bible (Revised Version) was the main text, with other books "used only as guides or helps." He taught the Bible chronologically, and in the "light of Biblical Geography." And lastly, the Reverend Dr. Gaines assured his pupils and their parents that the Bible was "always taught as the inspired word of God."²⁷

In 1900 Agnes Scott Institute also had small but well-staffed schools of art and music. Joseph Maclean (1893-1918) directed the music school and taught piano, theory, and music history. The faculty included one other man and

three women who taught piano, organ, violin, and harmony.²⁵ In 1902 the General Education Board inspector reported that the instruction and influence of the Agnes Scott faculty was "strongly Christian" and mentioned it again as "magnificent." David E. Cloyd to Dr. Wallace Buttrick, Sept. 17, 1902, in Ga. #39, GEB, RAC, N.Y. See also Agnes Scott cat. (1900-1901), pp. 42-44 and McNair, pp. 2, 22. However, Andrew Carnegie stipulated that his foundation would not give to church schools and Rockefeller's GEB was careful not to award grants to schools which were "sectarian" in the presentation of the Bible. See Agnes Scott cat. (1900-1901), p. 43.

²⁷ Agnes Scott cat. (1900-1901), p. 43.

The Bible curriculum consisted of three required courses: "From the Creation to the Kingdom," for sophomores, "From the Kingdom to the End of the Old Testament," for juniors, and the senior course, on the New Testament.²⁸ The 1900-01 bulletin announced that a new elective Bible course, Agnes Scott's first, would be offered in order to prepare young women "for larger Christian usefulness" as Sunday School teachers and missionaries. So that all students would be Biblically literate, specially exempted students not enrolled in the regular Bible course were required to recite one lesson a week either from Foster's Story of the Bible and Hurlbut's Studies in the Four Gospels, or from Blaikie's Bible History, texts which were less detailed and more elementary than Dr. Gaines' lectures and outline.²⁹

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²⁸Ibid., p. 43. Sophomore and junior texts were RSV Bible, Gaines' "Outline and Notes," and Hurlbut's Manual of Biblical Geography. The seniors used Broadus' Harmony of the Gospel, and Alexander's Evidences of Christianity. Copies of Gaines' outlines and texts are in the McCain Library archives at Agnes Scott.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 43-44. Special students and those who were planning to go to the northeastern women's colleges might take science or a modern language in the place of Bible their sophomore year.

The music department offered academic and theoretical courses in the history of music, and the physics department explained the phenomena of sound in their relation to music and musical instruments in Musical Science, a service course for the music department. The music faculty provided chorus classes and organ courses, planned to meet the needs of women preparing themselves for church choir work. The institute had a two-manual organ for the pupils' use. Certificates in piano-playing and voice culture were awarded to students who concentrated in those skills.³⁰

The Institute's School of Art was directed and staffed by Louise Garland Lewis (1900-1943) who offered four levels of art: Elementary, Preparatory Antique, Antique, and Life Classes, which included drawing, clay modeling, painting in oil, water color, pencil, charcoal, sketching (from life and models), perspective, and composition. Instruction was also offered in china painting, tapestry, miniature, pastels, and photo-crayon. Students who elected art their freshman year could study art history in a two-year course sequence.³¹

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 11, 55-57. The music faculty included John H. Stephan (1900-1905), who taught piano and organ, Helen Watkins (1901-1908), who taught piano and harmony, Laura L. Miller (1900-1901), who taught voice culture and sight reading, and Theodora Morgan-Stephens (1899-1908, 1918, 1919, 1921-23), who taught violin. She had received her training under Professor Dr. Joseph Joachim, director of the Royal Academy of Arts in Berlin.

³¹ ibid., pp. 12, 58-59.

Agnes Scott College Curriculum, 1906 to 1920

In the catalogue for 1906-07, the year Agnes Scott was under consideration for accreditation as a college, the course descriptions were streamlined, but the catalogue continued to list textbooks and reference books and required readings. Ancient and modern language courses remained much the same. Latin, under Dr. Lillian S. Smith (1905-1938), Agnes Scott's first woman Ph.D. (from Cornell), expanded the classics offerings to include Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, Terence, and Plautus, authors who might not have been considered appropriate reading for young ladies in an earlier generation. Greek, also under Dr. Smith, added New Testament Greek, a course necessary for serious Biblical scholarship.³²

Mathematics and science courses experienced some changes. The Mathematics Department added a senior course in the history of the field. Physics and astronomy courses remained much the same, but the equipment was much better. The desks in the laboratory had water and gas, and the student astronomers had a four-inch telescope. Other science laboratories also were improved and boasted compound microscopes, better dissecting implements, microtomes,

³² Ibid., pp. 49-50, 57. Dr. Mary Martin (1906-1908) was a graduate of the Medical College of Philadelphia and Agnes Scott cat. (1906-07), pp. 39, 49-50, 57. Ibid., p. 10. Dr. Lillian S. Smith received her A.B. degree from Syracuse University and Ph.D. from Cornell.

staining and embedding apparatus, constant temperature baths, cages for insects, aquaria, a museum with zoological specimens, a very complete herbarium of the flowering plants of Georgia, and a collection of Georgia woods. Reference books, laboratory manuals, and two of the leading scientific journals were kept on file in the classroom. Resident physician Dr. Mary T. Martin (1906-1908), a graduate of the Medical College of Philadelphia, taught human physiology and hygiene, so that the young women would take better care of "their own bodies and of a home and surroundings." Her laboratory was equipped with a skeleton, mannequin, physiological charts, anatomical model and selected microscopic slides.³³

In 1906 when Professor John I. Armstrong (1906-1913), a graduate of Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, came to head the Philosophy Department, an old department which served as a catch-all for many new courses. He added political economy (economics), studying production, exchange, and distribution, and also sociology, which was presented as a practical study for young women who in a few years would be dealing directly with sociological problems in

³³Ibid., pp. 49-50, 57. Dr. Mary Martin (1906-1908) was a graduate of the Medical College of Philadelphia and interned at the New England Hospital in Boston.

administering charitable organizations and other organs for social betterment. ³⁴ *she confided.*

Professor Armstrong also taught Bible. He added a course on the Teaching of the Bible for Sunday School teachers and missionaries and rearranged others. "The Life of Christ," required of the sophomores and open to all students, and the Old Testament, required of juniors and seniors throughout the year, had new helps and texts listed. Professor Armstrong adopted as his textbook the newer American Standard Version of the Bible. The New Testament (the part after the gospels), The Church, and The Prophets were offered as electives. Both the New Testament and the Christian Church courses had to be taken before either counted toward the degree. The History of the Bible course, presenting the Scriptures as a history book, and another course in the department, presenting it as literature, were electives, open to all students. Armstrong's changes did not impress or convert one alumna, who characterized him and his department as too literal and "fundamental to a repelling degree." "In fact the whole flavor of the school [was repellent]," she went on to say, "its founders, . . . were much on hand and pouring literal translations into us -- or

³⁵ Agnes Scott cat. (1906-07), p. 63 and McWair, p. 178. The misshapen spines of young girls, caused by tight corseting, were corrected by "taking your mothers" (exercises devised by Dr. Clelia Mosher, an 1893 graduate of the newly opened Stanford University who had majored in sociology). Kathryn Allamong Jacob, "The Mosher Report," *American Herit* 32, 4 (June/July 1931): 56-66.

trying to, even Jonah and the Whale. So I mostly parted company with that later," she confided.³⁴

Physical Training, added to the college curriculum in 1903, was directed from 1907 to 1918 by A. Maude Montgomery, a graduate of the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics. There were rhythmic and formal exercises in the gymnasium; corrective work for flat feet and curved spines; and basketball, field hockey, tennis, and swimming lessons by appointment in the newly built "natatorium." Every student was obliged to have a careful physical examination by the physical director and the resident physician before entering the department.³⁵

In 1907 Agnes Scott College had a separate School of Music, Art, and Expression, divided into theoretical, historical and critical courses. Applied instruction continued

³⁴Philosophy and Bible Professor John Armstrong (1906-1913), a graduate of Hampden Sydney College and of Union Theological Seminary in Virginia with an M.A. and a B.D. degree, may have been the "fundamentalist" Bible teacher mentioned by an Agnes Scott alumna, class of 1917. The unconverted alumna was Jane Harwell Heazel, class of 1917, who wrote me her reaction to her Bible course in a letter dated October 30, 1984, from Berkeley, California. See also McNair, p. 366. Ibid., p. 366 and Agnes Scott cat. (1911-1912), pp. 71-73.

³⁵Agnes Scott cat. (1906-07), p. 63 and McNair, p. 378. The misshapen spines of young girls, caused by tight corseting, were corrected by "taking your moshers" (exercises devised by Dr. Clelia Mosher, an 1893 graduate of the newly opened Stanford University who had majored in zoology). Kathryn Allamong Jacob, "The Mosher Report," American Heritage 32, 4 (June/July 1981): 56-64.

in piano, organ, violin, and voice culture. The music school urged spending five years at the college when working toward the B.A. and a certificate in music. The art division of the school continued its regular four level art course under Louise G. Lewis and added art history courses in the History of Architecture and Sculpture, History of Painting, Pictorial Composition and Theory of Design, and Nineteenth Century Art. The expression division of the school, under Shatteen Mitchell (1906-1911), offered three courses and a post-graduate year, during which the students used great literature for their readings and recitations. In 1915, when Frances K. Gooch (1915-1951) joined the faculty, Agnes Scott's speech department organized its first dramatic group, Blackfriars. Agnes Scott had sanctioned the "immoral stage," but with some reservations. Among the limitations on the girls were that they could not wear men's clothes, even when they were acting men's parts.³⁶

In the 1911-1912 session, Agnes Scott opened a Department of Home Economics, in response to a national movement seeking to upgrade homemaking into a science, and made it a genuinely academic subject. It was headed by Professor Anna Richardson, who had a B.S. degree from Peabody College

³⁶Agnes Scott cat. (1906-07), pp. 95-104; McNair, p. 284. Frances K. Gooch taught at Wesleyan before coming to Agnes Scott. See also footnote #42 which follows.

in Nashville and an M.A. from Columbia University. This department certified fourteen hours of work toward the B.A. degree for those who elected the "science-mathematics" group in the curriculum. The courses included Foods (production and preparation, and their nutritive and economic value), Household Chemistry ("for practical use in a woman's home"), Household Sanitation (considering furnishings, refrigeration, household wastes, and "the relation of the house to the health of the city"), and Nutrition and Dietetics (especially for infants, children, and the sick). In the Advanced Foods course, recipes and comparative costs of foods were considered. A course for secondary school teachers, discussing Home Economics curricula and equipment, was also offered. In 1914 courses in bacteriology and Methods of Teaching Home Economics were added.

Home Economics Hall had classrooms, a laboratory with individual equipment for work in food preparation, home sanitation, nutrition, and dietetics, and a dining room "attractively furnished for the proper serving of meals."

In the Home Economics Department, Agnes Scott students were urged to apply "the scientific principles" learned in the other departments to the "practical problems" of the home,

"the most important problems that an educated woman is called upon to solve."³⁷

In 1916 Home Economics was phased out because of Agnes Scott's continual emphasis on strengthening more purely academic and intellectual subjects. Some courses were shifted to other departments. In 1916-17, bacteriology was absorbed by the Biology Department, and the courses in Home Sanitation and the Chemistry of Foods were added to the Chemistry Department. The Art Department put an interior design emphasis on parts of the old Home Sanitation course and called it Home Furnishing when it came under the auspices of art. The remaining courses, Food Production and Manufacture and Dietetics, were withdrawn, and the Home Economics Department was dropped at Agnes Scott.³⁸

³⁷Home Economics professors at Agnes Scott were Clara Whorley, who taught from 1912 to 1913 and held the M.A. degree, and Mary C. de Garmo, who taught from 1913 to 1916, was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and held the M.A. degree.

Home Economics Hall was probably where the Alumnae House is located on the Agnes Scott campus today. Agnes Scott cat. (1911-1912), pp. 81-83, 103, and *Ibid.* (1919-1920), pp. 91-92, 104-105; McNair, pp. 46, 52, 370, 374, 381. See also Young, Table XIII, between pp. 170 and 171.

³⁸*Ibid.* and Agnes Scott cat. (1919-1920), pp. 91-92, 104-105.

Agnes Scott's Curriculum, 1920

The Department of English Bible offerings remained nominally the same while Professor Samuel Guerry Stukes was in military service. However, the courses were more cogently organized and academic in presentation, and included more electives under Dr. Alma Willis Sydenstricker (1917-1943), a graduate of Wooster University and for four years a student at the American Institute of Sacred Literature. The basic prerequisite for the department was Old Testament from Genesis to the Babylonian captivity, a year-long course. Old Testament Prophets, the History of the Early Church (100-800 A.D.), and the Progress of Missionary Effort in Modern Times were offered. The Life of Christ was a year-long course, required of juniors and seniors. The Life and Letters of Paul followed as an elective. The History of Religions and their relative values was also offered. In 1920 a major in Bible could be constructed by completing twelve hours in the department. Related courses in other departments, such as Religious Education in the Department of Education, and New Testament Greek and Greek language in the Department of Greek, could be counted toward a Bible major at Agnes Scott.³⁹

³⁹The American Institute of Sacred Literature was a part of the Bible Study program held each summer at Chautauqua, New York, where some of the most eminent theologians taught and preached. Dr. Sydenstricker evidently felt that

Professor Sydenstricker's teaching methods and emphases were up-to-date, and the content of the courses was scripturally based and buttressed with the most recent research. Her Bible course incorporated tests, term papers, supplemental reading about recent archaeological digs in the Holy Land, and consideration of Jesus' teaching methods and principles in terms of present-day problems. Units on the interpretation of Paul's early environment on his career as a missionary, and using the early epistles as guides to modern church organization and government, were examples of her contemporaray approach. Professor Sydenstricker deplored the waning of Biblical studies in the northeast as evidenced by the fact that Bible was required in only two of

helped me to a fuller appreciation and a better understanding of all other subjects." A student who had been out

the Institute was significant in her Biblical training, and included it with her academic credentials in the Agnes Scott faculty listing. Conversations with Dr. Paul Leslie Garber, Professor of Bible Emeritus, Agnes Scott College (1943-1976) and Dr. Dean McKee, Professor of Bible Emeritus, Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Georgia, July 8, 1985. Dr. McKee thought that Dr. William Rainey Harper, Yale professor who founded the University of Chicago, and his student Wilbert W. White, who founded Biblical Seminary in New York, had been Bible teachers during the summers at Chautauqua, N.Y. Dr. Sydenstricker attended White's Biblical Seminary during the summers of 1918, 1923, and 1928 and made all As and A+s. See xeroxed copy of Alma Willis Sydenstricker's transcript from Biblical Seminary, compliments of Dr. McKee, former Dean of Biblical Seminary. Agnes Scott students Janie McGaughey and Julia Lake Skinner Kellersberger also followed their professor to Biblical Seminary. See biographical sketches in Chapter VII of this dissertation. The designation, Department of English Bible, located in the History-Philosophy Division of the curriculum, appeared in 1917 with Dr. Sydenstricker. 1922-1923 1925-1927.

the eastern women's college model curricula. She feared that educating the intellect without educating the heart might result in producing "a female Frankenstein, ungoverned and ungovernable." Wellesley and Mount Holyoke were the only two of the Seven Sisters that prescribed Bible in 1918.⁴⁰

Some of Dr. Sydenstricker's students wrote grateful testimonials about the usefulness and relevancy of their Bible course. A freshman commented that her Agnes Scott Bible course was her "greatest surprise." "I thought I knew something about the Bible, for I was reared to hear it daily -- but I had never dreamed of its marvelous plan. The collateral reading was exacting and exhausting . . . [but] helped me to a fuller appreciation and a better understanding of all other subjects." A student who had been out of college for two years wrote Professor Sydenstricker that "required Bible Study in College gives the Word of God the academic rating it deserves." She continued, saying that because Bible was "the most difficult of all required work, it created a respect for the Scriptures which voluntary

⁴⁰ Robinson, p. 62, 64, and Alma Willis Sydenstricker, "The Place of the Bible in the College Curriculum," The Missionary Survey 7, 10 (Oct. 1922): 785-787.

study cannot 'begat.' For me it opened up marvelous possibilities for service."⁴¹

By 1920 Agnes Scott's Languages and Literature Division listed four professors and two English instructors, all with standard college degrees. Under English language and composition, a course in argumentation appeared, and a course in Early and Middle English was added. Under the literature heading, new courses in contemporary poetry and modern drama and medieval romance were listed. Spoken English, lately moved from the School of Expression, was under Associate Professor Frances K. Gooch and offered five courses: Elementary Voice Training, Fundamental Work in Vocal Expression, Imagination and Its Relation to Vocal Expression, Voice and Body as Agents of Expression (pantomime), and

⁴²In order to guide course selection for majors in the academic subjects, Agnes Scott divided the curriculum into three major divisions: Language and Literature, History and Philosophy, and Mathematics and Science. Agnes Scott cat. (1919-1920), pp. 52, 53, 56-58.

Frances Gooch (1915-1921; 1922-1931) received a Ph.B. from the University of Chicago and studied at the Boston School of Expression. She later earned the M.A. She came

⁴¹Agnes Scott cat. (1919-1920), pp. 6, 83-85; McNair, p. 383. See also Sydenstricker, pp. 785-787. Dr. Sydenstricker allowed collateral reading in her classes and used Edersheim's, Andrew's, and other lives of Christ, Fisher and Fairburn on fundamentals, and Bruce, King, Peabody, and others on Jesus' principles in relation to today. A standard life of Paul and readings from Ramsay's and Conybeare and Howson's works were also used.

Vocal Interpretation of Forms of Literature.⁴² (See Appendix: Curriculum 1920.)

The ancient and modern language departments flourished during and after World War I. Unfortunately, because of anti-German feelings after the war, German Professor Martha Voegeli (1919-1920) resigned in December 1919, and Professor Christian F. Hamff of Emory University was the temporary department head, administering nine well-subscribed German language and literature courses. This popular department offered classes in the Eighteenth Century Classics, Modern German Drama, Poems of Goethe and Schiller, and Goethe's Faust. The class studied Faust, Parts I and II, in translation, comparing it with Marlowe's Faustus and Ibsen's Peer Gynt, and occasionally with the Faust theme in music as well.

Martha Voegeli had studied at the University of Berne, Switzerland, and received the M.A. from Columbia. Maryellen Harvey (Newton), class of 1916, was a German major and reminisced enthusiastically about her professors, Dr. Martha K. Trebein (1907-1919), and native-born Emilie A. Weinhardt (1911-1913). Interview, August 30, 1964, at Wesley Woods in Atlanta, Georgia. See also McNair, p. 384; and Agnes Scott cat. (1919-1920), pp. 7, 58-61.

⁴²In order to guide course selection for majors in the academic subjects, Agnes Scott divided the curriculum into three major divisions: Language and Literature, History and Philosophy, and Mathematics and Science. Agnes Scott cat. (1919-1920), pp. 52, 53, 56-58.

Frances Gooch (1915-1921; 1922-1951) received a Ph.B. from the University of Chicago and studied at the Boston School of Expression. She later earned the M.A. She came to Agnes Scott after several years at Wesleyan. See ZigZag (1910). The faculty listing showed her with an Ph.B. degree as Associate Professor of English.

Other English professors in 1920: Louise McKinney and J. D. M. Armistead, Ph.D., Washington and Lee University. Emma May Laney, A.M., University of Chicago and Frances Gooch were associate professors and Emma Moss Dieckmann, A.B., Agnes Scott, was an instructor.

A course in Scientific German could not be counted toward a major in German.⁴³

By 1920 Agnes Scott's notable Classics Department had increased its personnel to two professors and one instructor and offered six Greek courses and fifteen Latin courses. The Romance Languages Department included a strong French curriculum with ten courses, and the newer Spanish Department (riding a wave of interest in South American trade) offered three courses.⁴⁴ (See Appendix: Curriculum 1920.)

In 1920 the History and Philosophy Division course offerings, which included all of the social sciences as well, had increased in number and were much more diverse and

⁴³ Martha Voegeli had studied at the University of Berne, Switzerland, and received the M.A. from Columbia. Maryellen Harvey (Newton), class of 1916, was a German major and reminisced enthusiastically about her professors, Dr. Bertha E. Trebein (1907-1919), and native-born Emilie A. Meinhardt (1911-1913). Interview, August 30, 1984, at Wesley Woods in Atlanta, Georgia. See also McNair, p. 384; and Agnes Scott cat. (1919-1920), pp. 7, 58-61.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 63-73. Greek and Latin continued under Dr. Lillian S. Smith, assisted by Catherine Torrace, M.A. Chicago. Professor Helen Le Gate, a Wellesley graduate holding the M.A. from the Sorbonne in Paris, was head of both French and Spanish departments. Alice Lucile Alexander, M.A. Columbia, assisted her in French. Hattie May Finlay, M.A. Radcliffe, assisted Professor Le Gate in Spanish.

See McNair, p. 327-328 for more on Alice Lucile Alexander, class of 1911 (1918-1964), who taught French at Agnes Scott from 1902 to 1912 and from 1913 to 1948. In 1913, when she received a master's degree in French from Columbia, she was the first alumna to receive an advanced degree. In 1926, she was one of the first five graduates elected to Agnes Scott's chapter of Phi Beta Kappa.

specialized, made possible by a much more highly trained staff. The history courses, taught by two Ph.D.'s and an M.A., included new offerings in the History of the South and West; Europe, from 1870-1914; contemporary history (using newspapers and magazines); and American Government and Politics, "recommended to every student who desired preparation for an intelligent participation in government" through the new franchise for women. The new sociology and economics courses under Dr. James Ross McCain (1915-1951) and associate Professor Marion Banker (1919-1920), a graduate of Smith and Columbia, included modern courses in Labor Programs, American Cities, and Dependents, Defectives, and Delinquents (a general study of poverty, unemployment, and crime). The course in Philanthropy had field work under the American Red Cross. Another course studied Socialism and the Social Movement and another, Social Psychology. The Economic History of the United States course concentrated on changes since the Civil War. Studies in finance, dealing with money, banking, credit, foreign exchange, public expenditures, the budget, and taxation rounded out the ten

course offerings in sociology and economics, all modern and current, dealing with the vital questions of the day and new Ph.D. from Columbia, also taught sociology and after Dr. Shearon held a Ph.D. from Chicago. Associate history professors were Lillian Stevenson (1919-1921), a graduate of the University of Texas, with a master's degree in history from Chicago; and Marion Banker (1919-1920), a Smith College graduate who held a master's degree from Columbia in sociology and economics. Agnes Scott cat. (1919-1920), pp. 74-77, and McMeik, pp. 352, 377. See also DGB (1993), 2-v. "McCain, James Ross," by Geraldine Maroney.

designed to meet the needs of the new female voters.⁴⁴ (See Appendix: Curriculum 1920.)

In 1920, the philosophy and education departments were grouped under the same heading with their course descriptions. The courses were taught by Dr. Sarah P. White and Professor Samuel Guerry Stukes. Genetic Psychology, a study of consciousness, was part of the philosophy offerings. The Education Department, responding to the need for meeting certification requirements and the growing professionalization of teaching, offered Principles of Secondary Education, Child Psychology, Foundation of Method (psychology of teaching and classroom methods), Psychology of Secondary School Subjects (adolescent psychology), and Religious

⁴⁴Agnes Scott cat. (1919-1920), pp. 74-79, and McNair, p. 377. The history professors were Dr. James Ross McCain (1915-1951) and Dr. Cleo Hearon (1918-1928). Dr. McCain, a new Ph.D. from Columbia, also taught sociology and, after understudying Professor Samuel Gerry Stukes, taught Bible. Dr. Hearon held a Ph.D. from Chicago. Associate history professors were Lillian Stevenson (1919-1921), a graduate of the University of Texas, with a master's degree in history from Chicago; and Marion Banker (1919-1920), a Smith College graduate who held a master's degree from Columbia in sociology and economics. Agnes Scott cat. (1919-1920), pp. 74-79, and McNair, pp. 352, 377. See also DGB (1983), s.v., "McCain, James Ross," by Geraldine Maroney.

Education, a course to develop methods and curricula for teaching Christianity in public and church schools.⁴⁵ (See Appendix: Curriculum 1920.)

In 1920 the Science and Mathematics Division experienced significant growth and modernization. Astronomy, taught by P. H. Graham, M.A. from the University of Virginia, continued to hold its place in the curriculum and boasted a new ten-inch telescope. The Physics Department, also directed by Professor Graham, offered four courses: General Physics; Mechanics, Molecular Physics, and Heat; Electricity, Sound and Light; and Theoretical Mechanics. (Einstein had made himself known.) Biology, under Professor Mary Stuart MacDougall, assisted by Patsy Lupo, a graduate of Mount Holyoke, offered ten courses. The new offerings were Evolution and Heredity, General Bacteriology (which had come over from the discontinued Home Economics Department); Embryology; and Comparative Anatomy. A new course in Local Flora and Plant Physiology absorbed the old botany course.

⁴⁵ By 1920 the History and Philosophy of Education and Pedagogy courses had developed into a Department of Education. Philosophy professor Dr. Sarah P. White (1918-1920) held an M.A. from Columbia and an M.D. from New York Medical College. Professor of Education Samuel Guerry Stukes (1913-1957) held the B.A. from Davidson College, the A.M. from Princeton University, and the B.D. from Princeton Seminary. He engaged in graduate study at Yale in 1916 to 1917 and served as an aviation cadet during World War I. In 1926 he was a founding member of Phi Beta Kappa at Agnes Scott. McNair, pp. 32-354; Agnes Scott cat. (1919-1920), pp. 5, 6, 81.

The Chemistry Department, under Professor Robert B. Holt, a graduate student at Chicago, and Assistant Professor Augusta Skeen ('17), welcomed the Chemistry of Foods and parts of the Home Sanitation course from the defunct Home Economics Department. Professor Anna Young, assisted by Frances Sledd ('19), added two new courses in the Mathematics Department, History of Mathematics and a Teachers' Course for those preparing to teach mathematics in secondary schools.⁴⁶

Agnes Scott's Department of Physical Training had become the Physical Education Department by 1920. Associate Professor Myra J. Wade, an Oberlin graduate, offered six

⁴⁶In 1913 the Agnes Scott Chemistry Department had lost Dr. Arbuckle to Davidson College. McNair, p. 329. Professor P.H. Graham (1916-1917 and 1919-1920) must have taken a leave of absence from Agnes Scott during World War I. He held a master's degree from the University of Virginia and taught physics and astronomy.

Biology Professor Mary Stuart MacDougall, b. 1882, d. 1979, a Randolph-Macon graduate with a master's degree in 1916 from Chicago, is discussed in Chapter IV of this dissertation. Her tenure at Agnes Scott was from 1919 to 1952. She had previously set up a superior biology course at Shorter where she taught from 1914 to 1917.

Chemistry Professor Robert B. Holt (1918-1946) held a bachelor of arts degree and was a graduate student at the University of Chicago in 1915, 1916, and 1918. Chemistry and biology instructor, Patsy Lupo, was a Bachelor of Arts graduate from Mount Holyoke. Assistant Professor of Chemistry Augusta Skeen (1917-1930), who became Mrs. Samuel Inman Cooper, was a 1917 graduate of Agnes Scott and later earned the M.A. degree. Winnie May Smith, an Agnes Scott alumna, was a lab assistant in chemistry. Frances Sledd was a 1919 graduate of Agnes Scott. She married J.W. Blake. See Gardner, Hill, p. 169; McNair, p. 137, and Agnes Scott cat. (1919-1920), pp. 86-96, 382.

courses. Hygiene, required of all new students, was the guarded preserve of Mary Frances Sweet, M.D. The course consisted of readings and a series of lectures and practical talks on personal female cleanliness and health. Gymnastics, required of first, second, and third year students, included freestanding exercises, light apparatus work, and folk and aesthetic dancing. Games and athletics (basketball, tennis, volleyball, baseball, hockey, and swimming) were managed by the student Athletic Association and coached by the physical director, Myra Wade, who was assisted by Llewellyn Wilburn, ('19).⁴⁷

The School of Music, Art, and Expression was divided into separate Music and Art Departments, which offered academic courses for degree credit. (Expression went to the English department.) Louise Garland Lewis, who studied at the University of Chicago and the University of Paris, continued as head of the Department of Art and The History of Art. In the History of Art were two new courses formerly

⁴⁷ Louis H. Johnson (1910-1912), a graduate of Pomona College School of Music, the New York Institute of Musical Art, and a student of William Nelson Barrett of New York, taught voice culture. Irma Phillips (1919-1920), a student of Arthur J. Hubbard of Boston, assisted him. Katherine Van Dusen Surphen (1918-1923), a graduate of the New England Conservatory, and Edna Elizabeth Bartholomew (1907-1912/1913-1915; 1919-1920; 1924-1927; 1930-1947), a graduate of the New England Conservatory in Lowell, taught piano. Bartholomew

⁴⁷ Associate Professor of Physical Education Myra J. Wade (1919-1921) was an A.B. graduate of Oberlin College. Physiology and Hygiene Professor Dr. Mary Frances Sweet (1908-1937) was an M.D. from Syracuse University and interned at New England Hospital in Boston. Agnes Scott cat. (1919-1920), pp. 5, 7.

in the Home Economics Department, House Furnishing and Home Sanitation.⁴⁸

The Music Department was under the direction of Professor Christian W. Dieckmann (1905-1950), a Distinguished Fellow of the American Guild of Organists. The faculty also included five other well-trained musicians, as teachers of piano, pipe organ, and violin.⁴⁹ (See Appendix: Curriculum 1920.)

By 1920 Agnes Scott had the most fully developed college curriculum of the four women's colleges in this study. From 1900 to 1920 the History and Philosophy Division developed impressively. Courses in English Bible included in the division became more relevant. History, Sociology,

⁴⁸ Art teacher Louise Garland Lewis (1900-1943) did not hold a degree but had studied at the Universities of Chicago and of Paris, the Art Institute of Chicago, Academie Julian, and Ecole Delacluse. Agnes Scott cat. (1919-1920), p. 6, 8, 9, 98-105.

⁴⁹ Louis H. Johnson (1910-1912), a graduate of Pomona College School of Music, the New York Institute of Musical Art, and a student of William Nelson Barrett of New York, taught voice culture. Irma Phillips (1919-1920), a student of Arthur J. Hubbard of Boston, assisted him. Katherine Van Dusen Sutphen (1918-1923), a graduate of the New England Conservatory, and Edna Elizabeth Bartholomew (1907-1912; 1913-1915; 1919-1920; 1924-1927; 1930-1947), a graduate of the Royal Conservatory in Leipzig, taught piano. Bartholomew was trained in pipe organ as well. C. Roland Flick (1919-1920), a student of Jacob Bloom at the Cincinnati Conservatory and also a student of Max Donner at the Sern Conservatory in Berlin, taught violin.

See Chapter IV (Faculty), which discusses the Dieckmann family at Agnes Scott.

Economics, and Political Science Departments burgeoned with new and modern offerings. Agnes Scott's experiment with Home Economics was discontinued, but the academic courses in bacteriology and food chemistry found lodging in the fast-developing Biology and Chemistry Departments. A few education courses were added, and several of the departments offered courses in how-to-teach their subjects in the public high schools which were opening all over the state. Physical education and hygiene courses became important in the health and sex education of the adolescent female students. Well qualified professors, both women and men, educated at well known standard colleges and universities located all over the nation and in Europe, were attracted to the academically oriented southern women's college near Atlanta, bringing new courses, new ideas, and varied skills to their departments.

Agnes Scott's 1920 graduation requirements reflect the upgrading of its curriculum and the impact of new, progressive standards. They attest to its recognition as a true college for women. Agnes Scott had a "group system" for majors. Language/Literature, History/Philosophy, and Science/Mathematics groupings assured that graduates would receive a "proper breadth of culture." The requirement of a major subject with allied subjects provided the student with the "intensive training necessary for the best mental development." Candidates for the A.B. degree had to present

sixty-two hours of work (the equivalent of 124 semester hours as measured today), with two hours required in physical education. Thirty and one-half hours were prescribed for all, and twenty-nine and one-half hours were allowed as electives. Elective hours were required to include at least nine in the major field and six in the same group as the major.⁵⁰

The themes and movements listed at the beginning of the chapter, as well as the tensions and conflicts they engendered, were common to the three Georgia white schools, and, in some cases, to Spelman, throughout the Progressive period as these secondary schools changed into colleges, but each curriculum responded in different ways and developed distinctive features. Agnes Scott developed an accredited standard college curriculum before the other schools in this study and served as Wesleyan's and Shorter's modern and progressive model. The arts conservatory. Several of Wesleyan's faculty members were overloaded, teaching preparatory subjects as well as college courses. Young argued that Wesleyan could not, under those circumstances, have maintained a true college-level curriculum.⁵¹

⁵⁰ At Agnes Scott, majors had to be selected by the junior year and were offered in English, French, German, Latin, History, Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics, Philosophy, Sociology, and English Bible.

Distinctive Features of Wesleyan's Curricular Development
Between 1900 and 1920 (See Appendix for Full Curriculum)

Wesleyan had the oldest curriculum of the four colleges in this study and brought to the twentieth century an overload of the traditional classical subjects deemed suitable for men in the mid-nineteenth century. Yet by 1900 some changes were slowly being made. Wesleyan at the turn of the century offered a curious mix of old and new subjects, taught by old and new professors. The school was overtly seeking guidance and direction about what courses to add or expand and which to drop. Dr. Elizabeth Barber Young, who studied Wesleyan's historic curricula up to 1925, believed that Wesleyan's 1900 course of study appeared stronger than it really was. She felt that its college level courses were being undermined and modified by the large number of unprepared students in attendance, many of them enrolled in the academy and the fine arts conservatory. Several of Wesleyan's faculty members were overloaded, teaching preparatory subjects as well as college courses. Young argued that Wesleyan could not, under those circumstances, have maintained a true college-level curriculum.⁵¹

⁵¹ Barber, p. 66. Generalizations about Wesleyan's curriculum were made from a study of the college catalogues from 1900 through 1920 and a detailed study of the catalogues in *1900-01, 1910-11, and *1919-20 (and also the Conservatory of Music catalogue for the same year). References were also made to the catalogues for 1904-05 and

Like Agnes Scott and Shorter, Wesleyan in 1900 was consciously up-grading its faculty credentials in science and mathematics and had hired men with strong academic credentials and Methodist church lay qualifications. The head of the Bible Department at Wesleyan continued to be a Methodist minister, who often was the president of the college as well. Yet in 1900 women who taught in other departments were also involved in handling Bible courses. Wesleyan retained the experienced Mrs. Maria W. Burks, with only an honorary degree from Wesleyan, who taught Bible and a full complement of European and American history courses in 1900. In 1920 she was made the head of the English Literature Department despite her lack of an earned degree. Mrs. Burks was a "natural born teacher," comparable to her contemporary, Professor Louise McKinney at Agnes Scott.⁵²

Professor Marvin Clarke ("Bugs") Quillian (1906-1943), a trained scientist and good Methodist layman, taught biology and geology and organized the courses into a separate 1907-08 which were borrowed from Annie Gantt Jones of Atlanta and Regina Anne Benson Goldsworthy of Marietta. Faculty biographies and credentials were gleaned from Akers' history, Wesleyan's catalogues and annuals, faculty minutes, and GEB files. A full discussion of the curriculum for 1900 and 1920 is available. The sign (*) means that year is detailed in the Appendix Curriculum chart.

⁵²Son of a Methodist minister, Professor James Camillus Hinton (1891-1925) taught mathematics and astronomy at Wesleyan and was the school's first dean. He revised the college curriculum just before the turn of the century to conform to the standards developed by the Commission on Education of the Southern Methodist Church. He attended Vanderbilt but graduated with a M.A. degree from the University of Georgia in 1877. Just before he came to Wesleyan, he studied mathematics at Johns Hopkins from 1889 to 1890.

Like the other Georgia women's colleges, Wesleyan added a Home Economics Department. In 1914 when the department doors opened, its offerings were academically oriented and heavy in science. Students taking the B.S. degree could major in the subject, while others could take some credits toward a B.A. in education.⁵³

Wesleyan's new Psychology and Pedagogy Department offered useful, practical, progressive courses. Teacher training at Wesleyan included observation sessions in the Macon public schools as well as in the local Sunday Schools, and helped prospective teachers devise curricula and lesson plans for Macon's schools and churches.⁵⁴

The college's historically important physical development courses, including hygiene and exercise, left the

Professor Marvin Clarke ("Bugs") Quillian (1906-1943), a trained scientist and good Methodist layman, taught biology and geology and organized the courses into a separate department. He was a graduate of Emory College in 1895 and studied at the Georgia State Normal Summer School in 1895 and 1897. He took the M.A. from Vanderbilt and was a graduate student at Chicago (1907, 1909, 1912, 1914, 1916, and 1927). He also did research projects for Hull Biological Laboratory.

Material on Mrs. Burks and Miss McKinney can be found in Chapter IV (Faculty) of this dissertation.

⁵³For more details on Wesleyan's Home Economics department see Wesleyan cat. (1919-1920), pp. 6, 68-71. Many Home Economics majors became science (chemistry and biology) teachers in the public high schools because of their college level preparation in those disciplines. See also Young, p. 170, Table XIII foldout.

⁵⁴Wesleyan cat. (1919-1920), pp. 68-70.

Department of Physical Culture and Expression and became part of the new Physical Education Department. In 1920 the department required four years in physical education and continued to offer hygiene lectures on the care of the body. Meanwhile, it had acquired a modern gymnasium and pool, making it possible for all girls to learn to swim now that it had appropriate facilities. Agnes Scott and Shorter also added instruction in that field. Wesleyan required students to wear a specially designed, light, one-piece swimsuit in the college pool. Females were now appearing publicly in swim suits, and the new sport spread to the colleges when they wore more practical swimsuits than were allowed in public.⁵⁵

All the schools in this study required Bible courses in their curricula. Wesleyan was peculiar in that it was the only one of the four under direct control of the affiliated denomination. Wesleyan retained male, Methodist clergy as the guiding force in its Bible department throughout its history. By 1920 an effort was being made to modernize the course by the inclusion of new translations of the Bible

⁵⁵ Wesleyan cat. (1900-1901), pp. 50-51, and *ibid* (1919-1920), pp. 17, 79-80. During hygiene classes, topics such as menstruation, cramps, getting excused from exercises, and swimming were discussed. Women would have drowned if they had tried to swim in some of the modest, proper bathing suits of the era.

(the American Standard Version or AV), modern teaching equipment (maps, stereographs, periodicals), and new books for collateral reading. Remarkable in the midst of old and safe Methodist texts was The Social Teachings of Jesus by the liberal Baptist preacher of the "social gospel," Shailer Mathews, which the Reverend G. E. Rosser used in his new course on the history of Christianity since apostolic days. The course included units on comparative religions and on the history of missions, a subject which was quite relevant on the Wesleyan campus because of its long historic link with Methodist missions through its alumnae and faculty.⁵⁶

By far the most distinctive feature of the Wesleyan curriculum was its Music Department. Music, along with elocution and art courses, came to dominate Wesleyan's curriculum in the early twentieth century. Wesleyan's music program was renowned throughout the state and region and was modern languages were expanding. Students were able to substitute French, Spanish, or German for Latin in the S.S.

⁵⁶ Wesleyan cat. (1919-1920), pp. 60-61. The "social gospel" was the name given to the humanitarian uplift movement in cities carried on by such new agencies as the YMCA, YWCA, and the Salvation Army, which were Christian in name but not churches nor as Christ- and Bible-centered as Fundamentalists believed a "Christian" groups should be. Shailer Mathews was a liberal Baptist theologian and Dean at Rockefeller's richly endowed University of Chicago. See Latourette, pp. 1263-1265. Shorter also was influenced by Mathews' ideas on the social gospel.

For Wesleyan's historic connection with missions see Chapters III (Pupils) and VI (Extracurricular). Note particularly Alice Culler Cobb's and Laura Haygood's work.

very popular with Maconites. Community support of Wesleyan's fine arts courses was beneficial to the college, since it attracted more students and their fees for the college coffers. Nevertheless, in order to conform to regional accrediting agencies' entrance and graduating requirements, Wesleyan separated the administration of its Music Conservatory from the college and gave only limited credits toward the A.B. degree for subjects related to the arts. The department, called the Conservatory of Music and School of Fine Arts after 1915, issued a separate catalogue in 1919 in order to conform to SACSS regulations.⁵⁷

Latin, although required for entrance at all four schools with some provisos, and Greek (now only an elective), were losing their former primacy (except at Agnes Scott). This seems to have been a general trend as it was true at five of the Seven Sisters as well. In contrast, the modern languages were expanding. Students were able to substitute French, Spanish, or German for Latin in the B.S.

⁵⁷ Wesleyan cat. (1900-1901), pp. 40-43; and ibid. (1919-1920), pp. 48-49; Young, p. 69, 125-129, and Habel, pp. 98-100. Dr. Robinson studied the curriculum of Wesleyan cat. (1900-1901), pp. 42-50; ZigZag (1902), pp. 17-18; Wesleyan Conservatory of Music and School of Fine Arts of Wesleyan College cat. (1919-1920), pp. 1-42.

See also Young, p. 70, and Walter E. Steinhaus, "Music in the Cultural Life of Macon, Georgia, 1823-1900," diss. Florida State Univ. 1973. Most graduates of the five schools became teachers. A large percentage of the class of 1912 became secretaries. Most had had no commercial training in college but acquired what business skills they needed in a summer school course after graduation. See Robinson, pp. 113-126 and Solomon, pp. 84-87. See also Wesleyan cat. (1900-1901), pp. 7, and ZigZag (1902), p. 17.

program. Wesleyan, like Shorter, offered Italian as a service course for voice students.⁵⁸

Wesleyan experimented with commercial courses (book-keeping, typing) but dropped them by 1907. Vocational training of that kind moved into separate business or journalism schools. It failed to achieve academic status in the four women's colleges in Georgia and in the northeastern schools as well.⁵⁹

During the first decade of the century, Wesleyan, once in the vanguard of higher education for women, appeared to be floundering. Its financial resources were low, and the surrounding community was experiencing an economic recession. In desperation, the school applied for grants from the "money trust" of Rockefeller, in opposition to the advice of Bishop Warren Akin Candler, who inveighed against the acceptance by Southern Methodist schools of the "tainted

⁵⁸ Wesleyan cat. (1900-1901), pp. 40-43; and *ibid.* (1919-1920), pp. 48-49; Young, p. 69, 125-129, and Mabel Louise Robinson, pp. 98-100. Dr. Robinson studied the curricular changes at Vassar, Barnard, Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, and Wellesley.

⁵⁹ Anti-professional and anti-vocational bias prevailed in the northeastern women's colleges also. Dr. Robinson discovered that although most graduates of the five schools became teachers, a large percentage of the class of 1912 became secretaries. Most had had no commercial training in college but acquired what business skills they needed in a summer school course after graduation. See Robinson, pp. 113-126 and Solomon, pp. 84-87. See also Wesleyan cat. (1900-1901), pp. 7, and ZigZag (1902), p. 17.

money" with strings attached. Subsequently, Wesleyan was awarded two Rockefeller grants from the General Education Board, in 1912 and 1921, which helped the college to make curricular changes in teacher training and Home Economics, to improve faculty salaries, and to increase the endowment.⁶⁰

Both Wesleyan and Shorter looked to other women's colleges in the South for models in order to bring their curricula into line with standard colleges in the northeast to which some of their patrons, wishing a higher level of academic work, were asking for transfer certification. Wesleyan measured its requirements and standards against those of Methodist-related Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Virginia. After Agnes Scott received college status and regional accreditation, Wesleyan and Shorter wrote for copies of the Agnes Scott catalogue to see how it had achieved success. After receiving accreditation, Agnes Scott was very careful about keeping academic standards high. Several Wesleyan transfers were put back a grade level at Agnes

⁶⁰See Warren Akin Candler Papers, Box 107, #2, Special Collections, Woodruff Library, Emory University. Newspaper clippings from Commercial (N.Y. City), April 20, 1909 and Macon Daily Telegraph, April 20, 1909, tell about the "tainted money" and the "degrading dole" for education from Carnegie and Rockefeller. See also Mark Keith Bauman, "Warren Akin Candler: Conservative Amidst Change," diss. Emory Univ. 1975; Young, p. 73; and William F. Quillian, A New Day for Historic Wesleyan (Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1928), p. 48.

Scott, much to Dean Hinton's dismay. In 1921 he confided in a report to the new president, Dr. William F. Quillian, that he felt Agnes Scott was biased against Wesleyan students and that local rivalry must be a factor when their transfers were not accepted at grade level. He felt Randolph-Macon Woman's College had "far more reason to have a high and lofty air than Agnes Scott," pointing out that Randolph-Macon had accepted Wesleyan students at grade level and that it had "quite a large faculty, many Ph.D.'s and a good many assistant or associate professors with A.M. degrees, &c." even better qualified than those at Agnes Scott.⁶¹

From 1900 to 1920 Wesleyan was slowly but surely raising and tightening its academic standards in an effort to meet SACSS educational requirements and thereby merit money from Rockefeller's General Education Board. In July 1915, in order to be near her brother at Harvard, Mei-ling Soong transferred to Wellesley as a "conditioned sophomore." She entered Wellesley's freshman class in September, 1915. Wellesley sent a very favorable report of her work the first

tion of its curriculum at the end of two decades of effort toward that end.

⁶¹Dean James C. Hinton's Report to President Quillian, February 16, 1921, "Graduates of Wesleyan Who Have Gone to Other Institutions," in Registrar's vault, Wesleyan College, Macon. Fewer students transferred from Wesleyan to Randolph-Macon than did to Agnes Scott. The transfers to Agnes Scott were described as poor students, irregulars, or conditional at Wesleyan. See also Roberta D. Cornelius, The History of Randolph-Macon Woman's College, From the Founding in 1891 Through the Year of 1949-1950 (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1951).

year, and the records show that she did well all the way through to her graduation in 1919.⁶²

As a result of the tightening of standards, strengthening of faculty, and broadening of curriculum, by 1919 Wesleyan met the requirements of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and became recognized as a standard college, regionally and nation-wide, awarding recognized A.B. and B.S. degrees and an optional B.M.(Bachelor of Music) degree. The A.B. required Math (2 courses), Latin (2), English composition (1), and Literature (9), History (1), Bible (2), Science (2), Ethics (1/2), Philosophy (1/2), Psychology of Education (1), and Modern Language (1). The Wesleyan B.A. candidate had to carry five courses a year and accrue twenty units each year. Latin was not required in the B.S. degree program. A modern language was substituted for Latin. Work in some Home Economics courses counted toward the B.S. degree but only up to nine hours or three units.⁶³ Wesleyan's 1920 graduation requirements reflect the college's achievement of standardization and accreditation of its curriculum at the end of two decades of effort toward that end.

⁶²Hinton's Report (1921).

⁶³Wesleyan cat. (1919-1920), pp. 39-44. In 1919 after accreditation, Wesleyan submerged its Music Conservatory in a Fine Arts Department, which was described in a separate catalogue. Wesleyan cat. (1919-20), pp. 41-43, 83. In 1915

Distinctive Features of Shorter's Curricular Development
Between 1900 and 1920. (See Appendix for full curriculum)

Shorter's curricular emphases came from two historic sources, from the Rome First Baptist Church and from the Rome First Presbyterian Church and the Reverend and Mrs. John M. Caldwell's early school. Mrs. Caldwell, a graduate of Troy Seminary, came to Rome with Emma Willard's seminary model for female education fresh in her experience. Shorter was Baptist led and for a short period of time from 1902 to 1914 was under the direct rule of the Georgia Baptist Convention, but the hold of the denomination over the school was not as dominant as the Methodists' over Wesleyan. Some Rome Baptists and Presbyterians were wealthy planters and professionals, and the "finishing school" tradition was strong in the curriculum from antebellum days. At the same time the Presbyterians involved in the Rome educational venture for higher education for women emphasized scholarship and academic vigor, and this influence also contributed to Shorter's curricular heritage.⁶⁴

Wesleyan officially discontinued giving the Bachelor of Painting and Drawing degree and its special Bachelor of Music degree, the B.M. However, if a music student preferred it to the conservatory's Diploma in Music, Wesleyan College had the authority to grant it. The B.M. was sometimes requested by music students who had spent five years of study at the college and at the conservatory and had achieved the A.B. or B.S. as well. Wesleyan Conservatory of Music and School of Fine Arts cat. (1919-1920), pp. 16-17.

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⁶⁴For Shorter's historic origins and more on the Reverend and Mrs. Caldwell's antebellum female college in Rome see Chapter I (Nineteenth Century Development) of this dissertation.

Shorter was under the rule of the Georgia Baptist convention from 1902 to 1914. It was to Shorter's advantage to be free of the denominational control of the Baptist Convention when applying for grants from Rockefeller's General Education Board (GEB) in New York for the Board would

In 1900, like Agnes Scott and Wesleyan, Shorter had an academy attached to its college. These preparatory schools, carrying the high school curricula, fulfilled the needs of the local communities but kept the aspiring college at a secondary level and overworked and overloaded the college faculties. English and modern language instructors were the teachers most often called upon to teach on both levels, which tended to dissipate their efforts in language study. The phasing out of the preparatory grades so that the student body would be studying at the college level and faculty could teach full time at the higher level was a requirement of SACSS for accreditation and GEB for funding.⁶⁵

not appropriate money to "sectarian" schools. Shorter was cleared of this onus after Dr. Shailer Mathews, liberal Baptist theologian who espoused "higher criticism" of the Scriptures and "social gospel" ideas as dean of the University of Chicago Divinity School, commended Shorter to the GEB. In 1912 he spoke at Shorter's Religious Focus Week and afterwards commended Shorter's liberal religious spirit. See correspondence from Mathews to Dr. Wallace Buttrick, July 13, 1916, in Shorter's file, GA #206, GEB, RAC, N.Y. See also Latourette, p. 1264, and Gardener, Hill, pp. 130-131, 153.

The generalizations concerning Shorter's curriculum were made from a detailed study of Shorter catalogues for *1900-1901, 1909-1910, and *1919-1920. (*See Appendix for curriculum chart.) The 1912-1913 catalogue, borrowed from Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr., of Atlanta, was also thoroughly studied. Faculty credentials were gleaned from the annual the Iris (1899) and the Argo (1911-1920) as well as index leads in Dr. Robert Gardner's thoroughly-researched history of Shorter, On the Hill.

⁶⁵ Shorter cat. (1900-1901), pp. 22-23, and ibid., p. 26. See also Young, p. 46, and Gardener, Hill, pp. 100-101, 172-173.

Science, particularly biology, was strong at Shorter and carefully monitored by the health-minded patrons and community. Rome physician Dr. H. H. Battey was the college physician at the turn of the century and volunteered some of his time as a lecturer in gross anatomy, physiology, and hygiene. From 1900 to 1920, the science department more than tripled in size. Shorter hired new faculty to cover the courses and got its first woman Ph.D., Dr. Mary I. Steele, who taught in the biology department. She was followed by another promising young biologist, Mary Frances McDougall, who set up an advanced biology curriculum at Shorter which included courses in evolution and genetics. Both women increased the amount of science equipment in the department. Unlike either of the other two white colleges, Shorter offered a course in home nursing in connection with the Home Economics Department which had been set up in 1911. A course in dental hygiene, taught by a local dentist, was also in the Shorter curriculum, underscoring again Shorter's emphasis on the health sciences.⁶⁶

⁶⁶Shorter cat. (1900-1901), pp. 12-13, 25-26; *ibid.* (1909-1910), p. 5; *ibid.* (1912-13), pp. 45-46, and *ibid.* (1919-1920), pp. 70, 22-26, 59, 84-86. See also Chapter III (Pupils) which discusses the number of doctors' daughters; Chapter IV (Faculty) for more on Mary Frances McDougall; and Chapter VII (Alumnae) for the biographical sketch of Dr. Loree Florence, who was influenced to go into medicine while at Shorter.

Physical education (which included physiology and hygiene courses) was also a prime concern at Shorter. The department boasted a well equipped gymnasium and pool early in the twentieth century. Girls were required to keep personal charts on their height, weight, and lung capacity, and to take a well planned program of exercise. If a student took all of the courses in Shorter's Physical Education Department, she would be certified to teach physical education, which had been newly introduced into Georgia's public high schools. The development of physical education in the southern women's colleges coincided with the general trend of expanding P.E. courses and the building of gymnasiums and pools in the northeastern schools.⁶⁷

Like Wesleyan, Shorter had an outstanding College of Music, the best available outside of Europe, Dean Lessie

⁶⁷ Shorter cat. (1919-1920), pp. 99-100. For a discussion of Physical Education in the South by 1920 see Young, pp. 184-188. Goucher instituted the model physical education program for Southern women's colleges, based on the Swedish system, in the 1890s.

For the northeastern colleges' physical education requirements, which sometimes included the physiology and hygiene departments and might or might not have included gymnasium work, see Robinson, p. 79. See Horowitz for discussion of the use of gymnasiums at the Seven Sisters (Barnard, p. 252; Bryn Mawr, p. 111; Mount Holyoke, pp. 231-32; Radcliffe, pp. 242, 244; Smith, pp. 160-61, and Vassar, pp. 36, 169). During the early twentieth century the northeastern women's colleges enjoyed playing "rough" athletic games, especially basketball. Bryn Mawr girls cheered the injured carried from the field during Junior-Senior Field Day games. See Horowitz, p. 159.

Southgate Simmons claimed. Shorter's faculty included J. Fowles Richardson, long-time organist and choirmaster of Durham Cathedral, which was famous for furnishing the best church music in England. As a result, several Shorter music majors from this period, for instance, Marion and Marjorie Bush and Martha Galt, trained with him and became outstanding church organists and choir directors in Augusta, Barnesville, and Canton. By 1920 Shorter, like Wesleyan, made provision for a liberal arts student to organize a major around music; however, Shorter designated the degree it gave as an A.B. followed by a parenthetical explanation of the speciality (Bachelor of Arts in Music). Also like Wesleyan, Shorter had to separate its music and art conservatory from its liberal arts school and limit the number of music credits that could be counted toward the A.B. degree.⁶⁸

arts curriculum like Shorter's, and pages 213-214, which tell about Smith's creation of an autonomous music school more like Wesleyan's.

⁶⁸ Shorter was required to de-emphasize music to get
 Marjorie Bush (McConnell) ('15), Marion Bush ('16), and Martha Galt ('17) became outstanding duo-pianists, music teachers, and church organists, Marion Bush at the First Baptist Church of Barnesville, Marjorie Bush McConnell at the First Presbyterian Church in Augusta and Martha Galt at the First Baptist Church of Canton. Martha Galt wrote numerous articles related to music and in 1946 published Know Your American Music which was printed for three editions. She was professor of music at Shorter, Woman's College of Greenville, S.C., and Meredith College in Raleigh, N.C., and a member of the Atlanta chapter of the American Guild of Organists. Alumnae of the Year, 1961, (TS) introduction for Martha Galt in the Shorter College Alumnae files. *A Woman's Place, 52 Women of Cobb County.*

See also Young, pp. 178-183, and Horowitz, p. 84, for Wellesley's Music school, which was incorporated into the

Although Agnes Scott and Wesleyan had speech (or elocution) and art departments in their curricula, Shorter seems to have emphasized its art department more than the others. One of Shorter's precursors, Rome Female College, had an outstanding art department and sent students to Europe to study in the museums. Several of Shorter's alumnae from the opening decades of the twentieth century set up art studios in their home communities to teach art and exhibited their works at shows around the region. Wesleyan art students seem to have participated in study mainly for recreation and personal enjoyment during this period.⁶⁹

In 1911 Shorter became the first of the four colleges to set up a Home Economics Department. The courses were

liberal arts curriculum like Shorter's, and pages 213-214, which tell about Smith's creation of an autonomous music school more like Wesleyan's.

⁶⁹ Shorter was required to deemphasize music to get SACSS accreditation and GEB funding. See correspondence in Shorter file GA #206, GEB, RAC, N.Y. See especially E. C. Sage memorandum after he visited Shorter, April 25, 1921.

Shorter cat. (1900-1901), pp. 12, 28, 36; *ibid.* (1919-1920), pp. 29, 66-68. See also Wilkinson, p. 10, Gardner, Hill, pp. 98-99, and Young, pp. 171-178. See Chapter VII (Alumnae) in this dissertation for the survey of after-college careers of Shorter graduates. Susie Buttolph ('81) from Marietta became a sculptor who later studied in Paris. She died in 1913 and left a bequest and a medal for excellence in art at Shorter. See Robert Manson Myers, ed., Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1972), p. 1482, and Janet M. Millard, ed., A Woman's Place: 52 Women of Cobb County, Georgia (Marietta, Ga.: Cobb Marietta Girls Club, 1981), p. 24.

"efficient" and "scientific," and several were taught in the chemical, physiological, and bacteriological laboratories of the science departments. These departments tripled in size and bought equipment worth over \$28,000 by 1919, reflecting the emphasis the college placed on science in the Progressive era (and the requirements of Rockefeller's GEB in order to secure the necessary funding).⁷⁰

By 1920 Shorter had attracted several faculty members with Ph.D. degrees. Dr. W. D. Furry held his degree from Johns Hopkins and was professor of Philosophy and Education. Dr. Effie Freeman Thompson held her degree from the University of Chicago, and she chaired the Bible Department. An alumna of Wellesley and the Garrett Graduate Scholar at Bryn Mawr, she filled the opening in the department while the men

⁷⁰Shorter cat. (1919-1920), pp. 26--27, 59, 84-86. See also Gardner, Hill, pp. 166, 169, 172. For the expansion of science at Shorter, see the catalogues for 1909-1910, 1912-1913, and 1919-1920, especially pp. 71, 22, and 26. These pages describe the equipment in the science laboratories in minute detail, a requirement of the GEB to demonstrate how their funds were being spent. The Southern Association (SACSS) also was looking very carefully at Shorter in 1919 because it had applied for accreditation. See also Young, pp. 170, and Table XIII. The southern women's colleges modeled their Home Economics courses after that which the Florida State College instituted in 1905.

The northeastern women's colleges did not put Home Economics on their curricula during its initial period of development from 1900 to 1910 because the courses were not "academic" and were too "vocational." The colleges that did institute Home Economics Departments, mainly state universities, followed the lead of Cornell and the University of Illinois in the 1880s. See Solomon, p. 85-87.

were away during the First World War. She reduced the Bible requirements to one half-semester course in Old Testament and liberalized the content of some of the courses. The life of Jesus Christ alternated each year with a sociology course which Drs. Furry and Thompson also taught. The "liberal" character of Dr. Effie Thompson's Bible course may have caused her to leave Shorter either voluntarily or under pressure. Possibly the limited scope of the offerings discouraged her. Even though Bible was a required course at Shorter, as at the other colleges, in 1920 the department was allowed to offer only a minor in the subject.⁷¹

How-to-teach courses permeated all of the curricula. Like Wesleyan and Agnes Scott, Shorter had courses in secular as well as religious education. New departments of philosophy and education, which included psychology, offered practical courses in teacher education. In 1920 Shorter set up a "Bureau of Appointments" which helped Shorter graduates secure teaching positions, and students did practice

way of Mrs. Caldwell's antebellum female college. However,

⁷¹See Shorter cat. (1919-1920), Officers' of Instruction page, pp. 69, 101. See also Gardner, Hill, p. 171. Dr. W. D. Furry, a Brethren pastor, earned the B.A. in 1900 and the M.A. from Notre Dame University and membership in Phi Beta Kappa. After studying at the University of Chicago, he became a graduate student and a fellow in philosophy and psychology at Johns Hopkins. After he was awarded the Ph.D. degree in 1907, he served as Research Scholar and assistant to James M. Baldwin at Hopkins from 1907 to 1908. He was President of Ashland College in Ohio for eight years before coming to Shorter in 1919. He was President of Shorter from 1925 to 1933.

teaching in the West Rome Elementary School. This was a precursor of vocational guidance and placement services that colleges would provide in future years.⁷²

Shorter, encumbered with a comparatively old curriculum, Georgia Baptist Convention control, and stressful economic conditions on and off campus, responded slowly but successfully to change during the first two decades of the twentieth century. The History Department modernized its offerings and spawned a new department, called Social Sciences, which included economics, sociology, and political science. Science courses boomed and broke into three separate, well developed, well equipped, and well instructed departments: Chemistry, Biology, and Physics. Astronomy and geology were dropped in an effort to be more efficient and modern in its science offerings.⁷³

Shorter had several curricular models before and after the turn of the century. Its first was Emma Willard's seminary in Troy, New York, a model which came to Rome by way of Mrs. Caldwell's antebellum female college. However, by the turn of the century Shorter looked to Agnes Scott's

tation:

⁷²See Shorter's file GA #206 GES, RAC, N.Y.

⁷²Gardner, Hill, p. 171, and and Shorter cat. (1919-1920), pp. 73-75, 95-96.

⁷³Shorter cat. (1919-1920), pp. 81-84, 100-101, and 69-71, 71-73, 97-99, which give the science listings.

catalogue as a pattern for curriculum revision and standardization.⁷⁴ and 1920 (See Appendix for full curriculum.)

For graduation with a B.A. degree, Shorter required students to present twenty-four approved academic courses in "concentrated groups" (I Language, Literature, Fine Arts, Music; II Philosophy, Religion, History, the Political and Social Sciences; and III Mathematics and Science, including Home Economics), plus Physical Education for two hours per week for the first three years, and four semester hours of credit in "limited credit courses." With certain provisos, a student could secure a B.A. (Bachelor of Arts in Music) at Shorter.⁷⁵

Because of Shorter's on-campus problems, the college had to apply to the General Education Board three times before the institution was able to get its faculty credentials, its curriculum and its catalogue up to standard college level. In 1916 Shorter ended its academy, and by 1920 it held strictly to its avowed entrance requirements as printed in its catalogue. In 1923 the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools gave Shorter full accreditation.

⁷⁴See Shorter's file GA #206 GEB, RAC, N.Y.

⁷⁵Shorter made it abundantly clear in its 1920 catalogue that its music students would get a thorough college education first with a music emphasis second. See also the Shorter correspondence with the GEB in the Ga. #206 file at the RAC, N.Y., and Shorter cat. (1919-1920), pp. 37, 58-62.

Distinctive Features of Spelman's Curricular Development
Between 1900 and 1920 (See Appendix for full curriculum.)

Because Spelman was a school for Negro women, certain factors were at work from the beginning which make a comparison with the white women's schools difficult and uneven. Whereas the white Georgia women were often unprepared to take college level subjects, Negro women were even more disadvantaged because of the history of their race. Forty years of freedom and legalized education had not redressed the balance. Although black public schools were established during Reconstruction and private academies supported by philanthropists had also appeared, educational opportunities remained limited. For its first eighteen years, Spelman was a seminary which educated Negro females from kindergarten through high school. In 1897 Spelman Seminary annexed a collegiate department to Atlanta Baptist College's well qualified faculty and began to produce a few college graduates who had earned the B.A. degree.⁷⁶

⁷⁶See chart of Spelman college graduates in footnote #74 of Chapter VII (Alumnae) of this dissertation. The generalizations made about Spelman's college curriculum and its vocational offerings were made from research in Spelman and Morehouse catalogues. A detailed study was done from Spelman's catalogues for *1899-1900; *1900-1901, 1909-1910; *1921-1922, and 1924-25, available at Quarles Library at Spelman and the Morehouse catalogue for 1917-1918, available at the Woodruff Library at Atlanta University Center. (The sign (*) means that year is detailed in the Appendix curriculum chart.) Benjamin Brawley's history of Morehouse which used the Atlanta Baptist College and Morehouse catalogues up

Spelman had only white institutions as curriculum models. In the beginning, the New England academies where the founders went to school and taught were influential in curriculum formation. Most of Spelman's educational goals and values were those espoused at Emma Willard's Troy Seminary, which produced dedicated women, skilled in basic education courses (mathematics, science, modern languages, Latin, history, philosophy, geography, and literature) with emphasis on English grammar and Bible, made fit to become hard-working Christian mothers and teachers.⁷⁷ Oberlin, founded by militant Christians as "God's College," had a work/study plan and a co-educational set-up similar to Spelman's. Some of Spelman's faculty and several Spelman graduates went to Oberlin for college level and post graduate educations. Oberlin was the first college in the United States to admit Negro women and continued its liberal attitudes and curricular practices into the twentieth century.

⁷⁸See Chapter III (Pupils) of this dissertation and Ethel McGhee Davis' ('19) exclamation about allowing dancing in P.E. at Oberlin. Claudia White Harrelld ('01) did post-graduate work at Oberlin. See Chapter VII (Alumni) of this dissertation. A Wesleyan transfer to Oberlin during this time to 1917 when the history was published, was also used to correlate the two schools' faculty members and curricular offerings. Ridgely Torrence's biography of John Hope is also full of information about the Spelman and Morehouse faculties. Florence Read and Dr. Beverly Guy-Sheftall have provided excellent histories of Spelman and its educational ventures.

⁷⁷Solomon, pp. 18-19, and Scott, "The Ever-Widening Circle: The Diffusion of Feminist Values from Troy Female Seminary, 1822-1872" in Making the Invisible Woman Visible (Chicago: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1984), pp. 67-72.

some of these ideas Spelman's leaders later did not wish to adopt or emulate.⁷⁸

Its boosters often referred to Spelman as the Vassar (referring to its Baptist and Rockefeller associations) or the Wellesley, or the Mount Holyoke of the South (referring to the evangelical and Bible heritages of the latter colleges). Spelman's annex arrangement with Morehouse was vaguely like those of Radcliffe or Harvard and Barnard and Columbia, but most of its liberal arts classes in this era were coeducational, unlike the northern schools. Spelman's liberal arts curriculum was aimed at being on a par with the best colleges for white women in the country, but the college department represented only a small part of the school's total educational program.⁷⁹

Because there were no trained Negro women to lead the Spelman educational experiment, white women associated with

liberal arts courses were for scholars and thinkers. Industrial education was appropriate training for wage workers.

⁷⁸See Chapter III (Pupils) of this dissertation and Ethel McGhee Davis' ('19) amazement about allowing dancing in P.E. at Oberlin. Claudia White Harreld ('01) did post-graduate work at Oberlin. See Chapter VII (Alumnae) of this dissertation. A Wesleyan transfer to Oberlin during this period found Oberlin's Bible department too liberal for her Southern Methodist upbringing as it allowed "higher criticism" of the Scriptures, and she quickly transferred out of Oberlin. See also W.E. Bigglestone, "Oberlin College and the Negro Student, 1865-1940," Journal of Negro History 56 (July 1971) and John Barnard, From Evangelicalism to Progressivism at Oberlin College, 1866 to 1917 ([Columbus]: Ohio State University, 1969), pp. 109-127. See Dean Hinton's 1921 Report about Wesleyan's Transfers.

⁷⁹Solomon, pp. 21, 55, Horowitz, pp. 42-44, 247-48, 102, 104; and Read, p. 133.

the Women's American Baptist Home Missionary Society of New England (WABHMS) founded and led the institution in its formative period. The original teachers were cultivated women, but only one had a college degree, a situation similar to that of female faculty members in the white colleges. One by one, qualified Negro women were added to the Spelman faculty; but, during the first decades of the twentieth century, only a few black women role models were on the campus. As a result the white Puritan moral values and culture of New England were inculcated into the young Negro women in school at Spelman during the Progressive period. Nevertheless, Negro pride was growing also.⁸⁰

From 1900 to 1920 Negroes in the South were segregated and confined to jobs as servants or in other low status occupations. Consequently the white power structure was unsure about what to teach Negroes. To the white mind, liberal arts courses were for scholars and thinkers. Industrial education was appropriate training for male workers. Conflicting ideas about Negro education were voiced by Negro leaders within the Atlanta Negro community. Some followed Booker T. Washington's lead in advocating industrial and trades education. W. E. B. DuBois, on the other hand,

⁸⁰See Read, pp. 112-209, and Guy-Sheftall, Centennial, pp. 10-45, for pictures and biographies of the early teachers at Spelman. See also Chapter VI (Faculty) of this dissertation.

lobbied for the liberal arts, a situation which caused tension and confusion in educational circles. Spelman's white administrators went both ways, developing a strong academic liberal arts program in conjunction with Morehouse and a variety of professional and vocational departments at the secondary and junior college level on their own campus. Booker T. Washington's ideas caught the attention of wealthy white capitalists and philanthropists such as Rockefeller, Slater, and Peabody, who wanted to help lift up the down-trodden Negroes in the South and who made money available for certain kinds of education considered immediately beneficial and appropriate for the race.⁸¹

Spelman, like the white schools, found that strings were attached to the philanthropic grants, and these strings had a powerful influence on curriculum. Spelman was uniquely blessed with bequests from John D. Rockefeller, whose wife's family had been interested in the Negro people *Sister Fund for industrial education, whose funds enabled Spelman to set up a printing office, a curriculum feature unique among the four women's colleges.* The printing shop

⁸¹For a discussion of DuBois see Chapter II (Towns) of this dissertation. Booker T. Washington's impact on Negro education is discussed in James D. Anderson, "Education for Servitude: The Social Purpose of Schooling in the Black South, 1870-1930," diss. Univ. of Illinois 1973. According to Anderson, the Southern Education Board (SEB) created in 1901 and Rockefeller's General Education Board (GEB) set up in 1902, formed a coalition of capitalists and Negro workers, led by Booker T. Washington, to develop Negro leaders who were against racial conflict and who would be a source of cheap, docile labor. The SEB (which administered the John F. Slater, the George Peabody, and the Anna T. Jeanes Foundations) was to propagandize the South to promote

before the Civil War. Spelman Seminary was one of Rockefeller's first beneficiaries. His money improved facilities and faculty salaries and affected the curriculum in important ways during the Progressive period. By 1900 the main academic buildings and dormitories on the campus had been built with Rockefeller funds. The seminary taught what Rockefeller's General Education Board suggested. In 1918 the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Building for Home Economics opened with a true "industrial" course suitable for Negro females. With the well equipped building came modern science laboratories for food chemistry, dietetics, bacteriology, and other branches of biology, which made it possible for Spelman to teach college level science courses on its own campus when it severed its association and dependence on the equipment at Morehouse. In addition, new art courses were introduced in home design and furnishings.⁸²

Another early benefactor of Spelman was the John F. Slater Fund for industrial education, whose funds enabled Spelman to set up a printing office, a curricular feature unique among the four women's colleges. The printing shop

The missionaries-in-training studied courses about Africa and took training similar to that offered by extra-

education for all the people and to convince Southern taxpayers that the education of blacks was advantageous to the whites. J. D. Anderson, pp. 5, 161-163; and Read, p. 388.

⁸²Spelman cat. (1920-1921), pp. 23-26; *Ibid.* (1924-25), p. 35, and Read, pp. 193-194. The GEB provided \$85,000 to Spelman to build a new Nurses' Home and a place for Home Economics on campus. (1900), p. [4], 39-40, and *Ibid.* (1921-22), pp. 25-26.

allowed the students to learn a trade; to practice journalism, editing, and composition, and to produce a journal, the Spelman Messenger. The white women's colleges were publishing campus creative writing journals by the middle of this period, but Spelman had been publishing and printing the Messenger since 1885, in addition to printing all the cards and letterhead stationery, used on campus. The Messenger is a valuable source of Spelman's and black women's educational history and was an indispensable teaching aid which also instilled black pride and helped to raise the women's self-images.⁸³

Even though Spelman's Home Economics and teacher training departments taught mostly secondary and technical subjects, several courses were offered at the college level. Biology and chemistry were offered in "Home Ec." and psychology in the normal department. Unlike the white colleges, Spelman had a demonstration school on its campus and did not need to send its students into the community to do practice teaching. Spelman's missionary training courses included women from the community as well as regular Spelman students. The missionaries-in-training studied courses about Africa and took training similar to that offered by extra-curricular mission groups on the white campuses.⁸⁴

⁸³Spelman cat. (1900), [4], 39-40, and Read, p. 87.

⁸⁴Spelman cat. (1900), p. [4], 39-40, and ibid. (1921-22), pp. 25-26.

Professional training at Spelman involved commitment and serious study. Like "Home Ec.," nursing training included bona fide college level courses in its curriculum: pharmacology, physiology, and dietetics. Spelman, like Shorter, had a home nursing course. White doctors from the community came to the campus to lecture, which helped raise the quality of nursing instruction, particularly in gynecology and obstetrics.⁸⁵

Spelman offered extension courses for the Negro community. Often conducted at night, they gave instruction in trades: millinery, dressmaking, basketry, printing, agriculture, and even benchwork courses for Spelman teachers who would have to teach shop to boys in the public schools.⁸⁶

Like Wesleyan and Shorter, Spelman music teachers taught piano and voice for the community as well as for the

⁸⁵For more on Spelman's outstanding nurses' training department, see biographical sketch of Ludie Clay Andrews in Chapter VII of this dissertation. See also Spelman cat. (1900), pp. 27, 40; Read, pp. 126, 137, 138, 200; and Jacqueline Jones Royster, Women As Healers, A Noble Tradition (Atlanta: Spelman College, Women's Research and Resource Center, 1983), p. 11ff. Dr. Royster includes a valuable bibliography on black women in nursing and medicine. Particularly informative is Darline Clark Hine, "The Ethel Johns Report: Black Women in the Nursing Profession, 1925," Journal of Negro History (Fall 1982): 212-223. This report on twenty-three hospitals employing Negro nurses is on file at the RAC in N.Y.

⁸⁶Spelman cat. (1914-1915), ibid. (1921-22), pp. 20-23, 25-26; and Read, pp. 124, 165-174.

Spelman students. Spelman music teachers used materials published by the New England Conservatory of Music and helped to professionalize church musicians as well as to open the doors of classical music to the black community.⁸⁷

By 1920 Bible courses at Spelman were less theological and more concerned with applying the Bible to everyday life than they had been in 1900, and were probably the least bound by denominational dogma of any of the four colleges. The materials used were similar to those used at Agnes Scott. Some of the Spelman faculty and some of the Agnes Scott faculty, particularly Bible Professor Dr. Alma Willis Sydenstricker, spent their summers at Chautauqua, New York, and engaged in Bible study there with noted theologians such as Yale professor William Rainey Harper, who founded the University of Chicago, and with Dwight L. Moody, a renowned lay evangelist and missionary advocate. Since 1898 the technical theological courses were taught in a separate separate school at Morehouse. The materials that Spelman

⁸⁸Spelman cat. (1917-1918), pp. 20-21. *Ibid.* (1921-22), p. 20. See also Morehouse cat. (1917-1918), pp. 27-28. Spelman used Bible study materials from the American Institute of Sacred Literature (AISL), based in Chautauqua, New York. The syllabi and materials for schools seem to have been of high quality, moderate in persuasion, and non-denominational. Conversations with Dr. Dean McKee, retired professor from Columbia Theological Seminary, and Dr. Paul Leslie Garber, retired chairman of Bible at Agnes Scott College, July 6, 1985.

⁸⁹The State College for Women of North Carolina at Greensboro was the only white college in the South that taught a course which dealt with the Negro. It was a three

⁸⁷Spelman cat. (1914-1915), p. 32 and *ibid.* (1921-22), p. 13; and Read, pp. 124, 165-174.

See Claudia White Harreld sketch in Chapter VII (Alumnae) for more on how music developed in the Negro community.

used regularly were moderate, non-denominational publications, but they were strongly evangelical.⁸⁸

Outstanding among the distinctive features of Spelman's curriculum were the sociology and history courses dealing with the American Negro, which were developed and designed by Harvard-educated Atlanta University Professor W. E. B. DuBois. These were taught at the Spelman/Morehouse "annex" as early as 1900.⁸⁹

On the Negro campus, Latin and Greek retained their primacy in the liberal arts programs throughout the period. Greek was a great deal more popular at Morehouse than on all the white campuses except Agnes Scott. German enjoyed a sustained popularity at Spelman and Morehouse as the language of science and scholarship. It remained securely on the curriculum through the First World War, when the

⁸⁸Spelman cat. (1900), p. 35ff., Spelman cat. (1920-21), pp. 20-21, *ibid.* (1921-22), p. 20. See also Morehouse cat. (1917-1918), pp. 27-28. Spelman used Bible study materials from the American Institute of Sacred Literature (AISL), based in Chautauqua, New York. The syllabi and materials for schools seem to have been of high quality, moderate in persuasion, and non-denominational. Conversations with Dr. Dean McKee, retired professor from Columbia Theological Seminary, and Dr. Paul Leslie Garber, retired chairman of Bible at Agnes Scott College, July 8, 1985.

⁸⁹The State College for Women of North Carolina at Greensboro was the only white college in the South that taught a course which dealt with the Negro. It was a three hour, year course analyzing the political, social, cultural, and economic status of the Negro in the United States and considered amalgamation, assimilation, migration, and desirable inter-social relations. Young, pp. 163-164.

anti-German backlash caused Shorter and Wesleyan to drop the subject and the German-born professor at Agnes Scott to resign.⁹⁰

Spelman's college level liberal arts courses were designed first for the men of Morehouse and emphasized classical languages (Greek and Latin) and German. Because of the protection and shielding felt necessary for young women in the early decades of the twentieth century, courses in biology, physiology, and hygiene were taught on the Spelman campus in unmixed classes by women, as they were at the white colleges.⁹¹

From 1900 to 1920 Spelman offered not only an evolving collegiate liberal arts curriculum with Morehouse College but also developed several other schools on its own campus to train Negro women in vocations needed in the South. A normal school led to teacher certification. A nurses' training course, which offered some college level courses and professional training, led to state certification and ultimately to the Registered Nurse (RN) certificate. The

In 1920 Spelman's college curriculum was in transition from a joint relationship with Morehouse to an independent

⁹⁰Spelman cat. (1900), p. 34ff; and *ibid.* (1920-21), pp. 18-19, 33-34; and Morehouse cat. (1917-1918), p. 25. Claudia White (Harreld) ('01) taught the classical languages and German at Spelman/Morehouse from 1910 to 1914. See her biographical sketch in Chapter VII (Alumnae) of this dissertation and Brawley, History of Morehouse, p. 87.

⁹¹Spelman cat. (1921-22), pp. 20, 22, 27-28; and *ibid.* (1924-1925), p. 66. Wesleyan's biology course was taught by a man, but the hygiene course was taught by the college nurse.

tives might be selected from: Latin (Level 4). Greek (Level

professional Home Economics course for teachers, offering college level science courses, was awarded state certification by 1922. A wide variety of courses in cooking, serving, and home management was offered at Spelman, providing a steady stream of teachers and well-trained domestics, seamstresses, and cateresses for the Atlanta area. Spelman's Christian Workers' Department supplied trained missionaries and Sunday School teachers for overseas duty and home mission teaching in the rural areas of Georgia and the South. Spelman provided intensive work in various phases of industrial training. The Industrial Department opened a night school which continued to include courses in printing and, at various times, in agriculture and animal husbandry. Instrumental music and voice, particularly church organ music, were recognized strengths of Spelman's

varied curriculum. Spelman's curriculum made available collegiate level studies and practical training for between five hundred and six hundred Negro women yearly during this period.

In 1920 Spelman's college curriculum was in transition from a joint relationship with Morehouse to an independent woman's college. In 1920, Spelman, still attached to Morehouse, required that an A.B. candidate pass eighteen courses, with four recitations each week throughout the year (two semesters) in order to graduate. A full course in pedagogy and a half course in Bible were required. Electives might be selected from: Latin (Level 6), Greek (Level

4), Sociology, German (Level 2), Advanced Bible, two of the four half-courses offered in History, Biology, and two courses in Practical Arts.⁹²

In 1924 Spelman became a full college, independent of its annex relationship to Morehouse. In 1927 Spelman College and Spelman High School became charter members of the Association of Georgia Negro Colleges and Secondary Schools, organized on January 21st of that year in an effort to raise standards. In 1932, eight years after becoming an independent college, Spelman was awarded "Class A" rating status from the white Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (SACSS).⁹³

⁹²In 1920 the arrangement of the Spelman college courses in association with Morehouse College was as follows: Freshman Year: First Term. English (Level 5), Solid Geometry, Latin, German or Greek, Physics, English Bible. Second Term. English (Level 5), Algebra, Latin, German, or Greek, Physics, *English Bible. Sophomore Year: First Term. English 6, Latin 5, Greek or German, Chemistry, Trigonometry. Second Term. English 6, Latin 5, Greek or German, Chemistry. Junior Year: First Term. Economics, Psychology, History, Latin 6 (Elective), German or Greek, English Bible (Elective). Second Term. Economics, Logic, History, Latin 6, German or Greek, English Bible. Senior Year: First Term. History of Education, Ethics, Sociology, (Elective) History, (16) Geology, (new) Biology, Practical Arts (Elective), French 2. Second Term. *Pedagogy (required), Ethics, Sociology, History, Geology, Practical Arts.

*Required course.

⁹³Read, p. 202, and GuySheftall, Centennial, Timeline.

Conclusion

The women's colleges' curricula evolved from a blend of secondary level "finishing school" curricula, emphasizing the arts, and the traditional, liberal arts college courses for men, emphasizing "classical" and remote philosophical subjects, into standard college level programs with modern, "progressive" educational goals and course offerings. From 1900 to 1920 several forces were at work on this evolution of curriculum, causing tension, time lag, course-restructuring, and special emphases to develop in the South.

The patrons of the white colleges believed firmly in "Old South" ideas and ideals such as the myth of the leisured, protected, weaker sex and the sanctity of all motherhood. Such beliefs, sprung from post reconstruction nostalgia for a South that never was, were in tension with contemporary progressive views of society which looked to women for a more public role in social betterment and also with realistic scientific assessment of their physical capabilities. The firm religious faith of the young women and their mothers found expression in the South in a zeal for missions, both at home and abroad. Support of missions was felt to be a Christian duty, even if at times the enterprise was in conflict with ingrained beliefs in racial segregation. At Spelman, founded by energetic, crusading northern women, there was tension between the traditions of the "cultivated" gentlewoman and the practical requirements of

black women eager to improve their economic status through such employment as segregated society would permit them to obtain. Tensions between old-fashioned attitudes about women's nature and their roles on the one hand and new scientific knowledge and modern views of their potential contributions to society on the other led surely to curriculum changes. Such changes, however, in keeping with southern ideas of manners, were neither shocking nor apparently radical and were put in place with due deference to the feelings of patrons and the views of society as expressed through the churches and financial benefactors.

Segregation, based on the implied superiority of whites and inferiority of blacks, inhibited contact between educated women of different races. In reaction to such ideas, Spelman introduced new courses in history and sociology, designed by W. E. B. DuBois, to instill in its students race pride and awareness of their roots. These Black Studies courses led to more informed Negro young people but also more racial tension. The published curricula of the white colleges give no clue as to what may have been taught about the black race; any such teaching, as well as interracial contacts, were left to extracurricular mission training and YWCA work.

Because of the low level and in some cases inferior curricula offered at the Georgia women's colleges around the turn of the century, many ambitious and gifted students of

both races had to seek higher educations and graduate study out of the southern region. When collegiate women moved back to Georgia to make their homes or others came to teach in Georgia's women's colleges, they brought northeastern college curriculum models into the South. The Seven Sisters' model emphasized advanced courses in classics, the new sciences, and higher mathematics, subjects which were also being introduced and developed in the Ivy League colleges for men.

As women's roles in society began to change in the early twentieth century, from those advocated in the "cult of domesticity" to those advocated for the "New Woman" after World War I, the colleges' curricula also changed to meet the women's needs as money-making and money-managing consumers and first class citizens with the vote. Economics, sociology, and history courses were needed to inform progressive, efficient homemakers about relative costs, changing neighborhoods, civics, and government. Black and white women studied the cultures of South and Central America, Africa, and the Orient in their curricular and extra-curricular studies in preparation for foreign missions. Work in settlement houses, prisons, poorhouses, old peoples' homes, hospitals, orphanages, and among the poor and underprivileged added depth to sociology courses. Courses in government and politics, formerly not considered a part of

Carnegie, George Peabody, John T. Slater, and Anna T.

woman's sphere, were popular with prospective women voters before and after suffrage was granted in 1919.

How-to-teach subjects and pedagogy courses came into the curriculum because of the demand for high school and elementary teachers. Education Departments developed to coordinate, train, apprentice, and place the teachers who were graduating and taking jobs in the new public schools opening in the state. The beginnings of vocational guidance and placement services were also emerging in relation to practice-teaching.

The new science often presented confusing information about women's biological and social roles, their special abilities, and their peculiar limitations. Women's colleges attempted to do something about women's "weaknesses" and health and required physical education and hygiene courses in the college curriculum.

In the South, scientific methods were to be applied to the household by way of home economics. The home economics department provided a practical way, legitimately within woman's sphere, to get chemistry, bacteriology, dietetics, nutrition, genetics, and biology into the academic curriculum. "Home Ec." spawned courses in architecture and design as well.

Also at work molding and shaping the southern women's curricula were the philanthropic foundations of Rockefeller, Carnegie, George Peabody, John T. Slater, and Anna T.

Jeanes, which appropriated money for women's education for certain purposes. Because women's schools in Georgia were poor and lacking in endowments, they were dependent on these benefactors. As a consequence, some useful and practical programs, such as Home Economics at Spelman and education courses at Agnes Scott got money for their schools with some strings attached to the curriculum. Grant money was also available to raise teachers' salaries, and with it, the quality and quantity of curricular offerings.

Subject content was sensitive and teacher-pupil relationships, always delicate during the era, also caused curricular tensions. The Georgia church colleges sought teachers of orthodox Protestant evangelical persuasions who were also trained scientists, aware of the new archaeological and geological evidence and evolutionary theories and who had reconciled them with Biblical teachings. Such people were difficult to find among the ordained clergy at the turn of the century. Men and women faculty "of the old school" in the South had scruples about teaching ungentle subjects (physiology, hygiene, etc.) or "vulgar" literature to young females. Professors also did not want to undermine their students' "child-like faith" in the Bible or to undermine the South's sacred myths of noble womanhood and selfless motherhood elevated on a pedestal above the work-a-day world and forever protected by husbands. These attitudes were inculcated into the Negro women as well as the white,

but many blacks as well as some whites did not have the economic means, or the husbands, to fulfill the vision and perpetuate the ideal. backgrounds of faculty members were of

But times were beginning to change, and the women's college curricula slowly adjusted to accommodate the times. Courses in human biology, usually taught by women doctors and professors, gained a firm hold in the Georgia women's church colleges curricula through established, often required, courses in physiology, physical education, and personal hygiene. Christian men and women highly trained in the "new sciences," particularly biology Professor Mary Stuart MacDougall at Shorter and Agnes Scott, were able to teach genetics, heredity, and evolution in Baptist and Presbyterian-related schools, apparently without serious objection up to 1920. ble was seen as necessary for laying the

Because the women's college faculties were small, teachers had to teach several subjects, often in the academy and in the college, causing preparation overload and a diminution of teacher effectiveness. The pressure of standardization agencies, such as SACSS and the GEB, may be seen in the elimination of the academies and their preparatory courses and the transformation of the Fine Arts Departments at the three white colleges. Wesleyan's and Shorter's regionally renowned music conservatories and art schools were separated from the liberal arts colleges, and academic subjects in music and art were introduced. The deemphasis of

the fine arts allowed the white colleges to keep their academic courses at the college level.

The academic backgrounds of faculty members were of prime importance and determined what subjects could be taught and at what level in the colleges. World War I was a significant factor in opening up positions for qualified women on the women's college faculties. It was the reason women were able to lead Shorter's and Agnes Scott's Bible departments and why women ran the sciences at Shorter for a while during and after World War I.

Even though Bible courses were not usually required by the northeastern Seven Sisters models, compulsory Bible courses were a common feature of the four Georgia women's church college liberal arts curricula in this study. Knowledge of the Bible was seen as necessary for laying the moral foundation of the students' lives both at college and in their postgraduate years. Because of the widespread interest in missions, the Georgia colleges introduced the history of missions courses in their Bible curricula.

A survey of the graduation requirements for 1920 for the four Georgia women's colleges reveals that the three white colleges had achieved standard college curricula. In 1920 Spelman was preparing to become an independent college. By 1924 it had achieved college status but maintained its day school and preparatory levels, desperately needed for the Negro community.

Curricular changes after the turn of the century reflected changes in society and the economy. In the women's church-related colleges in Georgia, the changes were most often conservative and rather slow in coming. Throughout the region, women, black and white, remained "in their places." However, some educated women had a blue-stockinged foot in the door and were becoming aware of things to be done in the larger households of the community and the world. While the curriculum changes helped fit them for such roles, it was largely through extracurricular activities that college women learned to organize and to effect change.⁹⁴

⁹⁴Degler, At Odds, pp. 298-327, especially p. 306. Professor Degler entitled Chapter VIII "The World Is Only a Large Home" and explained that women were able to participate in some public areas (i.e. temperance, missions, and most "church spawned activities") in spite of society's insistence on a separate sphere for women.

CHAPTER VI

THE EXTRA CURRICULAR: CAMPUS AND COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Every program presented and society formed on campus or off was calculated to develop "culture" and a Christian (moral) character in the students at the Georgia church colleges. After studying, working, and living together during the school year, the young women felt an instinctive need to associate themselves in groups for social intercourse and a worthy purpose. With encouragement from the faculty and aping college men, collegiate women first formed literary societies which later evolved into secret sororities. When the sororities went national and became exclusive and "undemocratic," they were banned at the Georgia church colleges. In their place the students organized informal clubs with special classmates or interest groups. Out of the rivalry generated between the Greek letter groups came the first non-athletic intramural and later inter-collegiate competitions and the advent of "school spirit" for the debate teams.

Important extracurricular activities besides the literary societies were the athletic, temperance, and "social purity" organizations. All of the colleges supported active missionary societies and prayer groups. Several of these groups subsequently fed into the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the Student Volunteer Movement, and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) with national

and world-wide affiliations. Off campus community activities sometimes led into careers, particularly social work, and toward activism for civil rights. Campus activities show that southern students were not interested (or not encouraged to be interested) in suffrage, but were very active in other causes which the women's movement embraced in the early twentieth century, such as temperance, social purity, and public education.

Extracurricular Organizations:

Literary Societies, Sororities, and Clubs

Wesleyan

In the antebellum era, Wesleyan college girls formed the very first "Greek" sororities in America, the Adelphean Society in 1851 and the Philomathean Society in 1852. Both later became national sororities. Originally these were literary societies, devoted to cultural development and personal improvement. The groups met in special rooms to read and discuss good books and periodicals. When two groups formed, there was lively competition between them for the new students each year, which led to the "rushing" system. Each society tried to outdo the other in welcoming the new students, hoping to win congenial "sisters" to their respective societies. To justify their existence, the literary societies did good things for the college. Wesleyan's societies collected and added new books to their libraries and sponsored orations, debates, musicales, plays, and

scholarships at their alma mater. They published Wesleyan's first yearbooks or annuals: The Adelphean by the Adelpheans in 1899 followed by the Phi Mu by the Philometheans in 1900.¹

The literary societies or sororities at Wesleyan were not seen as being unchristian or exclusive in outlook. In fact, two founders were the daughters of Methodist bishops.² Modeled after collegiate fraternities, the sororities at first were called fraternities, and like the men, the women adopted group symbols: ribbons, pins, mottoes, etc.³

By the 1900s Wesleyan had other sororities on campus and several friendship clubs as well. There were two other

¹Akers, pp. 71-73, 130, 135. See also The Adelphean (1899) and Phi Mu (1900) Wesleyan Alumnae Office, Macon. Alpha Delta Phi of 1905 became the national Alpha Delta Pi in 1914. Phi Mu of 1900 became a national sorority in 1904. See also Virginia Nelson, ed. and comp. Loyally, A History of Alpha Delta Pi from the Founding of the Adelphean Society in 1851 at Wesleyan Female College, Macon, Georgia, through 1964. (Atlanta: Alpha Delta Pi Sorority, 1965).

²Ibid., p. 71. Ella Pierce (Turner) (1852), daughter of George Foster Pierce, and Octavia Andrew (Rush) (1852), daughter of James Osgood Andrew. But the natural leader of the original group of six was Eugenia Tucker (Fitzgerald) (1852) of Laurens County, Georgia, whose mother was a cultured Georgia woman and whose father was a widely travelled physician who had come to Georgia from Rhode Island. Eugenia Tucker's home was filled with the best books and periodicals, and she wished to share her literary ideas with other readers at Wesleyan. She got Wesleyan's President William H. Ellison to sponsor the group and Professor Edward H. Myers to assist in writing the constitution and bylaws. Professor Osborne L. Smith suggested the name Adelphean from the Greek adelphos, meaning lover of learning. Elizabeth Williams (Mitchell) (1851) and Sophronia Woodruff (Dews) (1852) were also Alpha Delta Pi [or Phi] founders.

In addition to symbols, the Philomatheans, Wesleyan's other pioneer sisterhood, added secret ritual to its traditions. When they organized in 1852, they adopted an initiation ceremony and a secret password, as well as a sign, a motto, and a symbolic badge. The members had to be from the "best families" and conform to the "highest standards of refinement and good breeding." Here were the seeds of later "social" emphasis, but at this early date Philomatheans stressed scholarship, and their "pledges" had to make and maintain their grades before they could be accepted into Phi Mu.⁴

By the 1900s Wesleyan had other sororities on campus and several friendship clubs as well. There were two other national sororities, the Zeta Tau Alphas and the Pi chapter of the Delta Delta Deltas or "Tri Delts." Local sororities, listed as clubs, included the Phi Delta Theta and Alpha Delta Phi Mu, both founded in 1912. The Alpha Zeta Phi, a senior social club established in 1913, was an "inter-frat"

³Akers, p. 72. See also Nelson, ADPi.

⁴Akers, p. 72. "The shape of the badge, the hand, heart, and three stars are all emblematic, and...their significance...was outlined in the early records...based on the secret work of Phi Mu."

The Philomathean Society founders were Mary E. Myrick (Daniel) (1853), Martha Bibb Hardaway (Redding) (1852), and Mary Ann DuPont (Lyon) (1853).

group that kept communications open among the four national sororities.⁵

Wesleyan also had two literary societies not in the sorority mode. In 1912 the administration divided the student body into two groups, the Joel Chandler Harris Literary Society and the Sidney Lanier Literary Society in order to destroy the cliquish elitism developing in the sororities. Each group had student officers and honorary faculty members. Some sponsors served both societies. The exact activities of these societies is not described in extant materials. Presumably they sponsored debates, plays, and readings.⁶

After the turn of the century, Wesleyan's national sororities developed intense school-wide rivalries and became socially exclusive groups. In 1914 the Reverend Dr. Charles R. Jenkins, president of Wesleyan from 1912 to 1920, and eight faculty members recommended to the trustees that Wesleyan's nationally affiliated sororities be abolished because they were "contrary to the spirit of a democratic age" and the "total well-being of the College." In 1916 the

⁵ Wesleyan Trustees' Minutes, May 29, 1914. See also Akers, p. 73. The faculty petition to abolish sororities was signed by seven male teachers and Marie L. Lewis, A.B.,

⁶ Ku Klux (1913), pp. 105-108, Dixian (1914), pp. 113-115, 117-120, 134-137, and Veterropt (1916), pp. 88, 90. Wesleyan had a half dozen or more friendship clubs with colors, mottos, flowers, and constitutions, and silly, non-sensical names. The Snookums, the Katzenjammer Kids, the Mystery Club?, and Les MacFadden Frères were a few in the ZigZag of 1910.

⁶ The Wesleyan, November 1912, p. 36.

chapter halls were closed. The new Harris and Lanier literary societies and the local clubs and friendship groups continued.⁷

Shorter

Shorter also had literary societies, which after the turn of the century developed into sororities. In 1874, immediately after Shorter's founding, the students formed the R.O.K. society. Only the members were supposed to know that the letters stood for "Reapers of Knowledge." At first only collegiate young ladies were members, but the girls soon invited some adults to be honorary members. The motto was from Virgil, Hale olim meminisse juvabit ("It will be pleasant to remember these things hereafter"). The R.O.K. group sponsored entertainments and receptions on campus, especially at Commencement, and in town to raise money and to provide social mixers with men. They had a more serious side, however, which showed up when they sponsored a woman's

⁷Gardner, Hill, pp. 30-31, 70-72, 63-64, 102-103.
 Wesleyan Trustees' Minutes, May 29, 1914. See also Akers, p. 73. The faculty petition to abolish sororities was signed by seven male teachers and Mamie L. Lewis, A.B., professor of Rhetoric and Anglo-Saxon, the only female faculty member in the 1913-14 session. See Ku Klux (1913), p. 19, and Dixian (1914), n.p.

For the furor over sororities in the North see Solomon, pp. 107-108. After student protest at Wellesley College, sororities (called societies) were not abolished. Vassar's literary society evolved into a drama society. Bryn Mawr, with a much smaller student body, never had sororities, like Agnes Scott. See Horowitz, pp. 63, 152-153, and 162-163.

suffrage meeting at the City Hall in 1878 to promote and inform about "the cause." By 1879, the R.O.K.'s had become lukewarm and less active, although they had outgrown their meeting room.⁸

In 1879, at the suggestion of Mary Jane Dagg Mallory, the president's wife, Shorter students formed the Eunomian and the Polymnian literary societies to inject some competition into campus activities, and the R.O.K. was abolished. Mrs. Mallory also suggested the classical names. Eunomia was one of the Greek Horae, the goddess of moral law and order. Polymnia (Polyhymnia) was the muse of poetry, music, and dancing. The students spent a lot of time making money to decorate and improve their society rooms, also called halls, with new books and pictures.⁹

The literary societies sponsored the first publications, debates, and athletic contests on campus. In 1879, the first student publication at Shorter, The Chimes, was

⁸Gardner, Hill, pp. 20-21, 38-40, 63-64, 102-105. Shorter student Bulah Shropshire (Mosley) ('79) was in this class and maintained her interest and leadership in woman suffrage until it was achieved. See also page 31 of this chapter.

⁹Ibid., pp. 26, 83-39. Mary Jane Dagg Mallory was the daughter of John L. Dagg, eminent Baptist theologian and President of Mercer. In 1853 when she was nineteen years old she married Rollin D. Mallory, who was president of Shorter from 1876 to 1882. She was widely known as a religious novelist and wrote Horace Wilde and Elsie Lee. At Shorter she was her husband's associate in directing the boarding department and professor of methodology and history by mnemonics, a system to improve or develop memory.

published monthly or bimonthly. It was edited alternately under the direction of each society until about 1890, when the senior class edited it. In the 1897-1898 session, the Polymnians, thirty-two strong, edited The Chimes and the first college annual, The Iris, which did not include the Eunomians. The societies expressed their competitive spirit in debates and sports. In 1904 the societies had an inter-society debate with the affirmative Polymnians victorious on the topic, "Resolved, that unrestricted immigration is detrimental to the best interests of our country." In 1905 the Polymnians sponsored an inter-society basketball game. After eighty minutes of playing and resting in their voluminous gym outfits, the Polymnians won by a score of 20 to 17.¹⁰

By 1907, the "sorority feeling" began to invade the Shorter campus via the literary societies. That year the Polymnians adopted the Greek letters, Pi Sigma, which appeared on their pins, pillows, and pennants. In 1909 a move to admit more town girls into the societies was denied

¹⁰Ibid., p. 40, 63-64, and 103-104. The Shorter literary societies did what the Wesleyan societies did in regard to their first yearbooks when they banished their competitors from history by not including them. Shorter historian Dr. Robert Gardner believes that the Polymnians absorbed the Eunomians between 1893 and 1898 because President Archibald J. Battle (1826-1907), president of Shorter from 1890 to 1898, felt the competition was undesirable.

At the turn of the century basketball was the most popular sport on the women's campuses of the North, like their southern sisters. See Horowitz, pp. 159-162.

because there was no room for any more members in the societies' halls. From 1900 to 1916 the societies averaged about ninety-two Eumonians and about 103 Polymnians in a student body of about three hundred. In 1913 the two groups in friendly rivalry worked together to build a new society and alumnae hall. A lot of school spirit was engendered by their activities, furnishing their room, waving and decorating with society colors, giving yells for the other society on their respective anniversary days, and developing society songs. The Shorter societies also sponsored spelling bees, with President Van Hoose giving out the words from the Blue Back Speller.¹¹

After 1910 the most intense and all-consuming activity of the societies became the great championship debate, which had been reintroduced. Each society elected two of its strongest debaters, who spent months investigating the question. All sorts of status and fringe benefits went with this respected position. Girls received flowers and jewelry, and even had banquets given in their honor in town. The librarian once announced that researching debaters could check out books at any time. Committees spent hours writing songs and yells, which were printed up in a booklet. During the nightly "rec" periods, the Polymnian and Eunomian

¹¹Ibid., pp. 104, 188-193. See also Wesleyan Trustees' Minutes for 1909.

leaders drilled their societies in the songs and yells each had developed and decorated the auditorium with their banners. On the night of the debate, the society cheerleaders led the audience in a spirited pep rally for half an hour before the speakers and judges, headed by President Van Hoose, took their seats on the stage. The debaters marshalled their arguments, the judges rendered their decision, and the cheers went up for the victors. From 1914 to 1917, for four years in a row, the "brainy" Eunomians won the Hogan trophy, named in honor of Classics professor Luther Hogan, and it became their permanent property.¹²

From 1910 to 1912, Shorter had five national sororities on the campus. About one hundred girls belonged to Phi Mu, Sigma Iota Chi, Phi Mu Gamma, Alpha Kappa Psi, and Alpha Sigma Alpha. President Van Hoose felt ambivalent about the sororities. They were exceedingly helpful in maintaining school spirit and high scholastic standards, and they sponsored and pledged to worthwhile projects, such as a one-year scholarship at Shorter and the Greater Shorter building campaign. However, in 1912 the Reverend Emmet Stephens, a missionary on furlough from China, preached against

¹²Gardner, Hill, pp. 190-191, 193. At Wesleyan, the Sydney Lanier and Joel Chandler Harris literary societies must have debated, but not in the enthusiastic way Shorter and Agnes Scott did. However, Wesleyan had a dramatic club and athletic teams until 1911 when the two modern literary societies were formed.

sororities. Stephens' eloquence about undemocratic and unchristian groups caused President Van Hoose and the faculty to ban national sororities on the Shorter campus, two years before their abolition at Wesleyan. The girls were consulted individually and agreed not to voice objections. When outside criticism came, Van Hoose wrote an extended defense of the college's policy toward sororities in the Atlanta Journal.¹³

Agnes Scott

Agnes Scott had literary societies in its Institute days. In October 1891, the Mnemosynean Literary Society was established to "foster a taste for polite literature and to acquire on the part of its members familiarity with standard authors, musicians, and artists." The young ladies began immediately to collect a library of "standard books" and published The Mnemosynean Monthly. In time, according to Professor Lousie McKinney's "Notes," the Mnemosynean Society became "rather exclusive and was in need of a rival." As a result, in May 1897, the Propylean Literary Society was formed "to promote the intellectual and social interest of

¹³ Agonistic, (Jan. 24, 1920), and McKair, pp. 83, 309. See also Agnes Scott cat. (1900-01), pp. 81-82, (1905-06), p. 78, and Agnes Scott alumnae files on Marguerite and Theodora Shonts, who attended the college from 1900 to 1901. For more on railroad official Theodore P. Shonts (1851-1935), see Gardner, Hill, p. 198 and Rome Tribune Herald, June 6 and 7, 1912. The Atlanta Journal picked up the story from the Rome newspaper. See also Shorter Trustees Minutes, April, May 1912. Shorter was under Baptist Convention Control from 1902 to 1914.

its members, and to prove as a nucleus of culture in the school of which it is a part."¹⁴

The Agnes Scott literary societies offered readings, debates, plays, musical selections and programs on current literature and events. The two groups became great rivals, especially during the fall "rushing" for new members and during the essay competition for the Shonts Library Prize of one hundred dollars, provided between 1904 and 1909 by Theodore P. Shonts of Chicago. The prize was offered to the society with the best attendance and programs and the two best essays, which were read on Society Night at the annual commencement. The prize money went for books for the winning society's library, which ultimately became part of the Agnes Scott library. In 1900 the Mnemosynean Society provided a sixty dollar scholarship for a "deserving" member. In 1905 Propyleans offered a sixty dollar scholarship to a "boarding student taking a regular course and entering for the session."¹⁵

¹⁴McNair, pp. 309-310. See also McKinney Notebooks and the Agonistic, January 24, 1920, p. 1.

¹⁵Agonistic, (Jan. 24, 1920), and McNair, pp. 83, 309. See also Agnes Scott cat. (1900-01), pp. 81-82, (1905-06), p. 78, and Agnes Scott alumnae files on Marguerite and Theodosia Shonts, who attended the college from 1900 to 1901. For more on railroad official Theodore P. Shonts (1856-1919), see Dictionary of American Biography, s.v., "Shonts, Theodore Perry" by William Bristol Shaw. Shonts hired Agnes Scott dormitory maid Mary Cox as his daughters' personal maid when they attended Agnes Scott from 1900 to 1901. See McKinney Notebooks. The wealthy Shonts girls of

An energetic "hazing" system operated at Agnes Scott as well as at Shorter and Wesleyan, much to the administration's and teachers' dismay. The young collegians' energy had to be redirected into more ladylike and socially acceptable channels. The practice of hazing the "new girls" by the "old girls" seems to have developed because of the rivalries between societies and classes, following the pattern in the "old boy" system. The female contests of "force and wits" led to traditions such as Black Cat, begun in 1915, "a contest of wits" between the freshmen and the sophomores at Agnes Scott in honor of Dr. Sweet's pet black cat. Formerly the traditional freshman and sophomore fights at Agnes Scott had sometimes resulted in frayed clothes and much misery for the entering class.¹⁶

The Agnes Scott literary societies by-passed the national sorority phase, and by 1913 they had evolved into

Agnes Scott were the exception, not the rule, at the southern women's colleges. Northeastern women's colleges had quite a few "swells," as they were known, who promoted social cliques at the Seven Sisters. Horowitz, pp. 150-156.

¹⁶In 1914 Shorter began a tradition of wits and force between juniors and seniors called the Search for the Crook. See Gardner, Hill, p. 193-196, and Mary Frances Shuford ('17), Midge (New York: Appleton, c. 1929), a novel set in a fictional woman's college that alumnae feel is really Shorter. See also McNair, p. 283, Silhouette (1916), "The Last Agony," p. 1, and McKinney Notebooks. For Wesleyan's hazing traditions, see footnote #7 in this chapter.

How upper class women initiated the entering freshmen into "college life" in a similar fashion in the northeast was described in Horowitz, p. 167.

enthusiastic debate teams. In the nineteenth century debating was considered unladylike, too aggressive, and too argumentative to suit southern women. However, educated college girls, patterning after male political speakers they had heard, quickly developed skill in argumentation and oratory, two Old South classical skills emphasized for southern men.¹⁷

Professor Louise McKinney described the first inter-
varsity debate held between women's colleges in the South. In April of 1913, Sophie Newcomb in New Orleans was the hostess college for the occasion. By a process of elimination through the two literary societies, three students (two regular and one alternate) were chosen as the official Agnes Scott team. It seemed a glamorous and important occasion when the group travelled by train to New Orleans with the chairman of the English Department, Dr. J. D. M. Armistead (1905-1923), as chaperone and coach. Varsity member Emma Jones wrote that Dr. Armistead "treated us with such gallantry that we wouldn't have changed places with Alice Roosevelt or Ethel Barrymore." Some thought the Agnes Scott

¹⁸Louise McKinney, "In the Agnes Scott Tradition," *Agnes Scott Alumnae Quarterly*, 25 (Autumn 1946): 20-23, 39.
¹⁷McNair, p. 810. See also *Agonistic*, Feb. 11, 1916, p. 1, and January 24, 1920, p. 1 told that the first Agnes Scott debaters modeled after United States Senator Reed of Missouri. The Propylean (the "Props") and the Mnemosynean plays also were important and energetic traditions at Agnes Scott.

team had not played fair and had influenced the judges unduly. "We wore evening dresses," Emma Jones (Smith) explained, "while they marched in [in] sensible white skirts and shirtwaists." "I almost passed out from nervous excitement," she continued, "but came the hour for the debate and I forgot everything but that Agnes Scott expected us to do our duty!" By a unanimous decision of the judges, Agnes Scott's affirmative team won the debate on the question: "Resolved: That the United States government should own and operate the telegraph system."¹⁸

That night when the news of the Agnes Scott victory was telegraphed to Georgia, the student body got out of bed and snake danced over the campus singing, "These bones goin' rise again." Beaming like a proud father, President Gaines came to his window to view the celebration. In a moment of silence, when the "snake" paused in front of his house, he leaned out of his window and added a modest and dignified

¹⁸Louise McKinney, "In the Agnes Scott Tradition," Agnes Scott Alumnae Quarterly, 25 (Autumn 1946): 20-23, 39. See also Dr. J.D.M. Armistead (1871-1923), biographical sketch in McNair, pp. 331-333. The Agnes Scott Silhouette was dedicated to this popular teacher in 1907, 1913 and 1924 (posthumously).

Mary Helen Schneider (Head) ('15), and Emma Jones (Smith) ('18) comprised Agnes Scott's first debate team. Marguerite Wells (Bishop) ('14) was the alternate.

"Hurrah!" to the jubiliations. "That hurrah produced as great an effect as our victory," Emma Jones remembered.¹⁹

For three years, the Sophie Newcomb debate continued to be the school's major "spirit" event, with "traditional" pep rallies and snake dances up the colonnade singing "Agnes Scott's goin' to win again!" In 1915 Agnes Scott won on home ground when the Agnes Scott team debated for the affirmative side: "Resolved, that the United States should require of every able-bodied male citizen between the ages of eighteen and thirty, one year's military service in the army." In 1916 the debate was sponsored by the Southern Association of College Women and was held on neutral ground in Montgomery, Alabama. The Agnes Scott students believed that intercollegiate debate was beneficial to campus life because it encouraged loyalty to one's school, aroused an interest in and love for "our sister college," and opened up

²⁰ *Silhouette* (1916), p. 22. The outcome of the 1916 debate was not published. Presumably Agnes Scott won again, as enthusiasm for debate continued. In 1922, Agnes Scott's Mnemosynean and Propylean societies were disbanded and merged to form Pi Alpha Phi, a debating group limited to thirty-two students, and open to those interested in debate who "tried-out" in the fall and spring. McNair, p. 310 and Faculty Minutes, May 23, 1922.

²¹ *Silhouette* (1916), pp. 38-39, 136, 140, 141. The Sigma Delta Phi selected a heart-shaped pin and spread-winged, spike-tailed bat on a shield, embracing their Greek letters for its badge. The Comphi-Cators selected the skull and crossbones, which was decorated with "C.C." cut into its

¹⁹ McKinney, "In the Agnes Scott Tradition," *Agnes Scott Alumnae Quarterly*, p. 21. See also *Silhouette* (1916), pp. 121-122, *Agonistic*, February 11, 1916, p. 1, McNair, pp. 2, 22, 60-65, 372. A snake dance was a long line of girls with their hands on the hips of the one in front of them. They kicked out to the side every fourth beat. The line moved in S-shaped curves, in and out over the campus like a snake.

a "broad vision" of the world that was the "rightful heritage of every college woman."²⁰

In 1916, Agnes Scott did not have national sororities and had only one club with with spooky symbols and Greek letters, the Sigma Delta Phi. Its page in the 1916 Silhouette published pictures of thirteen Sorores in Collegio and five Sorores in Urbe. (Four of the latter were married graduates who lived in town.) The Compli-Cator and Bull Dog Clubs were casual groupings that came and went, and their functions were purely social (parties, midnight feasts, etc.) An Inter-Club Council, with one club member from each group, monitored the Agnes Scott sisterhoods' activities.²¹

²⁰The 1915 debate team included Kate Lumpkin Richardson (Wickes) ('15) and Mary Helen Schneider (Head) ('15). Ruth Merritt Cofer (Whelchel) ('15) was the alternate. Silhouette, (1916), p. 22. The outcome of the 1916 debate was not published. Presumably Agnes Scott won again, as enthusiasm for debate continued. In 1922, Agnes Scott's Mnemosynean and Propylean societies were disbanded and merged to form Pi Alpha Phi, a debating group limited to thirty-two students, and open to those interested in debate who "tried-out" in the fall and spring. McNair, p. 310 and Faculty Minutes, May 23, 1922.

²¹Silhouette (1916), pp. 38-39, 136, 140, 141. The Sigma Delta Phis selected a heart-shaped pin and spread-winged, spike-tailed bat on a shield, embracing their Greek letters for its badge. The Compli-Cators selected the skull and crossbones, which was decorated with "C.C." cut into its forehead and had glowing red eyes. The Bull Dog Club selected a circle backed with crossed swords, with an indecipherable Greek or Latin motto around the top rim and clasped hands across the center. Four stars, a radiant elongated triangle, and a vine [?] filled the three open spaces inside the circle, with BD in bold Roman letters subscribed at the base.

Clubbing on the White Campuses

Because of its small size and relatively short history, Agnes Scott's literary societies never developed into national, exclusive sororities. When national sororities were banned in 1912 at Shorter and in 1914 at Wesleyan, the girls regrouped themselves in congenial cluster clubs called by remarkably silly names, like the Kutter Klub; the Susie Dahms, whose Emory beaux were pictured with them in the yearbook; the Eta Beta Pi spoofers, and the Sara Club, with all members named "Sara." Shorter had more Susie Dahms, Imps, Maidens-All-Forlorn, and Kann-Ables. Agnes Scott had a group of Krazy Kreatures and Four Main Conspirators.²²

Almost any grouping was an excuse for a picture in the annual. In addition to photographs of state groups, families, and daughters of ministers and doctors, there were pictures of friendship groups. The "Happy Go-Luckys" at Agnes Scott got their picture in the Silhouette because they lived near each other in the dormitory; they were shown cooking up cocoa in a chafing dish and ready to pop corn in a popper. The "chums" were dressed for bed, in curler covers and kimonos, about ready for a "midnight feast" of

²²Veterropt (1916), pp. 144-148; Gardner, Hill, p. 199; Silhouette, (1916), pp. 172, 175.

Bryn Mawr among the Seven Sisters never had sororities, because of its comparatively small student body (about 400 students), but it developed intense school spirit and elaborate traditions as class level groups or dormitory groups, like Agnes Scott. See footnote #7 in this chapter.

apples, pickles, and soda crackers. One held her mandolin for an "after-lights" serenade. The photo's subtitle revealed where they lived in Rebekah Scott dormitory, "Third Floor Back." The forbidden midnight feast motif was repeated in nearly identical poses in the Wesleyan Ku Klux and in Shorter's Argo.²³

Wesleyan students selected a very curious new name for the annual which came out coincidentally with the Leo Frank case in April and May of 1913 and with talk of reactivating the Klan. The name Ku Klux, however, came innocently into being in the fall of 1912, antedating the actual revival of the Klan and the Frank lynching in 1915. The senior class chose "Ku Klux" for their yearbook's name because it was their girlish idea of a spooky, secret, masked-horseman and skull-and-cross-bones society, associated with intense patriotism and loyalty to the South. The Wesleyan students did not share the xenophobia of the Klan; witness their acceptance of the Soong sisters. Underneath the Ku Klux logo, amongst thirty-three of her admiring and loving class-mates, was the determined and serious-faced Chungling

²³Silhouette (1916), p. 173; Ku Klux (1913), pp. 171, 181, and Argo (1912), n.p. After 1915, interest groups and curriculum-related clubs developed on the white women's college campuses, such as china painting clubs, language clubs, drama clubs, and after World War I, current events and international relations clubs.

The midnight feast, or "spread" as it was called at Vassar, was a tradition in the Seven Sisters colleges also. See Horowitz, p. 63.

soong, who would become China's Republican First Lady, Mrs. Sun Yat-Sen, upon her return to China. Her picture quote was: "Radiance streaming from within around her eyes and forehead." The Chinese foreigners, brought to Wesleyan by Christian missionaries, were integrated and accepted on campus and in Macon while the Soongs were in residence at the college from 1904 to 1913.²⁴

Spelman

Most of the Negro college's clubs, organizations, and societies were parallel to those on the white campuses, but some were organized differently, with different emphases. In 1900 Spelman had two Greek groups, the Eumonean and the

²⁴Chungling Soong was the literary editor of the Wesleyan in the 1912-1913 session, a member of the Thespian Dramatic Club, and corresponding secretary of the Harris Literary Society. Mai-ling Soong was also made an unreconstructed southerner while she was at Wesleyan. When her history tutor asked her to describe Sherman's march through Georgia, she replied, "Pardon me, I am a Southerner, and that subject is very painful to me. May I omit it?" A Jewish graduate of Wesleyan, Mrs. Nadler, could not understand why I asked her about the Ku Klux name for the Wesleyan annual. She explained quickly that it was an expression of southern patriotism and asked me, "Are you a Yankee?" See Ku Klux (1913), p. 50, "The Chinese Sisters Soong Come to Wesleyan" in the Alumnae Magazine (February, 1941), n.p. and Freda Kaplan Nadler, '26, interview, March 15, 1984, Macon, Georgia.

After the turn of the century, racial prejudice was widespread on campuses throughout the United States. Often outsiders, Jews, and Negroes were not warmly welcomed at the northeastern Seven Sisters. In 1913 only Wellesley had an open admissions policy. Smith, Vassar, Mount Holyoke never knowingly admitted Negroes. Bryn Mawr advised them to go elsewhere. Even at Wellesley Negroes were parodied and not really "accepted." See Horowitz, pp. 155-156.

pi-Gamma literary societies. Because Spelman had so many rural girls of high school age, the Eumonean society was concerned with etiquette and "how to appear and act well in both private and public life." Their meetings, every other Monday after supper, centered on object lessons in which the girls were able "to see themselves as others see them." A group of Spelman and Atlanta Baptist/Morehouse College graduates formed the Pi Gamma Literary Society. The two Greek letters stood for the names for the deceased presidents of the colleges, Pi for Miss Sophia Packard and Gamma for Dr. Samuel Graves (1885-1890). The society, which met monthly, sought "general improvement along literary lines" and published the Athenaeum magazine, the official publication of the alumni and students of Morehouse College and Spelman. Some labeled this journal "too serious-minded in tone" but it also had humorous articles on college life. Morehouse graduate John A. Mason ('01) was the first editor. Spelman's Claudia White ('01) was his capable assistant and faithful contributor. The friendships formed in the Pi Gamma Literary Society were a "pillar of strength" to its members and gave the small number of college graduates from the two institutions a coeducational experience.²⁵

²⁵The joint class of 1901 at Morehouse and Spelman had only six members: Claudia White (Harreld); and Jane Anna Granderson; Benjamin Brawley, who became Dean at Morehouse; Zachery T. Hubert, who became President of Jackson College

Morehouse had two debating societies: the College and the Academic (High School), which met every other week under the supervision of the male faculty and engaged in intercollegiate debate contests with Knoxville College and Talladega College, but the Spelman women were not allowed to debate with the men and did not participate in the "manly" activity.²⁶

At the turn of the century, the most important extra-curricular activity at Spelman was the campus Sunday School. (Students on the white campuses usually attended Sunday Schools at the churches in town.) Every Spelman student rallied around this campus institution which had been in existence from the beginning and involved the whole school.

in Jackson, Mississippi; John A. Mason, who became a physician in Chattanooga, Tennessee; and Sidney B. Scott, who became a physician in Chicago, Illinois.

See Spelman Messenger, April 1906, p. 3; February 1914, p. 5, Morehouse cat. (1917-18), p. 4, Torrence, p. 128, and Brawley, p. 53. See also Claudia White Harreld's papers for copies of the Athenaeum in possession of her daughter Josephine Harreld Love, in Detroit, Michigan. A file of the Athenaeum also can be found at the Atlanta University Center, Division of Special Collections and Archives, Robert W. Woodruff Library.

In contrast to the Athenaeum produced by the collegians, the publication of the Spelman Messenger was more of a high school curricular activity than an extra-curricular one. The Messenger, edited by the Spelman administration, was an instructive and supplementary educational tool rather than a creative writing journal. Occasionally students wrote editorials or had their papers published, and alumnae letters were regularly included in the Messenger.

²⁶Brawley, p. 53.

From 1902 to 1906 the Spelman Sunday School collected money to be distributed among Atlanta's poor families. In 1905 they collected \$36.28 which they gave to the Free Kindergarten for poor colored children.²⁷

Other Christian, money-raising, "moral uplift," and "pure living" societies developed at Spelman. From its earliest days, students formed societies which reinforced the teaching goals and emphases of the school. All the groups were organized for "the advancement of Christ's kingdom here on earth." In 1881, when the school was less than a month old, the Reverend William Jefferson White, D.D., of Augusta, a trustee of Atlanta Baptist Seminary, organized the Educational Society at Spelman. Its object was to improve the race through education and to raise money for that purpose. Mrs. Emma S. DeLamotta ('93) was the first president and raised seventy-five dollars for the treasury the first year.²⁸

In 1890 the Christian Endeavor Society was introduced at Spelman under Wellesley graduate Julia A. Ellis (1890-1915), instructor in English and Bible. She set up four

²⁷Spelman Messenger, April 1906, p. 3.

²⁸Spelman Messenger, April 1906, pp. 2-3, Spelman cat. (1900), p. 7, and General cat. (1881-1921), p. 43. Mrs. Emma S. DeLamotta's husband, a minister, served as superintendent of buildings and grounds at Spelman from 1884 to 1894. This was not unusual at the time. The Reverend David G. Gullins (Th. '91), was a Morehouse custodian during the Sale administration (1890-1906). Brawley, p. 74.

active committees: the Lookout (evangelism), the Prayer Meeting, the Home Circle (Bible study and fellowship), and the Quiet Hour (personal and group worship). Many girls started similar circles in their home communities, as people could be members of the Home Circle and Quiet Hour without being connected with the Christian Endeavor Society. By the turn of the century, Spelman had seven Young People's Societies of Christian Endeavor with a general superintendent, and they had a "marked and helpful" effect upon the religious life of the scholars.²⁹

In 1893 Spelman students organized a chapter of the King's Messenger Band, a money-raising group for missions. The band held regular business meetings twice a month. Once a month, the society members arranged a public meeting for the whole school and took up a collection. These collections, the monthly dues, and the money from "mite" boxes, gathered in their home communities during vacations, was divided between home and foreign missions. The money,

See Chapter 11 (Pupils) for a discussion of Spelman's missionaries in Africa.

²⁹Spelman Messenger, April 1906, p. 3, and Spelman cat. (1900), p. 45. See also Clarence A. Bacote, The Story of Atlanta University: A Century of Service, 1865-1965 (Atlanta: Atlanta University, 1969), pp. 206, 242. The Christian Endeavor Society was a nondenominational group which published materials for Christian Youth groups. See footnote #80 of this chapter for a full description of its work.

earmarked for overseas work, helped support one of the Spelman graduate missionaries in Africa.³⁰

In the mid-1890's, Spelman organized a campus Social Purity Society to help girls live free from "guilt, sin and evil." The Social Purity movement of the late nineteenth century was a public effort to organize society for sexual purity. (The white colleges dealt with the emphases quietly in the hygiene classes.) The members prayed for good, pure hearts and had programs centering on what was "beautiful and uplifting to the human soul." A sixth grader, Levanter Carlisle, wrote a column in the Spelman Messenger urging her fellow students to read only the best literature, "Books that are approved of God," and "not cheap novels" and to try to get their friends to do the same. In the early twentieth century, the group became the White Shield Society, a committee under the YWCA.³¹

³⁰ Joanna P. Moore, a pioneer missionary to the Negroes, originated the idea and plan for the King's Messenger Band and the "Fireside Schools." She began her missionary work on an island in the Mississippi River near New Orleans during the Civil War. Sophia Packard met her in 1880 when Packard became ill in New Orleans. They became friends through their work with Negro youth. Spelman Messenger, April 1906, p. 3 and Read, pp. 35, 77.

See Chapter III (Pupils) for a discussion of Spelman's missionaries in Africa.

³¹ See Noble, p. 24, Spelman Messenger, April 1906, p. 3 and February, 1915, p. 7, and Agnes Scott Agonistic, March 29, 1919, p. 2 which announced Dr. Noble's ("a charming woman" with lofty ideals,) lecture on Social Morality, which was required of all freshmen as a part of their hygiene course. For more on Social Purity see Degler, At Odds, pp. 279-297.

The Spelman students in teacher training organized an interest group called the Debating Club, which met once a month to discuss subjects they were likely to encounter when they started teaching, but these were private discussions only. The Negro college women did not participate in public or intercollegiate debating like the Negro college men.³²

In 1900 Spelman kept the students tightly scheduled in housekeeping chores and scholarly study. The remaining time was devoted to aspects of "religious culture" and Bible literacy. In addition to regular Sunday School, Bible readings, and preachings on Sunday, Spelman had always required weekday morning devotions for the whole school. A semi-monthly "stirring social purity meeting," monthly "rousing missionary and temperance" meetings, as well as frequent prayer meetings and inquiry meetings, punctuated the campus calendar. On Friday nights "The International Sunday School Lesson" study with a published "golden rule" was open to any who wished to learn more of God's Word. Although not required, the Friday night study was "fully

³³The Spelman students took copies of the International Lesson sheets home with them and taught Sunday School lessons from them. Spelman cat. (1900), pp. 31, 43.

³²Spelman Messenger, April 1906, pp. 3, 6. See Chapter VII (Appendix) of this dissertation.
³²Spelman Messenger, April 1906, p. 3, Brawley, p. 101, and Bacote, pp. 241-242. At Spelman there was no meeting time in the busy schedule for frivolous clubbing. However, many Spelman students participated in chorus, fancy sewing groups, and botany excursions in connection with their studies. See footnote #26 in this chapter about the Morehouse debate teams.

attended, and great interest . . . [was] always manifested."³³

The societies played an important part in school life at Spelman, integrated campus goals and activities, developed social and professional skills, and taught "moral and correct" behavior among the students. Impressed with their responsibilities to their race, Spelman students carried over college activities into club work and organizations after graduation. Spelman graduates tended to continue organizing and forming women's groups for community betterment or "social uplift" and "self-help" and contributed to the establishment of a black middle class with white values.³⁴

³³The Spelman students took copies of the International Lesson sheets home with them and taught Sunday School lessons from them. Spelman cat. (1900), pp. 31, 45.

³⁴Spelman Messenger, April 1906, pp. 3, 6. See Chapter VII (Alumnae) of this dissertation.

See Lerner, Majority, pp. 88-93, and Degler, Odds, pp. 133-23.

The inculcation of white values is dealt with in McPherson, "The New Puritanism: Values and Goals of Freedmen's Education in America" in The University and Society, vol. 2, ed. Laurence Stone (Princeton: Princeton University, 1974): 615-631.

Student Government

A general movement for student government in women's colleges began in the last decade of the nineteenth century. By 1908, usually through student initiative, student government had gained acceptance in thirteen eastern colleges where women were enrolled.

During the first decade in the twentieth century, college administrative policies in the Georgia colleges began to change. The administrations of the white colleges matured in their relationship to the student bodies and became less paternalistic. Honor systems and student governments developed as students and faculty began to share responsibilities on some campuses. Between 1905 and 1912, the three white women's colleges developed student government associations. Spelman, however, continued under white paternalism and did not develop a Students Association until 1942.³⁵

College women became interested in and developed campus student governments at the time female suffrage was being debated in the state. The drive for student governments at the Georgia women's colleges, however, seems not to have produced significant activities in support of women's

³⁵ Croley, pp. 361, 369. Marcy Hall Wilson, "The Influence of Woman Suffrage," The Chinese, May 1915, pp. 6-8. Roger Aycock, All Roads to Rome, (Roswell, Ga.: Rome Area Heritage Foundation, 1981), pp. 324-328 and the Woman's Magazine, vol. 2, no. 11, March 1915, the special suffrage

Guy-Sheftall, Centennial, Timeline foldout, Horowitz, pp. 148-149 and Alice K. Fallows, "Self-Government for College Girls," Harper's Bazaar 38 (July 1904), pp. 698-705. The latter tells how Bryn Mawr set the precedent for student government for the Seven Sisters before the turn of the century.

suffrage. In 1915, Georgia was one of the twelve non-suffrage states. Suffrage organizational efforts and ideas did not penetrate the three white college campuses. However, young women were thinking about it at Shorter in Rome, where an influential alumna, Beulah Shropshire Mosely, Class of 1879, published a pro-suffrage monthly periodical, the Woman's Magazine. In 1915 Mary Hall Wilson ('18) wrote in the Shorter Chimes that homes and families would be better off if women had the vote. The Wesleyan student publications were noticeably silent on the subject, despite vigorous debates in Macon's papers. They may have been influenced by Eugenia Dorothy "Dolly" Blount Lamar ('83) and her ardent defense of southern womanhood, which she believed called for vigorous opposition to votes for women because that would lead to "Negro Enfranchisement." Nevertheless, in their student governments, white collegiate women did develop political skills and organizational know-how which could be applied nationally after 1920.³⁶

³⁶Croley, pp. 361, 369, Mary Hall Wilson, "The Influence of Woman Suffrage," The Chimes, May 1915, pp. 6-8, Roger Aycock, All Roads to Rome, (Roswell, Ga.: Rome Area Heritage Foundation, 1981), pp. 324-328 and the Woman's Magazine, vol. 2, no. 11, March 1915, the special suffrage edition in the Sarah Hightower Library, Rome, Ga..

See also Macon Telegraph articles, 1914-1915, especially the one about how Negro women felt about suffrage. The Telegraph for April 26, 1914 (prosuffrage), advertised an Equal suffrage Meeting with Mrs. Rebecca Latimer Felton lecturing on May 21, 22, 23, 1914 and April 18, 1915.

Political activity, such as the suffrage crusade or involvement in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), was not encouraged on the Spelman campus by the white administrators, President Lucy Hale Tapley (1890-1927) and Dean Edith Brill (1897-1922). The Negro students were kept under strict surveillance by their hall matrons and were regimented by a full schedule, with no honor system or self-government. In 1920 when Spelman was approached to form a chapter of the NAACP, the Spelman extracurricular activity program was already too full, Dean Edith V. Brill wrote NAACP secretary, Catherine D. Lealtad, and the girls' lives too organized to accommodate another activity in their schedule.³⁷

Wesleyan

As early as 1905, Wesleyan students were talking about student government. The annual of 1905 said: "The student government has not yet been adopted at Wesleyan, still the honor system is emphasized and the discipline is liberal as a women's college should be." In January 1912, Wesleyan students filed a formal petition for a Student Government

³⁸Akers, pp. 134-135, Wesleyan Faculty Minutes, January 10. Agnes Scott ran a list of states and statistics on how many women could vote for president in the Agonistic, November 3, 1916, p. 3. Wesleyan, November, 1912, for the student officers: Christina Bryan, '13, President; Theodore Cook, '13, Vice President; Mary Quillian, '13, Treasurer; and Johnnie Atkinson, '13, secretary.

³⁷Dittmer, p. 161.

Association. According to the original constitution drawn up by the students:

The purpose of the Association shall be to enact and enforce laws in accordance with the charter granted to the Association; to transact business pertaining to the whole body of students so far as it lies within its power.

The faculty charter stated:

The President and Faculty of Wesleyan College, realizing that the students desire to assume individually and collectively, with the faculty, responsibility for the conduct of students in their college life, do hereby authorize the establishment of the Wesleyan Student Government Association and do charge the association to exercise the power that may be committed to it with most careful regard for both liberty and order, for the best conditions for scholarly work and the religious life of the college.

The administration reserved jurisdiction over public health and safety, household management, the use of property and equipment, and the academic program of the institution. After a full year's experience with the new system, President Charles R. Jenkins reported that Wesleyan's student government over infractions of rules had been an "eminent success" and had resulted in a "great growth of dignity and womanliness among our girls."³⁸

³⁸Akers, pp. 134-135, Wesleyan Faculty Minutes, January 10, 1912, included the student petition and a typed copy of the Student Government Association constitution filed May 3, 1912. See also The Wesleyan, November, 1912, for the student officers: Christina Bryan, '13, President; Theodora Cook Atkinson, '14, Vice President; Mary Quillian, '15, Treasurer; and Johnnie Atkinson, '13, secretary.

After its institution, "harmony, respect for order, and cooperation between students and faculty" were supposed to pervade and undergird Wesleyan's campus spirit, but there were times when the student government leaders threw up their hands in desperation over "cases" which the association could not handle and tossed the problems back into the laps of the faculty to resolve. A case involving intoxicating liquor kept in a girl's trunk and offered to roommates and the case of a trio who experimented with smoking cigarettes were dealt with routinely by admonition and threat of expulsion. However, the case of a girl who flirted with boys at Central City Park, from the front veranda and at Ellisonian Flats, not only once but twice, was really serious to the student judges. The accused was flippant and unrepentant and displayed behavior unbecoming to a Wesleyan girl's social code at that time. The student government turned this problem case over to the faculty, who called in the girl's father. He pled his daughter's case before the faculty and read a penitent letter from her. The faculty moved to suspend action on the girl during good behavior, but the Student Government Association shunned her and would not readmit her into the Association.³⁹

³⁹ Wesleyan Faculty Minutes, September 11, 1906, October 2, 9, 1912, and November 19, 1915. Even though the girl was allowed to stay at Wesleyan, the SGA would not allow her to participate in SGA functions and activities involving the honor system.

In the spring of 1913, another problem case was turned over to the faculty for action. The accused student persisted in talking to young men in stores, going to church on Sunday without a chaperone, and sitting with a young man during the service. This same student also slipped her trunk out of the college and went home without an escort on an earlier train than the one her father was to meet in Atlanta, which resulted in several hours of activity that were unaccounted for and unchaperoned. The Student Government Association asked for her withdrawal from the school without honorable dismissal, but this extreme penalty was overridden by the more indulgent faculty, who allowed her to stay on probation. The Student Government Association, with its new authority and responsibility, seemed much stricter than the faculty under the old in loco parentis system.⁴⁰

Agnes Scott

In 1907 when Agnes Scott became a four year degree-granting college, a student government existed on the campus, but it was initiated and constituted under close faculty supervision. In 1906, after Rebekah Scott Hall was built, the college students were housed in Main Hall and were separated from the preparatory students. The older

girls could then have a more mature code of rules for campus

⁴⁰ Ibid., April 18, 1913.

living. In the spring of 1906, when Dean Hopkins suggested establishing a student government association, she reported that "the girls objected strenuously, on the ground that they had all the privileges they wanted without any of the responsibility!" Dean Hopkins persisted and got the student body to sanction it.⁴¹

Vice-President Elizabeth Curry remembered the awesome and onerous responsibility of the new student-run association and the details of how the students organized at Agnes Scott. "My impression is that Dr. [Howard Bell] Arbuckle presented the students with the action of the faculty with reference to the charter. At that meeting the president was selected and other officers and the executive board or committee was constituted and chosen." Elizabeth Curry remembered that after numerous meetings in the old Society Halls, the officers hammered out details of the organization, its rules and regulations. "And tho' we got a 'ready-made' form which did not give us too much latitude," she later wrote, "we felt that our freedom was greatly increased under the new regime and there was much rejoicing as well as

⁴¹Agnes Scott Faculty Minutes, April 24, May 17, 1906. see also McNair, pp. 315-318, and McKinney notebooks. The first officers were President Sara R. Boals (Spinks) ('07) and Vice-President Mary Elizabeth Curry (Winn) ('07). Members of the Executive Committee were Clyde Elaine Pettus ('07) and Irene Vivian Foscue (Patton) ('07). The Hall President was Rachel Aleph Young (Gardner) ('07) and her Marshal was Katherine Dean (Stewart) ('08).

criticism." The first vice president remembered that the criticism "became particularly strong when the [Executive] Committee was called upon to deal with infringement of rules and there were times when we would gladly have laid down our official authority and become private students." But she went on to say, "On the whole we felt our emancipation when a proctor was chosen from the girls to preserve order along the halls after lights." In the early days, legislative power was vested in the organization as a whole. The Executive Committee was the channel through which proposals came to the Association. The Executive Committee had the power to enforce rules, and was also the lower court. The Student Government Association itself was the court of appeals, somewhat different from the faculty maternalism at Wesleyan.⁴²

Inextricably associated with student government was the honor system. When a student enrolled and became a member of the student body, she was immediately bound by her honor "to develop and uphold high standards of honesty and behavior; to strive for full intellectual and moral stature; to realize . . . [her] social and academic responsibility in the community;" she accepted the Honor System as her way of life. The honor code was and is a double one. The students

⁴²McNair, p. 316, and McKinney notebooks. See also "In the Agnes Scott Tradition," Agnes Scott Alumnae Quarterly 25 (Autumn 1946): 20-23, 39.

are "their sisters' keepers" and must report themselves and their classmates when they break the rules, social or academic.⁴² The early student government acknowledged that the rules were based on their value to the community. When they were no longer valued by the community, they should be changed through the proper channels. The code of responsibility and trust has continued up to the present.⁴³

Shorter

At Shorter, student government emerged from the "Honor Roll system." If a girl reported "perfect" for twenty-seven weeks (i.e. she had not violated any of the faculty discipline committee's rules), she was placed on the "self-governed list" and given special privileges. In 1908 fourteen students were selected (evidently by the faculty), to form a council called the Honor Board that would "supplement" the discipline committee and "uplift all girls whose conduct or classwork fell below average." In 1909, the Student Government Association was formed "To preserve the student honor, to regulate the conduct of resident students and distribute the offices over the campus more evenly and concentrate students' time and effort in one undertaking."

⁴²Gardner, Hill, pp. 105-107. Shorter cat. (1919-20), p. 171.

⁴³Gardner, Hill, p. 175. Society dues were usually more than student government dues. Shorter students paid society dues of two dollars and sometimes six dollars, each

⁴³Ibid., pp. 317-318.

and to enforce such regulations of the College as do not fall exclusively within the province of the Faculty."⁴⁴

Shorter's student organization was expanded during the Van Hoose administration, and by 1917 it had become a member of the new Southern Intercollegiate Association of Student Governments. Officers were elected in the spring. Each dormitory had a house council, made up of the dormitory president and student council appointed proctors, called "Hoo Doos" by the girls who did not appreciate their investigations. Legislative and judicial power rested in the student organization, with final authority retained by a faculty committee and the college president. Several times a year a student council treasurer went around on "Pay Day" to collect the dues for all the campus organizations. Student council dues were usually between seventy-five cents and a dollar. At Shorter the students were required to join two organizations: Student Government Association and one of the societies.⁴⁵

By 1915 Shorter introduced a "point system" to help distribute the offices over the campus more evenly and concentrate students' time and effort in one undertaking.

⁴⁴Gardner, Hill, pp. 105-107. Shorter cat. (1919-20), p. 171.

⁴⁵Gardner, Hill, p. 175. Society dues were usually more than student government dues. Shorter students paid society dues of two dollars and sometimes six dollars, each Pay Day.

Each office had a point value, and twelve points was the maximum number allowed a student. The numbers assigned reflected the work and time involved in the office. The presidents of the Student Government Association and the YWCA got twelve; the president of either literary society, six; editor or business manager of Chimes or Argo, eight; class president, five; class playwright, four; president of Athletic Association, five; etc. Later the values were modified and the maximum was raised to fourteen points.⁴⁶

The Young Women's Christian Association

The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) was on the campuses of all four colleges. It was the single most important organization advocating social change toward a more Christian model. After 1900 existing campus missionary and temperance societies and athletic associations came under the "Y"'s organizational umbrella. The "Y"'s non-denominational Bible study groups, inter-racial and inter-national speakers, social service projects, and co-educational, regional, and international conferences, and its

⁴⁶Gardner, Hill, pp. 177, 179. See also student scrap-books in shorter Alumnae Memorabilia Room. Agnes Scott had similar student government handbooks and materials in the Archives in McCain Library. Shorter gave 4 points to the class playwright, 5 to the president of the Athletic Association; 3 to the president of the Dramatic Club; and 2 each to the presidents of the Art Lovers Club, a language Club, or the Choral Club.

world-wide scope, emphasizing missions, made college students aware of the discrepancies between what the Christian gospel taught and what was actually being done. Enthusiasm and support for missions came also through the Student Volunteer Movement's efforts on the campuses. Hard study about current problems, and personal dedication and commitment to solving or ameliorating them, was the focus of campus YWCA work during the first two decades of the twentieth century. The "Y" women were cooking up a real social revolution. But this did not dawn on many of the pupils or the colleges until the world economy began to fall apart in the 1930's.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ See Mary S. Sims, The Natural History of a Social Institution--The Young Women's Christian Association (New York: The Woman's Press, 1936) for an overview and outline of the national YWCA programs and activities, particularly pp. 173-75; 205-206, relating to breaking down barriers in race relations.

The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions and the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations both sprang from the Evangelical Protestant awakening felt in Europe, the British Isles, and the United States in the nineteenth century. The Student Volunteer Movement began in 1886 at a summer conference at Mount Hermon, Massachusetts, led by evangelist Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-1899). Robert Parmelee Wilder (1863-1938) and John Raleigh Mott (1865-1955), inspired by Moody's compelling call for spreading the gospel throughout the world, began to evangelize and organize student volunteers for overseas missions. John R. Mott came from Iowa and was graduated from Cornell University, where he was inspired with missionary fervor through contacts with J. K. Studd, a Cambridge athlete and Moody convert. A layman like Moody, Mott became the first travelling secretary of the student department of the YMCAs. After his Mount Hermon experience, he became one of the original members of the Student Volunteer Movement and longtime chairman of its executive committee.

Effects of World War I

World War I had an irreversible impact on the extra-curricular programs at the white women's colleges. In 1916 Wesleyan, Agnes Scott, and Shorter had active campus groups in support of the re-election of Woodrow Wilson, the Peaceful President with Georgia connections. But all the campuses, black and white, pledged support to the cause when the country marched off to war. The YWCAs went to work to help the war effort and sponsored campus Red Cross groups. Collegiate women rolled bandages and knitted socks and raised funds for Liberty Loans. Sunday School classes invited the soldiers in town to socials at their churches. College groups put on entertainments and invited soldiers to their campuses for special programs, under constant surveillance by the faculty, of course. Extracurricular groups such as international relations and foreign language clubs came into being to nurture the growing international-mindedness of the women in Georgia's church-related colleges and to satisfy their curiosity about other peoples. Campus groups already in existence, such as the YWCA's missionary

⁴³See Agnes Scott, Wesleyan, and Shorter annuals in 1917 and 1918. None of the white colleges published a yearbook in 1919 and used the money to support a child orphaned by the war. See also Wesleyan Faculty Minutes, Nov.

The YWCA began in the 1850s in Germany and Great Britain but developed most fully in the large cities of the United States. As the student "Y" groups worked together in 1895, the YMCA and YWCA and the Student Volunteer Movement joined forces to form the World Student Christian Federation. By the turn of the century, the Protestant student groups in the United States were an organized and motivated force for the Christianization of the world. Latourette, pp. 1019, 1163, 1257, and 1339.

societies, Sunday School classes and yearbook staffs, adopted war orphans as their projects and established scholarships so that young people from the war-torn areas could study on their campuses.⁴⁸

Effects of World War I continued after the fighting stopped. The Great War brought "Y" work and the Georgia church colleges into the international arena and pushed them toward emphases other than Christian missions. Peace and co-operation among nations and races was the goal of the Christian youth groups before and after the conflict. The national YWCA sent workers overseas to work with the United States' American Expeditionary Forces in camps and hospitals and to help with refugee work after the armistice. These contacts introduced new ideas and new parts of the world to the Georgia campuses. World War I and its aftermath mixed races and nationalities. The refugees and orphans left behind by the carnage were pitiable, and the Red

⁴⁸See Agnes Scott, Wesleyan, and Shorter annuals in 1917 and 1918. None of the white colleges published a yearbook in 1919 and used the money to support a child orphaned by the war. See also Wesleyan Faculty Minutes, November 2, 4, 1917, which debated whether the students could invite soldiers to their Sunday School class, and March 30, 1917, which endorsed Wilson. See also Dewey W. Grantham, Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1983), pp. 385, which mentions the shift from local to national solutions and reforms after World War I in the South and that college educated women were in the forefront of progressive reforms.

Cross and YWCA workers urged the campuses to adopt and educate some of these young people as their new projects. The Georgia church colleges and their student bodies were never the same after World War I, for it broadened their communities and gave them new neighbors. War and disaster can be powerful instruments of social change.⁴⁹

YWCA and Its Forerunners at Wesleyan

The YWCA came to Wesleyan, as it did to all four campuses, through its missionary society. In 1897 Wesleyan's was the first campus missionary society in Georgia. Earlier, Mrs. Juliana Hayes, president of the Women's Board of Missions, had organized the first Juvenile Missionary group in the Southern Methodist Church at Wesleyan in 1881. The group studied about mission stations and kept contact with alumnae missionaries through letters and gifts of money.

The ZigZag of 1905 said that Wesleyan was not only the "Pioneer college for the higher education of woman" but also a pioneer in sending women missionaries overseas. As early as 1848 Julia Jewett (Hartwell) heard the call, "come over and help us," and she carried the gospel light into "Darkest Africa." Later her sister, Eliza Jewett (Hartwell) (1854),

Haygood (1864), China; 5) Mrs. Alice Wright Bonnell (1866), China; 6) Mrs. Nellie Allen Lochr, China, teacher in Anglo-Chinese College, Shanghai; 7) Mrs. Mary Allen Turner, returned from China in 1906, teacher in Anglo-Chinese College, Shanghai; 8) Mrs. Fochie Williams MacDonell (1878), Mexico; 9) Mrs. Eliza Jewett (Hartwell) (1854), China; 3) Mrs. Eliza Jewett (Hartwell) (1854), China; 2) Mrs. Eliza Jewett (Hartwell) (1854), China; 1) Mrs. Eliza Jewett (Hartwell) (1854), China.

⁴⁹ Ibid. See also Agnes Scott Agonistic, March 29, 1919, p. 1, told that Agnes Scott was adopting six war orphans, and September 21, 1920, p. 2, told of the expected arrival of Zorka Petrovitch, a Siberian refugee who was coming to Agnes Scott as a student.

joined her. In 1859 Mary Houston (Allen) (1858), the bride of Young John Allen, crossed the Pacific to reach her work in China.⁵⁰

The 1906 ZigZag listed eighteen Wesleyan alumnae as missionaries. One of them was Laura Askew Haygood (1864), the first woman sent out by the Southern Methodist Mission Board. In 1884 at the age of forty, she decided to go to China as a missionary and resigned her position as principal of Girls' High School in Atlanta. In 1892 she opened the McTyeire Home for Missionaries and School for Chinese Girls in Shanghai, where the Soong sisters began their educations and where several Wesleyan alumnae taught. In 1900 she died in Shanghai. As a memorial to her, the Laura Haygood Home and School were erected in Soochow, dedicated to the education of young Chinese girls and women.⁵¹

⁵⁰Akers, p. 130 and ZigZag (1905), n.p. See also Adrian Arthur Bennett, Missionary Journalist in China: Young J. Allen and his Magazines, 1860-1883 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983).

⁵¹The eighteen alumnae missionaries and teachers at home and overseas. 1) Mrs. Julia Jewett C. Hartwell (1848), China; 2) Mrs. Eliza Jewett H. Hartwell (1854), China; 3) Mrs. Mary Houston Allen (1858), China; 4) Miss Laura Askew Haygood (1864), China; 5) Mrs. Alice Wright Bonnell (1869), China; 6) Mrs. Mellie Allen Loehr, China, teacher in Anglo-Chinese College, Shanghai; 7) Mrs. Mary Allen Turner, returned from China in 1906, teacher in Anglo-Chinese College, Shanghai; 8) Mrs. Tochie Williams MacDonell (1878), Mexico; 9) Mrs. Addie Singleton Branham (1880), teacher one time in Indian Territory; 10) Mrs. Ella Granberry Tucker (1884), Brazil; 11) Miss Mary Culler White (1891), China; 12) Miss Mary H. Knowles (1895), Korea; 13) Miss Emma Gary (1891 and 1901), China, who went out in 1891 and received the A.B.

The YWCA was organized at Wesleyan in 1897, about forty years after the YMCA and YWCA movements spread from England to America.⁵⁶ It was a strong campus religious force from its beginning. Wesleyan's YWCA had as its motto "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of hosts," and its purpose was "to win young women for Christ, to build them up in Christ, and send them out for Christ."⁵²

In 1911 "Y" President Betty Lou White ('11) declared that the YWCA was "the most spiritually energizing force at Wesleyan," the part that "imbues girls with the highest zeal for Christian work" and "disseminates good will and peace among the students." At Wesleyan the "Y" was responsible for morning watch and vespers in the YWCA Hall, helped with power of Christ, generating and releasing energies on the college campuses with the "unceasing missionary spirit." At the conference J. Campbell White laid down four cardinal obligations to extend Christ's Kingdom. "First, Know;

second, Go; third, Pray; fourth, Pay." Eliza Pope Hill degree in 1901; 14) Miss Pauline Dunlap, Mexico, student; 15) Mrs. Lida Howell Dickson, Brazil, student; 16) Mrs. Irene Ludsley Holt, dead in 1906; 17) Mrs. Lillie Pierce Green, returned from Indian Territory in 1906; 18) Mrs. Alice Culler Cobb, Secretary of the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions, M.E. Church, South. Wesleyan Alumna Magazine, February 1930, pp. 24-25; ZigZag (1906); Emily Hahn, The Soong Sisters (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1942), pp. 91-95; and Linda Madson Papageorge, "Feminism and Methodist Missionary Activity in China: The Experience of Atlanta's Laura Haygood, 1884-1900," West Georgia College Studies in the Social Sciences, 22 (June 1983): 75-76.

See also Mary Culler White, The Portal of Wonderland: The Life Story of Alice Culler Cobb (New York: Revell, 1925).

⁵²Akers, p. 131.

religious emphasis programs, sponsored social service projects, and encouraged denominational groups to organize.⁵³

In 1906, Wesleyan sent four delegates to a Nashville YMCA-YWCA conference where over four thousand young people represented about six hundred colleges. Wesleyan's "Y" President Eliza Pope Hill (Martin) ('06) said it was "decidedly the greatest student convention ever held." Its purpose was to drum up volunteers for the mission fields and missionary prayer bands at home. Dr. John Raleigh Mott told the assembly that the "Y" convention for the Student Volunteer Movement at Nashville was "the largest ever held in the world in all the history of the church." Dr. Mott felt that the convention could be "a dynamo" impelled by the infinite power of Christ, generating and releasing energies on the college campuses with the "ceaseless missionary spirit." At the conference J. Campbell White laid down four cardinal obligations to extend Christ's Kingdom. "First, Know; second, Go; third, Pray; fourth, Pay." Eliza Pope Hill aroused the Wesleyan campus by reporting that "hundreds of students gave themselves as volunteers to the mission fields," and that many "were from our sister colleges in the South." She suggested that Wesleyan should train at least

⁵³Akers, p. 131, ZigZag (1911), pp. 90-91, and The Wesleyan, vol. vi, no. 6 (May 1906), p. 243. In the article "Why They Came to Wesleyan" in the 1906 Wesleyan, Bessie White's ambition was to lead the YWCA.

two missionaries a year. "Wake up, sisters," she challenged the Wesleyan campus, and asked, "Are we to stand idly by with our hands folded while others are about our Father's business?"⁵⁴

In 1915 Wesleyan girls met at Cox College, in College Park, and participated with about twenty other Georgia colleges in the Georgia Students' Missionary League which was associated with the YMCA. (The YWCA and YMCA organizations merged their off campus activities.) Wesleyan classics professor the Reverend Charles R. Forster was president of the Georgia Students' Missionary League. Twenty colleges were represented and reported to their campuses on the status of religious interest and activity, as shown in the their Bible and mission studies, in personal work, in social service, in Christian giving, and in the number of student volunteers. Althea Carr (Exley) ('16), president of lives for foreign mission service. Wesleyan rejoiced that it would join with Mercer to entertain the convention at its next session.⁵⁶

YWCA regional conferences brought collegiate women and men together from all over the Southeast at the new Blue

⁵⁴Wesleyan's delegates to the Nashville YWCA conference were President Eliza Pope Hill, '06; Vice President Agnes Chapman, '06; and two members of the devotional committee: Willie Erminger, '07 and Maybelle Jones '08. The Wesleyan, vol. vi, no. 5 (April 1906), pp. 205-207, and Veterropt (1920), which showed photographs of the 1919 Blue Ridge and Des Moines conferences. Dr. John R. Mott was the world-famous leader of the student missionary movement. See footnote #47 in this chapter.

Wesleyan's missionary society in 1915, said that Wesleyan's report compared "most favorably" with the others.⁵⁵

Mary Culler White ('91), a Wesleyan alumna serving as a missionary in China, addressed the YWCA'S Georgia leagues at Cox College. Student Volunteer Movement staffer J. L. Murray and the Reverend W. J. Young, D.D., Professor of Missions at Emory University, talked on "Voluntary Mission Study" and "The Place of Mission Study in the College Curriculum." At the luncheon, the young people enlivened the atmosphere with college songs and yells. The Sunday sermons in the morning and evening were given by Dr. Thornwell Jacobs, chancellor of Oglethorpe University, and the Reverend William Fletcher Quillian, the pastor of an American congregation in Mexico and later president of Wesleyan from 1920 to 1931. After a closing service of testimony and personal consecration, "quite a number" volunteered their lives for foreign mission service. Wesleyan rejoiced that it would join with Mercer to entertain the convention at its next session.⁵⁶

YWCA regional conferences brought collegiate women and men together from all over the Southeast at the new Blue Ridge "Y" conference center in North Carolina. Member

⁵⁵The Wesleyan, December 1915, p. 69. KuKlux (1913), p. 112, and Veterropt (1916), p. 24.

⁵⁶The Wesleyan, December 1915, p. 70, and Akers, pp. 147-148.

colleges got subscriptions and built cottages at the center. Shorter and the University of Georgia, Wesleyan and Emory, and Agnes Scott and Georgia Tech shared the construction expenses and the use (at different times, of course) of their cabins at Blue Ridge. At the regional conference in the summer, ideas were shared which would be disseminated on the individual campuses in the fall. The YWCA's inter-collegiate conferences were the most "energizing" of the Y's activities. By attending these conference, the delegates were broadened and inspired by their contacts and participation in regional and national activities.⁵⁷

Because the YWCA emphasized the development of the whole person, mentally, spiritually, socially, and physically, the organization allied with campus athletic associations and petitioned for and advocated health education, gymnasiums, and swimming pools on college campuses. It also built YWCA gymnasiums in towns and cities where it had chapters. In May 1909, the Wesleyan YWCA successfully petitioned the faculty for a new gymnasium. It was constructed on the ground floor of Georgia Hall, to replace the "attic gym" in the main building which was one of the oldest gymnasiums for women in the world.⁵⁸

⁵⁷Gardner, Hill, p. 180, and Silhouette.

⁵⁸Sims, pp. 40, 92, 135, 152, and 245-47, tells about the "Y"'s physical education programs.

Campus athletic associations were functioning during the Progressive era at the three white women's colleges. The 1905 annual gave a full page spread to the Wesleyan Athletic Association. That same year the Agnes Scott annual showed girls dressed for class level team sports. By 1907 there was an Athletic Association at Agnes Scott with officers. No later than 1899, Shorter formed an athletic association.⁵⁹

The YWCA attempted to draw all of the campus religious activities into a comprehensive program. As the organization gathered up campus groups, such as the missionary and temperance societies, the "Y" cabinet formed. It was composed of all officers and committee heads of the YWCA. The "Y" cabinet soon became the campus coordinator for several Wesleyan organizations and groups. The cabinet members, wearing the "Y"'s blue triangle, welcomed the new students in the fall and tried to make all the people on campus happy

quarter was devoted to the temperance committee's concerns. In 1910, after national prohibition had been achieved, the committee was dropped, but Mrs. Lella Billard, secretary of college YWCA organizations, reported that the new goal was

⁵⁹ Shorter had an athletic association before the YWCA came to the campus. Shorter's "Y" had only a social and religious side. "Religious Organizations of Shorter College," *The Chimes* 22,7 (November 1905), p. 22. See also Akers, p. 129. Wesleyan Trustees' Minutes, May 29, 1909, included the student petition from the YWCA for a new gymnasium. In 1917 a pool was added. By 1919 Agnes Scott added a "natatorium," a moderate-sized swimming pool, to the gymnasium on its campus. Agnes Scott cat. (1919-1920), p. 109. See also McNair, p. 282.

and comfortable and set them to work at worthwhile projects.⁶⁰

Since 1909 Wesleyan's Missionary Society had been a special phase of "Y" work and had presented a program once a month on Saturday nights, highlighting missions. By 1913, Wesleyan's YWCA included temperance and missionary department in their cabinet. For a long time temperance had been an important church and campus concern in Georgia. In 1903, Mrs. Adah Wallace Unruh of Portland, Oregon, organized at Wesleyan the first campus chapter of the Young Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in Georgia. It was a part of the world WCTU movement. Wesleyan's chapter became a "Somerset Y" in honor of Lady Henry Somerset, president of the world WCTU. The program, educational and character-building, was specifically aimed toward temperance in the use of intoxicating liquors. By 1913 the WCTU's Temperance Committee became a department of the YWCA, and one meeting a quarter was devoted to the temperance committee's concerns. In 1919, after national prohibition had been achieved, the committee was dropped, but Mrs. Lella Dillard, secretary of college WCTU organizations, reported that the new goal was the abolition of the nicotine habit. Still interested in

and March 1920, p. 220, and KuKlux (1913), p. 112. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was organized in 1873 and soon became a national organization. By 1919, nineteen states, including Georgia, forbade the sale of liquor. Latourette, pp. 1268-1270.

⁶⁰The Wesleyan, May 1916, pp. 243-244, and KuKlux (1913), p. 112. See Sims, p. 165 for the "Y"'s temperance work and pp. 26, 69, 125, 129 for its relation to the Student Volunteer Movement and foreign missions.

reform in 1920, the WCTU also urged Wesleyan girls to become experts in child welfare.⁶¹

By 1916, Wesleyan's "Y" social service committee was doing work at Macon's Settlement House and at the city hospital, where, about three or four times a month, the students gave readings and vocal and instrumental programs. Several girls taught domestic science and piano at the Settlement House, and two girls went once a week and played games with the young people. The Wesleyan "Y" girls carried flowers to the hospital and made some garments for the baby ward. The Wesleyan "Y" also planned to train girls for the Eight Weeks Club, a course about how to set up recreation programs in the students' home towns during the dull summer months.⁶²

After World War I, the YWCA at Wesleyan included a vocational committee to help girls become informed about career options. In 1920, Mary Louise Cady, secretary of the Educational Department of the National Board of the YWCA, was in Macon. Wesleyan's vocational committee invited her

⁶¹Ibid., p. 132, The Wesleyan, December 1915, p. 69, and March 1920, p. 220, and KuKlux (1913), p. 112.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was organized in 1873 and soon became a national organization. By 1916, nineteen states, including Georgia, forbade the sale of liquor. Latourette, pp. 1269-1270.

⁶²The Wesleyan, May 1916, p. 244. See Sims, p. 57, for the "Y"'s Eight Week Club Plan and p. 107 for its work in settlement houses.

to speak. "Y" President Rebecca Caudill ('20) reported that her talk, "Social Service as a Vocation for Women," was one of the "most instructive" they had had that year. Also on the Wesleyan campus during the spring of 1920 were Elizabeth Gains, special student worker, advising the newly elected "Y" Cabinet members and the new and old missionary committees, and Edith M. Hazlett, travelling secretary for the Student Volunteer Movement. The very effective work of this latter group on the Wesleyan campus can be seen in the 1920 Veterropt, which pictured twelve Wesleyan students who had indicated this desire to become missionaries by joining the Student Volunteer Movement.⁶³

At Shorter's commencement, the visiting preacher would sometimes deliver the baccalaureate sermon at Rome Baptist Church in the morning and a missionary sermon before the Martha Shorter Missionary Society in the evening, indicating the importance of the campus organization.⁶⁴

⁶³The Wesleyan, April 1920, pp. 269-270. See Sims, pp. 10, 194, 197 for the "Y"'s work in vocational counseling. Mary Louise Cady was the popular Agnes Scott history teacher before World War I. See Faculty chapter of this dissertation.

Another talk was given by Mrs. J. E. McRee, owner and manager of the Daffodil Cafe in Atlanta, who spoke of "Domestic Science as a Vocation for Women." She ended her discourse with a poem: "We may live without poetry, music and art; We may live without conscience and live without heart; We may live without friends; we may live without books; But civilized man cannot live without cooks."

In 1969 Wesleyan, because of a general rearrangement of student activities, dropped out of the National YWCA. The Council of Religious Concerns, a coordinating council, did the work the "Y" had done. A campus YWCA group, open on a voluntary basis to those who wish to affiliate with the national movement, continues on the Wesleyan campus. Akers, p. 132.

The YWCA and Its Forerunners at Shorter

The Martha Shorter Missionary Society was organized on Sunday, February 4, 1883. The Missionary Society met regularly in the Shorter chapel on the first Sunday afternoon of each month. As many as as fifty-eight of the 176 Shorter students held membership. Some teachers and a few citizens from Rome were also in the society. The group met at the Methodist Church in Rome once, since the society was not restricted to Baptist work. They raised from fifty to seventy-five dollars for missions projects, including the education of one or two girls in Mexico, and for the orphans in the Baptist Home in Hapeville, Georgia. At Shorter's commencement, the visiting preacher would sometimes deliver the baccalaureate sermon at Rome Baptist Church in the morning and a missionary sermon before the Martha Shorter Missionary Society in the evening, indicating the importance of the campus organization.⁶⁴

During the 1890's the Martha Shorter Society declined in strength, but it was reactivated in 1899, one year after the coming of the YWCA, in order to emphasize world missions. By 1910 the missionary society faded from view. It was replaced in 1911 by the Martha Shorter Chapter of the Baptist Young Woman's Auxiliary, which used denominational materials and programs. In 1914 a new missionary society

⁶³Ibid., pp. 107, 179, 190. See also The Chinese 22, 7 (November 1905): 22-23.

⁶⁴Gardner, Hill, pp. 49, 63, 73.

developed and organized three circles, one honoring Mrs. Martha Shorter, co-founder of the college; another honoring Mrs. Harriet Cooper, one of the original Shorter faculty members and mother of J.P. Cooper, a noted benefactor and trustee, and another named for Wilda Hardman (Poteat) ('16), a Shorter alumna who was a missionary in China. These groups were co-ordinated by the YWCA.⁶⁵

The YWCA came to Shorter in 1898. In the next year the Martha Shorter Missionary Society was reactivated, and the two organizations were virtually merged, as they had the same students as members. The missionary society met on Sunday afternoons and had programs by a member of the faculty, a local minister, or often by the girls themselves.⁶⁶

During the Van Hoose administration (1909-1921) almost all Shorter students were members of the campus YWCA. The "Y" sponsored a reception for new students in the fall. Three to five days a week it conducted morning watch and evening vespers with average attendance reported one year as twenty-five and 114 respectively. Voluntary study classes, with as many as 180 enrolled, dealt with such topics as Japan, Burma, the American Negro, the social teachings of Jesus, China, and South America. During a January week of

⁶⁵ *Edna Earle Teal, My Walk With God in China: An Autobiography of Edna Earle Teal, B.W. (Orlando: Christ for the World Publishers, 1926), pp. 16-17 and Gardner, Hill, p. 179.*
⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 179, 190. See also The Chimes 22, 7 (November 1905): 22-23.

⁶⁶ *Gardner, Hill, p. 107.* In 1919. Wilda Hardman (Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Goetchius (Mrs. Raymond Wesseldorf)

prayer, Edna Earle Teal (1879-1966?), a missionary to China who attended Shorter from 1899 to 1900, received special notice. Voluntary offerings for Baptist missions accrued as much as \$575 for the Baptist Orphan's Home in Hapeville, a schoolgirl in China, and musical instruments for a boys' school in China.⁶⁷

Like Wesleyan's, the Shorter "Y" had visits from alumnae missionaries home on furlough and from secretaries of the Student Volunteer Movement. The Student Volunteer Band was under the YWCA cabinet at Shorter and maintained a membership of about six girls. In 1912 after Shorter was hostess to the Georgia Students' Missionary League, six Shorter girls volunteered as foreign missionaries. In 1914 President Van Hoose and student delegates attended the national meeting in Kansas City, Missouri. Subsequently, Shorter joined with Bessie Tift and Mercer and organized the Georgia Baptist Student Volunteer Movement. In 1920 President Van Hoose reported five girls had volunteered for foreign mission service. Eventually seven students at Shorter during the years 1900 to 1920 served in foreign mission fields.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Edna Earle Teal, My Walk With God in China: An Autobiography of Edna Earle Teal, R.N. (Orlando: Christ for the World Publishers, 1966), pp. 16-17 and Gardner, Hill, p. 179.

⁶⁸ Mary Elizabeth Goetchius (Mrs. Raymond Womeldorf) ('15) did YMCA work in Russia in 1919. Wilda Hardman (Mrs.

Shorter's "Y" sponsored social welfare projects, such as providing clothing and books for a girl enrolled in the Rome public schools, relief for several Rome families, funds for the education of two girls in China, two hundred dollars for relief work necessitated by the San Francisco earthquake of 1906, and "playing Santa" at Christmas parties for Rome children. Like the other white colleges, Shorter sent delegates to YWCA conferences in Atlanta, Birmingham, Montgomery, and Asheville.⁶⁹

Shorter students for several years (1911, 1912, and 1913) had a denominationally sponsored Young Woman's Auxiliary as well as the "Y"s program. In 1916, when the Georgia Baptist Convention showed an interest in promoting the denominational Baptist Young People's Union over the "Y,"

Edwin McNeel Poteat ('16) was in Kaifeng, Honan, in China in 1919 and in 1929 at Shanghai College. Lucy B. Wright (Mrs. Earl Parker) ('16) was a medical nurse at Dr. Ayer's hospital, Hwangsing, China, by 1929. Lucia May Rodwell (Mrs. W.W. Jones) ('19) was active in YWCA work in 1919. Agnes Rowland (Mrs. Robert Price Richardson) ('15) was in Taichow, China, with her doctor-missionary husband in 1923. Sadie Wilson ('20) and Mary Tennant (Mrs. W.G. Neville) ('22) also served overseas.

Pieced together from Shorter Alumnae Archives with the help of Anne Gardner. See Gardner, Hill, p. 180, Shorter cat. (1921-22), pp. 174, 175, Shorter Alumnae Bulletin, June 1919, pp. 27, 29; Argo (1920), p. 200, and Agnes Rowland Richardson, The Claimed Blessing: The Story of the Lives of the Richardsons in China, 1923-1951. (Cincinnati: C.J. Krehbiel Co., 1970), p. ix.

⁶⁹Gardner, Hill, p. 107 and Shorter Trustees Minutes, May 25, 1920, p. 124.

forty Shorter girls took a Baptist Youth's training course and organized a union that ran parallel to the work of the more inclusive YWCA. In spite of the denominational competition, the regional and national YWCA programs made their presence felt through an active YWCA program on the Shorter campus. In the 1916-1917 session, President Elizabeth Bradley ('18) reported that 190 girls were enrolled in the YWCA out of a student body of two hundred.⁷⁰

By 1915, the Shorter "Y" had raised \$1,174.85 for missions, charity and the Blue Ridge Cottage, and prayed to be a strong power for good "not only in Shorter, but in Rome, in Georgia, and throughout the South." That same year, they adopted the departmental plan, with subcommittees and a nine member cabinet. They gave a picnic and a reception on campus; organized a Shorter Sunday School with history Professor Arnett as superintendent, and "adopted" Flora Dean Harbin, an orphan at the Baptist Home in Hapeville. "One of the greatest events of the year," Shorter's "Y" president wrote, was the weekend Cabinet Training Convention when Agnes Scott, Brenau, Georgia Normal and Industrial College (GNIC), and Wesleyan met together with Anna Irwin Young, Agnes Scott mathematics professor and "Y"

⁷¹ Shorter Bulletin, June 1915, n.p. and Students' Handbook (1918-1919), p. 12. See also Argo (1917), pp. 82-83 and Shorter Trustees' Minutes, May 25, 1920, p. 124-125.

⁷⁰ Students' handbooks for 1917-1918 were in the Mesoro-Bills Room at Shorter. Agnes Scott also had a student handbook.
⁷⁰ Argo (1911), pp. 118-120; Ibid. (1913), n.p., and Gardner, Hill, pp. 179-180.

sponsor, and several field workers to train and inspire their new student officers.⁷¹

In 1917 Shorter produced a YWCA handbook, a small booklet with detailed information about the way the "Y" worked at the Blue Ridge conference and at the Shorter Cottage there, a welcome from president Van Hoose, brief notices about all student organizations, space to record the daily schedule, and ads to cover the printing costs.⁷²

By 1920 Shorter's YWCA adopted another Baptist orphan, May Bell Cole, and organized the Mission Sunday Schools of Rome. Many girls taught classes, sang, painted "inspiring" pictures, furnished flowers, and did "personal campaigning for members." The "Y" gave a Christmas tree celebration in the gymnasium for the children of West Rome and collected money and clothing for the needy during the year. Shorter's Religious Department and World Fellowship Department worked to awaken the students to the mission call and their responsibilities "as young women in the New World Order." President Elizabeth Alford ('20) felt the year's work had "not been what the leaders would have had it be, but

⁷¹Shorter Bulletin, June 1915, n.p. and Students' Handbook (1918-1919), p. 12. See also Argo (1917), pp. 82-83 and Shorter Trustees' Minutes, May 25, 1920, p. 124-125.

⁷²Students' handbooks for 1917-1918 were in the Memorabilia Room at Shorter. Agnes Scott also had a student handbook in connection with the Student Government. See also Gardner, Hill, p. 179.

there...[had] been a measure of success" in striving for "the more abundant life" for all through their united loyalty to Jesus Christ.⁷³

The YWCA and Its Forerunners at Agnes Scott

Agnes Scott's missionary society, called the Christian Band, was organized in 1891. It was similar to the Christian Endeavor and the Baptist Young Peoples' Union groups at Shorter and Spelman. The band's projects included leading religious services for the Institute and supporting foreign missions. In 1900 the Christian Band, composed of teachers and pupils, met every Sunday evening. Each weekday began with religious exercises in chapel and closed with evening prayer. The Sabbath (Sunday) was a holy day at the Institute. All of the boarding pupils attended Sabbath School, conducted by the resident teachers. An evening prayer meeting was held each week for the Institute. In addition, the students conducted a weekly morning prayer meeting by themselves.⁷⁴

For several years there was much discussion about the Christian Band becoming affiliated with the national YWCA.

⁷³ Ibid., Argo (1920), p. 113. There were mission schools at North Rome, March McDonald Memorial, DeSoto Park, and other locations.

⁷⁴ Agnes Scott cat. (1900-01), p. 71 and McNair, p. 298. For more on Christian Endeavor, see footnote # 80 of this chapter.

president Gaines did not approve of an off-campus religious agency having any control over an on-campus organization. Nevertheless, in the 1905-1906 session, the YWCA came to the college. Until 1938, when Agnes Scott dissolved its national affiliation with the YWCA, the "Y" was the most vital Christian influence on the campus and on the extracurricular activities off campus.⁷⁵ In the spring of 1905, when the college decided to affiliate with the national YWCA, the students reorganized the Christian Band under the "Y"'s auspices.⁷⁶ Its first cabinet had five officers and four

⁷⁵ McNair, p. 298 and President's Reports to the Board of Trustees for YWCA work, especially President J.R. McCain's letter to the president of the local YWCA, March 8, 1938, in which he explained the name change of the YWCA organization to the Christian Association of Agnes Scott College.

Winnifred Kellersberger Vass, '38, was president of the YWCA when Agnes Scott dropped out of the national organization. She remembered that the students had no say-so in the action. It had been a ruling by the Trustees, all of whom were Southern Presbyterians. She thought it was because the national organization had become infected with "modernism," a view which the Trustees felt was unBiblical. Vass interview, October 1984, Dallas, Tex.

⁷⁶ Typescript copy of a history of the YWCA at Agnes Scott through the mid-1930s was in the Agnes Scott Archives, McCain Library. See also Silhouette (1907), p. 65, Ibid. (1911), p. 69, and McNair, p. 298. The first "Y" president at Agnes Scott was Sarah R. Boals (Spinks) ('07); vice-president, Rachel Aleph Young (Gardner) ('07); secretary, Edith Sloan ('08); and the first treasurer was Irene Vivian Foscue (Patton) ('07). Sarah Boals was also president of the Student Government that same year.

Other Agnes Scott YWCA presidents were Maud Hill (Willis) ('08) in '07; Margaret E. McCallie ('09) in 1908; Irene C. Newton (McGeachy) ('09) in 1909; Mary Wallace Kirk ('11) from 1909 to 1911; Charlotte Jackson (Mitchell) ('14) 1912-1913; Margaret Neal Anderson (Scott) ('15) from 1913 to

committee heads: Program, Social, Publicity, and World Fellowship, as well as an underclassman representative. The president of student government was an ex officio member. From the first year the members of the Christian Band were ardent supporters of the YWCA, sent delegates to Blue Ridge the first year, and in 1908 they contributed to the Agnes Scott cottage at Blue Ridge as did the young men of the Georgia Tech student "Y."⁷⁷

Agnes Scott's "Y" sponsored four Bible study classes and four mission study classes and assumed half the support of an alumna foreign missionary. Institute graduate Mary Thompson (Stevens), a worker in China, was their project until 1922 when she died. The first members of Agnes Scott's Student Volunteer Band were listed in the YWCA cabinet's book in the "Y"'s room in Rebekah Scott Hall. Each volunteer's college career and after college work from 1920 to 1933 were recorded. In 1933 the group changed its name to "The Mission Interest Group" because some students

Wesley Memorial Church, where six to eight hundred

⁷⁸ Silhouette (1911), pp. 78-79; *Ibid.* (1920), n.p. "Student Volunteer Association of Agnes Scott."

In 1912 the Agnes Scott YWCA Mission Study groups began supporting Miss Emily Winn, '03, in Korea.

1914; Ruth Anderson (O'Neal) ('18) from 1917 to 1918; and future professor and poet Janef Preston ('20) from 1920 to 1921.

were Edith Kearns ('12), Katherine Eliza Knight ('13), Sarah Aline Kinney ('24), Mary Goodrich

⁷⁷ Typescript history of the YWCA at Agnes Scott, p. 2 in Agnes Scott Archives, McCain Library, Decatur, Georgia.

were more interested in studying about missions than volunteering to go.⁷⁸

When the Student Volunteer Association was enlisting and commissioning recruits from Agnes Scott and Georgia, there was much excitement on the campus. During the thirty-three years of the national Student Volunteer Association, over seven thousand students from the United States volunteered and sailed overseas. In 1920 Agnes Scott's list had eighteen names of women who had already "sailed" and five "recruits" on campus who met weekly to study and prepare themselves.⁷⁹ In 1920 Anna Marie Landress (Cole) ('21) and Edith Kearns ('22) were the president and the treasurer of the Atlanta Student Volunteer Union, which was a group of about forty members from "Tech," Emory, Agnes Scott and Atlanta at large. The collegiate group spoke to young people's unions and were associated with the statewide student volunteers, who met in Athens in the spring. The citywide group met monthly and had convened a group at Wesley Memorial Church, where six to eight hundred

⁷⁸Silhouette (1911), pp. 78-79, Ibid. (1920), n.p. "Student Volunteer Association of Agnes Scott."

In 1922 the Agnes Scott YWCA Mission Study groups began supporting Miss Emily Winn, '03, in Korea.

⁷⁹Silhouette (1920). The Agnes Scott Student Volunteers were Edith Kearns ('22), Katherine Ellise Knight (Jones) ('23), Sarah Aline Kinman ('24), Mary Goodrich (Meredith) ('23), and Anna Marie Landress (Cate) ('21), their leader.

representatives of the various young people's societies of Atlanta were present. Agnes Scott was represented by one former student who had not yet sailed and Bessie Sentell (Martin) ('08), home from her mission station in Africa.⁸⁰

The YWCA at Spelman

Spelman also had enthusiastic missionary and temperance societies as well as "social purity" groups and an active campus Sunday School. Some of these extracurricular activities developed national and worldwide affiliations through memberships in the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and such inter-denominational and non-denominational organizations as the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour, the Sunday School Union, the Student Volunteer

⁸⁰Silhouette (1920). By 1914 the impact of the student volunteers on foreign mission fields was significant. The United States sent more money and more Protestant missionaries overseas than any other country. See Latourette, p. 1272.

In 1920, Agnes Scott had 18 names on its list of volunteers who had already sailed; Emily Anderson Winn (ASI) to Korea, Lillie O. Lathrop (ASI) to Kunsan, Korea, Annie Shannon Wiley (Preston) (1895-1897) (ASI) to Socuchun, Korea, (Mrs.) Margaret Bell Dunnington (Sloan) (ASI) to China, Agnes Mary White (Sanford) ('21) to Yencheng, China, Anna Murdock Sykes (Bryarrrs) ('16) to Kiangyin, China, Mary Elizabeth Gammon (Davis) ('17) to Habras, Brazil, Ora Mast Glenn (Roberts) ('16) to Brazil, Bessie Sentelle (Martin) ('08) to Luebo, Africa, Sarah Glover Hansell (Cousar) ('14) to Nagoya, Japan, Ellen Pratt "Etta" Ramsay (Phillips) ('17) to Yucatan, Clifford Elizabeth Hunter (ASI) to China, Nellie Kandin to Seoul, Korea (died in Korea), Mary Thompson (Stevens) (ASI) to China (died in China, 1922?), Mrs. Bull (ASI) a teacher in China, Miss Alby, a teacher in China, Miss Collon to Chungu, Korea, Julia Eliza Pratt (Taylor) (ASI) to Pernambuco, Brazil.

Movement, and the YWCA, and through use of the International Sunday School Lesson Committee's publications and materials. At the turn of the century, most of these groups were racially segregated.⁸¹

Spelman's YWCA was established in 1884, soon after the founding of the school. In 1900, the Congo Mission Circle and the King's Messengers' Band, a mission fundraising group, were flourishing on the Spelman campus under YWCA auspices. In addition to these informal, extracurricular activities, Spelman had instituted formal missionary courses to prepare Negro women for home as well as foreign missions.

⁸¹The Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour and the American Sunday School Union were two outstanding lay-led, non-denominational agencies directed toward youth which helped meet the problems of cities at the turn of the century. A New England Congregational pastor, Francis E. Clark, initiated the Christian Endeavour movement which spread rapidly and in 1895 formed a worldwide union, the World's Christian Endeavour Union. In 1907 the Sunday School movement, which had begun on the frontier in the 1830s, organized the World's Sunday School Association. The first chairperson for the interdenominational committee which produced the International Sunday School Lesson for the training of Sunday School teachers was John H. Vincent (1832-1920). He began the notable summer assembly on Lake Chautauqua in New York in 1874. It grew into a well-known institution for adult education which encouraged and aided home reading and study materials, such as those called the American Institute of Sacred Literature in the early twentieth century. All of these associations at Spelman were drawing the school into the national and international arena. See Latourette, pp. 1232, 1269-1270 (WCTU), 1256, 1267, 1339 (Christian Endeavor, Sunday School Union and International Lessons).

These certificate courses enhanced the missionary program and reinforced the activism on the campus.⁸²

Of the "Y"'s many committees, the Young Woman's Christian Temperance Union (YWCTU) was one of the most important at Spelman. Wesleyan's chapter was active, but Spelman's was even more intense in its crusade to stamp out "demon rum" and personal vices. During the summers many Spelman students did temperance work among the Negro people in their home communities. Students signed the pledge book with the following "triple pledge":

in the Christian Endeavour, fed naturally into the YWCA program.⁸⁴

⁸²In 1910 Spelman's Missionary Department offered a non-credit but certificated training course for home mission Sunday School teachers as well as for those going overseas. The students studied African missions and missionaries, Moffatt and Livingstone one year and Carey, Morrison, Judson, and Paton the next. The course included practical work in how to conduct Sunday Schools and home visits, and temperance, mothers', and children's meetings.

Spelman cat. (1900), pp. 31, 45, Ibid. (1909-10), p. 19, and Ibid. (1924-25), p. 16, which stated that Spelman had issued 27 missionary diplomas between 1887 and 1924.

⁸³Spelman cat. (1900), pp. 7, 43; Spelman Messenger, May 1904, pp. 2-3; November 1904, p. 5; Ibid., April 1905, p. 4, and Ibid., April 1906, p. 2. See also Ibid., October 1906, p. 7, which high-lighted Frances Willard's world-wide Polyglot Petition of 1883, endorsed by eight million people, one million of whom were women, who were against the sale and use of alcohol and opium. In 1906 Willard was going before the Emperor of Japan with the petition.

⁸⁴Spelman cat. (1900), pp. 7, 45, and Spelman Messenger, November 1904, p. 3.

God helping me, I promise
 Not to buy, drink, sell, or give
 Alcoholic liquors while I live;
 From all tobacco I'll abstain
 And never take God's name in vain.⁸³

At the turn of the century, the YWCA leaders met on Friday morning at nine a.m. and sponsored many of the Spelman Friday night lectures, which related to aspects of all the other activities on campus. Spelman's vigorous health-related social purity efforts became the White Shield Society. Its temperance-related Young Women's Christian Temperance Union and mission-related societies, including those in the Christian Endeavour, fed naturally into the YWCA program.⁸⁴

As on the white campuses, the "Y" was the campus coordinator of Spelman's extracurricular activities. Off-campus activity for the "Y" included distributing religious papers and tracts and inviting people to attend church and Sunday School. Some Spelman students participated in the Negro Young People's Christian Congresses held in Atlanta in

⁸³Spelman cat. (1900), pp. 7, 45; Spelman Messenger, May 1904, pp. 2-3; November 1904, p. 5; *ibid.*, April 1905, p. 4, and *ibid.*, April 1906, p. 2. See also *ibid.*, October 1906, p. 7, which high-lighted Frances Willard's world-wide Polyglot Petition of 1885, endorsed by eight million people, one million of whom were women, who were against the sale and use of alcohol and opium. In 1906 Willard was going before the Emperor of Japan with the petition.

⁸⁴Spelman cat. (1900), pp. 7, 45, and Spelman Messenger, November 1904, p. 5.

1900 and 1902 to encourage "race pride, self respect and self control." Thirty Spelman delegates attended the Negro Christian Students' convention held at Clark University May 14-18, 1914, directed by the well known white youth evangelist Dr. John R. Mott, who gave the Negro students a strong spiritual and moral impulse and encouraged black youth to consider Christian Life challenges among Negroes. In 1917 and 1918 the National Conference of Colored YWCAs met at Spelman and brought inspiration and information to the local student YWCA.⁸⁵

The YWCA encouraged the strong missionary enterprise characteristic of the early twentieth century at Spelman. By 1906, six Spelman graduates had answered the call to "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," and three more were in training.⁸⁶

See also Spelman's Congo Connection discussed in Chapter III (Pupils) of this dissertation. *Spelman Messenger*, April 1906, p. 3, October 1909, p. 6; April 1914, pp. 4, 6; and November 1919, pp. 2-5. See also Read, pp. 350-359, Guy-Sheftall, *Cent.*, pp. 33, 98, 100; Royester, cover picture of *Emma Yongeblood*, '06, African Missions booklet and the Baptist Home Mission Monthly 17, 10 (Oct.).

⁸⁵For more on Dr. John R. Mott, see footnote #47 in this chapter. *Spelman Messenger*, April 1906, p. 3; *Ibid.*, May 1916, p. 6; *ibid.*, April 1918, pp. 2, 8, and Latourette, p. 1257.

⁸⁶Those who went to Africa from Spelman were Nora Gordon ('88); Clara Howard, ('87); Ada Jackson (Gordon), ('97); Emma B. De Laney, ('96); Lena Clarke Whitman, ('95); and Margaret Grace Rattray, ('00). These Spelman graduates were influential in bringing five native African girls to Spelman. By 1906, two of these young women, Margaret G. Rattray (1891-1900) and Ada Jackson (Gordon) ('97), returned to Africa. Three others, Flora Zeto ('15), Leana Clarke ('85), and Emma Yongeblood ('06), were still preparing themselves to go back to the "Dark Continent" as missionaries. Stewart (Traub), class of 1935.

In addition to Christian missions overseas, the "Y" also emphasized improving the lot of the poor and unfortunate in the cities at home. One of the volunteer activities under the "Y" was the Neighborhood Union, which was organized in 1908 by Spelman faculty member Lugenia Burns Hope in her home on the Morehouse campus. She was in close communication with the YWCA in her work. The Union centered its activities around the cluster of college campuses (Spelman, Morehouse, and Atlanta University), an area originally called the "West Side." In 1908 the Atlanta public schools were running double and triple sessions in the elementary grades of the Negro schools. Spurred on by the Union's data and surveys on the appalling conditions existing in the

Harrie W. Moore (1911). At the Atlanta Children's Court,

replacing him with cases of juvenile delinquency and child

See also Spelman's Congo Connection discussed in Chapter III (Pupils) of this dissertation.

Spelman Messenger, April 1906, p. 3, October 1909, p. 6; April 1914, pp. 4, 6; and November 1919, pp. 2-5. See also Read, pp. 350-359, Guy-Sheftall, Cent., pp. 33, 98, 100; Royster, cover picture of Emma Yongeblood, '06, African mission booklet and the Baptist Home Mission Monthly 17, 10 (October 1895), p. 369ff, a special issue on Spelman which ran a biographical sketch of Nora A. Gordon and an essay by Clara A. Howard and Emma S. De Lamotta on their missionary work, abroad and at home. These were in the Atlanta Historical Society's Archives.

Other Spelman students who served in Africa were Ora Milner (Horton) who attended Spelman from 1913 to 1916, married the Rev. D.R. Horton, a graduate of Morehouse College, and both served as National Baptist Missionaries for over forty years in Liberia, working with the large Bassa tribe. Mrs. Louise Hudson Pope, a Georgia woman who finished the Spelman high school course in 1916, married and sailed to Monrovia with her husband in 1924. Read, pp. 358-360 and Guy-Sheftall, Cent., p. 101. Read mentioned two other Spelman missionaries to Africa: nurse Minnie C. Lyon and Margaret Stewart (Traub), class of 1935.

area, the women converted vacant lots in the neighborhood and the Negro college campuses into the first public playgrounds in Atlanta. Neighborhood women, including Spelman teachers, students, and alumnae, taught girls to sew, cook, and embroider in a vacant house at the corner of West Fair and Mildred Streets near the playground on the Spelman campus. Morehouse students taught industrial arts to the boys at a shop in a barn and supervised games at a playground on their campus. In 1908 Spelman and Morehouse students organized clubs for the neighborhood girls and boys, enrolling seventy-seven between the ages of eight and twenty-two years old the first year. Spelman students later worked with the Negro probation officer, Morehouse graduate Garrie W. Moore ('12), at the Atlanta Children's Court, assisting him with cases of juvenile delinquency and child abuse. He cited their effective, well trained services in his 1913 report.⁸⁷

Off campus service projects staffed by Spelman student volunteers increased as the women of the Neighborhood Union

⁸⁷Lugenia Burns Hope papers, Atlanta University Center Special Collections, Woodruff Library. See also Shivery, pp. 40, 44, 45, 53, 66, 93. For a vivid description of the slum, garbage-dump area around the Atlanta Negro colleges in 1908, see Shivery, pp. 75-79.

In 1935 Shivery wrote her master's thesis in sociology at Atlanta University under the personal direction of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, who made notations on her manuscript which is in the Atlanta University Center, Special Collections, Woodruff Library. In 1917 Moore was superintendent of the YMCA's Boys Club in Washington, D.C. Brawley, p. 198.

extended their outreach and organized their activities. In 1915 the Union women bought the triangular lot and building at 41 Leonard Street for their center. The Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society gave an appropriation of fifty dollars a month for a matron's salary. In September 1915 the Settlement House playground opened with Carrie Bell Cole, a graduate of the New York School of Social Service, and Hattie L.G. Rutherford (Watson), a Spelman collegiate graduate class of 1907 in charge. Carrie Bell Dukes ('15), a Spelman and a Columbia University graduate, succeeded Miss Cole as the Settlement House director.⁸⁸

During World War I, Spelman's campus YWCA showed its usefulness and worth as a social agency by giving special attention to the "girl problem" which arose around army camps. The Neighborhood Union, through the YWCA, provided worthwhile and "ennobling" things for the young women to do for the Negro soldiers, and discouraged flirting and visiting the camps at night. Spelman faculty member Lugenia Hope with twenty-seven other Negro women formed the Atlanta

⁸⁸ Lerner, *Majority*, p. 68 and pp. 83-93 on black club women. See also Lerner, ed., *Black Women*, which has sections on the Neighborhood Union and the relationship of the Atlanta Wesleyley Branch of the YWCA to the national organization. See Lerner, *Black Women*, p. 477ff, Lugenia Burns

⁸⁸ In 1926 the Union's Settlement House moved to Fair Street. In 1907 Hattie L.G. Rutherford ('07) married John B. Watson, a Brown graduate and professor of math and science at Atlanta Baptist College. She became the assistant music teacher at Spelman in 1909. In 1919 Carrie Bell [L.] Dukes, '15, was appointed to War Camp Community Service in Portsmouth, Virginia, with a "fine salary." Shivery, pp. 116, 117, 119, 120, 121, *Spelman Messenger*, January 1919, p. 7; Brawley, p. 97 and Guy-Sheftall, *Cent.*, 15.

Colored Women's War Council. They divided up the neighborhoods and organized an Education Department, a Protection of Girls Through Patriotic Leagues group, a Conservation of Food Committee, an Industrial Department, and committees on Sanitation, Police Protection and Street Lights, Suppression of Liquor, and Community Aid. The Camp Entertainment Committee included the Saturday and Sunday Dinner Committee, Boarding and Lodging House for visiting friends and relatives of soldiers, and a committee to assist at the Hostess House.⁸⁹

The YWCA Hostess Houses for Negro soldiers originated and were developed in Atlanta. The first was headed by Carrie B. Pittman, principal of the Pittsburg Public School in Atlanta and an experienced social worker. Her work was at Hostess House No. 3, in the beginning an old barracks building at Camp Upton. Pittman's Hostess House was the training center for other Negro workers. She was transferred all over the country to train other YWCA hostess

⁸⁹Lerner, Majority, p. 68 and pp. 83-93 on black club women. See also Lerner, ed., Black Women, which has sections on the Neighborhood Union and the relationship of the Phyllis Wheatley branch of the YWCA to the national organization. See Lerner, Black Women, p. 477ff, Lugenia Burns Hope papers, and Shivery thesis, p. 122, 124, 145, 147, 148, 152, 153. Pages 182-183 in Shivery chronicled the friction between the Phyllis Wheatley Branch of the YWCA and the national office which after World War I resulted in the formation of the Southeastern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, an organization separate from the uncooperative white YWCA women, who for many years would not put Negroes into the national administration of the "Y" or promise to provide Negro staff people to serve the Negro colleges.

house workers at Camps Dix, Lee, Jackson, Dodge, and Sherman, as well as Camp Gordon north of Atlanta.⁹⁰

In June 1918, the YWCA's first Negro Executive Secretary Eva Bowles pointed out in the "Report on War Work Among Girls and Women" that there were 473 people in eighteen Patriotic Service Leagues organized by the Atlanta Colored Women's War Work Council under the leadership of the Neighborhood Union and in cooperation with the YWCA war workers. In a pamphlet entitled "Colored American Women in War Work" published July 1918 by the War Work Council of the National Board of YWCA, the "Y" stated as its national policy that "Colored women leaders direct all work of the War Work council among colored people. They are women chosen for their training in social activities and are college graduates."⁹¹

In April 1918, the YWCA's Hostess House in Atlanta moved out of the old barracks and into a new facility, like those being built for white and Negro soldiers at other army camps. YWCA Hostess Houses were places where wives, teaching, homemaking and church and Sunday school work.

⁹⁰Shivry, pp. 158-159.

⁹¹Shivry, p. 160. In 1913, as an "experimental appointment," Eva Bowles became the first Negro national YWCA Secretary. In the South Negroes belonged as individuals to local colored branches which were called "subsidiaries" to the local white branch. See Eva Bowles to Lugenia Hope, January 25, 1920 printed in Lerner, Black Women, pp. 478-480. See also Grantham, pp. 397-398, which tells of the war work of the Atlanta Negro women.

mothers, and friends could visit soldiers. They were attractively furnished with gay curtains and painted in pleasing colors. The Spelman students and Neighborhood Union women furnished entertainment in the form of plays, musicals, and concerts. They wrote letters and knitted socks and sweaters. The Neighborhood Union's Eighteen Patriotic Leagues also showed hospitality by entertaining visitors and serving them food.⁹²

During the 1918-1919 session, Spelman students, 827 in number, were involved in a number of war-related and philanthropic activities. They helped with the YWCA Hostess Houses and with the Red Cross in Home Service and Nursing. They raised money for and distributed New Testaments to black soldiers. They volunteered at the Carter Old Folks Home, at the Carrie Steele and the Leonard Street Orphanages and at the hospitals. They did community work with the neighborhood Settlement House and with the Atlanta probation officers. They were active in charity clubs, needlework guilds, and temperance and social purity groups, as well as teaching, homemaking and church and Sunday school work. Spelman students patriotically joined the Junior Red Cross as young people in the "second line of defense" and urged

⁹¹Spelman Messenger, November 1918, pp. 5, 7, and April 1919, p. 4. For the YWCA Junior War Work Council activities see Sims, p. 187.

⁹²Shivery, p. 160. For YWCA Hostess House activities see Sims, pp. 181, 183, 188.

food conservation among Negroes, both efforts sponsored by the YWCA.⁹³

In 1918, African native Flora E. G. Zeto ('15) was a volunteer in the American Red Cross and left for Washington, D.C. to enter the Freedmen's Hospital training as a member of the Student Nurse Reserve. Some alumnae motivated and trained as students went overseas. Alice Turner ('02) was a Red Cross nurse in France and opened a "Y" tent for "our own boys" in Le Mans. Another alumna used her organizational skills at home. Jennie L. Lester ('15) organized a YWCA branch at the new Normal and Industrial School at Forsyth, Georgia. For the skills and organizational know-how she learned at school, she wrote "I thank God that I was a Spelman girl."⁹⁴

Until World War I, the national YWCA's leadership policies advocated segregated "Y" chapters in the South and only a few "experimental" Negro women in staff positions at the national level. After World War I, the Negro "subsidiaries" or branches of the national YWCA were cut off and segregated from the white chapters in the South. Nevertheless, in November 1919, the white "Y"'s had pledged their full

⁹³Spelman Messenger, November 1918, p. 5, Lerner, *Black Women*, pp. 479-487, and Garrett, III, p. 760. Mrs. Peter James, "For the YWCA Junior War Work Council activities see Sims, p. 187.

⁹⁴Spelman Messenger, December 1919, p. 5, and *ibid.*, January 1920, p. 7, 8.

cooperation with the Negro branches and organized the YWCA's Phyllis Wheatley branch on Piedmont Avenue near Houston Street. Training courses for colored "Y" workers in the seventeen colored YWCA's in southern cities were given in Louisville, Kentucky, and at the New York City headquarters in the summer. Negro college women, including Spelman graduates who had worked as student volunteers, responded in "most gratifying" numbers to the opportunity to become trained, paid "Y" workers. Negro women needed gainful employment, because few were supported by well paid husbands or fathers.⁹⁵

At the opening of school in the fall of 1919, Spelman YWCA president Myrtle Hull ('20) had a social period in the chapel to welcome the new teachers and girls. In October "Miss Dericott," white student field secretary for the YWCA, met with the Spelman cabinet. After the regular Friday night Prayer Meeting, President Hull and Treasurer Harriet S. Green ('20) gave reports on the Negro YWCA conference at Talladega College in June. One of the "Y"'s scheduled churches. The regular campus Christian Endeavor course in mission study was received "with enthusiasm."⁹⁶ By 1930

⁹⁵ Spelman Messenger, November 1919, p. 5, Lerner, *Black Women*, pp. 479-497, and Garrett, III, p. 760. Mrs. Peter James Bryant was president of the Phyllis Wheatley Branch. Dr. Elizabeth Ihle made the point that Negro women's education was mainly for vocation and self-support in "Black Women's Higher Education in the South, 1880-1930," delivered at Georgia State University Educational Symposium in December, 1983, page 8 of the typescript.

lectures was on the need for missions in Liberia by Dean Benjamin Brawley of Morehouse.⁹⁶

In 1919 the Spelman "Y" reported giving its Thanksgiving offering to the Needlework Guild of Atlanta and ten dollars and 164 garments to the Leonard Street Orphans' Home. The Spelman students were especially excited and gratified by the results of the "Y" sponsored "Week of Prayer" for all lands. The young women felt the Holy Ghost was in their midst during the week, which turned into a "real revival" service when they "prayed for the unsaved on our campus." The "Y" missionary rally fund, taken up through Sunday School classes, raised \$1,295.62 in cash and \$12.43 in pledges. Over three hundred dollars was earmarked for Spelman's foreign missionaries in Africa.⁹⁷

The YWCA also included campus religious study groups under its umbrella. In 1919 Spelman had nine well organized chapters of Christian Endeavor, seeking to develop the students' Christian characters on campus and encouraging them to establish young people's societies in their home churches. The regular campus Christian Endeavor course in mission study was received "with enthusiasm."⁹⁸ By 1920

⁹⁶ Ibid. Miss Upton printed the International [Sunday School] Lessons routinely in the Spelman Messenger so that students could take them to their homes and communities to use again.

⁹⁷ Ibid. and January 1920, pp. 7, 8.

⁹⁸ Ibid., March 1919, p. 6, 7, ibid., February 1914, p. 5, and ibid., November 1919, p. 5.

Spelman's Sunday School classes involved four hundred girls who marched to Howe Chapel with their well read Bibles every "Lord's Day" to study the International Lessons under twenty-four trained teachers. Eighty-four students were taking the Sunday School Teachers Training Course in two packed classes. Thirty who had already had the course were enrolled in an Advanced Bible Class. The YWCA reported that "most" of the Spelman pupils were "professing Christians" and several had experienced "conversions" during the fall.⁹⁹

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the YWCA was one of the few organizations in the South where interracial contact and communication could take place. The YWCA work on the Georgia women's church colleges had a profound effect in raising the consciousness of young women, both black and white, about race relations. Young women who were graduated from colleges in the South between 1900 and 1920 remembered a strict segregationist code of behavior, and they had been carefully taught not to cross the color line. Katherine DuPre Lumpkin, a minister's daughter, went to a Baptist college, Brenau, in Gainesville, Georgia, where

her state with statistics and incidents which illustrated the realities of segregation. From then she learned what

⁹⁹Ibid. Miss Upton printed the International [Sunday School] Lessons routinely in the Spelman Messenger so that students could keep up with the daily devotionals and take them to their homes and communities to use again.

The 1913-14 text for the Advanced Bible class was "The Teacher Training Manual, Introductory Book" by H.T. Musselman. The voluntary students kept notebooks and made teachers' manuals. See also Sims, pp. 41, 111, 135.

she remained after graduation as a tutor and YWCA worker. In 1915 when she was nineteen, she went to Charlotte, North Carolina for a "Y" leadership conference where an educated professional Negro woman spoke to the southern students on Christianity and the race problem. Lumpkin wrote that she was referred to as "Miss Jane Arthur" (a fictional name), a mind-boggling and confusing address for the southern mind at that time. By participating in this unheard-of transgression of the southern code of racial behavior, "race mixing" at the "Y" conference, and allowing it to enter into her conscious experience, Lumpkin had touched the "untouchable tabernacle" of the South's sacred racial beliefs "...and nothing, not the slightest thing had happened." She had "sinned" and not been struck dead by an indignant "god."¹⁰⁰

The memoirs of Katharine Lumpkin reveal that she had subsequent contact with Negroes (one was a Spelman graduate) at a summer seminar at Columbia University in New York and as a YWCA student field staff worker in the South. Her contacts shattered her pleasant but fictional ideas about her state with statistics and incidents which illustrated the realities of segregation. From them she learned what

¹⁰¹ Carrie Bell Duke, Spelman graduate class of 1913 and a student at Columbia immediately afterwards, was probably Katharine Lumpkin's "fellow Georgian Spelman graduate" who

¹⁰⁰ Katharine Dupre Lumpkin, The Making of a Southerner (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), pp. 189, 192, 193.

southern Negroes wished for in education, citizenship, job opportunities, and equality before the law.¹⁰¹

Conclusion

Early literary societies on all the women's campuses brought new elements and activities into college life: extracurricular friendship and interest clubs, yearbooks, newspapers, and literary publications, national sororities, intramural and intercollegiate athletics, debating, dramatic contests, and many, many traditions. The literary societies fostered fierce school spirit, cooperation among students, and strong attachments not only to particular society friends and associations but also to the colleges themselves. The schools' first alumnae associations (which will be discussed in the next chapter) evolved from these groups. Students developed career-related skills while members or leaders of some of the campus clubs and activities, particularly organizing and speaking before groups, writing as secretaries and journalists, and handling money as treasurers and fund raisers.

A different kind of student and school spirit evolved through extracurricular activities on the Spelman campus, a

¹⁰¹ Carrie Bell Dukes, Spelman graduate class of 1915 and a student at Columbia immediately afterwards, was probably Katherine Lumpkin's "fellow Georgian Spelman graduate" who had studied Black history and sociology under the curriculum set up by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. Lumpkin, pp. 205-206, 211-215.

spirit which was more serious and structured, as the activities were regimented by white administrations. As there were no debate and athletic teams at Spelman, the Negro women expressed their enthusiasm and joys through their religious groups, especially the campus Sunday School and the Christian Endeavour Society. Because Spelman's white administrators felt a moral imperative to convert and Christianize the rural and (in their opinion) unchurched Negro youth, whose moral background was considered lax, the white women consistently ran a God-centered, morally strict, and rule-oriented campus. No honor system or student government association developed there until after 1920. Before that date the relationship between administration and students at Agnes Scott, Wesleyan, and Shorter began to shift away from paternalism toward student self-discipline and self-government, undergirded by the honor system.

The southern women's colleges, both black and white, continued to keep a firm hand on activities considered unfeminine during the era. Particularly odious was the political arena. The white campuses officially stayed out of the women's suffrage issue, and the white administration at Spelman chose not to have an NAACP program on the Spelman campus. In contrast, the church-related colleges engendered a strong disposition toward moral uplift and the amelioration of human rights for the larger household of the community.

It was through the already formed campus missionary societies with national and international foci that the national YWCA came to be on the women's college campuses. The "Y"s transformed the local and/or denominational missionary societies into interdenominational campus agencies with national and international associations. This was particularly true at Agnes Scott, Wesleyan, and Spelman, and to a large degree at Shorter. However, the Southern Baptists at Shorter were more insistent on Southern Baptists presenting the gospel message to the "heathen" in the way prescribed by the Baptist training programs and materials. It was the interdenominational Student Volunteer Movement that motivated and organized students for their denominations. The movement was unusually inclusive for its time and recruited on the Negro campuses and encouraged Negroes to go into missionary work in the black areas of the world.

Even though the YWCA and Student Volunteers were not associated with a particular denomination and often were criticized in the Bible Belt for preaching a world-wide Christian humanitarianism or "Social Gospel," the work of these two agencies at these four women's colleges in Georgia was Christ and Bible centered. The young women were committed to personally leading unbelievers to Christianity to further Christ's Kingdom on earth, not simply because the Christian way of life was superior but because their souls were in jeopardy.

The intense religious commitment to Christian missions sustained in the early 1900's on both the black and the white campuses in Georgia had lessened years before on the campuses of the women's colleges in the northeast, even those with church sponsored foundings. Another area where northeastern colleges ran in advance of the South was in token integration of Negroes on the Seven Sisters campuses. The black and white missionary efforts were strictly segregated at home in Georgia, yet both Negroes and white women were urged to go to Africa to extend the Kingdom of Christ, and they went, which is one of the abiding ironies of the Progressive era in the South.

The national YWCA was the only recognized agency on the Georgia women's campuses which allowed interracial contacts to occur. The YWCA was started by white women in northern cities, and it was through the efforts of college educated black women, with leadership from Atlanta, that Negro women were accepted into the organization and were trained to become leaders for the national staff and for the segregated local "subsidiary" chapters in the South. The presence of the YWCA on campus with its Christian label made it possible for some college educated women to make not only international but also interracial contacts, which ordinarily were forbidden in the South during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Through its cabinets the "Y" coordinated extracurricular activities on all the campuses and linked them with similar programs in Georgia and elsewhere in the

South. Through its conferences and training grounds, the YWCA offered many Southern women their first opportunity to meet and work together as Christian women of the New South.

The career choices and lives of the alumnae graduated between 1900 and 1920 from four Georgia women's colleges present an informative picture of educated females in Georgia's "Progressive" generation. Some of these women are alive today, and their recollections shed light on what it meant to live as southern women, black and white, during most of the twentieth century. By interviewing a sample of surviving alumnae from each college, by analyzing the career choices of the 1900 to 1920 cohort as available in the colleges' alumnae files, and by developing biographical sketches of two graduates from each college, one can assess the impact of these women's college educations on their lives, on their communities, on their region, and in some cases on the world.

After college--then what? Did these Georgia women graduates have many real career options? At the turn of the century there were two clear choices: marry, raise a family, and perform volunteer service in the community; or remain single, continue to study, and pursue a career in teaching, or other appropriate women's work. Other "feminized" and therefore low-paid occupations in the early twentieth century were mission work, librarianship, nursing, editing, church musician, stenography, and the emerging field of social work. Social work was in transition during

CHAPTER VII

THE ALUMNAE: CAREERS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

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this period from a position supplied by women volunteers to one supplied by paid professionals. The YWCA staffs and the American woman's foreign missionary movement also became paid careers.¹

In the early 1900s, paid work for a southern woman, particularly a married one, continued to be an issue. If a woman, married or single, took a job, it was considered to be only temporary or part time employment. In the South, most fathers and husbands thought a high school education or even grade school in some cases, was all that was really necessary for a young lady of leisure or a "colored" working girl. By the 1920s, college educated women expected to train for a definite profession. The contentions over "paid work" and higher education for women changed dramatically after the institution of a public school system in Georgia,

¹For a penetrating study of the professionalization of the women's missionary movement see Patricia R. Hill, The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Missionary Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1985).

Solomon, pp. 115-126. Chapter Eight analyzes the ambivalence women who graduated in the early twentieth century experienced choosing careers or marriage. See also Roberta Frankfort, Collegiate Women: Domesticity and Career in Turn-of-the-Century America (New York: New York University Press, 1977), pp. 73 for for northeastern women's colleges' marriage rates and attitudes of their graduates before before 1900, and Scott, Lady, particularly Part II, pp. 212-258.

and teachers with higher education and training were needed to teach in them.²

The First World War created an employment crisis and opened up formerly male-dominated jobs and professions to college trained women. The war also increased enrollments in women's colleges in the United States because foreign "finishing schools," formerly popular among the wealthy, were not available. By the war's end, students were crowding into women's colleges. College educated and concerned Georgia women of social prominence, many with statewide associations through clubs, notably the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), Colonial Dames, and the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs, forced open the doors of the all-male state university (even if they were only the doors of the Home Economics Department).³

The privileged group of college educated women felt a great deal of ambivalence after their commencements. They wondered if they should use their education and skills in a money-making job, and become economically independent,

degrees did not seem vitally important to most Georgia girls.

both black and white. Wesleyan senior, Lucille Flournoy.

²Solomon, p. 117. See also educator and author Helen Ekin Starrett, After College What? For Girls (New York: Crowell, 1896) which assesses the dilemma girls felt about paid careers at the turn of the century and reiterated the point in 1905. For many years in Georgia, only single women were employed as public school teachers.

³Solomon, p. 189. See also Thomas G. Dyer, The University of Georgia: A Bicentennial History, 1785-1985 (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1985), pp. 170-173, and Townsend, pp. 156-169.

living on their own, or if they should take the expected marriage route toward security and dependence. At this time a young woman felt she must choose one or the other, for there were not many attractive role models before the early days of the century who had combined a career and marriage. By the 1920s and 1930s some college educated women in the South were experimenting with the combination.⁴

Several factors were operating on the southern woman that influenced her career choices: parental demands or values, marriage prospects, and available money. Sometimes well-to-do parents encouraged or indulged their daughters' lack of serious application to their college studies and allowed them to drop out. Others, less fortunate, were forced to discontinue their college educations for lack of funds. The lure of a "good match" (matrimony) was real and ever present for these privileged young women and the notion of marrying was often not set aside until twenty years or more later, when they had become confirmed "old maids."⁵

Before World War I, to graduate and get a college degree did not seem vitally important to most Georgia girls, both black and white. Wesleyan senior, Lucille Flournoy,

⁴Solomon, pp. 117-118, and Anne Firor Scott, "Education of Women: The Ambiguous Reform" in Making the Invisible Woman Visible (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 298-311 (particularly pp. 304-306).

⁵Solomon, p. 119.

editor of the Dixon annual in 1914 and treasurer of her class, "ran away" and got married in March of her senior year. The Macon Telegraph ran this headline: "Wesleyan Girl Springs Surprise by Marriage"; "Miss Flourney Does Not Wait to Graduate" but married Forest Holt Pruitt instead.⁶ By contrast, some poorer young women shifted in and out of college because of the expense. Concerned and interested relatives helped their kin finish college educations.⁷ Negro women often stopped and started their schooling erratically and attended classes as long as their money held out. Many were persistent and, with determination and sacrifice, finished a B.A. degree or a vocational diploma at

⁶Newspaper clipping from the Macon Telegraph, March 8, 1914, is in the Winship/Flourney Papers at the Atlanta Historical Society. Lucille Flourney's senior picture appears in the Dixon (1914), p. 60, but her name does not appear as a graduate in the Wesleyan Catalogue for 1915, p. 118. See also Macon Telegraph, May 28, 1916.

⁷Albert Grady Harris interview in May 1984, Marietta, Georgia. His mother Eugenia Pou (Harris) ('23) and her sister Loulie Redd Pou (Dunn) ('26) shifted in and out of Agnes Scott College to accommodate the family finances.

Emily Spivey Simmons interview, Agnes Scott graduate in biology, class of 1924, Marietta, Georgia, May 20, 1984. Emily Spivey's aunt, an Agnes Scott alumna, paid her tuition and Emily worked in the YWCA-sponsored tearoom, making sandwiches and serving tea, for a few extra dollars. She lived in the president's house to cut costs. Dr. James Ross McCain was an uncle by marriage.

Spelman, which meant a job and an income to most black graduates.⁸

Southern society, in general, felt threatened by women's higher education and the nation's declining birthrate. The northeastern women's colleges investigated the marital status of their alumnae to determine if their graduates were the cause and published their findings in the press. At the turn of the century many people, men especially, feared women would become "unsexed" and not marry if they got a college education. Fear of "race suicide" produced quite a debate in contemporary journals. The statistics gathered showed that college educated women, both black and white, did continue to get married and to produce children. But they were "picky," as predicted, about whom they married, and many, both black and white, tended to marry later than girls from junior colleges and finishing schools. A tendency to delay marriage, sometimes ten and even twenty years after graduation, was exemplified in several cases in the research on the four Georgia women's colleges.⁹

See also Williyatine Goodsell, *The Education of Women* (N.Y.: McMillan Co., 1923), pp. 37-41, which gave data on the eight northeastern women's colleges.

See also Amy Friedlander, "Not a Vendor of a Sheet: The

⁸Davis to Corley, July 10, 1984, and August 7, 1984.

⁹For a discussion of the "race suicide" furor see Solomon, pp. 119-121. Wesleyan's president Dr. Charles R. Jenkins (1912-1920) made a survey of 240 graduates from 1906 to 1916 which Mark F. Ethridge reported on in the *Macon Telegraph* for May 28, 1916. Dr. Jenkins found that 40% or 96 girls had married. However, in the class of 1914-15, not a single graduate had married, indicating that college educated women tended to delay marriage.

In the first decade of the century women who chose to pursue a profession felt that they ought to remain single. Women who wanted to take graduate training to become college professors or to do research tended to dedicate themselves to their study, like a religious calling, and remain single throughout their lives. As pointed out previously in the faculty chapter, some women did not fit this culturally set mold. A few juggled marriage, a career, and child rearing. Some went into teaching during their widowhoods, after their children were grown.¹⁰

By 1920 women in college expected to train for a profession, and a variety of options began to open up for them, especially as teachers (usually assistant professors) and deans in women's colleges and in the opening women's sections of state universities. It took determination and parental support for a woman to gain access to and practice

See also Willystine Goodsell, The Education of Women (N.Y.: McMillan Co., 1923), pp. 37-41, which gave data on the marriage rate in eight northeastern women's colleges.

See also Amy Friedlander, "Not a Veneer or a Sham: The Early Days at Agnes Scott," Atlanta Historical Journal 23, 4 (Winter 1979-80): 42-43; "Annual Register," Agnes Scott Alumnae Quarterly 1 (1923): 19-20; and Amy Friedlander, "A More Perfect Christian Womanhood: Higher Learning for a New South," in Ron K. Goodenow and Arthur O. White, eds., Education and the Rise of the New South (Boston: G.K. Hall and Company, 1981), pp. 88-91, for bibliographical references to the journalistic debate on women's education and marriage.

¹⁰Friedlander, Perfect, pp. 88-91, and Chapter IV (Faculty) of this dissertation.

medicine or law, particularly in Georgia where "it simply is not done." Nevertheless, a few Georgia girls did.¹¹

Parental and societal expectations were different for the white male graduates of Emory, Oglethorpe, and Mercer. College men (still a small, privileged minority in the population) did not feel the ambivalence that their female counterparts felt when facing life after commencement. When the young men graduated, they would get on with their careers, on the family farm or in the family business, in a profession, in graduate school, or perhaps preaching salvation to the heathen in a foreign land. When the southern man had become established in a profession or business, he would marry and provide for his wife and children 'til death parted them. His wife would raise his family, which was a full-time job during early decades of the twentieth century, even in the South, where most families who could afford to employed a Negro nurse to help mind the children. Southern

¹¹See research which follows in this chapter. Minnie Hale Daniel, the first woman graduate of a Georgia law school, graduated from the Atlanta Law School in 1911 and opened up the law profession for Georgia women. In 1916 she drafted and successfully secured the passage of the "Women Lawyer Bill" which gave Georgia women access to the bar exam, the necessary credential to practice in the state. See Georgia Association of Women Lawyers Scrapbooks, collection #120 at the Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta. Hereafter cited as Georgia Archives. See also Donna G. Barwick, "Women at the Bar," Georgia State Bar Journal 20, (1983): 152-155. My thanks to Marietta attorney Lawrence B. Custer for helping me find Minnie Daniel's biographical particulars.

families believed that the man's wife should be left enough leisure to assist her husband socially in his chosen profession, and be able to move and relocate when and where he wanted to go, or to stay at home and keep the home fires burning during the war. The men of the South, their parents, their families, and southern society expected it.¹²

The college educated black woman was expected to marry and raise a family also, but, unlike her white counterpart, she was expected to get a paying job. In many cases, the college educated black woman could find employment in the South's segregated society more readily than the college educated black man. Black families often chose to send their daughters to college rather than their sons, if it came to an economic choice between one or the other.

Some educated women married men without as much education as they had. Others married congenial, college educated men who were younger than themselves. Many dedicated themselves to their professions, particularly nursing and teaching, like their white counterparts, forewore marriage, and became Christian public servants who worked

¹²Scott, Visible, 306. See also Henry Morton Bullock, A History of Emory University (Emory University: Centennial Edition 1936; (reprint ed. Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing Company, 1972); and Spright Dowell, A History of Mercer University, 1833-1953 (Macon, Ga: Mercer University Press, 1958), Thornwell Jacobs, The Oglethorpe Story (Atlanta: Oglethorpe University, 1916) and Allen P. Tankersley, College Life at Old Oglethorpe (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1951).

Because of this attitude, black women college graduates were more numerous than black men with college educations.¹³

Atlanta had one of the highest concentrations of college educated Negroes in the nation. That the college educated often married one another is borne out in the marriages of Spelman and Morehouse graduates and faculty members, who raised their families in the Negro section of the city or moved to other cities in the region such as Washington, D.C., Nashville, Tennessee, and Jackson, Mississippi to teach in predominantly Negro colleges. Many black college educated women married and went back to their rural home towns to raise their families. There they organized themselves in groups, raised funds, and worked through the local churches for the social betterment of their communities. Some educated women married men without as much education as they had. Others married congenial, college educated men who were younger than themselves. Many dedicated themselves to their professions, particularly nursing and teaching, like their white counterparts, foreswore marriage, and became Christian public servants who worked

¹³Jeanne L. Noble, The Negro Woman's College Education (N.Y.: Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1956), pp. 28-30. See also her Historical Notes in Appendix A, pp. 153-163.

Gerder Lerner, "Black Women in the United States: A Problem in Historiography and Interpretation" in the Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979; paperback edition 1980), pp. 74-75.

mainly because of their duty to the Lord, certainly not for the amount of money they made. The Negro women often could make more money in domestic service as laundresses, cooks, and maids than they could in teaching and were forced economically to do the lower status work which, in most cases, did not require a college education.¹⁴

¹⁴Mary Helm, The Upward Path: The Evolution of Race (New York: Missionary Educational Movement of the U.S. and Canada, 1911), Appendix G. Appendix I for 1900 showed 208,955 Negro males between the ages of 5 and 20 years and 218,812 females of the same ages in Georgia. Total Negro male population was 509,869 and 524,944 female in Georgia in 1900. See also Appendix K for the Negro population by states.

The highest concentration of Negro population in Georgia was in five rural counties: Lee, 85.5%; Dougherty, 82.1%; Burke, 81.7%; McIntosh, 77.77%; and Houston, 75%. Statistics in Helm's book are from Negroes in the U.S., Bulletin 8. These statistics reflect the concentration of blacks in rural farming areas in Georgia. See Chapter II on college towns for the statistics on Atlanta where the college educated Negroes were concentrated.

In 1900 Georgia's total Negro population (1,034,813) comprised 46% of the state's total population. This was larger than any other state except Mississippi with 58.5%, South Carolina with 58.4% and Louisiana with 47.1%.

See also Appendix L in Helm. Of the Negroes who were gainfully employed outside of agriculture in the U.S. in 1900, 43.2% were launderers or laundresses; 40.8% were teachers and college professors; 16.1% were servants and waiters; and 14.6% were housekeepers or stewards.

Mary Cox (1861-1946), a Negro maid at Agnes Scott College, was an 1885 graduate of Atlanta University's normal department. She could not make a living teaching during the depressed times. In 1892, she became the head of the laundry at Agnes Scott Institute. When the new boiler plant was built, a Negro male janitor replaced her, and she joined the ranks of the maids in the dormitory. In 1900-1901, she made extra money as the personal maid of the wealthy Shonts sisters, Marguerite and Theodosia, from Chicago. McKinney Notebooks (NBK II, section W).

Claudia White Harreld is an example of a college educated woman who chose a husband younger than herself. See her biographical sketch which follows in this chapter.

In spite of the segregated society in the South after the turn of the century, civic-minded club women, and church women's groups from both races, most with college educated leaders, found ways to work toward the same community improvement goals in parallel organizations. In some instances, in Atlanta, concerned women of both races found ways to communicate and even work together. Atlanta white women gained organizational skills and set up nation-wide contacts when some of them worked on the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. The Cotton States Exposition held in Atlanta in 1895 also afforded organizational and networking experiences to Negro women as well. Spelman's exhibit in the Negro building (not the Women's Building) was a revelation to the national visitors. These contacts and the experience of working in parallel organizations for both the black women and the white women in Atlanta excited the female groups to more organization and later to pressure grouping for political as well as social changes.¹⁵

By 1910, Jim Crow laws were on the statute books and the color line was drawn. Even before the 1906 Atlanta race riot, Lugenia Burns Hope, wife of the president of

¹⁵ Darlene Roth, "Matronage: Patterns in Women's Organizations, Atlanta, Georgia, 1890-1940" (Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 1978), pp. 66-67. Kent Anderson Leslie, "The Women's Building at the Cotton States International Exposition in Atlanta, 1895; A Cultural Construct," graduate paper, ILA, Emory University, 1982.

Morehouse, became a spur to social action by Negro women. Her work as president of the Neighborhood Union led to the organization of black Atlanta. From 1908 to 1920, her neighborhood captains, many of whom were Spelman alumnae, researched and produced data on the health, education, and general welfare of the entire Atlanta "West Side."¹⁶ In 1913, they presented an exposé of the appalling conditions in Atlanta's public educational facilities to the city council and enlisted white club women who were interested in education to help also. Both groups pressured the city council until the council promised to get something done about it.¹⁷ In 1915 and certainly after World War I, the Negro community was unsettled and pressing for their civil rights and for equal opportunities with whites in women's organizations such as the YWCA. Nevertheless, the social

of all 1900-1920 graduates from the four colleges. The eight alumnae discussed in more detail were chosen from

¹⁶Louie Delphia Davis Shivery, "The History of Organized Social Work Among Atlanta Negroes, 1890-1935" (M.D. thesis, Atlanta University, 1936), pp. 40-44. See also Anne Lavinia Branch, "Atlanta and the American Settlement House Movement" (M.A. thesis, Emory University, 1966), pp. 58-59; Julia Kirk Black Welder, "Mop and Typewriter: Women's Work in Early Twentieth-Century Atlanta," Atlanta Historical Journal 27, 3 (Fall 1983): pp. 23-24. A photo of Lugenia Burns Hope appears on page 23. Davis to Corley, August 7, 1984. See also Ridgely Torrence, The Story of John Hope (New York: Macmillan Co., 1948). See also Deaton and Lerner, Black Women, pp. 458-459.

¹⁷Shivery, pp. 96-97. See also Atlanta Constitution, October 24, 1913, and Ecke, pp. 83-103, for a discussion of the state of the Atlanta public schools based on the Celeste S. Parrish survey and report on the schools conducted the following year (1914), and Lerner, Majority, pp. 88-93.

situation in Atlanta and Georgia was tightly segregated in 1920.¹⁸

From 1900 to 1920, except for the rare, short encounter during the war and in national missionary and "Y" work, white Georgians did not mix with Negroes socially. To whites, the South was definitely a "White Man's Country." Blacks were segregated and out of sight except when working "in their places" as servants and domestic help. The white women's colleges had staffs of black servants in the dormitories as maids, nurses, and laundresses, in the boiler and steam plants, on the grounds' crews, and in the dining halls as cooks, dishwashers, and table waiters.¹⁹ The segregated South was the real world in which the cloistered female Negro graduate would find a job and her place.

The following general accounts are derived from surveys of all 1900-1920 graduates from the four colleges. The eight alumnae discussed in more detail were chosen from groups of graduates recommended by the alumnae offices

¹⁸Lerner, Black Women, pp. 477-483, and John R. Hornady, Atlanta; Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow (Atlanta: American Cities Book Co., 1922), pp. 336-346. Chapter XX, entitled the "Revival of the Ancient Order," describes Atlanta as the Klan capital in 1920. Interestingly, the book includes all the colleges in the Atlanta area, Negro and white.

¹⁹Shorter Argo (1911), p. 189; Agnes Scott, Silhouette (1918), p. 92, ibid. (1920), n.p. "Local Color," and Wesleyan's alumnae questionnaires taken in 1935 which fondly mention Negro maids, other servants, and nurses employed by the college.

because of their distinguished careers and because sources were available. Therefore these eight represent the more prominent alumnae. Sketches of their lives were developed primarily from the files of alumnae offices, supplemented by interviews with family members and with the subject herself in the case of one who is still living. This sample group of eight includes seven women who married (one of whom separated from her husband) and one who never married. Six were white and two were Negroes. All eight lived most of their lives in the South, but four travelled all over the world before they died. None is typical, but all are representative of the variety of life styles of the women of the progressive generation and what they did after graduation.

1903-50	1909-47	1914-20	**1919-44
1904-31	1910-25	1915-31	**1920-35
1905-41			

Total: 732

*Preparing for accreditation

**1919=Accredited by SACSS

²⁰These statistics were derived from a personal count of the alumnae listed as graduates of the classes for 1900 to 1920 printed in the Wesleyan catalogues for 1921-22. Some names were entered twice and one was entered three times for different degrees and diplomas.

For an explanation of M.A. (Bachelor of Arts) and B.L.S. (Literary Bachelor or Bachelor of (Honorary) Literature) see Walter Crosby Ellis, Degrees in Higher Education (New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1962), pp. 87.

Wesleyan Alumnae

The "mother of colleges," Wesleyan, produced 737 alumnae graduates between 1900 and 1920. The following table illustrates the numbers of bachelor degrees awarded annually. Another seventeen students received diplomas and certificates in the fine arts.

Degrees and Diplomas Earned by Wesleyan Graduates (1900-1920).

Class/Total	Total	Total	Total
1900-18	1906-42	1911-23	*1916-34
1901-24	1907-41	1912-27	*1917-36
1902-21	1908-41	1913-39	*1918-47
1903-50	1909-47	1914-20	**1919-44
1904-31	1910-25	1915-31	**1920-55
1905-41			
Total:			737

*Preparing for accreditation
 **1919=Accredited by SACSS

20

²⁰These statistics were derived from a personal count of the alumnae listed as graduates of the classes for 1900 to 1920 printed in the Wesleyan catalogue for 1921-22. Some names were entered twice and one was entered three times for different degrees and diplomas.

For an explanation of M.B. (Bachelor of Music) and L.B. (Literary Bachelor or Bachelor of [English] Literature) see Walter Crosby Eells, Degrees in Higher Education (New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1963), pp. 87.

By 1920 Wesleyan had produced a total of over 3,000 alumnae, most of whom had become wives and mothers and community volunteers. An impressive number, married and single, were in teaching and missionary or church work. In 1916 President Charles R. Jenkins checked the graduate lists for 1906 to 1916 to see if Wesleyan women were really shirking their duty to the South by avoiding marriage, as the journalistic furor of the times implied. The Macon Telegraph's headlines on the local news page announced "In Ten Years Only 40 Percent Wesleyan Girls Wed." The local community, and the newspaper reporter, Mark Etheridge, were shocked to learn that only ninety-six of the 240 graduates had married. He reported that no one in the most recent class of 1915 had married. Among the singles there were forty-four teachers, four librarians, and two missionaries "preaching the gospel of a risen Christ to the ignorant heathen." Six of the single women were in business, a field

went beyond women's traditional careers. Wesleyan alumnae's conservative career choices are not surprising for the South

The class count totals were revised from class lists for 1900 through 1920 furnished by Alice Domingos, director of Wesleyan Alumnae Affairs. There were inconsistencies. A very valuable survey done in 1921, probably for GEB funding, described all the students and their records at Wesleyan who had requested that certification be sent to other women's colleges (Agnes Scott and Randolph Macon Women's College, in particular) and to graduate schools (Columbia, the University of Chicago, and Peabody Normal School, in particular). The typescript report, located in the Wesleyan Registrar's Office vault, was researched by Dean Hinton for the new president, Dr. W. F. Quillian, and dated February 16, 1921. It was most helpful in determining where the alumnae in the 1900-1920 cohort did their graduate study.

"not generally reputed to women." He surmised that the other eighty-eight were pursuing pleasures (travel and study) and getting engaged. Reporter Ethridge reflected the southern male attitudes about women and careers prevalent at this time.²¹

During his first year as Wesleyan's president, Dr. William Fletcher Quillian made a survey of the graduates from 1840 to 1920, then three thousand of them. He proudly announced that in eighty years Wesleyan had produced 2,250 "homebuilders," 329 teachers, forty missionaries, ten journalists, ten librarians, two physicians, and two lawyers. The 1900 to 1920 cohort made up of 737 graduates reflected similar findings, namely, that most of the graduates got married or taught. The predominance of church related careers, particularly in music as choir directors and organists, and as leaders in Methodist woman's work, continued. Out of the three thousand alumnae, only sixty-four went beyond women's traditional careers. Wesleyan alumnae's conservative career choices are not surprising for the South or for young women nationally. The findings reflect the predominance of mothers and teachers who chose the safe and well-travelled roads either toward matrimony or within the

²¹Dr. Quillian's 1920 survey of Wesleyan graduates was reported in Scott, "Education of Women: The Ambiguous Reform," *Visible*, p. 306, one of Professor Scott's lectures (The Augusta Blount Lamar series) at Wesleyan in 1974.

²¹Macon Telegraph, May 28, 1916. Clipping in Wesleyan file at the Atlanta Historical Society, reporting Wesleyan's President Jenkins survey of 1906 to 1916 graduates. See also Scott, Visible, p. 306.

educational profession. These results may also reflect the emphases of Wesleyan's male dominated administrations during the early twentieth century. Most of those in Quillian's survey who selected nontraditional careers--physicians, lawyers, and some of the librarians and journalists--were from the last cohort, 1900-1920.²²

Some of the early graduates who achieved "more than local significance" were non-traditional "mavericks" in southern society. Anne Firor Scott's provocative Lamar lecture "Getting to Be a Notable Georgia Woman" highlighted the twenty-three Georgia women in the three-volume landmark biographical resource for historians of women, Notable American Women (1971) who lived and died between 1607 and 1950. Of the 1,359 American women included, twenty-three were Georgians. Wesleyan had two alumnae listed (more than any other Georgia college), plus a faculty member, Eliza Frances Andrews, editor and feminist. The two nineteenth century Wesleyan alumnae "notables" were Clare De Graffenreid, class of 1865, who worked for the United States Department of Labor and was one of the first labor

²²Dr. Quillian's 1920 survey of Wesleyan graduates was reported in Scott, "Education of Women: The Ambiguous Reform," Visible, p. 306, one of Professor Scott's lectures (The Eugenia Blount Lamar series) at Wesleyan in 1974.

See also William F. Quillian, A New Day for Historic Wesleyan, 1836-1924 (Nashville: Publishing House, M.E. Church, South, 1928), pp. 33-34, and Dean Hinton's 1921 report on alumnae requests for credits transfer.

investigators in the country, a defender of the working woman, and an outspoken feminist who championed reforms from her salon in the nation's capital, and Laura Haygood, class of 1864, Wesleyan's first missionary-educator in China. Anne Firor Scott also noted the "loss" to the Notable American Women volumes of Wesleyan's alumna and faculty member of Alice Culler Cobb, class of 1858, who was not included. Professor Scott considers Cobb Wesleyan's "moving spirit" for many years, and suggested that she should have been made president of Wesleyan in 1890s when the post became vacant. However, the trustees had decided that only a Methodist minister could be chosen, and that ruled out any woman.²³

Alice Domingos, director of the Wesleyan Alumnae Office, singled out a number of outstanding alumnae in the 1900-1920 cohort as worthy of research. One of these was Mary Lucille Bass ('18), who later received a law degree from the Washington (D.C.) College of Law. At age twenty-four she worked in the ordinance department. After World War I, she went into the tax division of the Treasury Department and did legal research for the National Woman's Party to change laws discriminating against women. Miss Bass researched all of Georgia's and Texas' laws relating to female rights. Sara E. Braham Matthews (Mrs. P. S.

²³ Scott, Visible, pp. 313-322; particularly pp. 316, 318, 319, and 321. For more on Andrews and Haygood, see Chapter VII (Extracurricular) of this dissertation.

Matthews) ('07), who earned the Ph.D. and M.D. degrees from the University of Chicago, was a pioneer woman bacteriologist and an authority on the causes of meningococcic meningitis. Annabel Horn ('06), classical scholar and Latin textbook writer, revolutionized the teaching of Latin in the public schools. Louise Davis Davison (Mrs. William Watson Davison), ('09), pioneer in speech correction, founded the Davison School of Speech Correction in Atlanta and later co-directed the Junior League's special school. Rebecca Caudill Ayars (Mrs. James Ayars) ('20), M.A. Vanderbilt, teacher and author of children's books, is believed to be the first student to work her way through Wesleyan College. She was an activist for international peace and better race relations. As can be seen from these examples, the unilluminated statistics for 1900-1920 do not reflect the rich and varied lives of Wesleyan alumnae. Their stories are in the files at the alumnae office waiting to be told.²⁴

²⁴Wesleyan's Alumnae Association organized in 1859, has collected archives which are a valuable resource for Georgia's women's history. The college has very complete alumnae records, files, and archives from the college's beginning in its offices; for many years it published an alumnae bulletin or quarterly which has additional information.

One of the most useful resources in the Wesleyan Alumnae files were the 1935 centennial questionnaires sent to the graduates asking what they remembered about the president, the trustees, their favorite teacher, their class' most notorious prank, dating boys, going to town, etc. The question about the person they remembered best in their class had revealing responses.

The Wesleyan respondents on the 1935 centennial questionnaire associated with the classes from 1900 to 1905 often put Dorothy Rogers Tilly as the one they considered "famous" and "brave," an interesting comment by her contemporaries on the danger inherent in advocating civil rights for Negroes in the South during Mrs. Tilly's day. Her classmates' admiration for Dorothy Rogers Tilly and her pioneering efforts for peace and better race relations led me to select her for one of the two biographical sketches which follow. The subject of the other sketch is Regina Rambo Benson, whose life is the story of a married-housewife-community-volunteer, a "traditional" southern woman who was not really traditional.

personage, Dorothy saw many different kinds of people and developed a tolerant spirit. She was ready for college when her father was selected as president of Reinhardt College, a small Methodist school in the north Georgia mountains at Waleska. Her family had always valued reading and scholarship. At age sixteen she earned her first degree, (an "A.A." or Associate in Arts) from Reinhardt and that same year entered the

²⁵Dorothy Rogers Tilly, file, Wesleyan Alumnae Office, Macon, Georgia. Typescript for 1962 alumnae Distinguished Achievement award and obituary in Atlanta Journal, March 17, 1970. See also her picture, #3, in the Phi Mu annual in 1900, and PCR (1993), s.v., "Tilly, Dorothy Eugenia Rogers," by Arnold Shankman, which contains a bibliography of published articles and sources for her papers which are located at Atlanta University, Emory University, and Winthrop College (Rock Hill, S.C.)

CHURCH WORKER AND CIVIL RIGHTS CRUSADER

DOROTHY ROGERS TILLY (A.B. 1901) (1883-1970)

Dorothy Rogers was born in in 1883 at the Hampton, Georgia, Methodist parsonage, the daughter of the Reverend Richard Wade Rogers and Frances ("Fannie") Eubank, a loyal Wesleyan alumna, class of 1876. Dorothy was the sister of four Wesleyan alumnae (Louise, Lois, Maude, and Lizzie Neal) and the niece of three more Wesleyan alumnae. In the early 1890's, on the crest of the missionary movement, Dorothy at age twelve was president of the Children's Missionary Society of her local church.²⁵

As she moved from parsonage to parsonage, Dorothy saw many different kinds of people and developed a tolerant spirit. She was ready for college when her father was selected as president of Reinhardt College, a small Methodist school in the north Georgia mountains at Waleska. Her family had always valued reading and scholarship. At age sixteen she earned her first degree, (an "A.A." or Associate in Arts) from Reinhardt and that same year entered the

²⁵Dorothy Rogers Tilly, file, Wesleyan Alumnae Office, Macon, Georgia. Typescript for 1962 alumnae Distinguished Achievement award and obituary in Atlanta Journal, March 17, 1970. See also her picture, #3, in the PhiMu annual in 1900, and DGB (1983), s.v., "Tilly, Dorothy Eugenia Rogers," by Arnold Shankman, which contains a bibliography of published articles and sources for her papers which are located at Atlanta University, Emory University, and Winthrop College (Rock Hill, S.C.)

junior class at Wesleyan, where her mother, sisters, and aunts had studied and earned A.B. degrees. She belonged to the Philomathean Literary Society and did a lot of reading about missions, human rights, and race relations in the world.²⁶

After graduating with honors from Wesleyan College in 1901, Dorothy Rogers attended Scarritt College for Christian Workers, a Methodist training school in Nashville, Tennessee. In 1903, she married Milton Eben Tilly, mill owner and chemical manufacturer. She had one child, Eben Fletcher Tilly. His birth in 1904 was complicated, and doctors advised her to have no more children. When Eben became a teenager, Milton Tilly encouraged his wife to fill her spare time taking post graduate college courses and getting involved in church work.²⁷

The Tillys lived in Atlanta and were members of the Haygood Memorial Methodist Church, where Dorothy Tilly taught children and youth for many years and was active in the church women's organizations, especially the temperance and missionary societies. In 1934 she worked with the North

1931 she was one of the first Georgians to join the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching

(ASWPL), with headquarters in Atlanta. As national

²⁶Dorothy Rogers Tilly Papers, Special Collections, Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia. See also DGB (1983), s.v.

²⁷DGB, and file #539, General correspondence and biographical materials. Tilly Papers, Woodruff Library, Emory University.

Georgia Methodist Conference and the National Women's Organization to promote world peace and disarmament.²⁸

In 1924 when she became Wesleyan's first Alumna Trustee, her son was grown and she was free to become involved with interracial and civil rights at the state and, twenty years later, at the national and international levels. Her earliest work was through the Methodist church women's organizations in the field of Christian Social Relations and through civic organizations concerned with civil rights. She wanted to raise the standards of blacks, oppose violence such as lynching, give protection to delinquent girls, and promote fair trials. Conservatives shunned her at church and insulted her by telephone. Her family got bomb threats when she worked to enact laws that stripped the masks off the Ku Klux Klan members. Through it all, Milton Tilly supported his wife morally and financially in her efforts to improve conditions for southern blacks.

From 1930 to 1944 she directed summer conferences at Methodist-related Paine College in Augusta to prepare black women to become skillful leaders in their communities. In 1931 she was one of the first Georgians to join the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (ASWPL), with headquarters in Atlanta. As national

²⁸Ibid. See peace scrapbooks and clipping in the Tilly Georgia Papers, Woodruff Library, Emory University.

executive committee member and elected secretary of its chapter, she helped investigate the lynchings which occurred frequently in Georgia. She was also a member of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC) which sponsored the ASWPL and was active in the Fulton-DeKalb chapter of CIC.²⁹

In the 1941's, when she was in her sixties, she began her work with the Southern Regional Council (which was created in 1944 and replaced the CIC) as director of women's work and field representative. After giving twenty years of service, she became a life fellow of the Council. She also served on the boards of directors of the Georgia Interracial Committee and the Urban League of Atlanta. Securing over twenty-eight thousand signatures on a petition, Mrs. Tilly was the moving spirit behind the establishment of the Georgia Negro Training School for Delinquent Girls in Houston County.³⁰

Full of energy and eager to travel when she was in her sixties and seventies, Dorothy Rogers Tilly was active on

²⁹DGB (1983), s.v. and Arnold Shankman, "Dorothy Tilly, Civil Rights, and the Methodist Church," Methodist History 18 (1980): 95-108. See also Ann Ellis, "The Commission on Interracial Cooperation: Its Activities and Results," diss. Georgia State Univ. 1975, especially p. 86, and "A Crusade Against 'Wretched Attitudes': The Commission on Interracial Cooperation's Activities in Atlanta," Atlanta Historical Journal 23 (Spring 1979): 21-44.

³⁰Tilley Papers, Emory University. Arnold Shankman denied that Mrs. Tilly collected nearly 30,000 signatures on the petition, but allowed that her lobbying for the training

the national level as a lobbyist in Washington for the Farmers' Union, the Catholic Rural Life Conference, the Federal Council of Churches, the American Federation of Labor, and the Conference of Industrial Workers to save the Farm Security Administration. In 1947 she was one of two women named to President Harry S. Truman's Committee on Civil Rights and was co-author of the report, "To Secure These Rights." Her work on this commission convinced her that integration was needed in the South to give Negroes true equal rights.³¹

In 1948 she organized the Fellowship of the Concerned (F of C) under the auspices of the ASWPL, open to both black and white women, which took up most of her time in the 1950s and 1960s. The Fellowship sought to improve the quality of justice in the courts for minorities. Mrs. Tilly had a most effective network of women whose names she kept on a card file. She called them when she needed them to be present at a trial. She believed that if prominent women went to civil rights trials, the judges, lawyers, witnesses, and jurors would act more responsibly. After the 1954 Brown vs Topeka decision, Mrs. Tilly conducted workshops to insure peaceful

school was impressive. See Shankman, "Civil Rights," p. 101.

³¹Tilly Papers, Emory University.

desegregation of the schools. The Fellowship was dissolved in 1970 when she died.³²

As early as the 1930s Mrs. Tilly had also been active in international causes. She invited Eleanor Roosevelt to her Methodist School of Missions at Lake Junaluska, the Southern Methodist conference center in North Carolina. She advocated American participation in the League of Nations and in the early 1930s joined the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War (CCCW) and organized its southeastern office. In 1948 the American Christian Palestine Committee sent her on a team of six people to Israel to investigate conditions there and to observe the peace negotiations in 1949. President John F. Kennedy appointed her to his Committee on Children when she was almost eighty. She lobbied for tenant farmers in the 1960s and monitored a labor dispute with General Motors in Detroit. Mrs. Tilly continued to be a force for justice on the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta during the turbulent decade.³³

³²Ibid. See also Arnold Shankman, "Dorothy Tilly and the Fellowship of the Concerned" in From the Old South to the New: Essays on the Transitional South, ed. Walter J. Fraser, Jr., and Wilfred B. Moore (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981) and Margaret Long, "Mrs. Dorothy Tilly: A Memoir," New South 25 (1970), pp. 43-51.

³³Tilly Papers, Emory University. See also Tilly file, Wesleyan Alumnae Office, Beulah MacKay, "Dorothy Tilly: Pioneer," 30 Church Women (1964), pp. 16-18, 25, and Helena Huntington Smith, "Mrs. Tilly's Crusade," Collier's 30 (December 1950), pp. 29, 66-67. Eliza King Paschall told of

Dorothy Tilly received numerous awards and citations. In 1948 she was named national Woman of Achievement in Social Welfare. In 1949 the Atlanta Constitution and the Woman's Chamber of Commerce honored her. In 1950 the national Committee of Negro Women cited her; the Methodist women made her a Life Patron, their highest honor; national Phi Mu sorority honored her for service in the field of Social Science, and Emory University's Pi Sigma Alpha political science fraternity cited her for service in the public interest. In 1956 the Philadelphia Fellowship Committee honored her for "lifetime dedication to human dignity," and the Frontier Club of America, for "leadership in freedom of race relations." In 1957 Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta cited her for "courageous labors to make the Christian way of living a reality in our time." In 1962 the Wesleyan Alumnae Association honored with her its Distinguished Achievement Award.³⁴

Dorothy Rogers Tilly's life after college demonstrated that she had learned how and why humankind must live together in Christian harmony. She did her human best to help

her work with Mrs. Tilly in the Southern Regional Council in the 1960's in a telephone interview, July 6, 1985.

³⁴Who's Who of American Women, N.Y.: Marquis, 1958, pp. 1280-1281. Dorothy Tilly was included in the first edition of this publication.

that happen. She developed national and international interests and a very effective state wide network to monitor civil rights in Georgia. She put into action the Christian ideals and attitudes she learned growing up in a Methodist parsonage and going to Methodist colleges for her higher education. She combined very active and involved civic and church work, some of it life-threatening and risky, with marriage and the rearing of her son at a time when others in her generation were unaware or looked the other way. Later some of her contemporaries called her brave and courageous.³⁵

³⁵Regina Anne Benson Goldsworthy interview, October 27, 1988, Marietta, Georgia. Emma Harveline Jones graduated from the Philadelphia Dental College of Surgeons in 1881. George Dillard Benson graduated from the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery. Both were south Georgia natives. They were married in Brazil, May 12, 1881. Their first child, born in 1882, died at birth. Marcella and Regina Eliza were born in Brazil. Two other children, Emma Mae and George Dillard Benson, Jr., were born in Georgia. Emma Jones kept a diary of her life in Brazil which is in the

³⁵See Wesleyan Alumnae Questionnaire (1935).

COMMUNITY ARTIST AND LEADER

REGINA RAMBO BENSON (A.B., 1908) (1888-1969)

Regina Elizabeth Rambo was born in Rio de Janeiro, where her father, Dr. Samuel Dillard Rambo, was the first American dentist. Her mother, Emma Hesseltine Jones, studied dentistry in Philadelphia in order to assist her husband in South America. When she was six years old, Regina moved away from Rio and lived first in Gainesville and then in Marietta, Georgia.³⁶

In 1904 she went to Wesleyan College and finished in four years with three different kinds of citations: the A.B. degree, and diplomas in art and expression. She was art editor of The Wesleyan for 1906-07, the winner of the Expression medal in 1907, and president of the Thespian Dramatic Club. She was president of her class in both her junior and senior years and chairman of the Social Committee of the YWCA and delegate to the Students' Missionary League in Athens in 1908. At Wesleyan she learned in her elocution

³⁶ Regina Anne Benson Goldsworthy interview, October 27, 1984, Marietta, Georgia. Emma Hesseltine Jones graduated from the Philadelphia Dental College of Surgeons in 1881. Samuel Dillard Benson graduated from the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery. Both were south Georgia natives. They were married in Brazil, May 12, 1881. Their first child, born in 1882, died at birth. Marcellus and Regina Elizabeth were born in Brazil. Two other children, Emma Mae and Samuel Dillard Rambo, Jr., were born in Georgia. Emma Jones Rambo kept a diary of her life in Brazil which is in the possession of Regina Anne Benson Goldsworthy.

and physical culture classes the importance of keeping physically fit. She also enjoyed vigorous physical activity and played baseball on the Sophomores' team and left guard on their basketball team. Regina was very artistic, talented, independent, and fearless as a student and as a young woman graduate, wife, and mother.³⁷

"Miss Regina" was a "free spirit" for nearly ten years between her graduation in 1908 and 1917 when she married Marietta physician Dr. Warren E. Benson, and even after marriage she never did "settle down." The years between college and marriage were filled with projects that were exciting and unusual for a woman. Possessing a diversity of skills and talents, she could dive from a twenty-foot tower, recite perfect renditions of dramatic and humorous pieces, play the violin, paint on china, speak on 1914 war conditions in Europe, and run an auto with as little trouble as she played the piano.³⁸

³⁷The Wesleyan (annual), May 1908 insert, no pages, has her senior picture. See also Regina Rambo Benson scrapbooks, in possession of Regina Ann Benson Goldsworthy, Marietta, Georgia, hereafter referred to as RRB scrapbooks. ZigZag (annual) of 1906, for which Regina Rambo did the art work; Wesleyan cat. 1907-08, p. 88, for her degrees and diplomas.

³⁸Janet M. Millard, compiler, A Woman's Place: 52 Women of Cobb County, Georgia, 1850-1981 (Marietta, Georgia: Cobb-Marietta Girls Club, 1981), pp. 48-49, which includes a photograph. She was often photographed with distinguished personalities, such as Eleanor Roosevelt and Georgia Governor Joseph M. Brown.

On October 26, 1910, Regina Rambo drove off in her \$2,750 Columbia automobile to campaign for good roads in Georgia in an auto race sponsored by the Atlanta Constitution. Her driving ability, unusual for a woman at that time, won her distinction as the first and only woman to drive a car one thousand miles around the state of Georgia. Numerous newspaper articles followed her tour and described her as the contestant who "left last, stopped most, and finished with the leaders." She won a silver loving cup at the end of the race. Regina Rambo later wrote up her notes and knowledge about automobiling and published an article in Auto magazine telling others how they could have similar adventures.³⁹

"Miss Regina" was a dedicated member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), for her father was a "real veteran" of the War Between the States, which made her a "real daughter" of the UDC.⁴⁰ A popular pastime for young women in the South was to serve as a sponsor, a beauty queen with a job to do, for the Confederate Veteran's reunions. In 1912, the resourceful Regina funded the veterans' reunion by collecting and selling old Civil War bullets from in the Harvest Festival of that year. In order to win she collected 136,808 votes from rich and poor, black and white

³⁹RRB Scrapbooks.

⁴⁰Regina Rambo Benson wore a special badge in the 1960s when she was making a public appearance. "Miss Regina" was one of the last surviving "real daughters" of the U.D.C.

Kenhesaw Mountain and selling some coal which had been accidentally spilled off a coal car down an embankment near the railroad tracks. She planned the festivities for the more than two thousand veterans who attended the reunion in Marietta. At the festivities, she fainted when accidentally hit by a dray. Unruffled, she went home only long enough to change her dress and returned to continue being hostess at the celebration. The grateful veterans considered her a "real" soldier, too. Regina Rambo may be the only woman invited to join the Confederate Army.⁴¹

After Regina Rambo married Marietta physician Dr. Warren E. Benson, she continued to be active in civic work and to teach interpretive dance and expression. She astounded the Marietta community when she taught her dancing classes in a loose flowing garment until just before "the due date" of her first child, Regina Anne. Two sons, Warren E. Jr., and Marcellus, joined the Benson family in the next few years.⁴²

Regina Rambo Benson was a campaigner, an actress, and an organizer and knew how to rally supporters, on stage or on the stump. In 1915 she became the first Queen of Georgia in the Harvest Festival of that year. In order to win she collected 136,806 votes from rich and poor, black and white

⁴¹RRB Scrapbooks. See also Millard, p. 48.

voters across the state. In 1932, while her three children were still at home, Regina Benson campaigned for the repeal of Prohibition, and became the first woman to run for Congress from Georgia. She was defeated for the seat, but her cause won, and she managed to get a uniform registration fee for candidates statewide.⁴²

During the remainder of her life, she was active in the arts and civic concerns in Marietta. She was a member of the Flower Garden Club and served as president of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Parent-Teachers Association, the YWCA, the Delphian Chapter of the Altar Guild at the First Methodist Church, and the Women's Democratic Executive Committee. A member of the Creative Study Club, she wrote the chapter on color in the book entitled Rose-a-Rama. She organized and was the first president of the Marietta Theatre Guild, bringing the Marietta community inexpensive fun and enjoyment during the Great Depression. In 1943, she organized the Cobb United Service Organization (USO) for the

⁴²RRB Scrapbooks. See also Willard, p. 49. James W. Corley, Jr. reminiscences. He was a teenage member and contributor to the Marietta Theatre Guild with "Miss Regina's" younger cousins were in "Miss Regina's" interpretive dancing classes as young children.

entertainment of soldiers during World War II and was instrumental in establishing the USO statewide.⁴³

Regina Benson was a winsome and talented community and church leader all her life. When she died at age eighty-one, she had served the Red Cross for fifty-three years, the local hospital as a volunteer for twenty-eight years, the Methodist church choir as director for over thirty years, and the Choral Guild of Marietta for five years, for which work she achieved the title "Minister of Music."⁴⁴

Regina Rambo Benson used all her talents and skills for the betterment and instruction of her community. She could do many things, and she taught her community how to do them also. She was a congenial and persuasive organizer, fundraiser, and leader. Wesleyan, her alma mater, taught her well, and she shared her talents with her family, her community, and her state. She would have "passed" for a traditional southern matron of her era, but to those who really knew her, she was an incomparable, independent spirited person--a far cry from the submissive, limited woman envisioned and labeled "a typical southern wife and mother."

⁴³ RRB Scrapbooks. See also Millard, p. 49. James W. Corley, Jr. reminiscences. He was a teenage member and contributor to the Marietta Theater Guild with "Miss Regina."

⁴⁴ Millard, p. 49.

Shorter Alumnae

Between 1900 and 1920, Shorter College produced 336 graduates, about half as many as Wesleyan. Of this total, at least 161, and possibly as many as 191, received bachelor's degrees. Between 1900 and 1920 there were sixty-eight students who received diplomas and certificates in the fine arts. In 1910, nine B.A.s, seven B.L.s and one M.A. (Shorter's only M.A.) were awarded. From 1911 to 1913 degrees were not designated in the catalogs, and possibly thirty more students graduated with B.A.s during those years. From 1913 to 1920, Shorter awarded 113 B.A.s; from 1916 to 1920, forty B.S.s.

Degrees and Diplomas Earned by Shorter graduates (1900-1920):

Class/Total	Total	Total	Total
1900-13	1906-8	1911-16	1916-23
1901-11	1907-14	1912-19	1917-25
1902-7	1908-14	1913-17	1918-21
1903-8	1909-18	1914-18	1919-36
1904-5	1910-16	1915-27	1920-41
1905-10			
			Total: 336

*Preparing for accreditation by SACSS

⁴⁵These statistics were derived from a personal count of the alumnae in the classes of 1900 through 1920 listed in the 1920-22 Shorter catalogue. The recording of degrees was irregular. Some names were entered twice for different degrees and diplomas. Some graduates received a degree in art than did the alumnae of the three other colleges under study. 45

Like the other college educated women studied, Shorter graduates tended to delay marrying, sometimes for ten to fifteen years. After fifteen years, all but a very few in each class had married. (In the classes of 1900 to 1915, 80% to 90% percent were married.) As the classes increased in size from 1915 to 1920, a larger percentage of the women remained single up to the fifteen year check point. Most Shorter graduates, however, became homemakers or teachers and tended to move from small towns to cities within the South. Many became music teachers and church choir directors and organists. Shorter's graduates reported more careers in art than did the alumnae of the three other colleges under study. ⁴⁶

The college's emphasis on missions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries caused several graduates to commit themselves to careers as foreign missionaries. Three went to China with their husbands, and one served as a nurse in a mission hospital. Shorter graduates estimate of the number of Shorter graduates from 1900 to who entered the professions were few, but one class, the degree.

⁴⁶These generalizations were made from a personal count and tabulation of a list of the 136 alumnae who graduated from 1900 through 1920. Shorter Alumnae Bulletin, June 1919, pp. 8-30, published information about marriages, occupations, and further study derived from a 1919 questionnaire for the classes through 1919. A typescript Shorter alumnae mailing list compiled was used also. It was found in the 1920-22 Shorter catalogue. The recording of degrees and type was irregular. Some names were entered twice for different degrees and diplomas. Some graduates received a degree and a diploma in music or art and were counted in both categories. Ragsdale, vol. II, pp. 257-258 gives an

class of 1915, produced two M.D.s. One was single and became an authority on tuberculosis. The other was the first woman to enter the Medical School of Georgia and become a pediatrician. (See biographical sketch of Dr. Loree Florence which follows.) Several graduates earned M.A.s and Ph.D.s and taught at women's colleges or the women's division of a college or university in the region, including Winthrop College (South Carolina), Salem College, (North Carolina), Georgia State College for Women (GSCW) (Milledgeville), Duke University, Greensboro College (North Carolina), Stetson (Florida), Central College (Arkansas), and Shorter. In 1935, the eight Shorter alumnae engaged in college teaching were still single.⁴⁶

estimate of the number of Shorter graduates from 1900 to 1920 as being 390 graduates, not necessarily with a B.A. degree.

⁴⁶These generalizations were made from a personal count and tabulation of a list of the 336 alumnae who graduated from 1900 through 1920. Shorter Alumnae Bulletin, June 1919, pp. 8-30, published information about marriages, occupations, and further study derived from a 1919 questionnaire for the classes through 1919. A typescript Shorter alumnae mailing list compiled was used also. It was found in the Works Progress Administration, Box No. 6, Georgia Records Survey, Georgia Educational Institutions. M.S. 1063, Special Collections Division, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Georgia, hereafter cited as WPA. The Shorter Annual Catalogue for 1921-1922 was also used in order to include

June of 1919. It included the results of a questionnaire on

By 1896 the Shorter College Alumnae Association, established in 1883, had three hundred eligible alumnae and became the first alumnae group to gain membership in the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs. Shorter's 1897 alumnae group in Rome represented "the most diverse elements in society," and had bimonthly meetings, usually with literary and musical programs. Their projects were to aid the Shorter College library and support an annual free scholarship for a worthy Shorter student. Beulah Shropshire Mosely (Mrs. A.B.S. Mosely), class of 1879 and editor of The Rome Georgian, a weekly Sunday paper, was Shorter's representative to the National Federation of Women's Clubs' Council in November 1895 in Atlanta. The Rome Georgian was the official newspaper of the Georgia State Federation of Women's Clubs. During World War I, Shorter alumnae raised money, briefly "adopted" a French war orphan, and sent money to the Red Cross. The first Shorter Alumnae Bulletin was issued in

⁴⁷ Shorter has kept very good alumnae records. Files and the class of 1920. Anne Gardner, librarian and curator of the Memorabilia Room and Martha Kennedy, Shorter Alumnae Secretary were most helpful in noting outstanding Shorter Alumnae and locating their files in the sample period.

June of 1919. It included the results of a questionnaire on careers compiled that year. After World War I, many college alumnae associations like Shorter opened tea rooms, which were often associated with the college Home Economics department. The Martha Shorter Tea Room opened on September 16, 1920, on the second floor of the Music Building with a view of the scenic Coosa River. In 1920 the Shorter association had a total membership of about two hundred alumnae and had established branches in Columbus, and Atlanta as well as Rome.⁴⁷

One of the outstanding Shorter alumnae who were recommended for further research by the Alumnae director was Sara Elizabeth Woodruff ('10), M.A. Columbia, and the first Shorter graduate to earn the Ph.D. in Modern Languages at Middlebury. She became Professor of English and Foreign Languages at Winthrop College, South Carolina. Another was Martha Caroline Galt ('15, Music diploma) B.A. ('17), who

⁴⁷ Shorter has kept very good alumnae records, files and archives in the Memorabilia Room on campus. In 1967 the college produced a comprehensive directory of living alumni, which was published as one issue of the Shorter College Bulletin. An 1984 directory of all living alumni is

was the Canton (Georgia) Baptist church organist and taught piano at her alma mater from 1917 to 1919. She founded the Galt [organ and piano] Scholarship Fund at Shorter and was professor of music at the Woman's College of Greenville, South Carolina, and Meredith College in Raleigh, North Carolina. In 1946 she wrote Know Your Music, which went through three editions. She was a member of the Atlanta Chapter of American Guild of Organists and the DAR. Other recommended alumnae included Hattie Sue McDonough (Mrs. Adam Sloan) ('11), who was active in Baptist youth work and majored in Art and Dramatics at Shorter. At McDonough High School she was a well known pageant producer, and speech teacher. Dr. Clara Binns Barrett ('15) was director of the division of Tuberculosis Control of the State Hospital, Atlanta. In 1958 she was designated Medical Woman of the Year. Anne Goetchius (Mrs. Ernest F. Campbell) ('14) was married to a Baptist preacher, and during World War I they were missionaries and YMCA workers in Russia. Mary E. Goetchius (Mrs. Raymond Womeldorf) ('15), married to a Presbyterian

The two Shorter graduates chosen for full biographical sketches were Dr. Loretta Florence Bernstein ('15) because of her pioneering efforts to give women access to medical education in Georgia and Ethel Stephens Arnett ('12) because

she had a career before marriage as a librarian, and later, available. See also Robert G. Gardner, On the Hill: The Story of Shorter College (Rome, GA: Shorter College, 1972), pp. 74, 75, and 210 and Mrs. Jennie Cunningham Croley, The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America (N.Y.: Henry G. Allen and Co., 1898), p. 369.

minister, was a missionary with her husband in Hwaiianfu, Ku, China. Lucy Wright ('16) was appointed in 1922 as a nurse by the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board and served at Dr. Ayer's Hospital, Hwangsing, China, at Veterans' Hospital, Forrest Hills, Augusta, Georgia, and later in Korea. She married Earl Parker late in life. Other outstanding Shorter graduates were Martha Boone (Mrs. Frank H. Leavell) ('15), who did outstanding work as a Baptist lay leader, and as an instructor in the Baptist Young Peoples' Union (BYPU) and Sunday School Training Schools in Tennessee, Georgia, and Virginia. Louise Bennett ('13), who received a Shorter piano diploma, was Professor of Music, Dean of Women, Alumnae Secretary, and Trustee at Shorter. All told she served twenty-six years with Shorter. She was also Director of Music at the First Baptist Church of Rome. Dr. Mary Frances Shuford ('17) M.D. was called "the good doctor of Orange Street" and worked with underprivileged people in "Stump Town," a black ghetto, Ashville, North Carolina, until her death in 1983.

The two Shorter graduates chosen for full biographical sketches were Dr. Loree Florence (Bernstein) ('15) because of her pioneering efforts to give women access to medical education in Georgia and Ethel Stephens Arnett ('12) because she had a career before marriage as a librarian, and later,

after raising her family, used skills learned in that profession in a second career as a historian, an interesting combination of marriage and two professional careers.

Loree Florence was born in 1896 in Macon, Georgia. She was the daughter of William Loyd Florence and Celeste Wellmaker and had four brothers, Stanley F., George, W. Thomas, and William Loyd. Loree was raised in a Baptist home, and in 1911 her parents selected Shorter College for their bright daughter.⁴⁸

At Shorter, Loree's fellow students characterized her as "all right," maybe "a little vain?," "studious but a merry, fun-loving girl." Always active, athletic, and interested in the body's development, Loree was on the basketball team from 1912 to 1914. Her senior annual informal picture showed her as a Tennis Club member, about to serve a ball, in a long white middie blouse over-dress and white underskirt which reached down to her shoes. The Argo (1913) characterization said that she stood "well with the faculty."

⁴⁸ William Loyd Florence interview, nephew of Dr. Loree Florence, October 28, 1984, from Athens, Georgia. Loyd Florence wrote Dr. Florence's obituary for the Atlanta Journal and Constitution newspapers when she died September 25, 1984. It was reprinted in The Shorter College Alumni Journal 1, 1 (Fall 1983), p. 3.

GEORGIA'S FIRST FEMALE MEDICAL STUDENT

LOREE FLORENCE BERNSTEIN (A.B., 1915) (1896-1983)

Loree Florence was born in 1896 in Lincolnton, Georgia. She was the daughter of William Loyd Florence and Celeste Wellmaker and had four brothers, Stanley F., George, W. Thomas, and William Loyd. Loree was raised in a Baptist home, and in 1911 her parents selected Shorter College for their bright daughter.⁴⁸

At Shorter, Loree's fellow students characterized her as "all right," maybe "a little vain?", "studious but a merry, fun-loving girl." Always active, athletic, and interested in the body's development, Loree was on the basketball team from 1912 to 1914. Her senior annual informal picture showed her as a Tennis Club member, about to serve a ball, in a long white middy blouse over-dress and white underskirt which reached down to her shoes. The Argo (1915) characterization said that she stood "well with the faculty,

⁴⁸William Loyd Florence interview, nephew of Dr. Loree Florence, October 28, 1984, from Athens, Georgia. Loyd Florence wrote Dr. Florence's obituary for the Atlanta Journal and Constitution newspapers when she died September 23, 1983. It was reprinted in The Shorter College Alumni Journal 1, 1 (Fall 1983), p. 3.

for Loree knows what she knows and knows that she knows it." she belonged to the studious Eunomian Literary Society.⁴⁹

Her classmates, as well as Loree herself, thought teaching would be her field, as she graduated with a liberal arts degree. But after teaching high school science three years in Daytona Beach, Florida, where discipline was a severe problem, she took the Civil Service examination in St. Augustine on her way home after her third summer. In the fall of 1918, she went to Washington, D.C. with the War Department and, after the armistice, transferred to the Bureau of Internal Revenue in the Treasury Annex. But none of these jobs satisfied her.⁵⁰

In 1920 she went home to Athens and floundered around for six months. During this interim, she remembered that two doctors at Shorter had talked to her about studying medicine. One of the Shorter role models was very likely the resident physician Dr. May Farinholt Jones, M.D., Ph.D., who took her training at the Woman's College of Baltimore and had spent several years at Johns Hopkins. Loree would

was not up for women, not even a ladies' room. And her intrusion into the all-male domain caused one professor to

⁴⁹Argo (1915), annual picture, n.p. See also Loree Florence Bernstein file at Shorter Alumni office, Rome, Georgia.

⁵⁰MCG Today, vol. 1, no. 4 (Spring 1971), pp. 4-5, 29. See also Athens Banner-Herald and The Daily News, March 18, 1973, an interview at her retirement when she was selected Woman of the Year by the Athens Business and Professional Women and the First American Bank and Trust Company.

have taken the required courses in physiology and hygiene under Dr. Jones. Mary Stuart MacDougall was the popular biology professor at Shorter when Loree was a senior. Although Professor MacDougall was not yet a doctor, she was an exciting and invigorating teacher who finished her Ph.D. degree at Columbia University in 1925. Dr. A.F. Daniel, D.D.S., teacher of Oral Hygiene, was also a dentist on the campus during Loree's years at Shorter. In 1920 Loree Florence decided that the study of medicine was the fore-ordained plan for her life, and she began to remove the obstacles from the path to her goal. After learning that her courses in science at Shorter were not sufficient for the premedical requirements of the Medical College of Georgia, she went to the University of Georgia in the fall of 1920 and took an entire year of chemistry and zoology courses.⁵¹

In September 1921, Loree Florence presented herself at the Medical Department of the University of Georgia in Augusta as its first female student. At that time, nothing was set up for women, not even a ladies' room, and her intrusion into the all-male domain caused one professor to say, "she came down here with the men, now let her go to the the charter chapter of Alpha Omega Alpha, the national medical honor society."⁵²

⁵¹ Ibid. See also Shorter catalogues for 1911 and 1912-13, n.p.; McNair, p. 341; Argo (1916), p. 16.

bathroom with the men." Because there were no residence halls for women, Loree lived at first with her aunt and uncle in North Augusta, and then with the Videtto family on 15th Street, a few doors from the Theta Kappa Psi fraternity house. One of the Theta Kappa Psi brothers taunted 'Oh Loree, I'm sorry we don't take girls, but if we did, we'd have you in the AKK [Alpha Kappa fraternity, their arch rivals].' But most of the time the boys were "very, very nice" to her. She had known some of them as "pre-med" students in Athens the year before, and they confided in her and treated her "very much like a sister." But she never forgot "several little instances in the gross anatomy hall" when the male students plied her with chocolate milk and dark brown peanut brittle to try to get her to faint or get sick while she was working on her dark brown cadaver. But she fooled them and ate their revolting offerings right at the dissection table. "I had never tried to be anything but a woman and I wasn't going to change now," she told her interviewer. "I really worked and they knew that, but I didn't work for grades; I worked because I loved it." In 1926 Loree Florence graduated second in a class with twenty-three male students and became the first female member of the charter chapter of Alpha Omega Alpha, the national medical honor society.⁵²

⁵² MCG Today (Spring 1971), p. 29.

Women with medical degrees could get positions as assistants or physicians at women's colleges with such less difficulty than they could start a practice or get on the staff of a hospital.

⁵² MCG Today (Spring 1971), pp. 4-5.

From 1926 to 1927 Dr. Florence did her internship at the Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia. Several physicians tried to convince her to go into an obstetrics-gynecology residency. Instead she went to Smith College as the college physician for a year to make some money and "get off my family's payroll," for as interns "we didn't make a dime." The following spring, in 1928, she relieved another doctor on pediatrics at Bellevue Hospital in New York and decided that her life's work would be in pediatrics, an area of medicine she could handle by herself. In obstetrics or gynecology, she would have had to have assistance in surgery. After a planned six-month interim at home in Athens, she delayed practice for a year while teaching anatomy at the Medical College of Georgia in Augusta at the invitation of its president, Dr. G. Lombard Kelly.⁵³

In 1929, in time for the "crash," Dr. Florence went back to Bellevue Hospital as a pediatrician and worked without pay again, or in clinics for ten dollars an hour, handling thirty or forty patients an hour. After several years in depressed New York City, she longed "to air" her brain and applied to work as a ship's doctor on the United States Lines, but she was never called. Instead, she got a

⁵³ MCG Today (Spring 1971), p. 29.

Women with medical degrees could get positions as campus physicians at women's colleges with much less difficulty than they could start a practice or get on the staff of a hospital. Rossiter, pp. xvi.

job at Sea View Hospital and worked with Dr. Bela Schick, the developer of the Schick test for diphtheria. At Grasslands Hospital in Westchester County, New York, Dr. Florence was in "seventh heaven" with trees and grass everywhere. For six years, 1930 to 1936, she was chief resident in Sunshine Cottage caring for tubercular children.⁵⁴

In 1936, with ten years' experience behind her, Loree Florence returned to Athens and began working for the University of Georgia Health Services. She also married Moses M. Bernstein, an Athens funeral home owner and director.⁵⁵ In 1941, when she opened her private pediatrics practice, Dr. Florence was the only female physician in Athens and the city's second pediatrician. She carried on a successful practice for twenty-eight years from 1941 to 1969.⁵⁶

Dr. Florence kept active after her retirement in 1969 at the age of seventy-three. She maintained a regular exercise regimen, swimming a mile a day at the University of Georgia's Stegman Pool, walking a lot, working in her house and yard, and eating certain health foods.⁵⁷ By 1973 the

⁵⁴MCG Today, p. 29.

⁵⁵The Bernsteins had no children. Moses Bernstein died in 1949. MCG Today, p. 29. See also Athens Banner-Herald, March 18, 1973.

⁵⁶MCG Today, p. 29.

⁵⁷Dr. Florence held a national record in swimming for her age group. (In 1979 she was 84 years old.) Her performance in the 200 meter and 500 meter free style was written

vivacious doctor had made fourteen overseas trips to such places as Algeria, Scandinavia, Africa, Morocco, Scotland, Wales, New Zealand, Hong Kong, Japan, South America, Europe, and Hawaii. In 1970, she attended the World Medical Congress in Melbourne, Australia, and had a "wonderful experience." In 1971 she went to Africa on an air safari.⁵⁸

Dr. Florence held several professional memberships and received a number of awards. She was an active member of the American Medical Association, Georgia Medical Society, Clarke County Medical Society, American Medical Woman's Association, Alpha Omega Alpha, and Alpha Epsilon Iota, and an associate member of the American Academy of Pediatrics. In 1966 the Medical College of Georgia bestowed on Dr. Florence its Award of Honor, which has been given to only two other people. The Athens Pharmaceutical Society awarded her a certificate of appreciation of service. She had an article, "Oestrus Cycle of the Guinea Pig" published in the Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology.⁵⁹

Dr. Florence remained a practicing Christian throughout her life and daily asked God to help her help others. In her home community, she held active memberships in a number

up in Sports Illustrated. Loyd Florence interview, October 28, 1984.

⁵⁸Ibid. Also Loyd Florence interview. She was buried in MCG Today, p. 29. See also Athens Banner-Herald, March 18, 1973.

⁵⁹Ibid. Today, p. 5, 29.

of groups which reflect her many interests. She was a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Ladies' Garden Club, the American Association of Retired Persons, the Clarke County Women Voters, and the American Legion Auxiliary. In 1973, Dr. Florence was selected Woman of the Year and winner of Athens' Golden Award. On September 23, 1983, she died at eighty-seven, after a vigorous and active day.⁶⁰

Intellectually gifted and blessed with abiding good health, Dr. Loree Florence (Bernstein) found her place in the "big rug up there" or the giant "picture puzzle" that she conceived of as life's overall plan and fitted herself into it. How sweet it was to discover that the study and practice of medicine was her special province. After she made this discovery, "I was just like a fly who had gotten into a honey bag -- I'd hit the jackpot."⁶¹

⁶⁰ Ibid. Also Loyd Florence interview. She was buried in the family plot at the Rehoboth Baptist Church in Washington, Georgia.

⁶¹ MCG Today, p. 5, 29.

LIBRARIAN AND LOCAL HISTORIAN

ETHEL STEPHENS ARNETT (A.B., 1912) (1891-1980)

Ethel Stephens, born in 1891 in Ball Ground, Georgia, was the daughter of a Baptist minister who was also a cotton farmer. She had ten brothers and sisters. One brother, the Reverend Emmet Stephens (1874-1926), was a Baptist missionary in China for twenty-two years. In 1912 at Shorter's first Religious Focus Week, he preached the influential sermon that brought the death blow to national sororities at Shorter.⁶²

As an undergraduate at Shorter College Ethel Stephens was a "dainty, petite" dynamo. Although only five feet and one inch tall, she was a valuable basketball forward on her class team. She was also active in the Eunomian Society ("The Brains") as its secretary. On the Argo annual staff, Ethel learned how to find, organize, and write up information, valuable skills which she used and developed in her career. Her classmates described her as "patient and

⁶²Gardner, Shorter, pp. 178, 198. For twelve years Emmet Stephens worked in Hwang Hsien and established a school and many churches. See commemorative plaque to him in the Shorter Memorabilia Room. The Argo (1911), p. 11, mentioned an evening sermon Stephens gave at the YWCA meeting. Many Stephens family names are listed in the Argo (1916), p. 136, which describes Ethel's wedding.

gracious, and seldom blue," one who loved "Literature teachers, and Mercer boys too."⁶³

After her graduation in 1912, Ethel Stephens taught school a year before returning to Shorter where she served five years as librarian and director of religious activities.⁶⁴ History and psychology professor Alex Mathews Arnett joined the Shorter faculty in 1912 when she came on the staff.⁶⁵ By the 1913-1914 session, Professor Arnett must have been hanging around Miss Stephens' library and checking out too many books. In the 1914 annual the Shorter girls teasingly gave her a stout padlock and key to keep James'

⁶³Alex Mathews Arnett served on the Shorter faculty as history and psychology professor from 1912 to 1917. He was from Sylvania, Georgia, and graduated from Mercer College in 1908. He received his M.A. degree from Columbia University by 1912. See also Shorter catalogue (1912-13), n.p.; *Argo* 1912.

⁶³See Eleanor Dare Kennedy's interview with Ethel Arnett published in the Greensboro [N.C.] *News-Record*, November 5, 1972. *The Chimes* (March 1912), p. 31, has Ethel's poem on "Senior Privileges." *Argo* (1912) has Ethel Stephens' senior picture and comments about her in rhyme. An exciting and attractive role model may have been her English literature teacher Emily Harrison, a Radcliffe graduate who had studied at Chicago, the University of Tennessee and the Sorbonne in Paris; or maybe her grammar and composition teacher Anne Wynne Stevens, a Peabody graduate who had done graduate work at Chicago and Columbia. Stevens was a popular English teacher at Shorter for ten years (1905-1915) and an enthusiastic bird watcher. See Gardner, *Hill*, p. 168 and Shorter cat. (1912-13), n.p. "Officers of Instruction."

⁶⁴Gardner, *Shorter*, p. 173. See also *Argo* (1917), p. 21. In 1917 she served as the General Secretary of the campus YWCA. See also Greensboro [N.C.] *News-Record*, December 7, 1963.

psychology and Joseph Jastrow's Fact and Fable from being constantly checked out.⁶⁵

Ethel's courtship and her marriage to Professor Arnett was an all-Shorter affair. Their wedding took place on May 30, 1916, in the Shorter college chapel. The bride was given away by President A. W. Van Hoose. Her attendants were all relatives and college friends. His groomsmen were family and faculty members also. The Rev. H. J. Arnett, father of the groom, performed the marriage ceremony. The popular couple made their home near the Shorter campus where they continued to work for three more years.⁶⁶

⁶⁵Alex Mathews Arnett served on the Shorter faculty as history and psychology professor from 1912 to 1917. He was from Sylvania, Georgia, and graduated from Mercer College in 1908. He received his M.A. degree from Columbia University by 1912. See also Shorter catalogue (1912-13), n.p.; Ragsdale, The Story of Georgia Baptists, vol. II (Macon: Mercer University, 1935), p. 258. Gardner, Shorter, p. 173.

⁶⁶Argo (1916), p. 136, describes the wedding. Her attendants were Aline Cobb (Owen) was a Shorter graduate in the class of 1916. Shorter cat. (1919-20). Kathleen Coram (Outler) was in the class of 1917. Gardner, Shorter, p. 413. Eva Phillips, Shorter class of 1914, married one of the groomsmen, Professor Oakley M. Bishop. Gardner, Shorter, p. 287, has pictures of the couple. Hetty Barton earned a certificate in piano from Shorter. Shorter catalogue (1919-20).

Groomsmen were Professor Oakley M. Bishop, who was on the Shorter faculty from 1912 to 1917, and Professor Luther R. Hogan, who served Shorter from 1911 to 1917. See Shorter catalogue (1912-13), n.p., and Ragsdale, vol. II, p. 258.

In 1916 Ethel Stephens was elected an honorary member of the senior class. Argo (1916), p. 24. Professor Alex Arnett was "greatly admired and respected." Argo (1916), p. 136.

In 1920 the couple went to New York, where Alex Arnett studied at Columbia University and received a Ph.D. degree in history.⁵³ In 1923 he joined the faculty of the Woman's College of North Carolina at Greensboro, where he was professor of history until his death in 1945. The Arnetts had two daughters, Georgia and Dorothy, and raised their family in Greensboro near the campus.⁶⁷ Ethel assisted her husband with his writing and research, and was a member of the Faculty Wives Club and a Friend of the University Library. She was a "Friend" of the Greensboro Public Library also.⁶⁸

After her husband's death, Ethel Arnett, then in her fifties, began to write local histories and biographies which received awards. Her books stimulated historic preservation projects for the state of North Carolina and for her local community. For twenty-five years, from the 1950s through the 1970s, she researched and wrote eight books on

⁶⁷Georgia Arnett (Bonds) lives in Berea, Ohio. Dr. Dorothy Arnett (Dixon) lived in St. Louis, Missouri, until she died in 1983. See obituary in the Greensboro Record, July 15, 1980, in the Ethel Stephens Arnett file at Shorter in Rome, Georgia.

⁶⁸Ibid. See also Greensboro News-Record, December 7, 1963. Ethel Arnett credits her husband with teaching her how to do historical research, which she did for him for his four books: The Populist Movement in Georgia, The South Looks at Its Past, Claude Kitchin and the Wilson War Policies, and The Story of North Carolina.

North Carolina history and became Greensboro's official historian.⁶⁹

In 1953, when Ethel Arnett's children were grown and she was in her sixties, a local group asked her to assist in the research and writing of a history of Greensboro. Arnett did all of the writing of Greensboro, North Carolina: The County Seat of Guilford (1955), which was credited to her and the late Dr. W. C. Jackson. In 1955 the book won the Smithwick Award and the following year the Award of Merit of the American Association for State and Local History. In 1962 she published O. Henry from Polecat Creek, an account of the first half of William Sydney Porter's life issued on the one hundredth anniversary of the famous short-story writer's birth. The following year she wrote William Swaim, Fighting Editor: The Story of O. Henry's Grandfather, a reformer who inspired state progress, for which she was awarded the Mayflower Cup and the Willie Parker Peach Cup for distinguished writing.⁷⁰

In From England to North Carolina, Two Special Gifts (1964) she traced England's illustrious Shirley family which produced colonial North Carolina's Governor William Tryon and short-story writer O. Henry. This book was an adjunct to the Tryon Palace Restoration project. In 1965, the

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Greensboro Record, July 15, 1980.

centennial of the end of the Civil War, Ethel Arnett reported on the last days of the conflict locally in her Confederate Guns Were Stacked at Greensboro, North Carolina.

In the 1970's, when she was in her eighties, she turned out three more books, two biographies and an area history. She revised the 1955 edition of the history of Greensboro in 1976 as part of the local commemoration of the nation's Bicentennial. She was able to write so much by making two days out of every one. She worked from five o'clock in the morning until 11:30 a.m. She then watched seven soap operas and dozed a bit until three o'clock in the afternoon. Afterwards she wrote until eleven o'clock in the evening. Her book about Mrs. James Madison: The Incomparable Dolly (1972), the first fully documented biography of the nation's First Lady, was her favorite and stimulated so much interest that Ethel Arnett became the force behind the restoration of the Dolly Madison memorial at the Greensboro Historical Museum, another one of her projects. The Saura and Keyauwee in the Land That Became Guilford, Randolph and Rockingham, her books in Mrs. James Madison: The Incomparable Dolly concerning two Native American tribes in central North Carolina, was published in 1975, followed the next year by David Caldwell (1976), described as "a landmark in local biography." The profits from the book went to the David Caldwell Log College, Inc. fund to buy the homeplace site Dolly Madison had ever been published before Ethel Arnett's book.

⁷²Ibid. See also Gardner, Shorter, p. 457. Ethel Stephens Arnett file, Shorter Alumni Office.

for a restoration of the building where the Revolutionary leader had taught.⁷¹

In the 1960s and 1970s Ethel Arnett was recognized for her civic contributions. In 1963 she was awarded the Sertoma International Service to Mankind Award. In 1964 Shorter College named her "Alumna of the Year" for her distinguished and productive career. In 1967 the University of North Carolina at Greensboro honored her with a Doctor of Letters degree for excellence in writing history and biography. In 1963 the Greensboro Division of the National Exchange Club awarded her the Exchange Club Book of Golden Deeds, "for recognition of outstanding service." In 1975 the Greensboro Quota Club named her Woman of the Year.⁷²

Ethel Arnett was not only a productive writer but also a producer of spin-off groups and causes. She was a member of the Dolly Madison Memorial Association, the Historical

her. "I can say in truth that I am free to be happy every day," she told an interviewer when she was over eighty. "Of

⁷¹Ibid. See also the book jacket biography and list of her books in Mrs. James Madison, The Incomparable Dolly (Greensboro, NC: Piedmont Press, 1972), Abe D. Jones, Jr.'s editorial, "Ethel Arnett Explores the Facts" in the Greensboro News-Record, July 19, 1980, and Kennedy interview, Greensboro News-Record, November 5, 1972. Eddie Marks' byline on Arnett in the Greensboro News-Record, July 16, 1980, mentioned her Dolly Madison book's citation by the Smithsonian Institute as an important contribution to national history. Professor Blackwell Robinson at the University of N.C. at Greensboro pointed out that no authentic biography of Dolly Madison had ever been published before Ethel Arnett's book.

⁷²Ibid. See also Gardner, Shorter, p. 457. Ethel Stephens Arnett file, Shorter Alumni office.

Book Club of North Carolina, and the Greensboro Historical Museum, and an honorary member of the O. Henry Study Club. At the state level, she belonged to the Historical Society of North Carolina, the North Carolina Historical and Literary Association, the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians, and the P.E.O. Sisterhood. She was a local and state honorary member of Delta Kappa Gamma.⁷³

Ethel Stephens Arnett was a member of the Greensboro First Baptist Church and a Democrat. She was sensitive and meticulous about everything and everybody around her. She used her writing and research skills, learned at Shorter and developed while working as a librarian and as her husband's assistant, to develop worthwhile preservation projects for her local community and North Carolina. Enthusiastic and systematic about her work and physically tough, Ethel Arnett maintained a writing regimen which amazed everyone around her. "I can say in truth that I am free to be happy every day," she told an interviewer when she was over eighty. "Of course freedom to happiness above normal sustenance is left up to the individual's own making. I choose to work at writing up neglected history."⁷⁴

⁷³ Greensboro Record, July 15, 1980.

The P.E.O. is a secret sisterhood that does philanthropic activities.

⁷⁴ Greensboro News-Record, November 5, 1972.

Spelman Alumnae

Between 1900 and 1920 Spelman Seminary graduated thirty-six young women from its collegiate department and 653 from its high school. In some years between 1900 and 1920, there were no college graduates, in other years, from one to five. (See chart below.) However, it must be remembered that Spelman at this time was essentially a seminary with a college department attached. The greatest part of Spelman's educational effort was expended in its academic

The number of Spelman graduates receiving B.A. degrees from 1900 to 1920 and class totals:

college	total	college	total	college	total	college	total
class	class	class	class	class	class	class	class
1900-0	16	1906-1	29	1911-0	13	1916-3	44
1901-2	20	1907-1	23	1912-2	33	1917-1	61
1902-0	21	1908-3	11	1913-3	30	1918-2	46
1903-4	29	1909-2	24	1914-5	44	1919-2	56
1904-0	22	1910-1	26	1915-4	30	1920-0	57
1905-0	18						
	<u>6</u>		<u>8</u>		<u>14</u>		<u>8</u>
Total graduates				Total college graduates 36 total graduates 653			

75

⁷⁵ These statistics were derived from a personal count of Spelman graduates from 1900 through 1920 and from class lists published in Historical Sketch and General Catalogue, 1881-1921 (Atlanta: The Spelman Seminary, 1922), pp. 46-53. Each college graduate was looked up in the Spelman alumnae

and vocational high schools. Some of Spelman's most gifted alumnae were in the academic high school, normal, domestic science, and nurse training areas. In the early days, Negro women who wanted to pursue careers in professions realized that they would have to leave Spelman and the region in order to get access to the preparation needed at standard Negro colleges (with more modern facilities and with faculties with scholarly credentials) or at coeducational state institutions in the North or the West.

Spelman's rare group of thirty-six women college graduates, many of whom became leaders and advisors in Negro education, were truly members of what DuBois designated as the "talented tenth" of the race. As with their white counterparts, more Negro graduates married than remained single. The women tended to marry professional men, especially professors from Atlanta's Negro collegiate faculties. Two graduates married ministers; one, a college president; one, a dentist, and one, a businessman who owned

provided new openings as college employment opportunities expanded in the 1970s for both black and white female col-

files to determine marriage status, careers, and further study. A few files had no information. At least one file of a well-known alumna had been removed: Hattie L. G. Rutherford, '07, Mrs. J. B. Watson. Alumnae Director Pearlline Adamson Davis and Carolyn Champion, her assistant, were most accomodating.

Professor Beverley Guy-Sheftall, who directs Spelman's Women's Research and Resource Center, and Dr. Jacqueline Jones Royster (C'70), her associate, were generous and helpful in guiding my research. The uniqueness of Spelman's situation and academic level in this study makes statistical comparisons dangerous.

secretary in New York City, a welfare worker, a bookkeeper,

a shoe repair shop. The Negro women who reported on their families tended to have one or two more children than their white counterparts. The Negro women reported families of three and four children, whereas the whites reported one, two, or three. Many of the Negro homemakers reported that they combined family responsibilities with work outside their homes. Nevertheless, these employees found time to do volunteer and club work also. From available data it is evident that Spelman women were the leaders in their communities, working as volunteers on social welfare projects, and as devoted and committed members in their church Sunday Schools and choirs.

As might be expected, many Spelman college graduates became teachers, exactly half of the 1900 to 1920 cohort. In fact, proportionately, more black than white alumnae became college teachers. As was true of the white women, most of those on college faculties were assistant professors. Deanships and dormitory supervisory positions provided new openings as college employment opportunities expanded in the 1920s for both black and white female college graduates. Spelman furnished two deans, two housemothers, and a registrar to colleges in the region. Spelman's records reveal that graduates between 1900 and 1920, like the white graduates of the same period, chose careers traditionally appropriate for women. Two became nurses and two became authors; one each became a librarian, a YWCA secretary in New York City, a welfare worker, a bookkeeper,

a clerical worker, and a beautician. Spelman graduates of the period did not flag in "going on with their educations" and attended at least twenty-one summer school sessions. Graduates from the twenty-year sample reported that they had earned two M.A.s, an R.N., and a B.S. in Library Science. One alumna received a national award for teaching; another, a fellowship for further study. Two were awarded the Spelman Outstanding Alumnae awards.

In 1892 Spelman had formed an Alumnae Association, and Claudia White Harreld, one of Spelman's first collegians, became its first leader. She expanded and preserved its archives during the formative years. The association has continued to keep excellent records of the alumnae for all the educational levels and departments. The Spelman Messenger, typeset in the school's printing office by students, was begun in March 1885 and has served as a vital link between the campus and the alumnae. From 1900 to 1920 many letters from graduates and alumnae were printed in the Messenger. They tell a very interesting story about the educated Negro woman in Georgia in the so-called Progressive era. The Messenger makes it plain that Spelman graduates were grateful for their educations and zealous in their Christian desire to uplift their race. Whenever the young women left the campus for vacations or after graduation, they used their new knowledge and skills to set up schools

Read, p. 204. See also Guy-Sheftall, Spelman, pp. 45-47, and the Spelman Messenger, 1900 to 1920.

and organizations in their home communities like those they had known at Spelman.⁷⁶

Spelman women who might profitably be researched include the following graduates. Carrie Bell Dukes (Mrs. James E. Rose) ('15) was a social worker, student at Columbia, YWCA employee, and Neighborhood Union worker. Flora E. G. Zeto (Mrs. Daniel Malekebu) ('15), native African, became a war worker in the United States and with her husband established a mission in Africa. Ethel McGhee (Mrs. John W. Davis) ('19) was Dean of Women and college administrator at Spelman, and the wife of a college president. The Davises lived for a time in Monrovia, Liberia, where he was an agent of the United States government. Hattie Rutherford (Mrs. J. B. Watson) ('09) was a music teacher, who married a college professor and became a Director of the Neighborhood Union. Lugenia Burns Hope (Spelman Faculty 1904-1912), organized the Neighborhood Union, and was the wife of a college president. Dr. Georgia Dwelle (Rooks) ('00), was a physician and a graduate of MeHarry Medical College in 1904, who set up the first private black women's clinic in Atlanta in 1920. Shelby Boynton Robinson ('04) was Spelman's second graduate

⁷⁶Read, p. 204. See also Guy-Sheftall, Spelman, pp. 16-17, and the Spelman Messenger, 1900 to 1920.

to finish MeHarry Medical School and in 1909 became the first medical examiner for the Atlanta Public Schools.⁷⁷

The biographical sketches which follow of Claudia White Harreld, ('01) (A.B.), and Ludie Clay Andrews ('06), R.N., reveal the hard work of these women and the significance of their efforts to raise educational standards, to open up new opportunities, and to insure civil rights for the Negro race, particularly for Negro women. Claudia White was selected because she was Spelman's first college graduate and because of her life long association with the school. Ludie Clay Andrews represents the vocational phase of Spelman's educational venture and reflects the economic struggles and the problems associated with segregation experienced by a large segment of Negro women in Georgia during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

owned Baptist minister in Georgia and the militant editor of the Georgia Baptist in Augusta, the official newspaper of the black Missionary Convention of Georgia. The White children, and their mother, worked side by side in the father's publishing and printing establishment in Augusta. They could set type, lay out galleys, proofread, and saw bindings. Claudia was a

⁷⁷ President Emeritus John W. Davis of West Virginia State College is the subject of a dissertation written in 1985 Petunia Johnson of Rutgers. Guy-Sheftall, Cent., p. 99. See also Royster, p. 14, "Women In A Man's World: Two Views," and "Black Women and Health Careers," Spelman Messenger (February 1974), pp. 1-9 and Royster, pp. 13, 17.

CHAMPION OF NEGRO EDUCATION

AND BLACK CULTURE

CLAUDIA TURNER WHITE HARRELD (A.B., 1901) (1876-1952)

Claudia White Harreld must be included in any history of Spelman College, for her father was associated with its founding and early development, and she was one of its first two collegiate graduates. She attended Spelman during the period 1890 to 1902. Following graduation, she served on its faculty from 1908 to 1913, and she was a moving spirit of the Spelman Alumnae Association from her graduation to the time of her death.⁷⁸

Claudia Turner White was the eighth of the nine children of Josephine Elizabeth Thomas (1834-1902) and William Jefferson White (1832-1913), a renowned Baptist minister in Georgia and the militant editor of the Georgia Baptist in Augusta, the official newspaper of the black Missionary Convention of Georgia. The White children, and their mother, worked side by side in the father's publishing and printing establishment in Augusta. They could set type, lay out galleys, proofread, and sew bindings. Claudia was a

⁷⁸Read, p. 366ff. See also Guy-Sheftall, p. 13, 99; Spelman Messenger, vol. 97, no. 2 (Winter 1981), p. 8.

For many years Claudia White Harreld was president of the Spelman Alumnae Association and an officer in the Atlanta Spelman Club. C. W. Harreld file, Spelman Archives, Atlanta.

Spelman College Bulletin 44 (Spring 1981), p. 6. See also BGS (1983), S.V., "White, William Jefferson, by Bess Beatty.

superb editor. She often accompanied her father as he travelled around Georgia preaching, gathering news, and organizing Sunday Schools, political groups, and black voters. Of the nine children in her family, she was in fact closest to her father.⁷⁹ During Claudia White's youth in Augusta and Atlanta, her father became affiliated with the Republican Party, beginning in the 1880's. He welcomed the early Populists in the 1890's at about the time she came to Spelman and broke with Booker T. Washington's accommodationists at the end of the decade. In 1906 in Macon, he organized and led the Georgia Equal Rights Convention (directed against Negro disfranchisement in Georgia), which was inspired by W. E. B. Du Bois' protest organization, the Niagara Movement. From 1900 to 1906, William Jefferson White's editorials in the Georgia Baptist caused mob threats on his life. Later, in the 1940's, Claudia described the violent mood of 1901 in the following poem:

⁷⁹Josephine Harreld Love to Corley, August 26, 1984, recounted interesting information about Claudia White Harreld's mother, Josephine Elizabeth Thomas, born about 1835, a slave belonging to the Hurd family. Other details in Love to Corley, August 13, 1984, and "Special Address by Morehouse Founder's Granddaughter, Josephine Harreld Love," Morehouse College Bulletin 44 (Spring 1982), p. 6. See also DGB (1983), S.V., "White, William Jefferson, by Bess Beaty.

Letter to a Daughter, 1901

They said that there was danger of a threatening mob,
 And a rich man on The Hill sent a message to the Chief
 To have your father brought up there
 So that he'd be safe,
 But the Mayor and the Chief took him to the city jail.
 Saying that would be the place they could keep him most
 secure,
 And the welfare of the town was dependent upon that.
 As they went they turned and told me that I had better
 leave,
 And go stay at your brother's where no harm could come
 to me;
 But this is my house, and there's no man alive
 That is going to be able to drive me out of it;
 So I didn't budge an inch,
 And along about eleven
 I made biscuits and hot coffee for policemen on guard.
 I meant to let them see that, that though I may be
 getting old,
 I've got plenty of grit in my gizzard still.⁸⁰

During most of Claudia White's life, she experienced love and acceptance in the Atlanta black community and on the collegiate level. (White left Spelman for two years and reentered in 1937.) The two young women were the first the Spelman and Morehouse campuses among a host of congenial friends. Morehouse College first came into existence as the Augustia Baptist Institute through the organizational efforts of her father. In 1879 when the school was moved to Atlanta and renamed Atlanta Baptist Seminary, the Reverend William

Throughout her life, Claudia White excelled in writing

⁸⁰DGB, (1983), S.V. The poem, "Letter to a Daughter, 1901" is printed in Guy-Sheftall, Spelman, p. 18, and published in Claudia White Harreld's Remembered Encounters (Atlanta: Logan Press, 1951). This, her only book, is listed in Black American Writers Past and Present: A Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1975), p. 365.

Jefferson White was appointed a member of its Board of Trustees. Later, he was elected a member of the trustee boards for Spelman Seminary and Atlanta University. He rode back and forth on the Georgia Railroad between Augusta and Atlanta at least twice a year until his death in 1913, recruiting and accompanying students for the Negro college center in Atlanta.⁸¹

In 1890 Claudia White entered Spelman's elementary division. At the end of the school year she was present for the tenth anniversary of the school's first president, Sophia B. Packard. It was Miss Packard's last official appearance. By 1894 Claudia White and Jane Anna Granderson had completed the college preparatory course and were ready for the collegiate level. (White left Spelman for two years and reentered in 1897.) The two young women were the first students to take advantage of the special arrangements made by Spelman with Atlanta Baptist College (later Morehouse) that made it possible for Spelman women to enroll in courses at the men's college. They continued to live on the women's campus and received their degrees from Spelman. An older woman chaperone went back and forth each day with them.

Throughout her life, Claudia White excelled in writing and speaking. She helped edit the Athenaeum, a literary magazine which the college classes at Spelman and Morehouse

⁸¹W.J. White, DGB, p. 1060.

jointly published. In the spring of 1901, when Claudia White and Jane Anna Granderson were awarded their A.B. degrees, Claudia commented that they had "the high honor of heading the line of graduates of what...[was] the oldest, and for twenty-five years the only, college for Negro women." At the turn of the century the two young Spelman graduates joined an elite group of five thousand Negro college graduates in the United States.⁸²

As post graduate work, Claudia White took the Spelman teacher professional training for teachers, finishing in 1902. Later, from 1902 to 1910, she spent summers in advanced study of German language and literature at Oberlin College in Ohio. Her first teaching job was at Spelman, followed by four years teaching at Haines Institute in Augusta. In 1908 she joined the college faculty of Atlanta Baptist College (Morehouse) and became its faculty liason with Spelman, who lived on the Spelman campus and chaperoned the girls going from one campus to the other. Although their collegiate classes were theoretically co-educational, it appears that Professor White, who taught German and classical languages at Morehouse, had few if any women as students in her courses. During her summer vacations, she served as field agent for Spelman, speaking at churches, terian-related high school established by Lucy Laney. See DGB (1983), s.v., "Laney, Lucy Craft," by Eva S. Adams.

⁸²Read, p. 366. See also Love to Corley, August 26, 1984. For a picture of Lugenia Hope as a Spelman faculty member, see Guy-Sheftall, *Spelman*, p. 48. See also Love to Corley, being almost "universally disliked."

interviewing prospective students, and raising money for the school.⁸³

From her childhood days in Augusta, Claudia White had been a warm personal friend but also a genial critic of Morehouse President John Hope. Her daughter remembers that "She would call and make an appointment [and] go over to the campus and talk with him in his office," and Dr. Hope would look amused when Professor White matched him in "verbal combat." Dr. Hope had "a dry, mordant humor," and Claudia White "could slice it in half." Lugenia Burns Hope, the president's wife, was at first a good friend but must somehow have offended Claudia White at some point during the years of their acquaintance, for their relationship in later years became more distant.⁸⁴

In 1909 or 1910, Claudia White became engaged to her college classmate, Benjamin Brawley, but the romance waned before 1911, when Kemper Harreld came to teach music on the Morehouse campus. In 1913 she married Professor Harreld, and the two Morehouse faculty members made their home nearby

⁸³ibid. See also Love's "A Free Press from a Small Planet," convocation address at Spelman, September 19, 19185; Guy-Sheftall, Spelman, p. 37; Read, p. 217, 226, and Morehouse cat. (1917-18), n.p. Faculty list lists Kemper Harreld.

⁸⁴Love to Corley, August 13, 1984. Claudia White Harreld file, Spelman Archives. See also Read, p. 366. Haines Institute in Augusta was the outstanding northern Presbyterian-related high school established by Lucy Laney. See DGB (1983), s.v., "Laney, Lucy Craft," by Eva D. Adams.

⁸⁴For a picture of Lugenia Hope as a Spelman faculty member see Guy-Sheftall, Spelman, p. 46. See also Love to Corley, August 13, 1984, and August 26, 1984, about Mrs. Hope's being almost "universally disliked."

under a "light housekeeping" arrangement at 81 Chestnut Street and raised one child, a daughter, on the campuses of the two colleges. Kemper and Claudia Harreld supplemented their meagre professional salaries by teaching music in his studio at home. Mrs. Harreld, after studying piano with her husband, conducted practice sessions before the pupils went in for their lessons with him. In 1914 shortly after they returned from war-torn Germany, the Harrelds' daughter was born and was named Josephine Eleanor for her grandmothers. She was to add more talent to the versatile family. In that year, Claudia Harreld stopped teaching to become a full-time wife and mother. She was appointed an instructor in English grammar at Morehouse Academy but taught for only a year. For over twenty-seven years, the Harrelds' home, where they founded the Fine Arts Study Club, was always open to literally hundreds of young musicians and Spelman and Morehouse students.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Ibid. See also Love's "A View From a Small Planet," convocation address at Spelman, September 19, 19185; Guy-Sheftall, *Spelman*, p. 52; Read, p. 217, 366, and Morehouse cat. (1917-18), n.p. Faculty listings. Kemper Harreld trained in the Chicago Musical College, Frederick Frederickson Violin School and Stern Conservatory in Berlin where he studied under Siegfried Eberhardt. Their daughter, Josephine Harreld (Love), is also intensely interested in children and the arts, having established in 1969 a fine arts youth museum called Your Heritage House in Detroit, Michigan. Josephine Harreld Love graduated from Spelman High School in 1929 and from Spelman College in 1933. She attended the Julliard School of Music from 1933 to 1935, and the Mozartium Academy in Salzburg, Austria, and earned an

No one was unduly shocked when Claudia White married a man several years her junior, for, according to her daughter, she was "unconventional in the most wholesome way. And aeons ahead of her time." She was "brilliant intellectually and absolutely fearless." When she saw injustice on the public streets, she became "a tiger." Because her usual manner was soft and gentle, her adversaries were never on guard or prepared for her intense energy for black civil rights. She was active in voter registration, in the NAACP, and in the YWCA on specific issues and was for many years a member of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC). From 1933 to 1935 she was a member of the Interracial Education Committee of the national YWCA in New York.⁸⁶

She had an unobtrusive but powerful influence in many community activities, especially those for children and youth. She was a member of the Boards of the Leonard Street Orphanage and a member of the Board of Directors of the Gate City Day Nursery Association for over twenty years. During the last fifteen years of her life, she was its president.

She also served as a consultant for Bennett College, a black

General Committee on Women's Work of the Atlanta Interracial Committee. See C. W. Harrelld file, Spelman Archives, Atlanta, and Tilly Papers, Woodruff Library, Emory University. M.A. degree in musicology from Radcliffe in 1934. See also Guy-Sheftall, p. 99.

⁸⁶Love to Corley, August 13, 1984. See also Read, p. 366. As a leader in interracial affairs, Claudia Harrelld worked with Wesleyan's Dorothy Rogers Tilly, her contemporary and counterpart for white women. She also served on the Georgia Committee of CIC as the chairperson of the Colored Women's Committee and Vice Chairperson of the

women's college in Greensboro, North Carolina. In 1958 the Claudia White Harreld Day Nursery in the Perry Homes Community Center of Atlanta was dedicated in her honor, six years after her death from cancer.⁸⁷

Following at least partially in her father's footsteps, Claudia White Harreld was a prolific writer, but she did not publish much. She wrote two pageants in blank verse for Spelman's fortieth and fiftieth anniversaries, presented in 1921 and in 1931. Except for printed transcripts of her lectures, she published only a slim volume of verse, vignettes of southern folk life. Many considered her a marvelous interpreter of regional speech, orally and on paper. "On Peachtree Road," included in Remembered Encounters (1951), is an example:

General Committee on Women's work of the Atlanta Interracial Committee. See C. W. Harreld file, Spelman Archives, Atlanta, and Tilly Papers, Woodruff Library, Emory University.

⁸⁷Read, p. 366-367, and Love to Corley, August 26, 1984. In addition to the above committees, Mrs. Harreld volunteered as chairperson of the Finance Committee of the Georgia Study of Negro Child Welfare, a member of the Atlanta Tuberculosis Association, and the committee on colored work of the Child Welfare Association of Fulton and DeKalb counties.

GEORGIA'S On Peachtree Road NURSE

LUDIE CLAY ANDREWS (Nurse Training 1903-1905) (1873-1943)

Thanky, ma'am, I think she's a pretty child, too,
And, what's more, she's sweet in her ways.
She don't never slap me like some of these kids
Feel free to do with their mammies.
I nussed her grandma before her as a slip of a girl,
And put the first shirt on her mamma when she
come along.
I feel just like one of the family,
And they think they know me inside and out;
But white folks see nothing but colored folks' faces,
And I've seen them naked, body and soul.⁸⁸

Claudia White Harreld's life spanned over sixty years of Spelman's history. It reflected how a married, college-educated black woman lived out her life, working hard and diligently for improved higher education and better race relations for Negro women in Atlanta, in the South, and in the nation as a whole.

When she was twenty-six years old, she was working in the laundry at the Georgia State Sanitarium in Milledgeville. Ludie Clay's marriage to a Mr. Andrews ended in separation; there were no children.⁸⁹

In 1903, at age twenty-eight, Ludie Clay Andrews entered the nursing program at Spelman determined to become

⁸⁹ Ludie Clay Andrews' half brothers and sisters were Eddie, Benjamin, and Willie Williams, Annie Lee Williams (Jones), ('16), and Lucy Williams (Amos) ('18). Ludie Clay Andrews helped finance the college education of Annie and Lucy at Spelman. Lauretta Burton interview, October 22, 1984, Atlanta, Georgia. Mrs. Jessie Burton is the niece and

⁸⁸ Love to Corley, August 13, 1984, Read, p. 195, 277-280, and Spelman Messenger 97 (Winter 1981), p. 8. See also C. W. Harreld file, Spelman archives, which has several of these poems.

GEORGIA'S FIRST BLACK REGISTERED NURSE

LUDIE CLAY ANDREWS (Nurse Training, 1906) (1875-1969)

Ludie Clay was born in 1875, the eldest daughter of Penny and Tom Clay. She had one brother, George, and two sisters, Rachael and Laura, who died early in their lives. The Clays were good Methodists and lived on a farm in Baldwin County about two miles from Milledgeville. When her father died, her mother married a Mr. Williams. Ludie and her sister Rachael helped raise the five younger Williams half-brothers and sisters. Her family was poor, but Ludie Clay managed to attend school regularly through the sixth grade and to attend Eddy High School in Milledgeville sporadically. In 1901, when she was twenty-six years old, she was working in the laundry at the Georgia State Sanitarium in Milledgeville. Ludie Clay's marriage to a Mr. Andrews ended in separation; there were no children.⁸⁹

In 1903, at age twenty-eight, Ludie Clay Andrews entered the nursing program at Spelman determined to become a nurse. She was one of the first students to enter the program, and provided good medical courses for the young women who trained there. At the time, there was no other place to train Negro nurses in the region. However, from 1890 to 1910 while Spelman's nursing course flourished, there was a proliferation of training schools for black nurses.⁸⁹ Ludie Clay Andrews' half brothers and sisters were Eddie, Benjamine, and Willie Williams, Annie Lee Williams (Jones), ('16), and Lucy Williams (Amos) ('18). Ludie Clay Andrews helped finance the college education of Annie and Lucy at Spelman. Laurretta Burton interview, October 22, 1984, Atlanta, Georgia. Mrs. Jessie Burton is the niece and only living relative of Ludie Clay Andrews. She is the daughter of George Clay.

See also Ludie Clay Andrews file, Spelman College Atlanta. "From Hospital to College: Black Nurse Leaders and

"somebody." It may be that she had to take remedial classes from 1901 to 1903 in order to start her training and "took in laundry" to pay her way. Nevertheless, she consecrated her life for three years to hard work on the wards of MacVicar Hospital studying bacteriology, pharmacology, obstetrics, and surgical nursing. During her training, nurses had a special dormitory, Upton Home, away from the noisy younger girls, which also served as the isolation ward. With only two hours a day off duty and two month-long vacations during the two or three year training period, it is no wonder that the nurses-in-training did not pay tuition or have the routine housekeeping chores done by all other Spelman students.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Guy-Sheftall, p. 21, and Royster, p. 11. For conditions endured by Negro student nurses see Darlene Clark Hine, "The Ethel Johns Report: Black Women in the Nursing Profession, 1925," Journal of Negro History 67 (Fall 1982), pp. 212-228. Spelman and Grady Hospital are included in the investigation of 23 hospitals and nursing schools. In the year 1885-86, Spelman's Nurse Training Course was set up by Dr. Sophia Bethune Jones (1857-1932), Spelman's first black faculty member, and provided good medical courses for the young women who trained there. At the time, there was no other place to train Negro nurses in the region. However, from 1890 to 1910 while Spelman's nursing course flourished, there was a proliferation of training schools for black nurses. From 1901 to 1928, Spelman's MacVicar Hospital served as a training facility and was the hospital for the college and Negro community as well. White physicians, Atlanta's best, made up the staff for MacVicar, but white staff did not allow Negro doctors to practice there.

In the 1890s, Lucy Craft Laney set up a nurse training department at Haines School which evolved into the school of nursing at Augusta's University Hospital. DGB (1983), "Laney, Lucy Craft" by Eva D. Adams. See also Darlene Clark Hine, "From Hospital to College: Black Nurse Leaders and

When Ludie Clay Andrews was growing up, she saw the bad conditions in hospitals and the methods used in health care at home and knew she wanted to do something about them. It was against this background that Mrs. Andrews, a mature woman of twenty-eight years, set out to get herself educated and registered as a medical nurse. She had the maturity and the commitment to her calling to knuckle down to the hard study, long hours, and poor facilities that were inherent in the situation at the time. She felt that if times were bad, she could always get a job as a nurse, and the profession was set up to help people in need. It was a rewarding and gainful vocation, and other Negro women could do the same, if they committed themselves to the high calling. She

When Ludie Andrews began working to establish a comparable facility there for Negroes. During the 1914-1915 session,

the Rise of Collegiate Nursing Schools," Journal of Negro Education, vol. 51, no. 3 (Summer 1982), pp. 224, and Jacqueline Jones Royster, Women as Healers: A Noble Tradition (Atlanta: Women's Research and Resource Center, Spelman College, 1983 to 1984), pp. 5, 10, 17. See also Read, p. 138-139, 214. One Negro, a Dr. McDougald, served on staff at MacVicar Hospital for a very short time until the staff was "closed" to Negro doctors.

In 1910 when the Carnegie Corporation commissioned Abraham Flexner to assess all medical schools in the country, only a few institutions, black or white, were allowed to survive. Deliveries by midwives sharply declined over the next twenty years and many Negro medical schools were forced to close as a result of the Flexner report and with them many of the nursing schools. In 1928 when Spelman's hospital was forced to close, it became exclusively a college infirmary with a Negro staff, but retained the white doctors as consultants.

Dr. Sophia Jones, who served on the Spelman faculty from 1885 to 1888, was an 1885 graduate of the University of Michigan, the second Negro woman to graduate from a major white university. Royster, p. 14.

instilled these attitudes in the Negro women who took nursing training at Spelman.⁹¹

In 1906, after completing the nurses training course, Andrews nursed two white patients through a severe seige of typhoid fever. From 1906 to 1914, she served as a superintendent of Lula Grove Hospital and Training School for Colored Nurses and Patients, operated by a group of white physicians on the faculty of the Atlanta School of Medicine. From 1914 to 1920 she was Superintendent of Nurses at Atlanta's Grady Hospital, Colored Division, where she cleaned up the black ward and organized the Municipal Training School for colored nurses. Grady Hospital was a pioneer in nurse training, and its white nursing school was well established when Ludie Andrews began working to establish a comparable facility there for Negroes. During the 1914-1915 session, the Colored Division started, but it was not officially chartered until 1917.⁹²

Ludie Clay Andrews was on the faculties of Spelman and of Morehouse. From 1914 to 1920 she taught hygiene and nursing classes at Spelman's MacVicar Hospital. In 1919 she

with money, she would use it to help others get an education. She was a strict disciplinarian. At the hospital and

⁹¹ Lucille Palmer Perrino interview, Atlanta, October 22, 1984.

⁹² Guy-Sheftall, Spelman, p. 98. Atlanta's Lula Grove Hospital and Training School closed after seven years and merged with a larger medical school, "now Emory University for white only." Letter resumé from Ludie Clay Andrews to Mrs. Kemper Harreld, February 24, 1926 in Harreld file, Spelman College, Atlanta.

secured registration rights for Negro nurses in Georgia. From 1920 to 1928, when Mrs. Andrews was superintendent of the MacVicar facility by a joint appointment with Morehouse, Negro doctors were selected as the college physicians for the first time, but her consulting staff continued to be made up of white physicians and surgeons. She also did her full share of community education programs on child welfare and home nursing for the Neighborhood Union, the Tuberculosis Association, the Negro public schools, churches and the local "Y"s. She set up a sleeping room for off-duty nurses at the Butler Street YMCA, as the facilities for blacks at Grady Hospital were substandard. She gave talks on health and distributed related literature all around the city. From 1928 to 1948 she was head of MacVicar College Infirmary. She taught at Spelman for twenty years, and in 1943, when she was sixty-eight years old, she was awarded the Mary Mahoney Medal for twenty years of distinguished service in nursing.⁹³

Superintendent Andrews was a very hard and faithful worker as a nurse and as a family member. Although frugal with money, she would use it to help others get an education. She was a strict disciplinarian. At the hospital and infirmary, she expected the nurses and the patients to abide

⁹⁴Burton and Perinno interviews. Lodie Clay Andrews' house was sold to the Baptist Association when she died in 1969. See also Lodie Clay Andrews file, Spelman Archives, Atlanta.

⁹³Guy-Sheftall, Spelman, p. 98, and Read, p. 139, 214-215. See also Royster, p. 11, and Shivery, p. 94.

by the rules. There was absolutely no smoking or drinking in her domain. She nursed her mother through her last illness, and when her mother died, she took on the responsibility of educating the younger children. She helped put two half-sisters, Annie Williams (Lee) (Jones) and Lucy Williams (Amos) through Spelman, and encouraged other bright young women to go to college and helped them get Spelman scholarships. During the Depression, the class of 1935 established the Ludie Andrews Book Scholarship, a revolving fund for book purchase money which was paid back into the fund when the student had a job and was financially able. In 1940 a Negro Works Progress Administration (WPA) community building was named in honor of her public services.

Andrews lived on the college campus until she retired. Then she built a beautiful home with her ample savings, at 155 Ashby Street, N.W. in Atlanta and lived comfortably and actively until she died in 1969 in her ninety-fourth year.⁹⁴

One of the main areas of women's work throughout the ages has been health care. Black women, in their roles as servants in the South, have been sought out as nurses and have been the preferred color and sex in the homes of the

⁹⁴Burton and Perinno interviews. Ludie Clay Andrew's house was sold to the Baptist Association when she died in 1969. See also Ludie Clay Andrews file, Spelman Archives, Atlanta.

See footnote #89 about Ludie Clay Andrews' half sisters.

south. Nevertheless, at the turn of the century, a Spelman graduate with a nursing diploma could not be registered in Georgia.⁹ In 1919, after a ten-year effort through court appeals and considerable personal expense, Ludie Clay Andrews succeeded in securing registration rights for Georgia's Negro nurses by her persistent political lobbying.⁹⁵

classical, and literary degrees. These were phased out in 1908 when Agnes Scott became an accredited college. Five students were graduated with the B.A. in 1906. Subsequently, the number of degrees increased steadily each year until the entrance of the United States into the First World War. In 1918 the number of graduates dropped from forty to thirty-one. It then increased to thirty-eight in 1919 and back up to forty-one in 1920 as the country pulled out of the war in Europe and the economy got back to "normalcy."

⁹⁵ Royster, p. 11; Spelman Messenger (February, 1974), p. 7. See also Perrino interview. Andrews helped get a Spelman scholarship for Lucille Palmer in the depressed 1930s.

Agnes Scott Alumnae

Between 1900 and 1920, Agnes Scott College produced 360 graduates, a cohort about the size of Shorter's. A total of 310 graduated with the B.A. degree between 1906 and 1920. Before Agnes Scott claimed to be a college in the 1906-1907 session, forty-five students were graduated with normal, classical, and literary degrees. These were phased out in 1908 when Agnes Scott became an accredited college. Five students were graduated with the B.A. in 1906. Subsequently, the number of degrees increased steadily each year until the entrance of the United States into the First World War. In 1918 the number of graduates dropped from forty to thirty-one. It then increased to thirty-eight in 1919 and back up to forty-one in 1920 as the country pulled out of the war in Europe and the economy got back to "normalcy."

Most of Agnes Scott's graduate cohort of 1900 to 1920 eventually married, although a few delayed marriage for as long as twenty years after graduation. Marriages and the number of children in families increased from 1915 to 1920. Most of the married women stopped work to have children, and when their children were grown, they went back to work, or got a job for the first time. Traditional women's work,

⁹⁶The generalizations about Agnes Scott's alumnae were made from a careful study of the college catalogues from 1900 to 1920.

Degrees and Diplomas Earned by Agnes Scott Graduates (1900-1920):

Class	Class	Class	Class
Total	Degrees	Total	Degrees
1900-7 2 Clas, 3 Nor, 2 Lit			
1901-3 3 Clas	1906* 6 5 BA, 1 Lit	1911 14 14 BA	1916 33 33 BA
1902-5 4 Clas, 1 Lit	1907**6 4 BA, 2 Lit	1912 12 12 BA	1917 40 40 BA
1903-7 6 Clas, 1 Lit	1908 10 8 BA, 2 Lit	1913 16 16 BA	1918 31 31 BA
1904-9 6 Clas, 3 Lit	1909 12 12 BA	1914 23 23 BA	1919 38 38 BA
1905-8 4 Clas, 4 Lit	1910 14 14 BA	1915 25 25 BA	1920 41 41 BA

Total degrees: 360

*first year as a college

Clas.= Classical degree

**accredited by SACSS

Nor. = Normal "

Lit. = Literary "

45 grad. before 1907 when AS became a college

39 grad. before first BAs given

5 grad. w. Lit. degrees (none later) between 1906 and 1908

Most of Agnes Scott's graduate cohort of 1900 to 1920 eventually married, although a few delayed marriage for as long as twenty years after graduation. Marriages and the number of children in families increased from 1915 to 1920. Most of the married women stopped work to have children, and when their children were grown, they went back to work, or got a job for the first time. Traditional women's work,

⁹⁶The generalizations about Agnes Scott's alumnae were made from a careful study of the college catalogues from 1900 to 1920.

such as homemaking, club and volunteer work, librarianship, and teaching or school administration, especially in high schools as principals, were by far the most often reported careers for the Agnes Scott graduates. Twelve graduates became librarians. One became the director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research and another the director of Emory's Library School. The next most popular field of employment was the churches, especially at their missions overseas. Six graduates were foreign missionaries, and three became directors of religious education. One of the latter group rose to the topmost rank open to a woman in her denomination.

Agnes Scott graduates seem to have made about the same penetration into the male dominated professions as Shorter and Wesleyan alumnae. Two graduates, both married, earned the M.D. degree and practiced medicine, specializing in appropriate areas, pediatrics and obstetrics and gynecology. Two became lawyers. Both of these were married. One ran a farm and needed the legal expertise in her business. The other earned a law degree at night school and ghost-wrote briefs for a large law firm while she tended her children at home.

Writing ability, office management, business machine operation, and communications skills were in high demand, and several Agnes Scott graduates reported part time or temporary employment as editors (in the back rooms) or as secretaries (in the front offices) for the federal govern-

ment and for businesses (particularly advertising). One graduate reported that she was self-employed in business as a caterer.

Agnes Scott graduates had a predisposition for scholarship, and a sizeable group attained advanced degrees. Fourteen of the pre-1920 graduates reported at some time to the alumnae office that they had earned Master of Arts degrees. Ten more may have subsequently earned the M.A., since they said they were working toward it. Five earned Ph.D.s from Yale, Johns Hopkins, Columbia, and the University of California. Although one of the Ph.D.s taught in high school, most of these scholarly women taught at the college level, and several became deans of women, at such colleges and universities as Goucher and Duke. One M.D. recipient became the first woman on the medical faculty of the University of Virginia; however, her appointment was off-campus at Blue Ridge.⁹⁷

Agnes Scott's progressive generation organized its national Alumnae Association. The Alumnae Council had met annually in the Atlanta-Decatur vicinity during commencement

⁹⁷The generalizations in this section were made from a personal count of the listing of the graduates from 1900 through 1920 in the Agnes Scott catalogue for 1921-1922. These names were researched by student aides at Agnes Scott under the direction of Betty Smith and Virginia Brown McKenzie, alumnae director. I made a summary on marriage status, careers, and further study from all available information in the alumnae files recorded by the aides.

ever since 1895. But in 1921 Mary Wallace Kirk, class of 1911, made the association national in scope, rather than just a local club for the Atlanta-Decatur area. In that same year, Rockefeller's General Education Board granted its first conditional pledge of \$175,000 to the college. The Agnes Scott Board of Trustees resolved to use twenty thousand to build an alumnae house with a parlor, dining room, tea room, and six bedrooms for faculty, student and alumnae guests. The house, named for Anna Irwin Young, popular Agnes Scott math teacher and alumna who died in 1920, soon became the center of social life at the college. Later as the Alumnae Office it became the depository for the history of its graduates.⁹⁸

Notable Georgia women from the Agnes Scott cohort of 1900 to 1920 include the following: India Hunt ('17) M.D. (Mrs. F. G. Balch, Jr.), a physician who combined a medical practice with a family, the first woman on the medical faculty of University of Virginia at Blue Ridge; Clyde E. Pettus ('07), librarian, who became the head of Emory's Library School; Anna Irwin Young ('10), alumna who rose through the educational ranks and became a college teacher. Agnes Scott has kept records on all alumnae from 1900 to 1920. Each alumna has a file card and folder which is kept current. Many of the early classes kept scrapbooks of clippings about alumnae accomplishments. Agnes Scott College Alumnae Directories were published in 1948 and in 1976 with a master alphabetical list.

⁹⁸ASC cat. (1919-20), p. 125. See also McNair, p. 58-59. Vassar College, an Agnes Scott model, had an alumnae tea room. In 1920 Shorter College opened one also. Often alumnae tea rooms were connected to the Home Economics departments. Students and majors in the defunct "Home Ec" department helped run the Tea Room in the early days of its existence at Agnes Scott.

mathematics professor; Ruth Slack (Mrs. Hagen Smith) ('12), became Dean of Women at Duke University; Josie C. Jones (Mrs. Leon Alexander Paine) ('16), a private secretary, married and ran a farm, and was graduated from the University of Florida with a law degree. Elizabeth M. Watkins (Mrs. Harry Hulen) ('19), who after she married and had three children, went to law school at night and wrote law briefs for a large law firm.⁹⁹

The following biographical sketches of Agnes Scott alumnae Julia Lake Skinner Kellersburger ('19) and Janie Wood McGaughey ('13) reflect their deep spiritual motivations, their high intellectual attainments, their patience, and their inexhaustible energy.

⁹⁹Agnes Scott has kept records on all alumnae from academy and institute days to the present. Each matriculant has a file card and folder which is kept current. Many of the early classes kept scrapbooks of clippings about alumnae accomplishments. Agnes Scott College Alumnae Directories were published in 1948 and in 1976 with a master alphabetical list, arranged alphabetically by maiden names and by married names. Both directories include geographical and class lists by year of graduation.⁸⁷

See also Agnes Scott College Bulletin: Series 45, no. 2, "Alumnae Register, October, 1948," and Directory of Alumnae of Agnes Scott College, 1889-1976 (Decatur, GA: Agnes Scott Alumnae Association, 1977).

HIGHEST RANKING WOMAN IN THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

JANIE WOOD MCGAUGHEY

(Agnes Scott College, A.B., 1913) (1891-1981)

Janie Wood McGaughey was born in West End, Atlanta, across the street from the Wren's Nest, where as a child she played with Joel Chandler Harris Jr. Her mother, Mamie Buchanan Wood, and her father, George Burkhart McGaughey, helped found West End Presbyterian Church (later Gordon Street Presbyterian Church). Her father, who served as an elder in that church, had three older children by an earlier wife. Janie had an older full sister, Mamie E., and a younger one, Vena Mae.¹⁰⁰ Janie's father died when his children were young. Her mother taught school and took in boarders to make ends meet. Janie's Aunt Jane and her grandfather Wood lived in Washington, D.C., and Janie went to live with them and attend high school in the capital in order to ease expenses at home.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰Her sisters were Vena Mae McGaughey (Bales) and Mamie E. McGaughey (Hollis), who was in the class of 1909 at Agnes Scott but evidently did not complete her course of study. Her niece, Betty Hollis, graduated from Agnes Scott in the class of 1937 and is the subject of Betty, A Life of Wrought Gold by Julia Lake Skinner Kellersberger, an Agnes Scott graduate in the class of 1919.

¹⁰¹Janie McGaughey file in Agnes Scott College's Alumnae office. See also Who's Who in America, vol. 16 (1930) (Chicago: A.N. Marquis Co., 1930), p. 1513, and Who's Who of American Women (Chicago: A.N. Marquis Co., 1958), p. 850. See biographical sketch by her colleague Janie

In 1909, after her graduation from Central High School in Washington, D.C., Janie McGaughey moved back to West End and went to Agnes Scott College in close-by Decatur. While at college, she experienced the tremendous surge of Christian spirit and world-wide calling that the newly organized YWCA movement brought to the Agnes Scott campus through its participation in the Student Volunteer Movement and its connections with state and national missionary associations. For several years, Janie thought she might be called to be a missionary. Diminutive and bespectacled, but with "twinkling eyes," Janie was an outstanding student in several areas. Professor H. B. Arbuckle chose her as his assistant in chemistry her senior year and hoped she would major in the subject. Her mathematics professor bid for her as well. But she selected literature instead and was graduated in 1913 with a B.A. degree and a second Honor Latin certificate in 1913.¹⁰²

During her college years, Janie McGaughey dedicated her time and talents to Christian service, and this became her

McCutchen included in McGaughey's On the Crest of the Present: A History of Women's Work. Presbyterian Church in the United States (Atlanta: Board of Women's Work, 1961), pp. 186-187.

¹⁰² McGaughey alumnae file. See also Agnes Scott cat. (1911-1912), p. 11, Silhouettes from 1906 to 1913 and McCutchen in On the Crest, pp. 182-191, and interviews with Janie McCutchen, McGaughey's co-worker for many years, in August and September, 1984, in Decatur.

life's work. By her senior year, she was a member of the student government's Executive Committee, second term president of the Mnemosynean Literary Society, and senior captain of the Athletic Association, activities which indicated her all-round versatility and her well developed organizational and leadership skills. Immediately after graduation, she taught in the North Avenue Presbyterian School in Atlanta for six years. She did summer camp work in New England and assisted Dr. Joseph Sevier in founding Camp Greystone for Girls in Tuxedo, North Carolina, where she served as head counselor and camp Bible teacher for several years.¹⁰³

For two years Janie McGaughey went to the Bible Teachers' Training School in New York. In 1921 she interrupted her study in New York to teach Bible and serve as dean of women at the General Assembly's Training School for Lay Workers in Richmond, Virginia. She helped a group of students select a motto, "Appointed to serve." It was Janie McGaughey's personal motto as well.¹⁰⁴

office was located in St. Louis, Missouri until 1931 when it moved to Atlanta.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³Virginia Fleming (Miller) reminiscences, October 7, 1984, Decatur, Georgia. She was a camper at Greystone in the 1920s who remembered Miss McGaughey's teaching Bible lessons. See also Silhouette (1913), pp. 34,, 100, and McCutchen, On the Crest, p. 182.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., White's Bible Teachers' Training School was later called Biblical Seminary. Conversation with Dr. Dean McKee, professor at Columbia Theological Seminary and former teacher and dean at Biblical Seminary, June 18, 1985.

While in Richmond, she received a call to direct the young people's work at the First Presbyterian Church in Knoxville, Tennessee. There she taught Bible classes, several with the "business girls," and some in Knoxville's factories. She also served as associate secretary of the Christian Association of the University of Tennessee and taught Bible classes among the students.¹⁰⁵

In 1926 Janie McGaughey was offered a position as professor of Bible at Mary Baldwin College in Staunton, Virginia. While she was at Mary Baldwin, Hallie Paxson Winsborough (1865-1940), executive secretary of the Southern Presbyterian Women's Auxiliary from 1912 to 1929, found her and in 1927 persuaded her to come to the Auxiliary for one year as Secretary of Spiritual Life for the Committee on Women's Work. In 1929 after Mrs. Winsborough's retirement, Janie McGaughey became the second Executive Secretary of Women's Work, the highest position open to a woman in the Southern Presbyterian church at that time. The office was located in St. Louis, Missouri until 1931 when it moved to Atlanta.¹⁰⁶

In love with her work and free to travel, Janie McGaughey focused on the whole church as her family and spread her Christian influence over the South and the world.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 184-189.
 McGaughey alumnae file, Agnes Scott, Decatur.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. See also On the Crest, pp. 64-70, 182.

During her years as Executive Secretary of Women's Work, she put a new emphasis on spiritual depth, on the centrality of "intensive" and "special" Bible study for women, on interdenominational work, and on missionary programs, areas she had studied, worked in, and prayed for at Agnes Scott. Her courageous leadership in 1939 in proposing a Department of Christian Relations in Women's Work, focusing on race relations, when no similar department existed in the other executive committees of the church, led the General Assembly to establish such a division in its Board of Church Extension in 1948. In 1957 the work was moved to the Board of Christian Education and became the Division of Christian Action, where social services and interracial and interdenominational activities were administered for the whole denomination.¹⁰⁷

Executive Secretary McGaughey spent half her time in her Atlanta office and half her time visiting Presbyterian missions in Brazil and Mexico. "I enjoyed the contact I had with women all over the world and was impressed with their evangelistic zeal," McGaughey commented later. In 1942 Southwestern University at Memphis awarded Janie McGaughey an honorary doctorate of Religious Education.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 184-189.

¹⁰⁸ McGaughey's retirement interview was printed in the Atlanta Journal, January 26, 1976.

In 1956 she retired as Executive Secretary of Women's Work at the age of sixty-five, still the dynamic, "bespectacled little lady with a merry twinkle in her eye." She went back to Biblical Seminary in New York and earned a master's degree in religious education. She continued to travel, going to the Holy Land, and to teach in training schools at the Presbyterian Conference Center in Montreat, North Carolina. In 1961, she wrote a factual and unassuming centennial history of Southern Presbyterian women's work, On the Crest of the Present.¹⁰⁹

In 1964, when Dr. McGaughey was in her seventies, she was elected an elder at Atlanta's Druid Hills Presbyterian Church where she had been a member since 1938. She was the first woman elder in the Synod of Georgia. In 1967 she became the first woman moderator of Atlanta Presbytery, as well as the first in any presbytery in the General Assembly. After Janie McGaughey became an elder, the Southern Presbyterian Church changed its policy and allowed women to become ministers, but by that time Dr. McGaughey was not interested in becoming one herself. "It never entered my mind," she said. "I came up when women were not ministers. I was too far along when women were asked." Even though in 1976 there were as many women as men at Columbia Seminary in Decatur, Dr. McGaughey emphasized that the vast number of women,

¹⁰⁹Ibid. Atlanta Journal, April 25, 1967.
 Atlanta Journal, January 26, 1976. (p. 7, sec. 3.)
 Also see Janie McGaughey interviews, August and September, 1984, Georgia.

about forty thousand in the former Southern Presbyterian branch, were still being educated as the church's chosen leaders in Women's Work programs through circles in their local churches. In 1976 a General Assembly Committee on Women's Concerns was formed to insure that women were actually used in the Assembly, Synod, Presbytery, and local work.¹¹⁰

In 1971, at the age of eighty, Dr. McGaughey "retired" again to Presbyterian Home in Summerville, South Carolina, where she taught Bible, assisted the chaplain, and visited the patients. "I enjoy more than anything else visiting patients in our infirmary," she said after being "on the staff" five years. "When you ask...[the patients] how they feel, you get an organ recital," she laughed.¹¹¹

Dr. McGaughey was more of a teacher and an organizer than a writer. What she cared about most deeply, and the motivating force in her life, was intensive Bible study during which students might grow in the knowledge of the Word and deepen their spiritual commitments. She wrote the following Bible Studies for the women of the Southern Presbyterian Church between 1928 and 1960: Luke: Life Messages

¹¹⁰Ibid., and other clippings in McGaughey's alumnae file. Atlanta Journal, April 25, 1967.

¹¹¹Atlanta Journal, January 26, 1976. (p. 7, sec. B.) Also see Janie McCutchen interviews, August and September, 1984, Decatur, Georgia.

from the Son of Man (1928); Acts: Life Challenges from the Risen Christ (1929); Psalms: Studies in the Psalms with Mrs. S. H. Askew and Janie McCutchen (1933); Mark: The Ministering Master with Mrs. S. H. Askew and Janie McCutchen (1934); Circle Bible Readings: The Teachings of Christ (1939); and Luke: They Were Called Christians (1958). In 1929 she served as editor of the Women's Department of the Presbyterian Survey and was a joint editor of the Department of Young People's Work for the Christian Observer.¹¹²

Dr. McGaughey was listed in Who's Who in 1930, was elected an alumnae member of Phi Beta Kappa at Agnes Scott College, and was a member of the American Association of University Women. In 1952 a chair of Bible was endowed and named for her at Stillman College, a Presbyterian college for Negroes in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, where she and other Presbyterian women worked to make a church-related college level education available to Negro women. In 1967 the McGaughey Scholarship at the Presbyterian School of Christian Education in Richmond, for international students and students of minority ethnic groups in the United States, was endowed. In 1936 she had originated "Friendship

men's work" was being integrated into the work of the whole

¹¹² McGaughey alumnae files: The Presbyterian School of Christian Education was formerly the Assembly's Training School. See also Bulletin of PSCE, May 1967.

¹¹² McGaughey's books are listed in On the Crest, pp. 195-197 and in her Who's Who (1930) biography on page 1513.

Scholarships" for international students at the Assembly's training school.¹¹³

Consecrated, unassuming, hard-working, and hard-praying, Janie McGaughey believed that God always prepared women for the work He wanted them to do. During her lifetime, attitudes about women's work within a major United States denomination changed dramatically. In 1912 and for many years thereafter, fears persisted in the male-dominated church that a woman director of Women's Work would become a "limited pope, a woman bishop, an ecclesiastical suffragette" who would undermine the home and family. In 1929 some Presbyterian General Assembly commissioners continued to harrass the official church women by walking out of the General Assembly when a woman rose to read her report. When "gracious, modest, able and efficient" Janie McGaughey took office, she quietly saw to the education of Southern Presbyterian women by promoting Bible literacy and spiritual development and organized them to serve better the whole church. By the end of her lifetime, women were being accepted, appreciated, and ordained and were actively at work at all levels of the southern denomination. So-called "women's work" was being integrated into the work of the whole

¹¹⁴On the Crest, pp. 186-187. See also Outlook, March 1912.
¹¹³McGaughey alumnae files. The Presbyterian School of Christian Education was formerly the Assembly's Training School. See also Bulletin of PSCE, May 1967.

church. Women were allowed to participate and serve without harassment.¹¹⁴

JULIA LAKE SKINNER KELLERSBERGER

(Agnes Scott College, A.B., 1919). (1897-)

Julia Lake Skinner grew up on a cotton plantation in Linden, Marengo County, Alabama, located in a triangle between the towns of Licksillet, Nell's Half Acre, and Dishrag. Her father, Judge James Lister Skinner, died when she was eight months old, leaving her mother, Julia Lake Woolf (Skinner), a widow with five young children. Her mother sold off her Alabama farm land acre by acre in order to educate the five.¹¹⁵ Daughter Julia Lake, the youngest child, played with Negro children at Cherry Place, unconscious of any racial differences, which prepared her for her life among blacks in the Belgian Congo. Her black nurse Ruth saved her life by feeding the malnourished toddler "pot

¹¹⁵Taped interview with Julia Lake Skinner Kellersberger, November 1984, made at Melbourne Beach, Florida.

"The Julia Lake Skinner Story" in the typescript biography of Dr. Eugene Roland Kellersberger by his daughter Winifred Kellersberger Vass, pp. 475-484. See also Who's Who of American Women (1958), p. 684. James Lister Skinner, Judge of the probate court, was a highly respected citizen

¹¹⁴On the Crest, pp. 186-187. See also Outlook, March [7]?, 1981 for Ernest Trice Thompson's editorial on Janie McGaughey after her death, February 28, 1981. See also Janie McCutchen's reminiscences, September 10, 1984, Decatur, Georgia. Atlanta, Georgia. Mary Archer, Julia Lake's niece, is the daughter of Olin Conway Skinner and his wife, Mary Berthran Perrett.

WORLD-WIDE MISSIONARY

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"The Julia Lake Skinner Story" in the typescript biography of Dr. Eugene Roland Kellersberger by his daughter Winifred Kellersberger Vass, pp. 475-484. See also Who's Who of American Women (1958), p. 684. James Lister Skinner, judge of the probate court, was a highly respected citizen who died in 1899 of an acute appendicitis at the age of forty-two.

Julia Lake's siblings were Lucille Skinner (Powell), Olin Conway, James Lister, Jr., and Winfield Woolf. Mary Skinner Archer (Mrs. Herbert S. Archer, Jr.) interviews, October, 1984, Atlanta, Georgia. Mary Archer, Julia Lake's niece, is the daughter of Olin Conway Skinner and his wife, Mary Berthran Perritt.

likker" and crumbled cornbread while her mother was ill with malaria and grieving over the loss of her husband.¹¹⁶

The "strong-willed and courageous" widow Skinner moved her family to Auburn, Alabama, and ran a student boarding house to pay for the college educations of her twin sons, James Lister, Jr. and Olin Conway. When Julia Lake was ready for high school, she and her mother moved to Augusta, Georgia, and lived with Julia Lake's brother, O. C. Skinner, who was on the faculty of a male preparatory school there, the Richmond Academy. Julia Lake went to Tubman, one of the best public girls' preparatory schools in Georgia, and in 1915, she was graduated as the valedictorian of her class. Her address, "What Georgia Owes Her Women," "brought down the house" and was printed in full in the Augusta Chronicle because of its surprisingly masterful handling of such current problems as denial of admission to women at the University of Georgia, the injustice of Georgia labor laws relating to the pay scales and working hours for women, and the lax enforcement of Georgia's local option prohibition

¹¹⁷Vass, "JLS Story," p. 474. Interestingly, Julia Lake Skinner did not include women's suffrage in her valedictory at Tubman. See also Mary Skinner Archer interviews, October 1984. Julia Lake was the niece of Olin Skinner and first.

¹¹⁶JLSK's alumnae file at Agnes Scott College, particularly the interview by Linda Wienand in People Today, section D, October 16, 1973. See also JLSK's God's Ravens: A Story of Life and Work in the Belgian Congo (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1941), pp. 16, 23, which is a veiled autobiography.

laws. Julia Lake missed first honor by a few points and with it a first year college scholarship.¹¹⁷

Going to Agnes Scott College was a great act of faith on the part of Julia Lake and her mother, for there was no money to cover the expense of even her train fare. Fortunately she was given, without solicitation, service scholarships, which diminished the annual tuition fees. Her family scrimped to clothe her and pay the remaining bills, so that she graduated in 1919 without debt. But there was sacrifice too. One bitter cold morning after the Christmas holidays, Old "Uncle Jeff," a Negro retainer and friend of the family, contracted pneumonia and died after getting Julia Lake to the train station in an open buggy. By the end of her college days, Julia Lake knew she wanted to work with Negroes. Two of her best friends at Agnes Scott were Mary Cox and Ella, two Negro maids and laundresses who swept the halls and comforted homesick students.¹¹⁸

work in applied Christianity at the State Penitentiary. She also studied Chinese to prepare herself for missionary service in China. For this work, she received a Diploma in Religious Education.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷Vass, "JLS Story," p. 476. Interestingly, Julia Lake Skinner did not include women's suffrage in her valedictory at Tubman. See also Mary Skinner Archer interviews, October, 1984. Julia Lake was the niece of Otis Skinner and first cousin of his famous daughter, Cornelia Otis Skinner, writer and dramatic speaker.

¹¹⁸Ibid., pp. 23, 33-34. The Mary Cox story was recorded in the McKinney NBK, II, section W. See footnote #5 in Chapt. VII.

Julia Lake Skinner was a gifted student and an outstanding leader and speaker at Agnes Scott. As a freshman, she was a member of the Executive Committee of student government and one of the two youngest missionaries-in-training signed up by the Student Volunteer Band. By her junior year she was vice president of the YWCA cabinet and their engaging membership chairman, and a valued member of the Propylean Debating Society. During her senior year she was elected to the Honorary Order of Agnes Scott College, the precursor of Mortar Board, a national leadership, character, and scholarship society. Julia Lake Skinner's honors and activities at college prepared her well as an active evangelist around the world. This lay in the future. Her first post graduate job was to teach English at Tubman in Augusta the following academic year.¹¹⁹

For the next two years, 1920 to 1922, she did post-graduate study at Biblical Seminary in New York, including work in applied Christianity at the State Penitentiary. She also studied Chinese to prepare herself for missionary service in China. For this work, she received a Diploma in Religious Education.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹See Silhouettes (1915), p. 80, (1916), p. 117, (1918), p. 57. Because of the world situation after World War I, Agnes Scott (patriotically) did not publish an annual in 1919. Wesleyan and Shorter also did not issue picture-book annuals in 1919 as well. See also McNair, p. 53.

¹²⁰Who's Who of American Women (1958), s.v., p. 684.

For eight years (1922-1930), she did religious education work in Knoxville, Tennessee, at the First Presbyterian Church; in Wilmington, North Carolina at the Church of the Covenant; and in Clearwater, Florida, at Peace Memorial Church. For four years she served as the official travelling spokeswoman and representative of the Executive Committee of Christian Education and Ministerial Relief of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. (referred to elsewhere in this paper as the Southern Presbyterian Church) under Dr. Henry H. Sweets, headquartered in Louisville, Kentucky. In 1924, while at the Knoxville Presbyterian Church, she met the widowed Dr. Eugene Roland Kellersberger, then an ordained Presbyterian minister and a renowned physician in the late Belgian Congo who had done significant work with African sleeping sickness and leprosy (Hansen's disease) among the central African Bantu people.¹²¹

In 1930 Dr. Kellersberger came back to the United States to be reunited with his two young daughters, Winifred and Cornelia and to marry Julia Lake Skinner in Rome, Georgia. They returned to Dr. Kellersberger's African

¹²¹ Dr. Kellersberger's first wife died in 1923. See The 1983 Vass Venture newsletter, p. 2 and Jo Skinner (Mrs. James Lister Skinner, Jr.) interview, October 30, 1984, Atlanta, Georgia. Their daughter Winifred graduated from Agnes Scott in 1938 and married the Reverend Lachlan Cumming Vass, Jr. and went back to the Congo. Their daughter Edna Vass graduated from Agnes Scott in 1963. Cornelia married Sam Venechanos in November, 1951, and lives in New Jersey.

three-unit "modern" hospital in Africa and established the innovative Bibanga Agricultural Leprosarium. There Julia Lake helped with nursing at the mission station hospital and taught college preparatory courses to Winifred and another missionary's daughter.¹²²

In 1941 the Kellersbergers returned to the United States and worked for the American Leprosy Missions in New York City. Julia Lake worked as their promotional secretary as a dollar-a-year-woman. Her interesting and inspiring talks about her ten years and Dr. Kellerberger's twenty-four years in the Congo took the couple all over the United States and to other parts of the world after World War II.¹²³

Julia Lake kept communications open with her friends. Her Kellygram newsletters were sent all over the world, and her book-length writings number at least eight. Her literary style is lively and provocative, and reflects her strong reliance on her faith.

Mrs. Kellersberger's first book, which came out in 1936, is entitled, Congo Crosses: A Study of Congo

¹²²JLSK alumnae file and Vass, "JLS Story," and "Suggestions" for revisions, February 9, 1985. There were two graduate nurses from the U.S. on the hospital staff. The missionary wives volunteered their services when needed. The other student at Julia Lake's jungle "prep school" was Louise Crane, who entered Queens College in Charlotte, N.C. Winifred was accepted at Agnes Scott. See also JLSK tape.

¹²³Ibid. JLSK alumnae file, Agnes Scott College.

Womanhood. It reflects her scholarly observations and deep understanding about African women and black culture. Illustrated with photographs and sketches, it was used as a mission study book in the Southern Presbyterian Church. In 1941 she wrote a thinly disguised autobiography entitled God's Ravens: A Story of Life and Work in the Belgian Congo which captured her Alabama Black Belt beginnings, her spirit of adventurous learning, and her dependence on God's providence as a Christian missionary in the Central African jungles in the 1930s. The royalties from this book were donated to the support of the Presbyterian Foreign Mission program.¹²⁴

In 1943 John Knox Press published her Betty: A Life of Wrought Gold, about an Agnes Scott graduate, Betty Hollis, who was a much-admired older friend and YWCA co-worker with Julia Lake's stepdaughter, Winifred Kellersberger. After a financial struggle to go to college during the depressed 1930s, Betty Hollis had been able to study for a year, but had to drop out. She returned and was graduated in 1937, an example of Christian faith and leadership, only to die of heart failure three weeks after her graduation. Four of Betty's friends at Agnes Scott collaborated with Julia Lake

¹²⁴Dr. and Mrs. Kellersberger were nicknamed Dr. and Mrs. "Kelly," hence the newsletter's name, Kellygram.

"God's raven" refers to Elijah's being fed by the ravens when he needed food in the Bible and was used as the title of her autobiography.

and wrote this inspiring account of a girl's life lived for Christ and His work in this world during the insecure times of the 1930s. Betty tells about campus life and activities at Agnes Scott and reflects Julia Lake's knowledge and understanding of how the campus works and how the students relate to one another. All the royalties from this book were added to the Betty Hollis Scholarship Fund for girls who needed financial help to go to Agnes Scott College, a concern and a cause Julia Lake had reason from her own struggles to support.¹²⁵

In 1945, Kellersberger wrote a book of African children's stories, entitled The Salt Baby, which was published by Fleming H. Revell. In 1947, A Life For the Congo, her biography of Althea Brown Edmiston, a famous black Presbyterian missionary, was also published by Fleming H. Revell. In Africa she prepared the script for "Song After Sorrow," an original motion picture about leprosy work, and directed the making of a film story depicting the joys and sorrows of lepers in Africa. In 1949 Dr. and Mrs. Kellersberger co-authored Doctor of the Happy Landings about their world-wide journeys to study leprosy colonies from Latin America, Africa, Europe, and the Orient, and back for a happy landing in

¹²⁶Julia Lake and Eugene Kellersberger, Doctor of the Happy Landings (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1943), p. 1318, on Eugene Kellersberger's work in Africa.

¹²⁷Vass, "JLS Story," and Who's Who of American Women (1958), p. 684.

¹²⁸Julia Lake did not attend the Leprosy Congress in Cairo. Only Dr. Kellersberger went, cashing the only life insurance policy she owned.

¹²⁵Betty: A Life of Wrought Gold (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1943). Betty Hollis was Janie McGaughey's niece, daughter of Mamie McGaughey Hollis.

America. They visited forty countries and five continents. In 1938 Secretary of State Cordell Hull appointed Dr. and Mrs. Kellersberger jointly as the United States' delegate to the World Leprosy Congress in Cairo, Egypt. Dr. Kellersberger's meetings with the World Congresses of Leprosy, which began in 1938 in Cairo, continued in 1948 in Havana, Cuba, and concluded in 1953 in Madrid, Spain, seemed like small United Nations meetings to the Kellersbergers, for the official languages were English, French, Spanish and Portuguese; and earphones were used.¹²⁷

Always reading and writing, Julia Lake took a "year off" while she was living in Gramercy Park and went to graduate school at New York University. When she applied for entrance at the mature age of fifty, the dean asked her if she would feel uncomfortable with so many young students all about her. She replied that if she could make it out in the Congo jungle where she was really different, she thought she could make her way without too much difficulty on the

devotionals entitled Morning Glories which told the story of

¹²⁶ Julia Lake and Eugene Kellersberger, Doctor of the Happy Landings (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1949). See also Who's Who in America (1952), p. 1318, on Eugene Kellersberger's career. Dr. Kellersberger's slides and films of lepers were given to the University of Florida. Although

¹²⁷ Vass, "JLS Story," and Who's Who of American Women (1958), p. 684.

Julia Lake did not attend the Leprosy Congress in Cairo. Only Dr. Kellersberger went, cashing the only life insurance policy he had in order to pay his travel expenses. They did not have the money to pay for two. Vass, "Suggestions."

New York campus. She earned the M.A. degree in literature in 1948, writing on "Ellen Glasgow: Social Historian of the South." As might be expected, Julia Lake chose to study a writer and about the South, the region she knew and understood so well. After her husband's retirement in 1953, Julia Lake wrote "I Live in Gramercy," which told of their "thrilling experiences in the great city of New York during the happy years they spent with the American Leprosy Missions."¹²⁸

In 1948 the Kellersbergers built a semi-civilized retreat home in Florida, twelve miles south of Melbourne Beach on Indian River, which reminded them of the climate and flora of their beloved Congo in Africa. In 1955 they moved permanently to Melbourne Beach. The sign above their door read "Mini Mansion." Hundreds of guests stopped in and stayed awhile every year with "Mama Ku Ku," which means "hello" in Congolese dialects.¹²⁹

In 1964 Julia Lake Kellersberger published a book of devotionals entitled Morning Glories which told the story of

Kentucky, during August in Texas and California, and during September in the Highlands of North Carolina. Other summers

¹²⁸JLSK Tape and Who's Who of American Women (1958). "I Live in Gramercy" is an unpublished manuscript. Although submitted to several publishers, it has not been accepted for publication.

¹²⁹People Today, October 16, 1973. See also a recent letter from Julia Lake Skinner Kellersberger signed "Mama Ku Ku" and addressed "Dear Granddaughter-in-Love, Florrie Corley," October 12, 1984, from Wilmington, N.C. where she was visiting. JLSK alumnus file clippings.

Thornwell Orphanage in Clinton, South Carolina. Each "glory" contained a devotional message built around the history of this Prebyterian home and the everyday happenings in the lives of the children. In 1973 Julia Lake wrote about her retirement home in Melbourne Beach in Florida, Rooted in Florida Soil, part of the Local History Series of the South Broward Historical Society, and had a ninth book ready for the publisher.¹³⁰

In 1966 after her husband's death in 1966 at the age of seventy-eight, Julia Lake, about to turn seventy herself but still energetic, trim, effervescent, full of wit and wisdom, began her post-retirement evangelistic work. In 1967 she took off alone in her Volkswagen camper called "Skipper," and within several years logged over sixty-five thousand miles. The bus was given to her at the Synod of Appalachia's World Missions Conference to do evangelistic work in the mountains of Kentucky.¹³¹

In the summer of 1968 at age seventy, she did home mission work and kept busy during July in the mountains of Kentucky, during August in Texas and California, and during September in the highlands of North Carolina. Other summers she taught vacation Bible School for Penobscot Indians in

¹³⁰JLSK alumnae file clipping. People Today; sec. D., October 16, 1973.

¹³¹JLSK alumnae file clippings.

Maine and worked with migrant workers' children in Florida and with the dark-skinned residents of the Bahama Islands. She also found time to visit Africa for the dedication of the All Africa Leprosy and Rehabilitation Training Center, which her husband's pioneer leprosy work inspired, and to take a trip to the Holy Land.¹³²

Julia Lake Skinner Kellersberger, just turned eighty-seven years old, lives with her nephew A. L. Skinner and his wife Kay in their retirement home in Florida on south Melbourne Beach. In the past year, she has recovered from a broken neck, hip, and ribs, sustained in her car while she went about being one of "God's ravens." According to her step-daughter Winifred, she is still Mamu Musankisha, "lady full of joy," and continues to pray, every day: "Good morning, God. This is your day. I am your child. Show me your way today. In Jesus' name I pray."

Julia Lake has always felt a debt of gratitude to Agnes Scott and has kept a "hot line" of communications open with her alma mater. As a result, her file at the alumnae office is full of information and comments about her interesting

¹³²Ibid.

¹³³Ibid. See also People Today, sec. D. October 16, 1983, and Winifred Vass interviews, September and October, 1984, from Dallas, Texas, as well as printed family materials.

and energetic careers. Her college was her first forum and the springboard to her life. Her keen intellect, her writing and organizational skills, and her inimitable and winsome speaking abilities were developed more fully in the classrooms and on the campus of Agnes Scott. Her first network was composed of her college friends. Today this loving and compassionate woman has extended her friendships around the world "with all my love."

ional women's work there was variety. Southern society, dominated by whites, had different career expectations for its white and black college daughters. Most Negro women were expected to get "paid work" outside the home or go into a segregated profession. Their white counterparts, on the other hand, were expected to become "ladies of leisure" and volunteer their time in the community. This research confirms Anne Firor Scott's findings and modifies the stereotype of the typical "cultured" southern woman. It also confirms Gerda Lerner's findings on black women as club women and behind-the-scenes reformers. By the second decade of the period, some Georgia women entered and began to develop careers in medicine and law, traditionally professions for men only.

Recently published research by Barbara Miller Solomon and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz makes possible comparisons between these southern colleges and the northeastern women's colleges. The alumnae of these four southern colleges were somewhat less assertive and radical in career choices and advocacy of causes than the alumnae of the "Seven Sisters."

Conclusion

The findings from alumnae surveys indicate that most graduates in the early decade of the period married, often later than contemporaries, or dedicated their lives to the teaching profession as single women. By 1920, however, more variations and changes in lifestyles and career choices appear; some alumnae were experimenting with a combination of the alternatives. Even in traditional women's work there was variety. Southern society, dominated by whites, had different career expectations for its white and black college daughters. Most Negro women were expected to get "paid work" outside the home or go into a segregated profession. Their white counterparts, on the other hand, were expected to become "ladies of leisure" and volunteer their time in the community. This research confirms Anne Firor Scott's findings and modifies the stereotype of the typical "cultured" southern woman. It also confirms Gerda Lerner's findings on black women as club women and behind-the-scenes reformers. By the second decade of the period, some Georgia women entered and began to develop careers in medicine and law, traditionally professions for men only.

Recently published research by Barbara Miller Solomon and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz makes possible comparisons between these southern colleges and the northeastern women's colleges. The alumnae of these four southern colleges were somewhat less assertive and radical in career choices and advocacy of causes than the alumnae of the "Seven Sisters."

The southern sisters, motivated by the strong evangelical persuasions of their colleges, administrations and trustees, and curricular and extra curricular programs, were more missionary-minded in the first two decades of the century than the Seven Sisters, who were experiencing a secularization trend. Nevertheless, educated women North and South, black and white, were all concerned about and were trying to do the same kinds of things: enter professions, uplift the community at home and abroad, care for their families, and at the same time use their education.

Conservatism in the South was due, at least in part, to the conditions prevailing during the period. From 1900 to 1920 and for more than a generation later, the South was less urbanized and poorer than the northeast; the South remained Bible- and church-centered and segregated. After World War I, some of the Progressive era graduates of the southern women's colleges, like their northern sisters, were making bold career choices and honest efforts to right the wrongs of society. The alumnae would prove to be an influential, persistent, and eventually an effective force for reform in their communities.

The Protestant impulse distinguished southern colleges and obviously influenced graduates and the causes and careers they chose. The alumnae of these Georgia schools had long histories of Christian service in foreign missions and in the bureaucracy of their denominations' women's

auxiliaries. They served as directors of Christian education and of choirs, and as church organists. Several wrote study books and other teaching materials for youth and adults. Most volunteered in their churches as Sunday School teachers, choir members, and leaders in women's work. Even outside their churches, the women worked on social service committees of the YWCA agencies and in many cases, with their neighborhood unions for free kindergartens, better public schools, orphanages, playgrounds, libraries, and settlement houses. They worked with New Deal agencies during the Great Depression and for the USOs and Hostess Houses during the wars. These educated southern women believed that their work was an outgrowth of their religious convictions and was for the extension of God's Kingdom on earth.

During their "school days," the women also developed longstanding friendships and bonds with their alma maters which sometimes developed into effective networks in cities and states wherever other alumnae lived. This bonding formalized over the years into clubs and national alumnae associations. Alumnae associations of the Georgia colleges evolved about a generation after the colleges' foundings. The original alumnae groups formed in the college town and met to plan activities for the graduating seniors. After about twenty years, the local alumnae groups began to help organize non-resident alumnae into new chapters in the towns and cities where they had located after graduation.

Through their alumnae associations, the colleges' influence on their graduates continued. Alumnae bulletins, meetings, reunions, and weekend seminars at the college reinforced the educational goals of their alma maters through the years. The alma maters, by keeping in touch, celebrating anniversaries, sending out questionnaires and other news media, have developed a valuable store of information about some of the college educated women of Georgia.

Statistical surveys tell much, but it is in individual portraits that we see the courage, persistence, uniqueness, ingenuity, spiritual commitment, and intellectual capacity of these graduates. The eight alumnae attest to the impact of their college educations on their lives. There they developed organizational and communication skills and friendship networks. They met role models and learned concern for well-roundedness and physical health. They developed a zest for scholarship, an interest in all kinds and conditions of people, and an awareness of international developments, all undergirded with Christian values and personal commitment.

The lives of these alumnae reveal that women overcame cultural opposition and lived challenging and productive lives for the betterment of their homes, their communities, their professions, and their churches. They provided leadership and service in the practical "little things" for their communities: street lights, sewers, music, theaters,

kindergartens, playgrounds, orphanages, detention homes, rooms for nurses, settlement houses, libraries, health care, voting privileges, and civil rights. All these women worked for better understanding, fuller service, and broader contact between races and the sexes at home and abroad, very much as the total group of alumnae did. The colleges' influence did not stop with graduation. Through bulletins, meetings, reunions, and weekend seminars, graduates continued to feel the impact of their alma maters throughout their lives.

Before the Civil War, was temporarily uprooted during Reconstruction, and was replanted and approached full security during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Georgia's Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches sponsored women's colleges in the state's prospering towns in order to provide females with educational opportunities beyond the finishing schools of an earlier day and, incidentally, to attract business to the towns.

Methodist-controlled Wesleyan in Macon, Baptist-related Shorter in Rome, and Presbyterian-affiliated Agnes Scott in Decatur survived the late nineteenth century economic depressions and the competitive struggle with other church colleges and with new state institutions. They developed into accredited colleges between 1906 and 1923. Survival of private women's colleges in Georgia depended to a large degree on the benefactions of wealthy Christian philanthropists, both local and outside, on the "boosterism" of the

CHAPTER VIII: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Southern women's colleges were the result of adjustments and accommodations to differing ideals and models: the antebellum finishing school, the male academic university, the northeastern women's colleges, and the philanthropists' push for a practical, useful education. The seed for the idea of a college level education for white women was planted in Georgia in the early nineteenth century. It took root just before the Civil War, was temporarily uprooted during Reconstruction, and was replanted and approached full maturity during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Georgia's Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches sponsored women's colleges in the state's prospering towns in order to provide females with educational opportunities beyond the finishing schools of an earlier day and, incidentally, to attract business to the towns.

Methodist-controlled Wesleyan in Macon, Baptist-related Shorter in Rome, and Presbyterian-affiliated Agnes Scott in Decatur survived the late nineteenth century economic depressions and the competitive struggle with other church colleges and with new state institutions. They developed into accredited colleges between 1906 and 1923. Survival of private women's colleges in Georgia depended to a large degree on the benefactions of wealthy Christian philanthropists, both local and outside, on the "boosterism" of the

towns, and on the commendations and financial support (usually meagre) of sponsoring denominations. Tuition was a major source of revenue, so the colleges battled for big enrollments. Spelman, under the auspices of the Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society of New England, was unique in being a Negro seminary exclusively for women. By the turn of the century, the school had developed a collegiate department in connection with Atlanta Baptist College (Morehouse) and owned a twenty-acre campus and six brick college buildings, made possible by John D. Rockefeller's generous gifts.

Macon, Rome, and Decatur had close relationships with the local women's colleges. The students and the institutions were feted and catered to by citizens and businesses, and the schools were thought to attract beneficial activities to an area, such as concerts, plays, revivals, and lectures. The towns also helped the colleges in local fund raising efforts. The town and gown relationship was different for Spelman and Atlanta, where the white administrators of the college were ostracized by other white citizens and the students were segregated in public accommodations, concert halls, and even revival meetings.

In 1901 the John F. Slater, the George Peabody, and the Anna T. Jeanes foundations were organized under the Southern Education Board (SEB) to provide money for industrial and normal education, especially in the Negro schools. In 1902,

after the formation of the Rockefellers' General Education Board and of the Carnegie Foundation, these trusts became a ready source of funds for Southern women's education. The trusts had strings attached to their purses and pressured the schools to develop their curricula along designated lines, such as teacher training courses and science courses related to home economics and the personal health and hygiene of women. Nevertheless, the philanthropic foundations' funds made possible campus improvements, new buildings, and raises in teachers' salaries. of the century,

Financial pressure for high enrollments at the women's colleges worked against the ideal of higher academic standards and forced compromise. At the turn of the century, a majority of pupils entering the four women's schools in this study were unprepared for college work. Therefore the schools provided academies and secondary schools on their campuses to prepare them further, but this placed a strain on the faculties. The schools juggled their entrance requirements in order to admit as many students as possible so that the colleges could survive financially. Consequently, the "conditioned" and "special" students tended to lower academic standards at the southern women's colleges. provided

The homogeneous character of the Georgia women's colleges helped create a sense of sisterhood and extended family on the campuses. Sisters and daughters and cousins tended to follow each other at the same institutions. Close

and lasting friendships that carried over into later years often developed. Students frequently had a fierce loyalty to their alma maters which helped to sustain those colleges through difficult periods. Although nearly half of each college's student body was local, there was an attempt to reach out to foreign lands through missionary connections. Spelman had the most international and interregional student body because of its ties with the northeast and with African missions.

In these college "families" at the turn of the century, the college president was the parental figure; the lady principal, if any, could also be a mother model, and the single and married faculty members (even the servants) were older brothers, sisters, cousins, uncles, aunts, and grandparents. The dormitory was a Christian home where paternalistic rules kept the living arrangements in order. After the advent of student governments on the white campuses, the young women assumed a more adult role by taking responsibility for some of the supervision and rule-making of the dormitories. This situation did not prevail on the Negro campus or in its dormitories until a generation later. The female white administrators at Spelman strictly supervised every waking moment of the young Negro women's lives.

Most students at the four colleges were Methodist, Baptist, or Presbyterian. However, denominationalism was not a factor in determining admissions. Jewish women at-

tended the Christian colleges in Georgia and in the cases investigated, were neither pressured to convert nor offended by required Bible courses. Despite this, the focus of Georgia schools, both black and white, was avowedly and unashamedly Christian, Protestant, and evangelical. All the colleges encouraged the students to accept Jesus as their personal savior and to witness for him, but the white administrators of the Negro school were even more persistent for student conversion and witnessing because they wanted to overcome the presumed moral weaknesses of freed slaves and their offspring.

The faculty members of all the female colleges, especially in the opening years of the century, were fully employed, around the clock and on weekends, for eight months of the year. In the early days, hiring policies were informal. Academic credentials and wages were not as important as "a call" to teach, some training or experience, and Christian character and religious commitment. As a result, many of the female faculty at the women's colleges, hired during the late nineteenth century, lacked formal academic degrees. Stimulated by pressures from the foundations and accrediting agencies, they availed themselves regularly of summer sessions and extension courses from national universities in order to raise their credentials and improve their teaching skills. Faculty salaries revealed unembarrassed discrimination according to sex and race, which was

accepted practice during the period. Men were paid more than women and white women more than Negro women. Administrators were paid slightly more than teachers.

Although finishing school programs were frequently available in the early years, the liberal arts courses leading to the A.B. degree in the women's church colleges were not unlike the traditional curricula at the church-related men's colleges in Georgia, with emphasis on the classics, English grammar and composition, English literature, foreign languages, and some science and mathematics. The colleges also experimented with such innovations as nursing and journalism, overseas study tours, preparation for teaching and missions, and typing, shorthand, and book-keeping. They required Latin (or Greek) for entrance to the college level, primarily as a proof of academic ability. Wesleyan and Shorter maintained music conservatories of wide reputation. Since the schools were church-related, they required that Bible courses be taken by all the students, but exceptions were made at the white schools.

During the Progressive era, the curricula underwent several changes, and by the 1920s they had been standardized due to the leadership, pressures, and encouragement of regional accrediting agencies, denominational boards, and women's educational associations. The era saw the advent of Home Economics, considered to be appropriate subject matter for women and a way to make homemaking scientific and effi-

cient. The domestic arts and sciences became established at Spelman and, to some extent, at Wesleyan and Shorter, but Agnes Scott disbanded its program and put the academic courses involved into the science and art departments. The colleges expanded their science offerings, especially in biology, which was critical to women's understanding of their bodies. Physical education facilities and requirements also were expanded. By 1920 fewer Bible courses were required, and they were not always taught by clergy. They had become more academic in content and teaching methods and were remarkably free of denominational dogma, except perhaps at Methodist-controlled Wesleyan.

Curriculum innovations on the Negro campus in the early 1900's generally lagged behind the white colleges. There were notable exceptions in sociology, with the study of comparative cultures, and in the history department, which offered a course in the experience of the Negro in America. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois' pioneering research into the black experience in Atlanta made its way into Spelman's courses, and his methods and techniques were applied in extracurricular activities (i.e., neighborhood health and educational surveys, petitions to the city council) well in advance of such changes in the white college curricula.

By the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century, the three white schools had received full accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary

Schools: Agnes Scott in 1907, Wesleyan in 1919, and Shorter in 1923. In 1924 Spelman became an independent woman's college, without the Morehouse affiliation, and in 1932 it was accepted as a "Class A" college by SACSS. (Class A was a designation for Negro colleges.)

Participation in campus extracurricular activities raised female consciousness at the women's colleges. Women saw themselves doing things and causing things to happen. Subsequently, curricular and social change took place. Mission study groups about Africa, Brazil, Mexico, China, and Japan paved the way for courses in comparative anthropology and new language study. YWCA and church work in poor areas and prisons correlated with new courses, such as government, sociology, and economics.

Social clubs on white campuses played a role in helping to create school "spirit" and to accustom girls to leadership and organizational roles. They spawned newspapers, yearbooks, debate clubs, and other outlets for creative talents. The assiduously developed school spirit carried over into alumnae associations after college. The Negro campus had a different experience. White administrators and teachers at Spelman inculcated their own "lady-like" tastes and values in the Negro women and prolonged their dependence, instead of promoting the young women's independence and self-development.

Campus prayer bands, Christian youth groups, and mis-

missionary and temperance societies developed in the nineteenth century at all four schools. When the Young Women's Christian Associations came on the campuses, the "Y"s organized these existing groups under their national association. Early Honor systems developed into student government associations on the white campuses and gave young women practice in political and self-governing skills. However, the women's suffrage movement did not seem to penetrate very far in southern colleges, reflecting its relative weakness throughout the region. Wesleyan, Agnes Scott, and Shorter helped rally the local people to re-elect Wilson in 1916, but the NAACP chapter suggested for Spelman was turned down by the white administrators.

The YWCA, in collaboration with the Student Volunteer Movement and the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), sponsored and enlarged the missionary, temperance, and social purity activities on the campuses. At Wesleyan, the "Y" successfully petitioned the faculty for a new gymnasium and thereby extended the athletic program. The "Y," as well as Sunday school and Christian youth groups, encouraged, organized, and trained volunteers for settlement house work, the staffing of free kindergartens, and Sunday school teaching in poor areas, promoting the "social gospel."

During World War I, the YWCA and Red Cross helped organize "war work" groups that rolled bandages, wrote letters, entertained, and knitted socks and squares for cover-

lets and scarves. The Negro community, under the auspices of the Women's War Work Committee, formed from the membership of the Neighborhood Union and Spelman's campus "Y," did the same. The Neighborhood Union women sponsored and supervised Negro settlement houses and free kindergartens and developed the concept of the Hostess Houses for Negro soldiers. All of this work was staffed by college-educated women and student volunteers from the Atlanta Negro community.

Campus missionary societies made young women "international-minded." They studied other cultures and other languages to prepare themselves to spread the Christian gospel and evangelize the world in their generation. They prayed for their sister student volunteers who were called to service in the "uttermost parts of the earth." Through intercollegiate regional and national conferences and through war orphans' aid programs, the YWCA opened the eyes of many young women to the problems of humanity all over the world. It also showed them the plight of the needy and disfranchised in their Georgia backyards.

The alumnae of the four schools from 1900 to 1920 form a small elite group of Georgia women. Most of them married, raised Christian families, and volunteered to do community work. In 1900 women graduates who wanted to follow a career or go into a profession (usually teaching) would not marry but would expect to remain single throughout their lives.

By 1920, graduates were experimenting with the possibilities of combining a career with marriage. Some career women delayed marriage for ten years or more after graduation. Following World War I, more women were going to college, and more were marrying. Although most of the Georgia alumnae went into feminized occupations (teaching, librarianship, social work), some were entering the more prestigious male-dominated professions such as medicine and law. Even though a majority of the graduates of the church-related colleges were religiously trained, Biblically literate, committed Christians, they could not be ordained ministers of the gospel. They served "in their place" in the women's work sections of their denominations or as paid directors of religious education appropriately managing the teaching of youth for the churches. Many alumnae from these colleges married ordained ministers and missionaries and served as their husbands' co-workers. Others, many of whom did not marry, rose very high in the education divisions of their denominations, in the bureaucracy of women's work, and as editors for church journals and writers of study books and teaching materials.

Spelman's collegiate women, educated with goals, aspirations, and expectations similar to those of the white graduates, faced double discrimination in the South, as Negroes and as women. Though few in number, these women patiently persisted and persevered and ultimately made an

impact on education, health, and housing in Negro communities in Georgia and throughout the nation, wherever they lived after graduation. They provided a corps of trained teachers, church musicians, missionaries, nurses, and doctors. In Georgia, the Negro college educated women worked in parallel organizations with the educated white women. In some instances, the club women of both races were able to meet, resolve differences, and get interracial committees organized and projects started and funded more quickly and easily than men could. Educated club and church women initiated and fostered interracial cooperation in Georgia during the racially tense times in 1919 and 1920. The biographies of eight alumnae from the four women's colleges illuminate the impact of their Christian educations on each woman's life and career.

The colleges' alumnae associations have helped keep classmates in touch with one another. They have reinforced the colleges' educational goals by arranging reunions at the colleges; organizing local alumnae chapters; sending out teachers and administrators to talk about the colleges or to update alumnae in subject fields; publishing alumnae bulletins and assisting classes in sending out newsletters; offering workshops to help women re-entering the work force or entering it for the first time; and forming alumnae networks to help graduates "apprentice" in and enter the careers of their choice.

Georgia colleges were specifically "southern" in several respects.¹ They were less urban in their total constituencies than their northeastern counterparts. By 1900 the southern schools were neither as "established" nor as richly endowed as the northeastern women's colleges, nor as large as the most prominent of the latter. In the Bible Belt, where the old South's veneration of "noble womanhood" still prevailed and was perpetuated, the schools for women were relatively conservative in social and political outlook and in rules and regulations. The southern schools tended to have more rules. No lady principal in the South would have said to her student body, as M. Carey Thomas routinely did to Bryn Mawters, "Young women, nobody is going to tell you you when to brush your teeth and nobody is going to tell you when to go to bed or when to study. We intend to treat you as adults."² The women in the northeastern schools usually achieved more independence and self-government sooner than in the southern schools. The southern schools, however, maintained evangelical fervor longer than those in the North which once had it, notably Mount Holyoke, Wellesley, and Smith.

¹The recent books published by Professors Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz (Alma Mater) and Barbara Miller Solomon (In the Company of Educated Women) make possible a comparison between the Seven Sister colleges of the northeast and these four sister colleges in Georgia during the Progressive period.

Despite their differences, the southerners often looked to the northeast, especially for academic models. The southerners adjusted their curricula in order to send transferring students north without loss of credits and to raise standards and achieve accreditation. Agnes Scott, the youngest and most quickly accepted of the schools, modeled its curriculum and campus spirit after Mount Holyoke's religious orientation and picked up a bit of Wellesley's emphasis on keeping women feminine and some of Vassar's and Bryn Mawr's stress on academic excellence and high scholarship.

Spelman built campus living quarters similar to the dormitories at Mount Holyoke, but it was more like Barnard and Radcliffe in its setup as an annex to all-male Morehouse College in the urban setting of Atlanta. Spelman needed to take advantage of the better prepared male professors at Morehouse for its college level program. Spelman's status as a southern Negro school makes any further comparison to the northeastern models far-fetched, even though its boosters liked to call it the Wellesley, or Vassar, or Mount Holyoke of the South.

In curriculum development and emphasis, in attitudes, and in extracurricular activities, the Georgia women's

²This anecdote was often related by Silvine Marbury Harrold (Bryn Mawr, class of '21) to her daughter Dr. Frances Harrold, who shared it with me; November, 1985.

generally ran from five to ten years behind those in the northeast. The pupils and patrons in the North were wealthier, more sophisticated, more urban, and better travelled than the southern college girls. The northeastern campuses attracted students from more regions of the country, especially southern girls (at Wellesley and Bryn Mawr) and international students, but Negroes and Jews admitted to the Seven Sisters found themselves the victims of some discrimination.

Although most of the Seven Sisters had been founded by Christians, and their boards of trustees were people with strong church affiliations, religious zeal was less in evidence in them than in the South by the early 1900's. Religious content in the curriculum (only Wellesley and Mount Holyoke required Bible), churchgoing, prayer meetings, and required chapel were on the wane in the North, and the colleges were in a period of secularization at the time the southern students were signing up as missionaries to foreign lands, turning in proof of attendance cards for church, and praying at morning watch and evening vespers several times a week.

The four southern colleges had fewer women faculty role models who were scholars with recognized higher academic degrees. Bryn Mawr had a graduate school and, like Wellesley, had women presidents. Wellesley had an all-female faculty as well. Only Spelman among the Georgia schools had

a woman president, but she was white and held an honorary degree. The northeastern schools were well endowed with funds for attracting top flight professors, but they too discriminated against women teachers.

In the northeast, extracurricular activities evolved much as they did in the South. Sororities or similar societies often developed into tight social cliques. As in the South, athletics were approached with spirit and vigor in the northeast. In the North, however, at Vassar and Bryn Mawr, some games were played by men's rules and resulted in frequent injuries. As in the South, debates and campus dramatics fostered school spirit.

The Georgia church colleges' progressive liberal arts curricula achieved by 1920 tended to encourage social change. The schools' extracurricular activities stirred social awareness in the young women who later helped build the modern South. Between 1900 and 1920 the role of the educated southern woman changed, from the sainted madonna of the "cult of domesticity" to the emerging "New Woman" who might have a career or a profession as well as a family. However, the earlier societal and scholastic tensions were still present. Southern women were still obliged to be very "feminine," and to train themselves as mothers, but the attractions of the academic ideal had also become available. Academic standards in the South continued to be lower than those of the better northern women's colleges. The four

colleges still needed to build up endowments, raise faculty credentials and salaries, and increase library resources.

The richest sources for this study were the college archives. These have seldom been used except for publications aimed at alumnae, but they provide a good summary of the changes occurring in the lives of educated women.

Wesleyan sources are the most numerous. Alumnae files and mailing lists are housed in the Candler Alumnae Building at the college in Macon. Some of the administrative files, matriculation ledgers, and church preference records are in the Dean's Office vault. The Willet Library on campus has files on the faculty, the records of the North Georgia Methodist Conference, annuals (the Higzag, the KuKlux, and the Veterropt), The Wesleyan (literary and news journal), and a bibliography of Wesleyan sources. Some Wesleyan records, such as the Trustees' and Faculty Minutes, are on microfilm at the Georgia Department of Archives and History in Atlanta. Several graduates have written memoirs and recollections about Wesleyan: Catherine Brewer Benson in 1888, Kate Plournoy Edwards, and Louella Kendall Rogers in 1914 and 1920. Wesleyan in the nineteenth century has been the subject of several masters degree theses: Betty Curry's in 1962, and Margaret Miller's and Frances Reas' in 1935. Dr. Elizabeth Barber Young studied its curriculum in 1927, and Dean Samuel Akers chronicled its first hundred years in 1976. A very informative, illustrated source on early Wesleyan student life is Virginia Lee Nelson's history of Alpha

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Delta Pi, published (with photographs of students) in 1965. The Washington Library in Macon has geneological studies and family papers relating to Wesleyan alumnae and faculty. The Atlanta Historical Society has the Flourney/Winship collection with Wesleyan memorabilia.

Shorter has ample sources on its history and early alumnae at its campus in Rome. Scrapbooks, handbooks, matriculation ledgers, church preference records, photographs, bulletins, catalogues, annuals (The Iris and The Argo), and The Chimes (news and literary journal) are housed in the Memorabilia Room in the Administration Building. The Shorter Library also has a set of catalogues and annuals. The Trustees' Minutes were made available to me in the Memorabilia Room. Across the hall is the Alumni (since 1943 Shorter has been co-educational) Office where alumni files are kept. At least one thesis, Lydia Dixon Sheppard's in 1941, has been written about Shorter's founding. President Luther Rice Gwaltney wrote a historical sketch for the 1898 Iris, and President A. W. Van Hoose wrote essays in 1910 and 1915 on Shorter's history, as did Paul M. Cousins, B. D. Ragsdale, and Sheppard in the 1930's and 1940's. In 1972, Professor Robert G. Gardner brought Shorter's history up to date. Dr. Mary Frances Shuford's novel Midge, published in 1929, is thought to have been set at Shorter.

Agnes Scott's alumnae files, class scrapbooks, annuals, and mailing lists are housed in the Alumnae House on the

campus in Decatur. The McCain Library has an archives room with administrative and faculty files, catalogues, annuals (The Aurora and The Silhouette), newspaper files of The Agonistic, handbooks, literary society journals, old school-books and Bible texts, and applicants' sample notebooks in science and English which were submitted as admissions credentials. Julia Lake Skinner Kellersburger's Betty (1943) recounts the life of a campus leader at Agnes Scott in the 1930s. Two Agnes Scott presidents have written histories of the college, F. H. Gaines and J. R. McCain. Dr. Young included Agnes Scott's curriculum in her 1927 survey of the curricula of southern women's colleges. History professor Amy Friedlander published two scholarly articles on Agnes Scott; one about the college at the turn of the century in Atlanta Historical Journal (1979-80) and another on its goals and purposes during the first decades of the century, in Goodenow and White's Education and the Rise of the New South (1980). In 1983 Professor Emeritus Edward McNair wrote a valuable booklength history of Agnes Scott College. Professor Louise McKinney's reminiscences and notebooks are in Dr. McNair's office in the McCain Library on loan from Caroline McKinney Clarke.

Spelman's sources have been meticulously and carefully kept and guarded. The school's story is chronicled in the complete file of the Spelman Messenger (a unique resource for black women's educational history) which is housed in

the Quarles Library on the campus in Atlanta. Also there is a complete set of Spelman catalogues and special bulletins and booklets which can be used in the Women's Research and Resource Center near the library. The Spelman Alumnae Office has folders on each alumna and files on most of them, as well as photographs, old textbooks, report cards, tuition ledger books, and Miss Packard's and Miss Giles' diaries. The Atlanta Historical Society has an incomplete set of Spelman catalogues, clippings, WABHMS journals and publications, and some genealogical history relating to Spelman and Morehouse alumnae. Spelman has been the topic of several scholarly articles by its presidents and professors and the subject of two full length books. See Beverly Guy-Sheftall in the Journal of Negro Education (1982), Florence Read in Opportunity (1937), and Lucy Hale Tapley in Opportunity (1923) and in the Atlanta Historical Quarterly (1930). In 1961 Florence Read wrote the first book-length history of Spelman. Beverly Guy-Sheftall and Jo Moore Stewart published an illustrated history for Spelman's centennial in 1981. Alice Walker's Color Purple (1982) has many Spelman missionary models in it and reflects the intense mission-mindedness of the era before and after World War I.

Morehouse catalogues and other resources for Negro history, such as the papers of Lugenia Burns Hope and the Neighborhood Union and the files of The Athenaeum, are in

the Special Collections section, Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center.

Interviews with surviving alumnae and their families have been a major resource and have added vitality and variety to the study. A major source for Spelman during the 1900 to 1920 period was Ethel McGhee Davis, a student during the period and later, in 1926, the first Negro administrator at Spelman. Josephine Harreld Love has shared her own childhood recollections of growing up on the campus and many papers of her mother, Spelman's first graduate Claudia White Harreld. Morehouse History Professor Alton Hornesby helped direct me to Morehouse materials.

Important resource persons associated with the white colleges were Julia Lake Skinner Kellersberger ('19), Julia Anderson McNeely ('17), and Caroline McKinney Clarke ('27), who provided me with living links to Angas Scott during the Progressive era. Professor W. Edward McNair shared his recent research findings with me. Jack Long Willingham ('11), now deceased, told me about school days at Old Shorter. Shorter Professor Robert Gardner and his wife Anne answered questions and found details I needed from their recent research on Shorter for On the Hill. Wesleyan's Alumnae Director Alice Domingos, now retired, shared her vast store of knowledge about Wesleyan and directed me to resources and people who could tell me Wesleyan's story from 1900 to 1920. Freda Kaplan Nadler's ('23) interview was

especially informative. Scrapbooks, catalogues and annuals loaned by Regina Ann Benson Goldsworthy and Annie Gantt Jones gave me valuable access to the Wesleyan campus life in the early twentieth century through their mothers' papers.

Records of denominations and their educational commissions were useful also. Methodist materials at Emory University include the Minutes of the North Georgia Conference, in the Pitts Theological Library, and papers of Wesleyan alumnae and Methodist leaders, in the Special Collections of the Woodruff Library. The Minutes of the South Georgia Conference are in the Arthur J. Moore Methodist Museum at Epworth-by-the-Sea Center, St. Simons Island. The Minutes of the Georgia Baptist Convention, the Floyd County Baptist Association, Baptist women's missionary records, and the records of the First Baptist Church of Rome, Georgia, are housed in the Stetson Library of Mercer University in Macon. The Baptist Center in Atlanta also has a file of the early Georgia Convention Minutes, with reports of the educational commission. Presbyterian archives are at The Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches in Montreat, North Carolina. The Minutes of the Synod of Georgia, particularly the Education Commission reports, periodicals and journals, educational institution files, and photographic files were searched. I also consulted Presbyterian journals, reference works, and professors at Columbia Seminary in Decatur.

The records of Spelman's origins under the Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society of New England (WABHMS) are in the Spelman archives. Copies of articles from the WABHMS journal are also at the Atlanta Historical Society.

Applications for funding for all four women's colleges (and Morehouse) with related correspondence, are located in the Rockefeller Archives Center (RAC) in Tarrytown, New York. Grant applications required schools to submit information about tuition, enrollments, budgets, faculty salaries and credentials, curriculum, libraries, buildings, laboratory facilities, plans for expansion, support of the community, financial stability of the community, radius of patronage, etc. This valuable archive was pointed out in Andrea Hindings' Women's History Sources (1979).

Also of special value were the papers and publications of the Southern Association of College Women (SACW), which surveyed higher education in the South from 1903 to 1920, gathered data, analyzed it, and wrote and published reports. The papers include rosters of SACW members, showing the colleges they attended. The publications of the SACW were a great spur to effort and a guide and standard for the Georgia women's colleges working to upgrade their faculties and curricula. Many of these papers are in the Agnes Scott Archives in the McCain Library. Others are at the Georgia Department of Archives and History.

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The classic history of women's education in the United States is Thomas Woody's two-volume work published in 1929, which is still reliable. However, it has been superseded this year (1985) by In the Company of Educated Women, Harvard Professor Barbara Miller Solomon's scholarly, comprehensive general survey of women's education published by the Yale University Press. Scripps College Professor of History Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz's Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from their Nineteenth Century Beginnings to the 1930s, the newest account of the Seven Sisters (plus four more northeastern women's colleges), came out from Arno Press in 1984. Both of these new works connect the women's colleges and their graduates directly to the major issues of women's history and the broad themes of American cultural history. These two books have made it possible to compare the four southern schools with the Seven Sisters and put the South into the context of the national trends in education.

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women's colleges in Georgia which were established during the ante-bellum period, respectively the Civil War, and survived until 1900 were:

colleges in this study.

established college	location	county	affiliation	date closed	current status as a women's college
1836 Ga. Female College Wesleyan (Female) College	Macon	(Bibb)	S. Meth.	—	accredited by SACSS, 1919
1847 La Grange Female College	La Grange	(Troup)	S. Meth.	—	coed 1930, 1931
1849 Forsyth (Monroe Co.) Female College (also University)	Forsyth	(Monroe)	S. Bapt.	—	coed See Bessie Tift College (1907)
1855 Cherokee College of Georgia (Rome)	Rome	(Floyd)	S. Bapt.	1857	See Rome Female College
1850 Southern (Female) College	La Grange	(Troup)	S. Bapt.	c. 1910	See Cox College
1851 Southern (Female) College also known as Athens Woman's College	Covington	(Newton)	Free Masons 1887 S. Meth. 1894 city of Covington	c. 1900	
1854 Andrew (Female) College	Cuthbert	(Randolph)	S. Meth.	—	coed
1857 Rome Female College	Rome, Statesville & Greensboro, N.C. & Rome	(Floyd)	S. Presby. Synod & S. Baptist support; also private. Caldwell Family	1890	See Shorter College
1859 Lucy Cobb Institute	Athens	(Clarke)	TRN Cobb family private	1931	
1860 Young's (Female) College	Thomasville	(Thomas)	E. Meth. 1903 S. Presby.	c. 1915	

Appendix I

Georgia Women's Colleges in the Nineteenth Century

The women's colleges in Georgia which were established during the ante-bellum period, reopened after the Civil War, and survived until 1900 were:

*Colleges in this study.

Date established as a college	location	county	affiliation	date closed	current status as a women's college
*1.1836 Ga. Female College Wesleyan (Female) College	Macon	(Bibb)	S. Meth.	—	accredited by SACSS, 1919
2.1847 La Grange (Female) College	La Grange	(Troup)	S. Meth.	—	coed
3.1849 Forsyth or Monroe (Co.) (Female) College (also University)	Forsyth	(Monroe)	S. Bapt.	—	coed See Bessie Tift College (1907)
4.1850 Cherokee College of Georgia (Rome)	Rome	(Floyd)	S. Bapt.	1857	See Rome Female College
5.1850 Southern (Female) College	La Grange	(Troup)	S. Bapt.	c. 1910	See Cox College
6.1851 Southern (Female) College also known as Southern Masonic Female College	Covington	(Newton)	Free Masons 1882 S. Meth. 1894 city of Covington	c. 1900	
7.1854 Andrew (Female) College	Cuthbert	(Randolph)	S. Meth.	—	coed
8.1857 Rome (Female) College	Rome, Statesville & Greensboro, N.C. & Rome	(Floyd)	S. Presby. Synod & S. Baptist support; also private. Caldwell Family	1890	See Shorter College
9.1859 Lucy Cobb Institute	Athens	(Clarke)	TRR Cobb family private	1931	
10.1860 Young's (Female) College	Thomasville	(Thomas)	S. Meth. 1903 S. Presby.	c. 1915	

Women's Colleges Established in Georgia between 1860 and 1900.

Date Established as a college	location	county	affiliation	closed	status
1.1873 Cherokee Baptist Female College	Rome	(Floyd)	S. Baptist	1887	See Shorter College
2.1878 Georgia Baptist College Brenau (Female) College	Gainesville	(Hall)	S. Baptist to private	—	
3.1879 Shorter Female College	"	"	S. Baptist		coed 1948 accredited by SACSS, 1923
4.1881 Spelman Female Seminary 1897-1924 "annex" to Atlanta Baptist College/ Morehouse 1924-Spelman College	Atlanta	(Fulton)	WABHMS (N. Bapt. affil.)	—	Given an "A" rating by SACSS, 1932
5.1889 State Normal & Industrial School (Ga. State College for Women)	Milledgeville in Old Governor's Mansion	(Baldwin)	State	—	1917 granted AB degrees; now Georgia College coed
6.1889 Agnes Scott Institute	Decatur	(DeKalb)	S. Presby. affil.	—	accredited by SACSS, 1906-17
7.1891 State Normal School 1904 Dept. of U. GA. (1918) 1923 Coordinate Campus for Women	Athens, in Old Rock College	(Clarke)	State	—	coed 1918 U. of GA admitted women to all depts.
8.1895-96 Cox College	College Park	(Floyd)	Cox family private	c. 1920	

Sources: Works Progress Administration, Georgia Records Survey, Georgia Educational Institutions, Boxes 1-6, Ms. 1063 in the Georgia Collection, Special Collections Division, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Georgia. See also Barbour's list and D. Orr, History of Education in Georgia.

Appendix II: Faculty Salaries

Material to reconstruct the salary scales for the faculties of the four women's colleges is fragmentary. The following gives a general idea of the wages paid between 1900 and 1920.

A. White College Faculty Salaries (Men and Women, White only)

1. Shorter - Teacher Salaries

1919 War conditions reduced number of men on faculty.

4 men: 22 women: 26 total

	Men	Women	Total
Full time professors	2	12	14
" " assist. prof.	0	1	1
" " Instructors	0	3	3

Total in college of Arts & Sciences	<u>2</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>18</u>
-------------------------------------	----------	-----------	-----------

Professors in Dept. of Fine Arts

2	6	8
---	---	---

Total

<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>
----------	----------	----------

Partial figures from application for grant money from the GEB:

Number of Faculty		Total Paid		Average salaries	
1914-15	1919-20	1914-15	1919-20	1914-15	1919-20
Professors 9	12	\$10,150	\$18,200	\$1,128	\$1,517
Instructors 11	2	\$500	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,500

All salaries were raised 20% for 1920-21

Actual salaries paid reflect sex discrimination and the new emphasis on science at Shorter. In 1918-19, Dean Alison P. Hickson, Professor of Physics with a B.A. from Furman (1901) and an M.A. from Eastern College (1902) with teaching experience as head of physics at Baylor and as an

associate in research at the Rice Institute, drew the faculty's highest salary, \$2,400. Professor of history Clara Louise Kellogg, a Ph.B. from Baylor with an M.A. from Columbia University and a member of the faculty one year longer (1917), received a salary of \$1,200. Dr. Marie Lyle, professor of English literature since 1918, with a Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota (1917), received \$1,300. Wellesley alumna Dr. Effie Freeman Thompson, who held a doctorate from the University of Chicago, was Professor of Biblical Literature at Shorter and drew \$1,150 a year. The next year Professor of Psychology William D. Furry, a graduate of Notre Dame (1900) who held a Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins (1907) and a Phi Beta Kappa key, drew a beginning salary of \$1,900. English Professor Dr. Marie Lyle, with one more year's seniority, drew \$1,450. Dean Alison Hickson, physics professor, received no raise in salary the following year. History professor Dr. Clara Louise Kellogg received a \$100 increment, making her salary to \$1,300 for the 1919-20 session.

The pay scale for 1920-21 at Shorter clearly discriminated according to sex. The highest faculty salaries went to men. Physics professor Hickson (M.A.), who was also Dean, received \$3,000; Dr. William Furry, professor of psychology, received \$2,400. Chemistry professor Dr. Everett E. Porter received a salary of \$2,500, and biology professor E.G. White was to receive \$1,900, indicating Shorter's effort to impact their science program. Two men teaching in the humanities also received high wages. Returning faculty member Paul M. Cousins, professor of English, B.A. Mercer, with a new M.A. degree from Columbia, drew \$2,150, and J.P. Craft, professor of Bible and Sociology, received \$2,000.

2. The highest paid women, Dr. Clara Thompson (who taught Latin) and Dr. Clara Kellogg (who taught history), had earned doctorates and received \$1,650 for the 1920-21 session. In administration, the president's salary was raised a thousand dollars from \$5,000 a year in 1918-19 to \$6,000 a year for 1920-21.

Sources: Shorter faculty salary scales are in the GA#206 folder of the GEB records at the RAC in Tarrytown, N.Y.

Salary paid:	1918-19	1920-21	1921-22
8 full professors (best)	\$1,500	2,100	2,500
11 " " " (average)	1,400	2,100	2,500
9 Asso.	1,700	1,700	2,000
9 Instructors	800	1,150	1,500
President	5,000	4,200	?
V. Pres.	3,000	3,300	?
Dean	2,000	2,500	?
Librarian	1,000	1,300	?

2. Agnes Scott -- Teachers' Salaries

Hiring salaries in 1890's:

Miss Nanette Hopkins: Principal Dean \$600 -- 1889

Miss Cook: teacher - \$400 -- 1889

Professor Dr. J.R. McCain - \$2,100 (plus house) -- 1915

President Dr. J.R. McCain -- 1923 -- salary \$6,200

(same as Dr. Gaines' had been)

" " " " 1929 \$10,000 plus \$400 for entertainment

Dr. McCain gave back \$2,500 of his salary per year for 10 years.

Salary paid:	<u>1919-20</u> per each	<u>1920-21</u> per each	<u>1921-22</u> per each
8 full professors (men)	\$1,800	2,100	2,500
11 " " (women)	1,650	2,100	2,500
9 Asso. "	1,350	1,700	2,000
9 Instructors	850	1,150	1,500
President	3,600	4,200	?
V. Pres.	3,000	3,300	?
Dean	2,000	2,500	?
Librarian	1,000	1,300	?

Agnes Scott Salary Scale and Intended Increases with GEB grant money:

There is no complete salary scale for Wesleyan. A few samples of faculty salaries appear in the records.

	1920-21	1923-24
President	\$5,000	\$6,000
VP	4,000	5,000
Dean (woman)	3,000	3,600
Treasurer	2,400	-----
Business Manager	3,000	-----
Professor	2,500	2,750-3,000
Asso. Prof.	2,000	2,075-2,300
Asst. Prof. & Inst. Assist.	1,400	1,050-1,550

--- Miss Sallie S. DuPré --- assist in music and French

Sources: Agnes Scott's salary information for the 1890s was found in McNair, pp. 5, 54-55, 65, 69, 82, and for 1900-1920 in GA #39 folder in the GEB records at the RAC.

In 1912 and 1921 Wesleyan applied to the General Education Board for funds to improve teachers' salaries in spite of a denominational edict discouraging it. Wesleyan's 1929 application to the GEB was for recognition on the list of approved colleges of the Association of American Universities. Unfortunately they gave no names and precise figures on their applications. In 1920 Wesleyan reported twelve full time professors and four full time instructors on the college faculty. They were paid a total sum of \$23,175 or nearly \$1,500 per person.

3. Wesleyan - Teachers' Salaries

There is no complete salary scale for Wesleyan. A few samples of faculty salaries appear in college records.

Wesleyan -- (1909-30) Note: Teachers given "no additional compensation, as rented by college."

Faculty Salaries at Wesleyan (1882-83)

Contracts for teachers 1882-83

-- Professors Hamon and Derry -- \$1,500 (10 mons.)

-- Miss Daniel 2,400 \$3.50 per pupil

Prof. pay board at rate of \$20.00 per month.

-- Miss Tolson will serve as matron at \$25.00 per month and home.

-- Miss Minnie Forsythe -- governess and teach at \$400

Sources: Wesleyan Faculty Minutes, Contracts for teachers 1882-83 in the Register, plus home (except washing) (10 mons.) in Georgia, and GA #192 folder, GEB, PAC.

-- Miss Sallie S. DuPré -- assist in music and French

\$450 and home

6 to 7 hours work for 10 school months.

In 1912 and 1921 Wesleyan applied to the General Education Board for funds to improve teachers' salaries in spite of a denominational edict discouraging it. Wesleyan's 1929 application to the GEB was for recognition on the list of approved colleges of the Association of American Universities. Unfortunately they gave no names and precise figures on their applications. In 1920 Wesleyan reported twelve full time professors and four full time instructors on the college faculty. They were paid a total sum of \$23,175 or nearly \$1,500 per person.

The 1929-30 application form showed Wesleyan faculty making the following amounts:

Wesleyan -- (1929-30)

Note: Teachers given "no additional compensation, like house rented by college."

Instructors \$1,600

Assist. Prof. 2,000

Assoc. Prof. 2,400

Professor 3,000

Benjamin G. Bradley, A.B.

John B. Watson, Ph.D.

Sources: Wesleyan Faculty Minutes, Contracts for teachers 1882-83 in the Registrar's Office at Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia, and GA #192 folder, GEB, RAC.

Mrs. C.C. Smith

Charles H. Wardlaw, A.B.

James T. Germany, Registrar, A.B.

Mrs. G. Walsman

Miss Mary M. Moll, A.B.

paid by Spelman [no figure given]

English Preparatory Dept.

Miss Maggie Rogers

Miss Mabel Dinkins

Miss Ida Rivers

Matron

Mrs. D.E. Harvey

Eleven of the above faculty members were Negroes, including the President, and represent Brown, Colgate, University of Chicago, Roger Williams University, Atlanta Baptist College, Bishop College, Spelman, and Wayland Seminars. In 1907 there were five white teachers, representing the

B. Negro College Faculty Salaries (Men and Women, Negro and White) Rochester1. Atlanta Baptist College (Morehouse) (1907) (Complete faculty listing)

John Hope, A.M. (Brown U.)	<u>President</u>	\$1,500
	<u>Divinity Dept.</u>	
Rev. C.C. Smith, A.M.		1,100
Rev. George A. Goodwin		900
Rev. R.L. Van Deman, A.M.		800
	<u>Collegiate and Academic</u>	
Benjamin G. Brawley, A.B.		700
John B. Watson, Ph.B.		700
S. H. Archer, A.B.		700
Mrs. C.C. Smith		200
Charles H. Wardlaw, A.B.		400
James T. Germany, Registrar, A.B.		400
Mrs. G. Walsman		400
Miss Mary M. Moll, A.B.	paid by Spelman	[no figure given]
	<u>English Preparatory Dept.</u>	
Miss Maggie Rogers		442
Miss Mabell Dinkins		320
Miss Ida Rivers		280
Matron		
Mrs. D.E. Harvey		400

Eleven of the above faculty members were Negroes, including the President, and represent Brown, Colgate, University of Chicago, Roger Williams University, Atlanta Baptist College, Bishop College, Spelman, and Wayland Seminars. In 1907 there were five white teachers, representing the

University of Chicago, University of Nebraska, Indiana State, Rochester Theological Seminary, and Potsdam Conservatory of Music.

John Hope, President	\$2,500	\$200
S.H. Archer	1,000	100
B.G. Brawley	1,000	100
B.F. Bullock	910	100
Miss Penelope Burwell	750	40
John W. Davis	800	200
Charles D. Hubert	700	100
Kesper Harreld	700	100
Mrs. M.R. Howard	500	50
George W. Johnson	800	100
E.W. Latson	500	200
Mrs. Emily L. Weir	450	50
Clinton E. Warner	280	150

\$1,700 needed to
impact teachers'
salaries

In 1916 Dr. Hope wrote that he would like to employ an additional science teacher for \$900 and an economics teacher for \$650. He continued: "I shall try to get one [science teacher] for \$800. I would like to have an additional instructor in English and I believe I might get such a one for \$500.a number of the men now working on our faculty have been offered better salaries, but have remained here because of their great devotion to the college...."

Spelman and Warehouse Sources: GSB 10 (Spelman) #57, and #85 (Atlanta Baptist College/Warehouse), GSB, PAC.

Negro Faculty Salaries (Complete figures)

<u>Morehouse</u>	(1916)	Present salary	Increase hoped for
John Hope, President		\$1,500	\$300
S.H. Archer		1,000	100
B.G. Brawley		1,300	200
B.F. Bullock		910	140
Miss Penelope Burwell		360	40
John W. Davis		800	200
Charles D. Hubert		900	100
Kemper Harreld		700	100
Mrs. M.R. Howard		500	50
George W. Johnson		600	100
E.W. Latson		500	200
Mrs. Emily L. Weir		450	50
Clinton E. Warner		380	150

\$1,800 needed to
impact teachers'
salaries

In 1916 Dr. Hope wrote that he would like to employ an additional science teacher for \$900 and an economics teacher for \$680. He continued: "I shall try to get one [science teacher] for \$800. I would like to have an additional instructor in English and I believe I might get such a one for \$500.a number of the men now working on our faculty have been offered better salaries, but have remained here because of their great devotion to the college...."

Spelman and Morehouse Sources: GA# 10 (Spelman) #57, and #88 (Atlanta Baptist College/Morehouse), GEB, RAC.

Negro College Faculty Salaries: Pre-1907, information is fragmentary.

2. Spelman Seminary — (1902-03, 1909-10) (Predominantly white women, several Negro women)

Extremely low salaries -- "We will lose some of our best teachers as they cannot maintain their families on the amount" they were receiving. (Giles)

1902-03	Cost of Administration	1902-03
		<hr/>
	Salaries of President, Secretary, Bookkeeper	\$1,995
1902-03	Academic Expense	
	Salaries	total: \$10,105.60
	Extra expenses	
	Increase of salary of bookkeeper	\$100
	Salary of extra office clerk	\$500

Teachers' salaries (1909) GEB correspondence with President Giles.

"We find it difficult to secure competent, experienced teachers for the price we can pay." (Giles)

- board is not as high as in the north, but
 - traveling expenses eat up a large slice of salary.
 - if no homes to go to, they must pay board during long vacation.
 - cost of clothing has increased. Relatives dependent on them for support.
- "\$500 now [1909] does not go nearly as far as \$500 did fifteen years ago [1894]." (Giles)

"Three valuable teachers came here for missionary motives. They cannot afford to return. One gave up a position paying \$900 and came to Spelman for \$400 this year [1909]." (Giles)

Spelman Teachers' Salaries - 1909 (Complete)

Heads of Departments: 6 receive more than \$500

2	receive	\$800
1	"	650
2	"	600
1	"	550
19	Faculty members receive	\$500
1	"	480
6	"	450
7	"	400
8	receive less than	\$400

Board and travelling come out of this. Food costs up. Board on campus \$12.00 a month. Can't raise rent because salaries are so low.

Income (1910-11)

WABHMS Society has for years contributed towards the salaries of teachers.

Appropriation now is \$8,000

	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
GE Board	\$12,000	12,000	12,000
Slater Fund	5,000	5,000	5,000

Teachers	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11
Budget			
Administration			
Salaries	\$3,600	4,000	4,000
Salaries	12,300	14,000	13,000

Negro College Faculty Salaries

<u>Spelman Seminary</u>	1918-1919	(Negro and white women)
Administration Salaries (all women)		
President (12 months) Lucy Hale Tapley		\$1,800
Dean (12 months) (part-time) Edith V. Brill		250
Treasurer (12 months) Angie E. Kendall		1,100
Secretary (8 months) Estelle P. Macpherson (part-time)		325
Bookkeeper (8 mos.) Anna Smedley		550
Asst. Bookkeeper (8 mos.) Inez E. Adkins		450

Hospital and Nurse Training

Dean, Eule E. Welling	750
Supt. of Nurses, Edith F. Brooks	650
Matron (part-time) Mabel A. Topping	275
Summer months	375

(In 1919-20) \$625

Teachers

Bible teacher, May C. Hamilton (part-time)	\$325
College teacher, Maude L. Merrihew, A.B. tenure at Spelman: 1911-1914, and 1917-1919	600
Home Economics Principal, Edna Aune	800
" " " additional teacher	600

<u>Spelman's College teacher at Morehouse</u>	(8 mos.) 1922-23	(8 mos.) 1923-24
Clara H. Denslow (8 mos.)	\$1,150	\$1,200
Administration		
Dean, Edna E. Lamson (12 mos.)	2,000	2,200
Dean's Assist. Pauline I. Wright (8 mos.)	1,200	1,250
President, Lucy Hale Tapley (12 mos.)	2,500	2,600
Treasurer, Angie E. Kendall (12 mos.)	2,000	2,200
Bookkeeper, J. Louise Fowler (10 mos.)	1,062.50	1,250
Secretary, Phern G. Rockefeller (10 mos.)	1,187.50	1,250

Spelman Seminary/Spelman College

new 9 mos. term — 1924-1925

	1923-24	1924-25
College Professors (maximum \$1,800)	(8 mos.)	(9 mos.)
Winifred J. Dunbrack (college)	\$1,100	\$1,600
Wilhelmina M. Kurrelmeyer (college) (1913--) A.B.	1,100	1,400
additional college teacher		1,800
College Instructors (maximum \$1,400)		
Clara H. Denslow (college)	1,200	1,350
(tenure at Spelman — 1895-1908) (no degree) 1919---		

Sources: Spelman and Morehouse faculty salary scales in GA #10, #70, and #157 of GEB at RAC.

Appendix III: Faculty Statistical Summary:

*2F 1M (part-time) *part-time

Courses of Instruction - 1900

Curriculum Divisions:	Wesleyan	Shorter	Agnes Scott	Spelman/(Morehouse)
	Departments	Schools	Courses of Instruction	Collegiate Courses
Bible 1, 2 (O.T.) " 3, 4, (N.T.): Christian Church	Courses Hours (4) 1	Courses Hours (4) 1	Courses Hours (3) 2	Courses Hours/Title (3) (1 OR 1/2 NT)
Mental & Moral Sc.	(9)	in Psych/Ethics-	Philosophy	
Logic & Econ. Psych & Ethics	3 3 3 3	1 2 2 2 Psych. Ethics	1 1 2 & Psych. 2 Hist. of Philo.	1 1 Logic Psych.
Evidences of Christianity Hist. of Philo.	3 3	1 2 Evidences of Christ.	1 1 Pedagogy Education	1 Ethics
Math & Astron.	(5)	(9) Math	(5) Math	(3)
I. Alge/Geom. Plane Geom. II. Solid Geom. Trig.	3 3 1 1 1 1 1 1	4 4 4 4 3 & Survey ing	1 1 5 4 4 4 Plane Spherical	1 1 4 College Alg. 4 Solid Geom. 4 Plane Trig.
III. Analytic Geom. (elect.) Astronomy (descript.) Calculus (elec.) Gen. Astronomy (elec.) Diff. & Inter. Cal.	1 1 1 2 (in Nat'l Sci.)	3 3	1 1 Analy. Geom.	1 4
IV. Gen. Astronomy (elec.) Diff. & Inter. Cal.	2 2 diff. & inter. cal.	1 1 diff. cal.	1 1 diff. cal.	
V. Theory of Equations & Determinants			1 4 Higher Algebra	

1900

Symbols: *required course

	Wesleyan Departments	Shorter Schools	Agnes Scott Courses of Instruction	Spelman/(Morehouse) Collegiate Courses
	Courses Hours	Courses Hours	Courses Hours	Courses Hours/Title
Natural Science	(1)	(9)	(13)	(4)
Physics 1ec/lab	2 3/4	1 4	2 3/3	1 2/4 lab
Chemistry 1ec/lab	2 3/4	2 2 Gen. Quant. Anal.	3 1, 2, 1	2 6 elem. QA lab
Biology	3	1 2	3	
Nat. Hist. - Botany lab	3	1 3	1	
*Physiology & Hygiene	3/4 3	2 2 Applied Adv. Physiol. (health)	1 4 2/7	
Gen. Biology lab	3			
Geology	2	1 3 zoology 1 2 & mineralo- logy	1 3	1 2/4 labs
*Elem. Geol. lab			1 Astron.	
Advanced Geol.				
English Literature	(8)	-(7)	(7) Lang. & Lit.	(7)
1. Am. Lit.		1 3	1 2 Hist. of	1 1
2. Eng. Lit.		1 3	1 2 Poetry	1 Am. Eng.
3. 19th C. Poets		1	1	1
4. 19th C. Essayists		1	1	1
5. Milton/Greek Drama		1	1	1

	Wesleyan Departments	Shorter Schools	Agnes Scott Courses of Instruction	Spelman/(Morehouse) Collegiate Courses
1900	Courses Hours	Courses Hours	Courses Hours	Courses Hours/Title
Rhetoric & Anglo-Saxon	(3)	(4)	(4)	(3)
*Comp. *Themes Anglo-Sax. Life	-2 1	3/3 3	1 1 1 1 2 Hist. of 2 Eng. Lang.	1 1 1 1 Argumentation
History	(4)	(5) and Pol. Sci.	(4)	(3)
Rome/Greece Mod. Europe Hist. of U.S. " " Eng.	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1	1 1 1 1
Ancient Languages	(8)	(13)	(10)	(13)
Latin Greek	4 4	8 5	6 4	3
Modern Languages	(9)	(6)	(6)	(2)
French German Spanish	3 3 3	3 3 3	3 3 3	2 lit. conversation
Music	(29) Conservatory	(7) College of	(12) School of	(4) Department of
Piano	5	1	3	1 use New Eng. Con- servatory plans of teaching
Theory Harmony & Comp. Post-Grad. Course Violin Harp Vocal Culture	1 1 3 5 5 1 1	1 1 1 1 1	5 1 1 1	1 1 1 1

	Wesleyan Departments	Shorter Schools	Agnes Scott Courses of Instruction	Spelman/(Morehouse) Collegiate Courses
1900				
Music (cont.)	Courses Hours	Courses Hours	Courses Hours	Courses Points
Chorus	1	1 ensemble	1 Musical Sci.	1
Organ	1	1	1	
Mandolin	1			
Guitar	1			
Cornet	1			
Banjo	1			
Italian Harp	1		Certificates awarded in voice & piano	
Elocution & Physical Culture	(4)	School of Oratory		(points)
Elocution	3	1 (Oratory)		1 argumentation in Eng.
Physical Culture	1	1 gym basketball, tennis, golfette, archery,		-
Art	(5) informal	(6) School of	(4) School of	(0) -
Life Class	1 -supplementary	1 free-draw	1	
Sketching/Draw	1 -		1	
Still Life	1 -model statuary	3 draw-paint dec. art club	2 1 Clay	
Perspective	1 -		1	
Model in Clay	get an art diploma club			
Art History				
School of Psychology & Ethics	(4)			(6)
Psychology	(See - Mental & Moral Sc.)	1 2	See Philosophy	2 4
Logic	1	1 2		1 4
Ethics	1	1 2		1 4 argument
Evidences of Christianity	1	2		1 3
Philosophy	(0)	(0)	Philosophy Dept.	
Educational Psych.			1 3 (Jrs.)	
History & Philo. of Educ.			1 3 (Srs.)	

Appendix IV

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Part B

Courses of Instruction - 1920

(SACSS) Southern Assoc. of Colleges & Secondary Schools year accredited		Wesleyan (accredited 1919)	Shorter (accredited 1923)	Agnes Scott (accredited 1907)	Spelman/(Morehouse) (designated class "A" college 1932)
Curriculum Divisions					
Symbols					
Abbrev.					
*required course	:prerequisite	No. of Hours	Courses	Hrs.	Courses
**teacher prep.	%elective	duration/Semes-			Hrs.
-omitted course	^limited	ters			
+added course	credit				
\$fee	s.h.=semester				
=paired courses	hours				
Mathematics					
	(7)		(5)	(10) Science/Math	(3)
Solid geometry (& spherical)	1/2 yr. 3 s.h.			1/2 yr. 1 1/2	1/2 yr.
Plane Trigonometry	3			1/2 yr. 1 1/2	1/2
College Algebra (advanced)	" 3			1/2 " 1 1/2	1/2
Analytic Geometry	" 3	**1/2 yr. 5 hrs.		1/2 " 3 s.h.	1/2
Differential & Integral Calculus	1 yr. 3	*1/2 " 5 " (sophs.) not off. Latin	1	" 3	
Theory of Equations (& Determinants)	1/2 yr. 3		1/2	" 1 1/2	
Solid Analytic Geometry	" 3		1/2	" 1 1/2	
Elementary Math. Analysis (algebra, geometry, trig. basics)	*1 yr. 5	* 1 yr. 5 hrs.			
Advanced Calculus & Diff. Equations	1/2 yr. 5	1/2 yr. 5 "			
Differential Equations	1/2 " 5	1/2 yr. 5 "	1/2	" 1 1/2	**
History of Mathematics			1/2	" 1 1/2	
Teachers' Course (high sch. methods.)			**1/2	" 1 1/2	*Manual Training (Mechanical Drawing)
Astronomy					
	(1)				
Descriptive (non-math)	1/2 yr. 3 s.h.			1 yr. 3 s.h.	ol/2 yr. (labs.)

Courses of Instruction (cont.)

Courses of Instruction (cont.)		Wesleyan	Shorter	Agnes Scott	Spelman/(Morehouse)
Physics	(2)	(6)	5 s.h.	(4)	3 s.h. (1)
General Physics	1 yr. 3+3 (lab.)	1 yr. 1+4 (sophs.)	1 yr. 1+4	1 yr.	1+3 lab
Advanced Physics	**1	1 1/2 yr. 1+4	1+4 (lab)	1+3 lab	1 yr. (heat, (chem. & sound, light, lab.)
Elementary Gen. Physics		1 1/2 yr. 1+4	1+4 (lab)	1+3 lab	magnetism, electricity, & mechanics.
Thermodynamics (Heat)		-	3+6 (lab)	(2+3) 1 1/2	
Advanced Electricity & Magnetism (Sound)		-	3+6 (lab)	(2+3) 1 1/2	
Advanced Light		-	3+6 (lab)	(2+3) 1 1/2	
Mechanics, Molecular Physics & Heat		-	3+6 (lab)	(2+3) 1 1/2	
Theoretical Mechanics				(2+3) 1 1/2	
Chemistry	(5)	(6)	(8)	(2)	
General Chemistry	1 yr. 3+3 (lab)	1 yr. 1+4 s.h. (Foods)	(1+3) 3 s.h.	1 yr. (descriptive & industrial, with 4 hr. lab.	
Chemistry of Foods (& Textiles)	1/2 yr. 3+3	1/2 yr. 5 "	(2+3) 3 "	1 yr. (descriptive & industrial, with 4 hr. lab.	
Qualitative Analysis	1/2 yr. 2+6	1/2 yr. 5 "	(1+6) 1 1/2 "	1 yr. (descriptive & industrial, with 4 hr. lab.	
Quantitative Analysis	1/2 yr. 2+6	1/2 yr. 5 "	(1+6) 1 1/2 "	1 yr. (descriptive & industrial, with 4 hr. lab.	
Organic Chemistry	1 yr. 3+3	1/2 yr. 5 or 10	(3+3) 3 "	1 yr. (descriptive & industrial, with 4 hr. lab.	
Advanced Chemical Analysis			(3+3) 3 "	1 yr. (descriptive & industrial, with 4 hr. lab.	
Home Sanitation			(3+3) 3 "	1 yr. (descriptive & industrial, with 4 hr. lab.	
Advanced Quantitative Analysis			(3+3) 3 "	1 yr. (descriptive & industrial, with 4 hr. lab.	
Analysis			(3+3) 3 "	1 yr. (descriptive & industrial, with 4 hr. lab.	
Organic Preparations			(3+3) 3 "	1 yr. (descriptive & industrial, with 4 hr. lab.	
Ancient Languages	(11)	(7)	(22)	(10)	
Latin (entrance units)	(7)* 1 unit	(7)* 1 unit	(15)* 3 or 4 units	(7)* in Latin course only	
Vergil's Aeneid & Compo.	1 yr. 3 s.h.	1/2 yr. 5 s.h.	1/2 yr. 1 1/2 s.h.	Composition	
Catullus, Tibullus, Ovid, Propertius	1/2 yr.	1/2 yr.	1/2 yr.	Composition	
Roman Comedy (Terence, Plautus)	1/2 "	1/2 "	1/2 "	Composition	
Tacitus' Germania & Agricola	1/2 "	1/2 "	1/2 "	Composition	
Juvenal's Satires	1/2 "	1/2 "	1/2 "	Composition	
Teachers' Course (methods)	1/2 "	1/2 "	1/2 "	Composition	
Livy, Horace (historical prose)	**1	1/2 "	**1	Composition	
Roman Comedy & Tragedy (Seneca's Troades & Medea)		1/2 "	**1	Composition	

1920
Courses of Instruction (cont.)

1920	Courses of Instruction (cont.)	Wesleyan	Shorter	Agnes Scott	Spelman/(Morehouse)
51	Latin (cont.)				
	Elegiac Poetry, Roman Life Classical Lit. in Translation Prose Comp. (teachers' course) Latin Prose: Cicero, Ovid, Livy Horace, Terence, Pliny Cicero's Republican Letters Roman Satire Catullus, Outline of Roman Lit. Advanced Latin Prose Comp. Vergil, Aeneid - 0 level		1/2 " 5 " ** 5 "	1/2 " 3 " 1 " 3 " 1/2 " 1 1/2 " 1/2 " 1 1/2 " 1/2 " 1 " -** 1 " * 1 " 3 " (fresh.) *1/2 " *1/2 " 3 "	Cicero's De Senectute Horace's Odes Roman Life
	Greek	(14)	(0)	(7)	(3)
	Beginning Greek Xenophon's Anabasis Homer's Iliad Plato's Apology & Crito Intro. Greek Tragedy New Testament Greek Religious Thought of Greeks	1 Yr. 3 hrs. 1 " 3 " 1/2 " 3 " 1/2 " 3 "		1 Yr. 3 s.h. 1/2 " 3 " 1/2 " 3 " -1/2 " 1 1/2 " -1/2 " 1 1/2 " 1 " 2 or 3 " 1 " 2 "	Xenophon's Anabasis Homer's Iliad & Odyssey Plato's Apology & Crito Sophocles' Antigone Demosthenes' Philippics
	Modern Languages	(14)	(5)	(29)	(3)
	French	(6)	(3)	(9)	(1)
	Beginning French - 0 level Elementary " - A Intermediate " - 1st " French Lit. & " 2nd "	1 Yr. 4 s.h. 1 " 3 " 1 " 3 " 1 " 3 "	1 Yr. 5 s.h. 1 " 5 " 1 " 5 " 1 " (Adv.) 5 "	2 or 3 s.h. 1 Yr. 3 " 1 " 3 " 1 " 3 "	1 (reading knowledge, elementary)

1920 Courses of Instruction (cont.)	Wesleyan	Shorter	Agnes Scott	Spelman/(Morehouse)
French (cont.)				
19th C. Romanticism			3 "	
Advanced Grammar Contemporary Life French Drama (Racine, Moliere) French Novel (19th c.) French Drama & Poetry (Modern) Contemporary French Lit.			<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> 1 2 2 2 </div> "	
Spanish	(4)	(2)	(3)	(0)
Beginning Spanish - 0 Level Elementary " 1st level Spanish Correspondence Teachers' Course	1 yr. 1 " 1/2" **1/2"	1/2 yr. 1/2 " 5 s.h.	2 or 3 s.h. 2 or 3	
Modern Prose Reading Survey of Spanish Literature		1/2 " 5 "	3 "	
German	(4)	(0)	(7)	(2)
Beginning German - 0 Level Intermediate " - 1st " Schiller Goethe (Lessing) 18th C. Classics Modern German Drama Poems of Goethe, Schiller Outline Study of German Lit. Goethe's Faust Scientific German German Comedies (Bendix, Arnold, Helbig, Moser, & Heiden)	1 yr. 1 " 3 s.h. 1 " 3 " 1 " 3 " 1 " 3 " 1 " 3 "		1 yr. 2 or 3 " 1 " 3 " 1 " 3 " 2 or 3 " 2 or 3 " 2 or 3 "	1 (vocab.) 1 (comp.) Schiller Goethe (Lessing)

1920
Courses of Instruction (cont.)

Courses of Instruction (cont.)		Wesleyan	Shorter	Agnes Scott	Spelman/ (Morehouse)
English Literature	(15) (8)	(7)	(10)		
Gen. Survey of English Lit. Literary Criticism/Nineteenth Century Lit. (Romantic, Victorian) English Novel American Lit. (19th C., Short Story) Drama (Shakespeare to 20th C.) Contemporary Drama English Essay Chaucer	*1 yr. 3 s.h. 1 " 3 " 1 " 3 " 1/2" 3 " 1 " 3 " 1/2" 3 " 1/2" 3 " 1/2" 3 "	*1 yr. 5 s.h. 1/2" 5 " 1/2" 5 " 1/2" 5 " 1/2" 5 " 1/2" (Spenser) 5 1/2 yr. 5	1 yr. 3 s.h. 1 " 3 " 1 " 2 " 1 " 3 " 1 " 3 " 1/2 " 1 1/2 " 1/2 " 1 1/2 "	*Gen. Survey, Anglo-Saxon to present emphasized drama	
Modern Poetry Verses Forms 19th C. Poetry (Romantic, Victorian) Medieval Romance Victorian Essays			1 " 3 " 1/2 " 1 1/2 " 1/2 " 1 1/2 "		
English Speech and Dramatic Art	(5)	(5)	(5) Spoken English		
Fundamentals of English Speech Vocal Interpretation Extempo Speech & Platform Reading Public Speaking & Reading Dramatic Art (Pedagogy of Expression) Public Speaking Voice & Body as Agents of Expression (pantomime, classical drama) Vocal Interp. of Forms of Literature	See English Language	1 yr. 5 " 1/2 " 5 " 1/2 " 5 " 1/2 " 5 " *1/2 " 5 " 1 " 4 "	*(sops) 2 1/2 hrs 2 s.h. 2 1/2 " 2 " 2 1/2 " 2 " 2 1/2 " 2 " 2 1/2 " 2 " 2 1/2 " 2 " 2 1/2 " 2 "	See English Language	

1920
Courses of Instruction (cont.)
Electives

	Wesleyan	Shorter	Agnes Scott	Spelman/(Morehouse)
1920 Courses of Instruction (cont.) Electives	(7)	(4) Comp. & Rhetoric	(7)	(5)
English Language				
Foundation Course (Write, Speak) Journalism Narrative Structures (Short Story/Feature Story) Old English Prose " " Poetry (Beowulf) Middle English (Canterbury Tales History of English Language Exposition & Argument (debate) Forms of Public Address	*1 Yr. +1 1/2 " " +1/2 " " +1/2 " " +1/2 " " +1/2 " "	*1 Yr. 1/2 -1/2 " " 5 " "	*1 Yr. 5 s.h. 1 " 2 " 1/2 " 1 1/2 " 1/2 " 1 1/2 " 1/2 " 1 1/2 " 1/2 " 1 1/2 "	*Compo. 1 yr.
English Drama History of English Literature (Anglo-Saxon times to present)		1/2 " 5 " "	1/2 " 1 1/2 "	%Exposition & Argument (men only-debate) %Forms of Public Address %English Drama ** 1 yr.(T.P.)
Philosophy	(3)	(4)	(4) Philo. & & Education	(2)
Logic Ethics History of Philosophy General Psychology History of Modern Philosophy Philosophy of Education	1/2 " 1/2 " 1/2 " 3 " " 3 " " 3 " "	1/2 " " 1/2 " " 1/2 " " *1 " " (Jrs.)	* 1 1/2 " 1 1/2 " 1 1/2 " -	1/2 " 1/2 "

1920
Courses of Instruction (cont.)

Biblical Literature	Wesleyan	Shorter	Agnes Scott	Spelman/(Morehouse)
	*(4)	(4) Bible	(8) English Bible	(3) English Bible
Old Testament History	*1/2 yr. 3 "	*1 yr. (Jrs) 5 s.h.	*1 1/2 s.h. (Sophs)	*1/2 yr. (Fr.)
Life & Teachings of Christ (Gospels)	*1/2 " 3 "	-1/2" 5 "	*2 (Jr/Sr) "	1/2
Establishing the Kingdom (Acts)	*1/2 " 3 "	1/2" 5 "	** 1 1/2 "	1/2
Christianity (Missions, Reforms)	*1/2 " 3 "	**1/2" 5 "		
Religious Pedagogy		1 " 5 "		
Exilic & Postexilic Literature/God				
Old Testament Prophets				
Life & Letters of Paul			1 1/2 "	
New Testament Greek			1 1/2 "	
History of Religions (Comparative)			2 or 3 "	
			3 "	

1920
 Courses of Instruction (cont.) Wesleyan Shorter Agnes Scott Spelman/(Morehouse)

Social Science

	(11) History & Economics	(6) History	(10) History Philosophy-	(5) History
General European History Middle Ages/Modern to 1900	1/2 yr. 3 s.h.	*1 yr. (soph) 5 s.h.	* 3 s.h. (fr. or soph)	* 1/2 yr. 1/2 yr. History of England
English History (Anglo-Sax/to present)	-1 " 3 " 1/2"	5 " "	3 s.h.	
American History (Col./to Wilson)	1 " 3 " 1/2"	5 " "	1 1/2 " 1 1/2 "	1/2 yr.
Recent European History	-1/2" 3 " 1/2"	5 " "	1 1/2 " 1 1/2 "	
Constitutional History of U.S.		1/2" 1		
Current History				1/2 yr. World Problems
French Revolution & Napoleon				
Europe 1871-1914		1/2 " 1 1/2 "		
Contemporary History		1 " 1 1/2 "		
Greek History		1 1/2 " "		
Roman History		1 1/2 " "		
History of the West		1 " "		
Economic History of U.S. (see Soc.)		1/2 " 1 1/2 "		
Development of English Constitution				
Essentials of Negro American History				1/2 yr. Essentials of Negro American History (Jr. or Sr.)

1920
Courses of Instruction (cont.)

	Wesleyan	Shorter	Agnes Scott	Spelman/(Morehouse)
Economics	(1) History & Economics	(3) Social Sciences	(8) Soci. & Econ.	(1) Economics
Intro. Principles	1/2 yr. 3 s.h.	1/2 yr. 5 s.h.	1 2 s.h.	1 yr.
Political Science Introduction to	(1) 1/2 " 3 "	1/2 " 5 "		(1) Sociology
Sociology	(1) 1/2 " 3 "	1/2 " 5 " (alt. w. N.T. Bible)	1 2 " 1 1/2 "	1 " Negro in America (Jr. and Sr.)
Intro. to General Sociology				
Studies in Finance Social Psychology Socialism & Social Movement Labor Problems American Cities Philanthropy	-1/2 " 3 "	1/2 " 1 1/2 "	1/2 " 1 1/2 "	
Government	(3) -1/2 " 3 "		1 2 "	
American European				

1920
Courses of Instruction (cont.)

1920 Courses of Instruction (cont.)	Wesleyan	Shorter	Agnes Scott	Spelman/(Morehouse)
Science T.P.=Teachers' Professional cc=college credit	(4)Dept. of Biology & Geology	(9)By Sciences' Name	(12)Science- Math - Division	(3)Science
Botany	\$1 yr. 2+4 (lab)	1/2 yr. 1+4 s.h.	1/2 " 2+4 (lab) 1/2 " 3 s.h.	--1 yr. **1 yr. (T.P.) lec./lab (taught at Spelman)
Zoology	\$1 " 2+4 "	1 " 1+4 "	3 " "	
General Geology	\$1 " 2+4 "	1/2 " 1+4 "	(3) 3 "	
Advanced Physiology (hygiene)	\$1/2 " 2+4 "	1 " 1+4 "	-(2+4) 1 1/2 "	
General Biology		1/2 " 1+4 "	(2+4) 1 1/2 "	
Physiology, hygiene, bacteriology		1/2 " 1+4 "		
Invertebrate Zoology (evolution)		1/2 " 1+4 "		
Vertebrate Zoology & Comparative Anatomy		1/2 " 1+4 "		
Microscope Technique & Embryology		1/2 " 1+4 "		
Ecology		1/2 " 1+4 "		
Personal Hygiene		1/2 " 1+4 "		
Evolution and Heredity		1/2 " 1+4 "		
General Bacteriology		1/2 " 1+4 "		
Embryology		1/2 " 1+4 "		
Experimental Physiology		1/2 " 1+4 "		
Elementary Plant Physiology		1/2 " 1+4 "		
Local Flora		1/2 " 1+4 "		

Agriculture lec./lab at Morehouse
(plants & animals)

1/2 yr. (H.Ec.) at Spelman
cc

1920
Courses of Instruction (cont.)

	Wesleyan	Shorter	Agnes Scott	Spelman/(Morehouse)
Psychology and Pedagogy	(8)	(5) Education	(9) Philosophy & Education	(3) Education
General Psychology	1/2 Yr. 3 s.h.	*1 Yr. 5 " (Jr.)	*1 1/2 " (Soph. or Jr.)	*1 Yr. (T.P.) cc
Educational Psychology (Intro.)	1/2 " 3 "	*1/2 " 5 "	1 1/2 "	**1/2 " (T.P.) cc
Educational Psychology History & Principles of Education	**1/2 " 2+4 (lab)	1/2 "		**1/2 " (T.P.) cc
Principles of Secondary Education (Adolescence)	1/2 " 3 "	**	** 1 1/2 "	
Techniques of Teaching (Elementary/High School, Observation)	**1/2 " 3 "	1/2 " 5 "		
Principles of Religious Education	**1/2 3 "		-** 1 1/2 "	
Genetic Psychology and Child Philosophy		*1/2 " 5 "	** 1 1/2 "	
Psychology of Secondary School subjects			** 1 1/2 "	
Foundation of Method, Classroom management			** 1 1/2 "	
Home Economics - Domestic Sc	(14)	(5)	(0)	(15)
Practical Cookery	**\$1/2 Yr 1+4 (lab)	(4)	(0)	(9)
Home Cookery & Table Service	**\$1/2 " 1+4 "	1/2 " 2+3 (lab)		2 courses (Prac. Cook.)
Advanced Cookery	\$1/2 " 1+4 "	1/2 " 2+3 "		1 Adv. Cooking
Experimental Cookery	**\$1/2 " 1+4 "	1/2 " 2+3 "		Model Apartment
Household Management	**\$1/2 " 2+4 "	1/2 " 2+3 "		:Food Chem. (H.Ec.) cc
Dietetics (Nutrition)	**\$1/2 " 2+4 "			
Home Nursing		(Sr.)		~1/2 Yr.
General Chemistry				General Chemistry
Household Chemistry				Household Chemistry
Laundry				Laundry

1920
Courses of Instruction (cont.)

Wesleyan

Shorter

Agnes Scott

Spelman/(Morehouse)

Symbols:

- : prerequisite
- ^ limited credit
- :: chemistry

Home Economics--Domestic Art	(8)	(1)	(0)	(6)
Textiles & Elementary Sewing	\$1/2 yr. 1+1 (lab)	**1/2 " 5 "		1
Textiles, Fabrics, Clothing	\$1/2 " 1+4 "			
Elementary Dressmaking	\$1/2 " 1+4 "			
Drafting and Dressmaking	\$1/2 " 1+4 "	^ TBA		\$1
Clothing for Children	\$1/2 " 1+4 "			\$1
Advanced Dressmaking	\$1/2 " 1+4 "			\$1
Millinery, Elementary/	\$1/2 " 4 "			1
Plain sewing		^ TBA		**1
Practice Teaching (cook/sew)				
Department of Physical Education	(4) yrs. 2 s.h.	(4) yrs. 1 s.h.	(5) 2 s.h.	(0)
First yr.-Marching, exercises/hygiene lectures (hygiene lect.)	\$ 2	^(fr) ^ 2 "	* 1/2 " 1/2 " (fr.)	
Second yr.-Add drills, gymnastics	\$ 2	*(so) ^ 2 " (hiking club)	* 1/2 "	
Third yr.-Advanced military drill	\$ 2			
Fourth yr.-continuation	\$ 2			
Teacher Training_Public school Gym	*1/2 yr. 1	*(Jr) ** ^ 2 "	*	
Coaching sports	swim, basketball, tennis	* ** ^ 2 " volleyball, baseball, golf, tennis, swim, basketball	1/2 "	
Special gymnastics Athletics (under AA/				
Sanctioned by P.E.				

*basketball, tennis volleyball, baseball, hockey, swim

1920
Courses of Instruction (cont.)

Fine Arts Department	Wesleyan	(42) Conservatory of Music & School of Fine Arts (separate catalogue)	Shorter	Agnes Scott	Spelman/(Morehouse)
Music	(25)	(22)	(8)	(6)	
History and Appreciation (Intro.) Analysis, Criticism, Interpretation Theory: Notation	\$*4 yrs. study	1/2 yr. 5 s.h. 1/2 " 5 " 1/2 " 5 " 1/2 " 5 "	1 s.h. 0 " 1 "	(8)	
" Harmony Counterpoint (Adv. Harmony) Composition (Fugues) Practical Music: piano	\$4 yrs. study	1/2 " 1/2 " 1/2 " 4 courses 1+5 s.h.	per wk 2 lessons	1 s.h.	%Piano
Organ Violin Voice History to Palestrina, Classical, Romantic/Wagner)	\$4 " \$4 " \$4 " \$*2 "	4 " 4 " 4 " 4 "	2 " 2 " 2 " 1 s.h.	1 "	%Voice
Sight-singing/Ear training Ensemble Work (piano & violin)	*(fr.)				%Sight-singing
Public School Music Chorus Class Teaching of Music (Practice Teaching)	\$**2 yrs. *				%Chorus Class **Teaching of Music

ses of Instruction (cont.)	Wesleyan	Shorter	Agnes Scott	Spelman/(Morehouse)
Art	(1/)	(8)Art	(10)	(2)
History of Art Survey		1/2 yr. 5 s.h.		
History of Architecture		1/2 " 5 "		
Theory & Practice Interior Design		1/2 " 5 "		1 (in Home Ec.)
Renaissance Italian Painting		1/2 " 5 "		
Practical Art (drawing, modeling)	4 courses 2 " 1 club	4^1 " 9 "	4 courses 1 yr 1 course 1/2 "	1 (in Home Ec.)
Sketch class				
Art of Greece & Rome			^1/2 " 1 1/2 s.h.	
History of Painting (begin. Renaissance)			^1/2 " 1 1/2 "	
Design			%	
House Furnishings			%	
Home Sanitation			:chem., physics, 1 s.h.	
Ceramic Art				
Normal Art Course	3 courses			
Home Decoration	**1 postgrad.			
History of Art (Painting, Classical sculpture, architecture, masterpieces)	**1 yr. new course 5 courses			
Expression	(4)			
(Chas. Wesley Emerson Method)	\$4 yrs. study	See English, Speech, & Dramatic Art	4 courses	See English Language

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