

SILENT SISTERS:  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND WOMEN'S  
HIGHER EDUCATION

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Women's colleges would seem to be ideal places to find support for many women's issues, including the major topic of the nineteenth and early twentieth century women's rights movement, enfranchisement. Although women's colleges were founded in the mid-eighteen hundreds to give women new opportunities in education, both their founders and their students were often skeptical of or even hostile toward the new suffrage movement. This ambivalent reaction is more understandable, however, when public attitudes regarding women's education and the many challenges facing newly-established women's colleges are taken into account. As the twentieth century progressed, though, the position of women's colleges in society stabilized and both suffrage and women's education became more acceptable to the public in general. This acceptance of once revolutionary ideas caused women's colleges to follow new trends by embracing suffrage much more enthusiastically. From ambivalent beginnings in the nineteenth century, the suffrage movement in women's colleges developed into an active force for political change.

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The women's suffrage movement itself began as a part of the abolition movement of the early 1800s which aimed to give political rights to many under-represented American populations such as slaves and women. Women's suffrage, however, soon took a back seat to abolition; it was thought that insistence upon the ballot for women would reduce popular support for the abolition movement among conservatives. After the Civil War, with the passage of constitutional amendments specifically referring to the rights of black men, the women's suffrage activists developed an independent and determined campaign to secure their own political rights.<sup>1</sup>

Many early women's colleges, including Mount Holyoke, Wellesley, and Vassar, adhered to a conservative religious background. For example, Wellesley's evangelical founder, Henry Durant, devised severe religious screening tests for his faculty that guaranteed the exclusion of Unitarians.<sup>2</sup> Colleges included prayer, Bible study, and public confessions of wrongdoing as a routine part of their schedules.<sup>3</sup> These additions to the curriculum pleased members of the conservative religious sects who sponsored women's higher education. Although these groups supported a greater scope of education for women, few embraced the ideal of suffrage, preferring, instead, to adhere to more comfortable traditional views of a woman's secluded place in society.

Female collegians, even those attending conservative religious schools, did not enjoy a good reputation during the mid-nineteenth century; they were often the butt of cartoons, jokes, and gossip.<sup>4</sup> M. Carey Thomas recorded her childhood fears before her first sight of a collegiate woman:

I had heard that such a woman was staying at the house of an acquaintance. I went to see her with fear. Even if she had appeared in hoofs and horns I was determined to go to college.<sup>5</sup>

Like the Vassar student seen by Thomas, women who pursued an education were generally regarded as threats to society; to traditionalists they were the forerunners of a grim future in which women would take over the political process and reduce the world to chaos.

To alleviate this fear, women's colleges of the nineteenth century were careful to reassure parents and potential financial donors that they would preserve the femininity of their students. The *Vassar Prospectus* of 1865 made provisions for sewing circles and religious organizations to benefit the young lady students, but stated specifically that "oratory and debate (whether public or private) are not feminine accomplishments; and there will be nothing in the College arrangements to encourage the practice of them."<sup>6</sup> This attitude was shared by other pioneers of women's education. Catharine Beecher, an influential educator devoted to the philosophy of separate spheres,<sup>7</sup> stated in 1869 that "to add the civil and political duties of men" to a woman's traditional role "would be deemed a measure of injustice and oppression"<sup>8</sup> for both men and women. Men would be deprived of their rightful power and place in society, and women would be forced to neglect their proper tasks in the home to attend to the usurped duties that truly belonged to their husbands, fathers, and brothers.

Vassar's first president, John Raymond, went so far as to inform trustees that Vassar would have failed in its mission to educate proper ladies when it became "popular with the vulgar and extreme woman's right people."<sup>9</sup> Raymond barred lectures he considered to present "a coarse worldly view."<sup>10</sup> Instead, Raymond himself lectured and invited conservative speakers to the college who spoke about homemaking, marriage, and the like.<sup>11</sup>

Even so, by 1884, authors of popular guides for women warned mothers and daughters about the dangers of higher education. "The amenities of manner are not quite enough considered at some of our female colleges," warned one woman, for "the young graduates are apt to copy masculine manners. This is not graceful, and to some minds would more than balance the advantages."<sup>12</sup> This imitation of masculine traits was likely to bring about health problems through overuse of the brain, authorities warned. In 1873, Dr. Edward H. Clarke published his influential treatise *Sex in Education*. The delicate health and weaker mentalities of women made knowledge dangerous, he warned.<sup>13</sup> Colleges were thus forced to prove two things: their classes would benefit

women and they would not leave behind a trail of insane, consumptive invalids as the price of knowledge. Once again, female authors hastened to alert parents to the health risks that colleges posed for young women. They sprinkled their works with tales of girls killed by the stresses of education and warned concerned parents of the dangers with comments such as: “no mother should either compel or allow her daughter to study to the detriment of her health.”<sup>14</sup> With grim pictures of sickbeds and early graves hanging overhead, colleges chose to stress their healthful locations, on-campus doctors and health services, and devotion to female health, rather than their strict adherence to a strenuous university-style education. Some students became exasperated by parents who continually worried about health. One Vassar student wrote to her mother:

I am far away from the bathrooms and the drinking water is fine. There’s a resident physician in the building. It would not be exactly the thing for me to call on a member of the faculty as you suggested and ask if the drinking water is all right.<sup>15</sup>

Health concerns lingered on for several decades in spite of the reassurances of the students themselves.

As data on the early college classes were gathered, yet another concern became apparent to alert observers. College graduates were marrying later, in fewer numbers, and had fewer children than uneducated women. Pessimists shrilled that America was committing “race suicide” and prophesied that the population would eventually be comprised solely of idiots and minorities due to the extinction of the American white intellectual class.<sup>16</sup> Suffragists were blamed for a decreasing reverence for marriage among young women; they were accused of plotting to end the institution of marriage and trying to destroy the morals of an entire society. To disassociate colleges from the suffrage movement and its radical social agenda, the wives of college presidents often joined antisuffrage leagues.<sup>17</sup> They demonstrated their own attachment to the domestic ideal of family rather than the life of the unsexed bluestocking feared by the public and implied the existence of the same devotion in the colleges they represented.

With these challenges, it is hardly surprising that the founders and administrators of women's colleges did not embrace suffrage. They faced a hostile public afraid of whimpering invalids and masculine women; advocating political equality would have been a confirmation of the fears of many traditionalists. Indeed, many of the founders, trustees, and administrators of women's colleges opposed suffrage themselves. They had founded their institutions to educate ladylike women who, before marrying, would teach the next generation of children a reverence for education and tradition. Radical social policies were nowhere in their agendas.

Most college founders and trustees were also on the lookout for money from any source that would donate it. Although many founders began their colleges with their personal fortunes or legacies from others, they often ran short and needed outside support from wealthy members of society to continue their grand designs. An extreme case of this phenomenon is that of Barnard's founder, Annie Nathan Meyer. Her funding was gathered almost entirely from the New York elite. Many of these Knickerbocker families strongly opposed suffrage, as did Meyer herself. Her opposition to the women's rights movement made it easier for her to convince the conservative upper crust of old New York to donate money to fund her ambitious female alternative to Columbia University.<sup>18</sup> In fact, she and her sister, the outspoken suffragist Maud Nathan, were not on speaking terms for most of their lifetimes due to Nathan's endorsement of suffrage and Meyer's vehement opposition to the women's rights movement.<sup>19</sup>

Not all education was scorned by traditionalists, though. Ellen Swallow Richards, a graduate of Vassar as well as the first female student and later the first female professor at MIT, commented on her success in science in the following way:

Perhaps the fact that I am not a Radical or a believer in the all powerful ballot for women and that I do not scorn womanly duties, but claim it as a privilege to clean up, is winning me stronger allies than anything else.

Richards established a women's laboratory at MIT where she developed the study of sanitary chemistry, known today as domestic science.<sup>20</sup> This was the sort of women's higher education the public liked to hear about, for, while it prepared women to continue their tasks in the home in a modern way using new technology and advanced methods, it did not advocate any pretensions of natural political rights for women.

Serious educators were reluctant to support the women's movement of the nineteenth century openly, even when they agreed with its ideals. The suffrage movement was comprised of women from the upper leisure class who had become convinced of its philosophical worth and lower class working women who saw the ballot as a concrete way to enable them to improve their lives. Few members of the educated middle class maintained high profiles in the early suffrage movement: it was simply too disorganized and too uneducated to endorse.<sup>21</sup> Bryn Mawr's president, M. Carey Thomas, stated in 1903,

I am heart and soul a suffragist, but the leaders here, both speakers and writers, are so uneducated that I cannot afford for the sake of the college to identify myself with them.<sup>22</sup>

The women's movement continued to muddle along, beset by internal strife and public scandal, until about 1910, when its network of protests, parades, and publicity finally locked into place as an efficient political force.<sup>23</sup> To women students, suffrage was far too dangerous to endorse. They were already seen as bluestockings by their acquaintances, and, in many cases, as vaguely disgraceful as well. M. Carey Thomas once wrote that while she attended graduate school in Germany,

mother used to write me that my name was never mentioned to her by the women of her acquaintance. I was thought by them to be as much of a disgrace to my family as if I had eloped with the coachman.<sup>24</sup>

Thomas aligned herself with the collegiate women who had rebelled against the traditional social structure of their world and were seen as a shame to their parents.

Students also worried that they would be unacceptable to suitors or, sometimes, that they would be unable to find men to suit

their new, educated sensibilities.<sup>25</sup> “Mama, I am hurt and grieved that you should think I would be in love and not tell you,”<sup>26</sup> was one comment written by a college student. A standard Vassar joke concerned the difficulty of finding men to attend dances. One article in the school newspaper, the *Vassar Miscellany*, calculated the cost of the prom, after inviting ten men and settling for a younger brother bribed to come visit, at “Year’s Allowance.”<sup>27</sup> Students were as well aware of the marriage statistics for college graduates as their parents were, and while some declared marriage unnecessary and antiquated, many considered it a natural part of a woman’s life. The prospect of becoming an old maid was an unsavory one for most college students, but student writing reveals that they considered marriage an option only to those who gave up their academic and professional dreams.<sup>28</sup>

Unlike finishing schools that prepared girls for advantageous marriages, most women’s colleges were founded to educate teachers for the growing schools of America, especially those on the expanding frontier. Graduates were encouraged to become teachers for at least a few years before they married and turned their attention to the home.<sup>29</sup> Like all school boards, those of the nineteenth century tended to frown on radical behavior of any sort.<sup>30</sup> Few students wished to jeopardize their chances even of temporary employment by a public commitment to suffrage.

By 1915, the second most common job for female college graduates, after teaching, was social work. Undergraduate clubs such as the College Settlement Association (CSA), the Charity Organization Society, and the YWCA steered students toward settlement and social work. It is no coincidence that Wellesley, Vassar, and Smith, the Seven Sisters colleges with the most active social service clubs, also tallied the most graduates in settlement work.<sup>31</sup> The world of the lower classes became an all-encompassing commitment for social workers; they had little time to waste on political niceties like suffrage. Instead, they campaigned for better working and living conditions in the slums of America’s cities. The basic needs of life were, for these students and graduates, far more important than a devotion to party politics.

The suffrage movement itself did not go out of its way to cultivate an active following at women's colleges. Suffragists such as T.W. Higginson and Elizabeth Cady Stanton made no secret of the fact that they favored coeducation over single sex institutions. Coeducation was seen as the "antidote to sexual polarization" created by the "separate spheres" philosophy at work in women's colleges.<sup>32</sup> A guidebook for the 1893 Chicago Exposition included a chapter on women's education which mentions women's colleges, but maintains that coeducation is more beneficial for all students. The author, in fact, expresses the hope that the establishment of Radcliffe will lead Harvard to respond by becoming a coeducational institution.<sup>33</sup> Francis Willard, head of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), an organization closely linked to the suffrage movement, enthusiastically supported the efforts and ideas of early suffragists towards coeducation.<sup>34</sup>

Faced by opposition from some factions of both students and faculty, the development of active suffrage groups on campuses progressed slowly. Nevertheless, the suffrage movement in women's colleges did grow as women's higher education became more secure and accepted. When women's colleges were founded in the mid-nineteenth century, suffrage was made a taboo topic by most administrators. By 1900, though, women's rights advocates began to emerge from hiding, and by 1915, women's rights were a rallying point for many members of the academic community of women's colleges.

Vassar was the most vocal of the Seven Sisters on the subject of women's suffrage in the years after its founding. The faculty and administration, including the founder, Matthew Vassar, were almost universally opposed to suffrage during the 1860s and 1870s. The energetic efforts of the college's president, John Raymond, to drive students away from the suffrage movement were approved, for the most part, by Matthew Vassar.<sup>35</sup> However, Matthew Vassar did invite Anna Dickinson, a suffragist, to campus after hearing her lecture about the legal similarities between women and idiots (both were denied the vote). Vassar hoped to incite a feeling of horror in students that they could be compared

to imbeciles even as they attended one of the only women's colleges in the country. In 1868, Vassar allowed a student suffrage debate; the results, however, are not recorded.<sup>36</sup> Harriet Stanton Thatch, the daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, attended Vassar during this period. She would have preferred to attend a coeducational university but an aunt funded her education on the condition that she attend Vassar. Thatch, who later founded the Women's Political Union, began Vassar's first political organization, the Democratic Club. The club got off to a good start; it received a signed daguerreotype of a prominent suffragist and then promptly disbanded. Thatch later referred to Vassar as the "Slough of Despond," and maintained the student body was "definitely discouraged by the authorities from taking any interest whatsoever in its own political freedom."<sup>37</sup>

An 1870s-era ban on the discussion of suffrage caused Maria Mitchell, Vassar's famous female astronomy professor, to retaliate by inviting prominent suffragists to the observatory she shared with her father. Mitchell circumvented the ban on lectures by holding teas instead. While suffragists stayed on campus as her personal guests, they addressed students and faculty on various women's issues in the respectable atmosphere of a lady's salon.<sup>38</sup>

Vassar's student suffrage movement came to a head in the early twentieth century. In 1908, Inez Milholland, a Vassar student, held a suffrage rally in a nearby cemetery after administrators refused to allow it to take place on the college campus. Approximately forty students attended to hear Harriet Stanton Thatch, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and Rose Schneiderman encourage collegiate women to take a greater role in the suffrage movement. The next year, students from Vassar and Barnard ushered during a suffrage rally at Carnegie Hall in New York.<sup>39</sup>

The president of Vassar during the first fifteen years of the twentieth century, James Monroe Taylor, opposed suffrage but lifted the ban on discussion. In 1912, Vassar students enthusiastically organized a suffrage meeting, only to discover that they knew too little about the issues involved to discuss anything. Taylor did not allow Jane Addams to speak on campus, however, as a lecturer

for the Collegiate League for Equal Suffrage.<sup>40</sup> His view seems to have been that students could discuss women's issues by themselves, but they should not be influenced by the speeches or propaganda of other suffragists. He preferred his young suffragists ill-informed and relatively harmless.

By 1911, over 57% of Vassar's students favored votes for women,<sup>41</sup> and in 1915, a new president, Henry McCracken, began his term. McCracken supported suffrage and allowed debate, but even he drew the line at allowing radical Vassar alumna Inez Milholland Boissevain (of cemetery fame) to speak to students.<sup>42</sup> As late as 1917, an instructor was reprovved by another faculty member for taking a group of students to a rally in New York City before the passage of a suffrage amendment.<sup>43</sup>

Interestingly enough, Vassar's restrictive atmosphere seems to have produced the most radical of the college-educated suffragists. Many joined Alice Paul's Congressional Union rather than the more traditional National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony.<sup>44</sup> The Congressional Union, and later the Women's Party, campaigned, first and foremost, for the ballot; all other issues, they maintained, could be resolved after the right to vote was attained. They engaged in public protests, including a round-the-clock picket of the White House. The NWSA, on the other hand, maintained that many issues of equal importance, including the vote, living and working conditions, and unfair laws should all be changed, without necessarily waiting for a suffrage amendment before beginning other reforms.<sup>45</sup>

At Wellesley and Bryn Mawr, the opposite situation to that found at Vassar prevailed. Students were the ones who opposed suffrage, while the faculty and administration were much more openly supportive of the women's movement. Alice Freeman, the second president of Wellesley, told the American Women's Suffrage Association (AWSA) that she supported suffrage for women, since "study of the vital questions of our government would make them better comrades to their husbands and their sons." However, she continued to admire the domestic ideal, commenting that,

“The duties of motherhood and the making of the home are the most sacred work of women.”<sup>46</sup> It is interesting to note that after only a few years as Wellesley’s president, Freeman married and retired from the academic life.<sup>47</sup> Involvement in academics was still a brief side-step off the primrose path for most women.

Wellesley’s students were even more ambivalent than its president toward suffrage issues.<sup>48</sup> They voted consistently against suffrage in school polls until 1912, even though five states had already ratified bills allowing women to vote. Even in 1920, when the Nineteenth Amendment was passed, anti-suffrage groups still flourished on campus.<sup>49</sup>

Bryn Mawr’s second and most famous president, M. Carey Thomas, noted that the “subject of suffrage was still so inflammatory that even college students hesitated to discuss it.” In 1908, Thomas helped found the National College Equal Suffrage League,<sup>50</sup> an expansion of the College Equal Suffrage League (CESL) founded at Radcliffe in 1900.<sup>51</sup> The presidential election of 1912, however, proved that Bryn Mawr students remained unconvinced by Thomas’ suffragist rhetoric. She explained in great detail that students should vote for Theodore Roosevelt’s Progressive Party because it included a suffrage plank, rather than Woodrow Wilson’s platform, which contained no mention of suffrage; however, the results of a school poll showed students still favored Wilson 2:1 over Roosevelt.<sup>52</sup>

During the second decade of the twentieth century, however, suffrage became much more popular at women’s colleges. Thomas surmised that this change occurred as the suffrage movement itself changed its propaganda. The early suffrage movement focused on a woman’s natural right to the ballot and to involvement in all facets of politics and American society. During the twentieth century, the women’s movement placed much greater stress on the protection and reform that women could bring to the home and to society by adding their voice to contemporary politics.<sup>53</sup> This seemed to many a logical offshoot of both the separate spheres philosophy and the settlement house movement;

it afforded women a chance to use their natural talents toward improving society without making them into rabid political beasts.

The College Equal Suffrage League rapidly gained members during the first two decades of the twentieth century; soon, all the Seven Sisters had a chapter.<sup>54</sup> Discussion of suffrage was no longer banned by administrations, and faculty members were able to favor women's suffrage openly without being labeled radical or unsexed. A circulating library of feminist literature moved from college to college, suffragist speakers were popular campus attractions, and colleges even sponsored essay contests on the suffrage issue.<sup>55</sup> In 1915, every one of the Seven Sisters was represented at the prominent Philadelphia suffrage parade.<sup>56</sup>

Suffrage gained appeal in women's colleges due to several factors. First, colleges that had originally been forced to beg for money from rich patrons became more self-sufficient and filled the college coffers by gaining financial backers from the ranks of grateful and loyal alumnae. Trustees no longer had to worry as much that they would be forced to close after offending and losing their major sources of income through over-radical political activism.

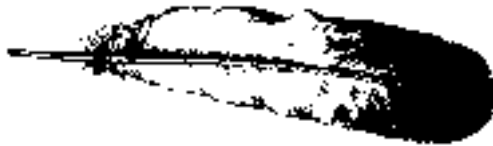
College itself became a much more respectable destination for young women; they were no longer seen solely as blue-stockings, and the growing population of college graduates of both sexes made less critical the immediate concern to find a husband tolerant of book learning. Observation of female students and studies conducted by the Seven Sisters proved that college students were often healthier than their uneducated peers, thus debunking the invalid myths perpetuated by the work of Dr. Clarke and others during the 1870s.<sup>57</sup>

The makeup of college administrations changed over the years; administrators became younger, more highly educated, and more receptive to current political ideas. As colleges became more acceptable to the public, administrators were able to state their opinions more freely; in fact, several became prominent and respected members of the suffrage movement. Presidents such as M. Carey Thomas did their best to steer students toward support

for suffrage, just as earlier presidents had done their best to discourage political activities.

Finally, the suffrage movement itself changed its focus and became more respectable to the general public. Its increasingly prevalent support for social reform made it a cause embraced by settlement workers and other reformers. Rather than insisting upon a natural right to political involvement, suffrage activists stressed the gentle, feminine influence that women could exercise to improve the standard of life in America.

In short, women's higher education was in far too precarious a position to endorse women's suffrage during the nineteenth century. Faced by hostile public opinion, biased medical evaluations, and concerns ranging from preserving femininity to finding a job, college students and faculty members could not risk the added ridicule they would face as suffragists. As women's education became an established part of the American academic system, women could take a greater interest in politics. During the same period, the suffrage movement expanded to incorporate portions of the settlement movement, attracting college graduates through reform campaigns and adding respectability to its cause. By the second decade of the twentieth century, higher education for women was strong enough that students and faculty became enthusiastic and vocal members of the suffrage movement.



<sup>1</sup> Sara M. Evans, Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America (New York: Free Press, 1989) pp. 122-123

<sup>2</sup> Elaine Kendall, Peculiar Institutions (New York: Putnam's, 1975) p. 131

<sup>3</sup> Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth Century Beginnings to the 1930s, 2nd ed. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993) p. 24

<sup>4</sup> Patricia Marks, Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1990) pp. 90-116

<sup>5</sup> M. Carey Thomas, "Motives and Future of the Educated Woman," The Educated Woman in America: Selected Writings of Catharine Beecher, Margaret Fuller and M. Carey Thomas Classics in Education Ser. 25, ed. Barbara M. Cross (New York: Teachers College Press, 1965) p. 161

<sup>6</sup> Mabel Newcomer, A Century of Higher Education for American Women (New York: Harper, 1959) pp. 224-225

<sup>7</sup> George Brown Tindall with David E. Shi, A Narrative History, 5th ed. (New York: Norton, 1992) p. 513

<sup>8</sup> Nancy Woloch, Women and the American Experience (New York: Knopf, 1984) p. 308

<sup>9</sup> Horowitz, Alma Mater p. 59

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60

<sup>12</sup> M. L. Rayne, What Can a Woman Do? Or, Her Position in the Business and Literary World (Detroit, [n.p.?] 1884) p. 415

<sup>13</sup> Lynn D. Gordon, Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990) p. 18

<sup>14</sup> Rayne, p. 422

<sup>15</sup> Gordon, p. 141

<sup>16</sup> Kendall, p. 142

<sup>17</sup> Horowitz, Alma Mater p. 193

<sup>18</sup> Kendall, pp. 78-79

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76

<sup>20</sup> Woloch, pp. 286-287

<sup>21</sup> Kendall, p. 144

<sup>22</sup> Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, The Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas (New York: Knopf, 1994) p. 391

<sup>23</sup> Kendall, p. 131

<sup>24</sup> Thomas, p. 161

<sup>25</sup> Gordon, p. 153

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142

- <sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 153
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 153
- <sup>29</sup> Horowitz, Alma Mater p. 11
- <sup>30</sup> Kendall, p. 144
- <sup>31</sup> Barbara Sicherman, "College and Careers: Historical Perspectives on the Lives and Work Patterns of Women College Graduates," Women and Higher Education in American History: Essays from the Mount Holyoke College Sesquicentennial Symposia, ed. John Mack Faragher and Florence Howe (New York: Norton, 1988) pp. 155-156
- <sup>32</sup> Woloch, p. 277
- <sup>33</sup> Edna D. Cheney, "Evolution of Women's Education in the United States," Art and Handicraft in the Women's Building of the World's Columbian Exposition, ed. Maud Howe Elliot (Paris, [no publisher] 1893) pp. 130-132
- <sup>34</sup> Francis Willard, Occupations for Women: A Book of Practical Suggestions for the Material Advancement, the Mental and Physical Development, and the Moral and Spiritual Uplift of Women (Cooper Union, New York, 1897) p. 447
- <sup>35</sup> Gordon, p. 124
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid., pp. 124-125
- <sup>37</sup> Kendall, pp. 126-127
- <sup>38</sup> Gordon, pp. 123-124
- <sup>39</sup> Kendall, p. 145; Barbara Miller Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) pp. 112-113
- <sup>40</sup> Gordon, p. 157
- <sup>41</sup> Kendall, p. 146
- <sup>42</sup> Gordon, p. 157
- <sup>43</sup> Newcomber, p. 18
- <sup>44</sup> Gordon, p. 158
- <sup>45</sup> Evans, pp. 155, 166-167
- <sup>46</sup> Roberta Frankfort, Collegiate Women: Domesticity and Career in Turn-of-the-Century America New York University Ser. In Education and Socialization in American History (New York: New York University Press, 1977) p. 45
- <sup>47</sup> Horowitz, Alma Mater p. 204
- <sup>48</sup> Solomon, p. 112
- <sup>49</sup> Kendall, p. 126
- <sup>50</sup> Lois W. Banner, Women in Modern America: A Brief History The Harbrace History of the United States (New York: Harcourt, 1974) pp. 92-93

- <sup>51</sup> Solomon, p. 111  
<sup>52</sup> Kendall, p. 132  
<sup>53</sup> Banner, p. 93  
<sup>54</sup> Evans, p. 164  
<sup>55</sup> Solomon, p. 112  
<sup>56</sup> Kendall, p. 146  
<sup>57</sup> Horowitz, Alma Mater p. 281

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