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A HISTORY OF WOMEN FACULTY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON,
1896-1970

University of Washington

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Doctoral Dissertation

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University of Washington

Abstract

A HISTORY OF WOMEN FACULTY AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, 1896-1970

by Margaret A. Hall

Chairperson of the Supervisory Committee:

Professor Otis Pease
Department of History

In 1896 the University of Washington set out to become an institution committed to research and the furthering of knowledge, not merely to its transmission as was the case in the first thirty years of its existence. In its transformation, the university faculty became predominantly male. The number of women faculty members fell quickly to eleven per cent and then reached a low of six per cent in 1910.

By 1920 two types of segregation circumscribed women faculty's role: territorial (appointing women in areas having to do with supposed female interests) and hierarchical (allocating women mostly to the lower ranks). Strong women leaders emerged in response to the professional opportunities that existed in the departments of home economics, nursing and women's physical education. Indeed, averaged over the period of this study, the faculty in these channeled fields made up thirty-seven percent of all women faculty. In the non-channeled fields, only a few exceptional women earned promotion to the higher ranks. As an economy measure, the university established the "temporary" rank of Associate in 1919. Over the years, more than fifty per cent of the women faculty occupied this non-tenured, low-status position at some point in their faculty experience. These developments, plus the initiation of an anti-nepotism policy in the 1930s, typified women faculty's tenuous role throughout the period of

study. In spite of these barriers to their full acceptance, women faculty made some progress from the pre-World War I years to the end of World War II.

Following World War II, the large scale entry of G. I. Bill-educated veterans into the professions coincided with a second steep rise in research emphasis at the University of Washington, resulting in a differential growth in the male faculty. During the 1960s, as in the first decade of this century, women lost ground relative to men. While their numbers increased, their percentage fell below fifteen per cent of the university faculty. Women faculty have not experienced significant progress in this period of study, with the exceptions of the World War II years and those of the Depression.

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Introduction

This dissertation seeks to determine what role, if any, women have had in shaping a major institution within the United States. Because the public educational system has played a considerable role in the socialization of American society, it seemed a likely framework in which to investigate the role of women. I selected the University of Washington because it is the premier public institution of the region, because there is a surprising abundance of historical information about its faculty, and because no previous studies of its women faculty exist.

The coincidence in time between the conceptualization of the modern research university and the dramatic decline in women faculty in 1896, alerted me to the turn-of-century attitudes toward the roles of the two sexes in life and work. I sought to explore whether women as well as men found widening opportunities in the modern university. While the first generation of college women demonstrated women's intellectual abilities and physical stamina, their successors, who were eager to move ahead in higher education, failed to secure regular faculty positions. In precisely that period when graduate education first became a prerequisite for employment on the university faculty, the University of Washington resorted to segregated arrangements for its women students and faculty.

Portraits of Caroline Ober in Romance Languages and Theresa McMahon in Political Science show their efforts to shape and to adjust to evolving university policies. The establishment of the hierarchy of ranks slowed McMahon, who had the required graduate training credentials, more than Ober, who had none. McMahon shared a vital interest in social issues of the day, with a particular concern for women. She played an active role in the community, yet within two decades was encouraged to take a less public and more scholarly approach to her interests. These two very different women were the first to spend their entire faculty career at the university.

In contrast to McMahon, other women who obtained the Ph.D. degree experienced less success. Although their own numbers were small, their opportunities were restricted because of the increasing numbers of female undergraduates in the liberal arts. That is, educators who feared feminization of the university were simultaneously being pressured by community women's groups to establish courses and programs suited to women's interests. President Franklin Kane's decision to establish a Department of Home Economics satisfied both the organized women's groups and his own determination to make the College of Liberal Arts more masculine in character. This decision mandated a sex-segregated faculty. Women faculty thereafter had their greatest opportunities in women's fields and women students found

themselves unable to enter what were considered men's fields, such as Forestry.

A second type of segregation imposed further restrictions on women faculty's opportunities. The university had no sooner established a hierarchy of ranks from Professor through Instructor than it established the new, lowest rank of Associate. Faced with limited funds and enrollment increases at the end of World War I, the university instituted this rank as an economy measure. Over fifty per cent of the fourteen hundred women faculty surveyed held faculty positions at this rank, which enjoyed none of the safeguards and benefits gained by the regular faculty.

Like the rank of Associate, the anti-nepotism rule of 1936 did not target women, but in actuality it touched them more directly than male counterparts. While the other barriers essentially held women in marginal or peripheral roles, the marriage bar excluded them totally. More than any other policy, the anti-nepotism rule reveals the sexist nature of higher education and American social values. Women faculty nevertheless made respectable gains during the years 1915-1950, but this was based on a sharp division between men and women's fields and ladder and non-ladder positions.

World War II offered women faculty their greatest opportunities in terms of positions and responsibility. Although considered temporary replacements by university administrators, women faculty performed sufficiently well

that a good number received promotion to ladder ranks. However, the post-war years quickly reversed women faculty's gains.

In terms of growth, the story of higher education in the twentieth century is unmistakably a success. The post-war years presented men their greatest graduate education and career opportunities. The shift to "higher, higher" education in the post-Sputnik years set women faculty back a second time in this century. American society needed scientists, engineers and doctors, traditionally masculine professions. The selection process, therefore, continued to favor men, while the forces of hierarchical segregation continued to provide women space at the bottom. The percentage of women in ladder positions continued its decline in the 1960s, despite greater awareness of the need for highly trained talent and a belief in equalitarianism.

Growth but not equity describes the evolution of the modern university. Based upon the new rationale of specialization, the modern university recast the "separate-but-superior" rhetoric of the late nineteenth century women's movement into that of "separate-and-inferior." Rather than tapping women's energies and talents, the modern university has remained consistently male-centered, placing women at the periphery. In terms of programs, career opportunities, and promotion, women's efforts have been resisted, despite their best efforts to become an integral part of the institution.

Chapter 1

Early Women Faculty

Women faculty members were more visible during the thirty-five year territorial phase of the University of Washington's existence than they have been at any time since. In 1896 the new suburban campus was completed, and a new president, Mark Harrington, addressed the Board of Regents in a manner which they approved. Harrington announced the elimination of three programs: the preparatory department which was a broad subfreshman category, the conservatory of music, and the school of art--the latter two because they did not require a liberal education for admission and thereby "did not permit of treatment from the broad university standpoint." This decision eliminated four positions held by women faculty.¹ In an attempt to bring the university up to a level of the colleges and universities in the older states, the new university standards called for specialization of fields "more definite and confined," the reorganization of the university departments, and a search for well-trained talent. With that goal consciously in mind, the university became an institution whose faculty members were predominantly male.

Prior to 1896, the faculty was small, ranging from five to fourteen members and the percentage of women faculty members was, in 1878, as high as eighty per cent. It then fell precipitously to less than ten percent in 1896

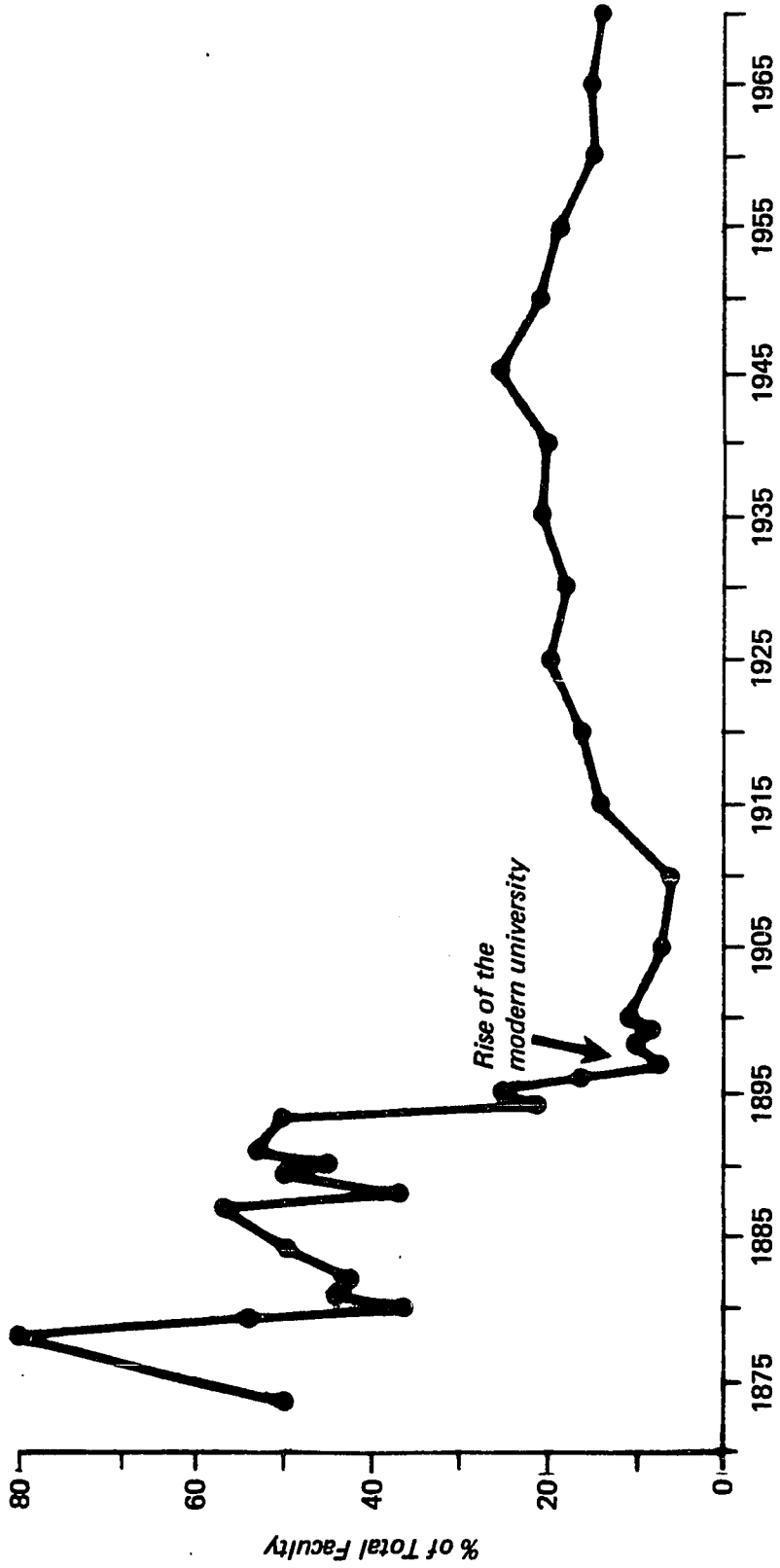
and remained low until the early 1920's when it climbed to twenty percent, remaining at that level except for the years during and immediately after World War II (see Figure 1-1).

Closer scrutiny of the ranks which women faculty have held in the twentieth century shows a concentration at the level of instructor or associate, positions granted on a year-by-year basis and not on the ladder toward a tenured position. In the tenured positions at the rank of associate professor and professor, generally six percent or less of the faculty have been women. Thus, we can say that at this public university from 1896 to 1970, the period of this study, most positions for women faculty have been temporary and tenuous. This chapter reconstructs, where possible, the lives and careers of two women faculty members who were promoted to full professor and in the process to identify and analyze the forces which affected them and the other women faculty.

Before women could become faculty members, they first needed access to higher education. The impetus for women's higher education came in the nineteenth century. Prior to the Civil War, seminaries for the training of teachers proliferated, and Oberlin set a new direction for colleges by accepting women for the first time in 1837.² However, the real thrust for women's higher education came after the Civil War, a time when male interest in obtaining a college

Figure 1-1

U.W. WOMEN FACULTY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL FACULTY, 1874-1970



education lagged--either because the college curriculum leading toward the ministry, law, or medicine lacked appeal in a nation preoccupied with business expansion, or because of economic hard times.³ State universities and colleges which wanted to keep their student enrollment high therefore determined to admit women.⁴ Fiscal reasons of a different sort guided Washington territorial leaders, who clearly intended to provide an educational setting for their children "without being compelled at great expense to attend Eastern colleges."⁵ The University of Washington should also be recognized as one of several state universities which from its inception opened its doors both to men and women.⁶

The transformation of the college to the modern university also took place in the years following the Civil War. Growth in the number of college-age students was slow but steady, about one percent a decade.⁷ The curriculum changed from a purely classic course with an emphasis on teaching to one including the sciences and their practical applications with an emphasis on research. State universities particularly began to offer more choice in course selection to their students and emphasized their service to people in the state. The modern university thus incorporated the traditional liberal arts courses, the new emphasis on scientific courses, including the social sciences, and a utilitarian emphasis which helped secure

the university in an established position in society, one "worthy of patronage within the state."⁸

The first modern university presidents have been thoroughly studied and described almost to a person as aggressive, strong-minded individuals, of excellent character, solid professional training and deep commitment to the institution they served and shaped.⁹ Although five presidents served the University of Washington during this formative period of the modern university, two stand out as significant in their efforts and were the first to hold the Ph.D. degree which was the sine qua non of the new university standards.¹⁰ The first was Franklin P. Graves, who resigned as President of the University of Wyoming in 1898 to accept the presidency of the University of Washington. In his acceptance letter to Reverend Clark Davis, one of the University of Washington regents, Graves requested more information about Washington customs and traditions. Graves advocated the establishment of a regular inaugural day at the opening of the university in the autumn because he believed such proceedings "might prove an advantage and a guarantee of a more stable condition."¹¹ This recommendation evidently was well received, for at Graves' inauguration the following December, the President of Stanford University, David Starr Jordan, delivered the opening address. Jordan charged Graves, as the new president, with the "sacred duty" of choosing the men that make up the

university faculty. "If you are fit for the position you hold," Jordan said, "then you are the fittest man in the state to choose the state's professors."¹² Jordan was actually making the point that the Board of Regents should refrain from selecting faculty because faculty selection should be the responsibility of the president. Graves took up that responsibility in the four years of service, considerably longer than that of his three predecessors, until he was replaced by a Classics Professor, Thomas Franklin Kane.

At President Thomas Kane's inauguration in 1902 he was described as "a man of broad university spirit and decision, a man of character--one of the strongest men on the faculty."¹³ Kane served twelve years as president and was perhaps more responsible than any other president in shaping the University of Washington into a modern university. The University campus expanded its physical plant to accommodate a student body and faculty which more than quadruples. He established the schools of Pharmacy, Forestry and the Graduate School. New departments proliferated as well: Journalism, Oriental Literature, Scandanavian Languages, and Home Economics. He shaped a curriculum which provided both a cultural and a professional component, particularly for those who planned careers in the corporate society. Although the university

as an institution was still small, both Graves and Kane exemplified the model of modern university president.

The new urban-industrial culture needed the modern university. Imbued with the ideals of scholarship and professionalism, the modern university took on the responsibility of training the experts and future leaders of a democratic society. That strong-minded, aggressive, professionally-oriented presidents would choose similar personalities to serve on the faculty seems natural. Qualities of the ideal college professor were most succinctly stated by President William Rainey Harper of the University of Chicago, the modern university president par excellence. Harper stressed that the ideal college professor should be married, religious, compatible with students outside the classroom, have a Ph.D., work hard at least eleven months of the year, and take an active part in public affairs. Speaking in 1904, Harper gave his rationale for the desirability of married men: "the college professor who is married will do three times as much good in his position as one who is single. And if he has three or four children, he will be still better, for he will be a stronger man."¹⁴ Harper must have realized that the married, child-burdened professor would be more likely to remain at the institution, but it is more likely he considered these qualities essential if the modern university

was to gain public confidence and establish itself as an institution of stability.

Just how a woman faculty member would fit into an institution where the masculine theme dominated can partially be answered by looking at the careers of Caroline Haven Ober and Theresa McMahon, the first two women faculty members to become full professors at the University of Washington. Ober began her affiliation with the University of Washington in 1897, became the first woman Professor of Spanish and retired thirty-two years later as Professor Emeritus, the second professor to be so designated. From her diaries, faithfully kept through the years from the age of twenty, we can reconstruct much of her life--how disappointing it was not to get the opportunity to go to college when a younger brother did, how difficult it was to locate a teaching position in the 1890's, how close-knit the university faculty was at the turn of the century, and how tedious teaching became after a decade of immersion in it.

When measured against the ideal college professor, Ober comes up short. She was not married, nor religious in the sense of belonging to and regularly attending church, nor did she have a Ph.D. or any of the other qualities upheld by President Harper. It is remarkable that she survived in an environment which selected for another type.

Ober's persistence can best be understood in terms of her personal network.

To Ober's distinct advantage was the fact that her brother-in-law, John Fay, was president of the University of Washington Board of Regents at the time she was hired in 1897. He was instrumental in securing the position for her. She wrote in her diary,

A letter this P.M. from John....He had just been appointed as one of the Regents of the State University of Washington and if I would apply for a position there, I might secure one!¹⁵

After a discouraging experience job-hunting earlier that year, Ober did not expect anything to result from her application. The offer did materialize, however, and compared to what she had been making, the salary was excellent, \$1500 a year. In addition, she won permission to teach Spanish as she wished, and not "in the old-fashioned way the president of the university wanted--quite a little triumph for me and much relief."¹⁶ The old-fashioned way to teach Spanish in 1897 was formal in its approach, emphasizing the structure of the language and the ability to read it. Ober's approach was conversational, emphasizing modern practical usage. When she stepped down as chairman in 1918, she and the then President, Henry Suzzallo, discussed the need for the university to offer several approaches to teaching Spanish. By then apparently the modern approach had evolved into the "direct method"

and the old-fashioned into the "traditional method."¹⁷ In any case, Suzzallo wanted both methods taught, as well as a hybrid of the two for those who wished to get fully into the literary sense and use of the language.

Another important person in Ober's network was F. A. Hazeltine of South Bend, who served twice on the University of Washington Board of Regents; his first term was a year's duration in 1904-05 and the second was for six years, from 1908-1914. Ober exclaimed over the news of his appointment:

He and his wife are among my best friends. We all met for the first time some fourteen years ago on the S. S. "Alliana" in New York harbor bound for the Argentine Republic.¹⁸

Their friendship grew stronger as regent duties often brought both Mr. and Mrs. Hazeltine to Seattle. Mr. Hazeltine would sometimes have lunch or dinner with Ober prior to an official university function. Often one or two other faculty members would join them in discussion of university affairs. Ober definitely had a direct line to Hazeltine and through him to President Kane. The university faculty in 1910 consisted of one-hundred thirteen members, a number still small enough to operate through personal relationships.

One can only surmise how important these two individuals were to Ober's career. In light of the fact that she suffered from a heart condition and was therefore often

ill, unable to meet her classes, and several times formally requested a temporary leave, it seems she received special consideration. On the other hand, she was dedicated to her teaching and to the students and had many friends on the faculty, including many of the faculty wives. These people, too, were part of a personal network which helped sustain her in the university environment.

Ober's educational background was fairly typical of many late nineteenth century women. Reared in a respectable middle-class family of eight children in Beverly, Massachusetts, Ober graduated from Wheaton Seminary, "a school for the daughters of those who were moderately but only moderately well off, for the daughters of ministers, doctors, teachers."¹⁹ We do not know what her father's occupation was, but one of her grandfathers was a surgeon at the time of the American Revolution.²⁰ The three Ober daughters attended Wheaton which was established partly to train teachers but mainly to train its pupils to become wives and mothers. One Ober daughter married John Fay, Seattle lawyer and one-time Regent, another was a missionary, and Caroline became the teacher.

At age twenty, Caroline accepted her first school-teaching position in the public schools in Palisades, Nevada. The next year, 1888, she taught in the Bozeman Academy in Montana, but illness forced her to resign her position. She returned to Massachusetts, attended the

Normal School in Salem for one year and then headed off to South America, where for three years she was regent and later vice-directress in the Government Normal School in the Argentine Republic. She lived in the town of San Juan, capital of San Juan province west toward the Andes. In that town of 25,000 she was one of four people who spoke English.²¹ There she acquired her knowledge of Spanish. Upon her arrival, she wrote of her frustration in trying to communicate with the parents of her pupils, but in time she gained fluency in Spanish.²²

Returning to the United States in 1893, Ober fulfilled the traditional unmarried female role of caring for her family. First she assisted both parents who were ill in Massachusetts and then she cared for her ailing sister-in-law in Omaha, Nebraska. In both places she tutored individual students in French and Spanish thereby keeping up her teaching skills. She also frequently helped her brother, Frank, in his office in the Young Men's Christian Association. When Frank moved to Chicago to take a new position as editor of Young Men's Era, a YMCA publication, Caroline moved to nearby Evanston, where she hoped to find a teaching position.

Ober made immediate contact with the teachers' agencies in Chicago, but the Chicago job market for women teachers in 1896 proved to be unyielding. Although she could easily have spent all her time helping her brother at

his office, she made a determined effort to locate a teaching position. She recorded many trips to the agencies and even presented a letter of introduction from her brother to President Harper at the University of Chicago.

Disappointed, she recorded, "No vacancy there! The usual reply!"²³ She even considered a governess position but could not find that type work either.

Temporary employment provided some opportunities. She worked two weeks at the office of the "Record" in Chicago. Although she expected to be let off each day, as so many of the temporary employees were, she was not. At the end of the two-week period, Ober was one of the few still remaining out of thirty hired, and she had earned a reputation of "being one of the fastest writers there!"²⁴ The low pay, \$6 a week, and the close supervision by a forelady may have contributed to Ober's decision to resign. She wrote that she quit the "Record" to do "self-denial" work for her brother at the YMCA.²⁵ It is not clear whether "self-denial" meant voluntary or dead-end work.

After six months in the Chicago area, Ober's situation improved dramatically with the offer to teach in San Diego at \$90 a month. Delighted with the terms, she set out by train for San Diego within the week. That position proved satisfactory in every way, it appears; however, the offer from the University of Washington, coming as it did in April at a salary of \$1500 a year, could hardly be ignored.

Settling into Seattle was as easy a process as it had been in all the other localities to which Ober moved. She followed a fairly predictable routine. First, she located a hotel room and from there selected a boarding house in which to settle. She then paid a call to her new boss or supervisor, next stopped by the local library to introduce herself and to find out what books were available, and finally returned to the boarding house to begin making her room or rooms more home-like. The boardinghouse provided a very sociable lifestyle. A symbol of home, it also afforded domestic service and the opportunity for easy sociability in the common parlor or privacy in her own room. Collecting stamps and cultivating friendships were Ober's central extra-curricular activities, although her family always came first. As the years went by, more of her relatives came to live in or near Seattle, and more of her time was spent with family than with friends. Many of her nieces and nephews liked to visit with her because she always planned special activities with them.

Unlike the family-bound male professors, Ober's first lodgings were in downtown Seattle. Her commute to the suburban university was by streetcar. As she described it, "the ride out there is long and jerk-y, the road full of curves."²⁶ The University of Washington campus in 1897, two years in its new location, was still in its initial, pristine state. Denny Hall stood proudly amidst the tall

Douglas firs and cedars though mired in mud at its foundation. The streets were muddy, and there were no side walks.²⁷ The second year, Ober moved to the "little town" of Brooklyn, nearer to the university but also more pleasant, "where the air is not filled with smoke".²⁸ This area immediately adjacent to the university slowly became filled with houses, attracting many faculty families. Such suburban development was typical of turn of the century housing patterns.

Once the routine of classes became as familiar as her home environment, Ober evidently believed she had additional time and energy to do graduate work. She talked to Dr. Moench, Professor of Ancient Languages, about the possibility of working toward a master's degree with him, but unfortunately Dr. Moench submitted his resignation to the university within the month, thus ending that possibility. Ober's diary never again mentioned any thought or plans for going on to graduate school. Its feasibility seems unlikely in view of the fact that she did not have the pre-requisite undergraduate degree. The idea of graduate study may not have had high priority with her, although certainly many of her young male faculty friends left the university in the early 1900's to secure their advanced degrees elsewhere. Perhaps the men saw greater opportunity ahead of them than Ober did, or perhaps the men

received more encouragement and even assistance to further their education.

Practically each year found Ober relocated in a different boardinghouse but with a nucleus of friends from the previous year. Generally, this group was composed of university faculty or teachers in the Seattle schools. The boarders, men and women, formed a close group, taking their meals together, usually in a private dining room in the house apart from the other boarders. Her diaries preserve much minute detail about where each person sat at the table, about the good food and decorations at parties, and about the many callers who stopped by or took a meal with the group.

In 1904 Ober's faculty group found a house of their own to rent. The arrangement worked so successfully that they extended the plan for another year. A cook and house manager ran the home, which otherwise functioned on a cooperative basis. The Seattle Sunday Times acknowledged this group-living arrangement in an article describing "15th Avenue Faculty Row." With apparent approval, the Times noted that nearly all the faculty had their own residence on 15th Avenue. A home of one's own had become a symbol of stability and security. In contrast to that fixed American ideal, the Times reported that the bachelor group, "herded in a club."²⁹ Bachelors, we must assume,

meant unmarried professionals, for the group-living arrangement always included both sexes.

According to Ober's diary, however, the club limited its number of boarders "so as to keep a home atmosphere".³⁰ In view of their nicknames for one another, it seems plausible that the home atmosphere was as important to everyone as it was to Ober. Ober was "Ma"; Professor Fuller, "Gramps"; Professor Thompson, "Gramp Sub"; Professor Frye, "That Good Child"; Mr. Brown, "Our Pet"; and Myra (Ober's schoolteacher niece), "Sister." As Ober recorded, "there are only seven of us left in our Faculty family....but we have delightfully pleasant, comradry [sic] meals together!"³¹ Ober remained with this group for seven years and then decided to live with her niece, Myra, who had married University of Washington Professor Charles More. A close bond existed between the members of the group as can be seen from letters ex-family members wrote as they traveled throughout the United States and the world, addressed to "Dear Ma and Family".

The year 1906 appeared to be a turning point in Ober's life. At age forty, she made changes in the areas of work, family, and recreation. She made her first trip to the Orient, taking a three-month leave of absence from teaching. She changed to a more private way of living. In her estimation, she climbed upward in her department when her

assistant's salary was raised from \$500 to \$1,000 and a man was chosen as her assistant.

The circumstances surrounding the assistant's appointment are intriguing. In the spring President Kane committed the university to the new position. Over the summer Ober wrote to several likely candidates, one of whom expressed interest in the position. However, on Ober's return to campus in the fall, she found a letter from Kane telling her of his decision to recommend appointment of a Mr. Strong at the meeting of the regents that day. The letter mentioned Strong's degrees, B.A. and M.A., three years' teaching experience, and his current summer's experience as city editor of the Havana Post. Kane concluded the letter,

He sent me his photograph, and I may tell you that his picture indicates that he is one of the finest looking young men that we have added to the faculty this year. I believe that we are to be congratulated on our find.³²

This letter raises serious questions about the merit system and the personal search for highly trained talent. The editorial "we" and "our" presume collaboration on the decision, a situation highly unlikely in light of Ober's efforts to find her own assistant over the summer. In any case, it seems clear that the authority Ober thought she had was overridden by President Kane.

Despite the circumstances surrounding the appointment of Strong, Ober welcomed him, noting he was "evidently

ready for work."³³ She recommended her old room in the faculty club, which he took. The working relationship seemed satisfactory, evident in their many long discussions "talking shop" and commenting on the price of real estate in Seattle. With the help of such an able assistant, Ober found time to cultivate two new interests: investing in land in West Seattle, which provided many pleasurable outings, and planning a trip to Japan. In connection with her travels, Ober assumed a new role, manager of group travel to the Orient.

Ober's travels seemed to revive her health and her zest for life. What began as purely pleasure and adventure ended in the serious purpose of investigating educational conditions in the countries she visited. In the three years after her first voyage to the Orient, she made a total of five trips. Her most extensive contact was with Japanese educators, although she had made initial contacts with educators in China and the Philippines. She took responsibility for managing both the travelers who joined her group in Seattle and sometimes groups from twelve to twenty Chinese students who returned to the United States with her for study in this country. These students, too, became part of her extended family and occupied much of her attention in Seattle.

Ober also took an active interest in the emerging professional activities on campus and in the state. She

gave a paper to the State Philological Society on the subject of Spanish Literature, helped organize the Modern Language Association and the Philological Association on campus, and attended their meetings thereafter. In 1910 she became an Honorary Member of the University of Washington Cosmopolitan Club, for her efforts to establish educational ties with the Orient which coincided with that club's "own lines of ambition."³⁴ She also was recognized as a scholar in the Women's Who's Who of America.³⁵ She became the only woman Trustee of the Hindu Student Association, and five years later she was elected Treasurer of the Association for the Promotion of Education of the People of India. Furthering the ties between educated people in nations throughout the world became dominant theme in her life. Professional activities, on the other hand, seemed to be of local scope, although she did attend the first annual meeting of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish in 1918.³⁶

Whereas Ober's personal talents in creating a rich life for herself stand out as her strong suit, she managed also to create some sort of professional life for herself. She served as chairman of her department until 1918, when she asked to be relieved of administrative duties.³⁷ Although Ober started out at the university at the high salary of \$1500 in 1896, that was cut to \$500 the following year. The salary cut no doubt occurred because of the

controversy surrounding her appointment, as well as several others made that year. John Fay and two others were dismissed as Regents for misconduct in office. The Seattle Times asserted these Regents had "retained incompetent persons in the faculty," which lowered the state of education at the University.³⁸ Ober alluded several times in her diary to the controversy over the management of the University and once to the fact that, "My name is by no means spared." Attributing the controversy to state politics, Ober reported that nevertheless work went on smoothly with no disturbance noticed on campus.³⁹ Ober rode out the storm, but her salary remained the same until 1908. She stated in her diary, "Beginning my twelfth year here now, and my salary the same as the first year I taught at the university!"⁴⁰

Three years later, in 1911, her placement on the salary scale had not changed. Her comments in the diary describing her position in the academic procession gathered for Teddy Roosevelt's address in the natural theater give an idea of her status at the university:

At 2:30 we Faculty people gathered in Denny Hall, formed in line according to rank (which brought me just behind the Deans way up front). I marched with Professor Landes. Quite a procession with band, eight divisions of cadets, regents, and a few distinguished guests besides ex-President Roosevelt!⁴¹

Her high status contrasted to her low pay. On the salary scale, Ober was behind thirty-six other professors,

associate professors, and even some assistant professors. She earned slightly less than sixty percent of Professor Landes' salary, her colleague in the academic procession.⁴² In 1929, Ober retired at age sixty-three. Her health had been failing, and she died within a month of retirement.⁴³

Although Theresa McMahan's affiliation with the University of Washington began prior to Ober's arrival, it was a sixteen-year-old Theresa Schmid that she registered in the sub-freshman class in 1894. Growing up in the immediate area on what was then rural Mercer Island, Theresa Schmid's early education was in an ungraded schoolhouse. Her mother died when Theresa was five, and Theresa and her two brothers and sister were brought up by their father with some degree of freedom.⁴⁴ Theresa remembered her childhood in terms of its isolation and freedom to sail and ride horseback. Lacking any feminine role model, she recounted in her memoirs, "I just grew up like Topsy. It is easily understood why I was a rebel and still am."⁴⁵ Because there was no high school on the island, McMahan completed the equivalent of high school work in the sub-freshman class at the university. Then she went on to get her bachelor's degree in 1899 and a master's degree in English literature two years later. However, when J. Allen Smith arrived to teach political science in 1898, her attention shifted to economic, political, and social questions. That was the beginning of a friendship which lasted

through the years and influenced Theresa to enter the field of economics.

Before Theresa completed her master's degree, she married Ed McMahon, who began his freshman year at the university the same time Theresa entered the sub-freshman class. Five years older than Theresa, Ed was at first her tutor and friend. After their marriage in 1900, they both taught school in Seattle before setting off for graduate study at the University of California at Berkeley. One year there was sufficient time to discover their incompatibility with that institution. As Ed McMahon described it,

Neither of us were very happy there. We were extremely poor; it was our first time away from home; the institution was extremely conservative, and I know of no more uncongenial atmosphere for poor people than California.⁴⁶

The McMahons returned to Seattle where Ed received assignment as Principal of Union Grammar School. He reported that he learned once again,

I did not like administrative work and did enjoy teaching. My wife and I went into a huddle, counted the available assets, borrowed whatever and wherever we could, cast the whole upon the waters and pulled out for the University of Wisconsin."⁴⁷

The University of Wisconsin provided a more congenial environment. Both entered the graduate school there, Ed in the Department of History, and Theresa in the Department of Economics under Richard T. Ely, John R. Commons, and Edward A. Ross. Pioneers in the field of labor legislation, the

Wisconsin school of economics gained recognition for utilizing other disciplines in their approach to economics: sociology, political science, history, psychology, anthropology, and law.⁴⁸ It is not surprising therefore that Theresa McMahon would take a similarly broad approach in her Ph.D. dissertation, "Women and Economic Evolution", completed in 1909.

While the McMahons studied at the University of Wisconsin, controversy emerged over the question of segregating by sex certain large classes, particularly those in the liberal arts. Although President Charles Van Hise openly supported the idea of coeducation, he thought that "in arranging for segregation in those subjects attractive to both men and women, coeducation in the college of liberal arts might be strengthened and preserved."⁴⁹ He believed that each sex would be more comfortable with its own group and, for example, that more women would be inclined to take a course in political economy if the class was composed only of women, just as men would be more likely to take a course in literature if composed only of males. He could see no valid objection to such a proposal which, in his estimation, actually enlarged the opportunity of both sexes to a broader field of knowledge. This proposal attracted widespread criticism, and not just from active feminists. Others disturbed were "some faculty and even Senator and Mrs. LaFollette."⁵⁰ The controversy was

finally settled by the Board of Regents in 1908, who refused to recognize the principle of segregation and furthermore determined that "there shall be no discrimination on account of sex in granting scholarships or fellowships in any of the colleges or departments of the University."⁵¹

This controversy affected Theresa McMahon's graduate education in two ways. First, she was supported by one of the graduate fellowships at the University of Wisconsin. Noting that it was "rather unusual to award a fellowship to a woman in economics", she believed the decision rested on the observation that she had been married a number of years but had no children. Therefore, it was thought that she would probably stay in the profession and be a credit to the university.⁵² Second, the Department of Economics was eager to involve more women in the field. A supportive environment usually enhances learning, which it apparently did in Theresa McMahon's case. Her letter to E. A. Ross, her major professor, many years later reflects this nurturance, "...I have (not) forgotten the splendid encouragement and support you gave me when I was a major student of yours and have continued to give me at all times."⁵³

Following graduate school, McMahon worked one summer at Jane Addams' Hull House in Chicago as a statistician collecting facts on the prevailing high mortality rate

among infants and young children. Later, she received an appointment as statistician for United Charities in Chicago. Both of these positions were in line with the training in statistical and investigatory techniques which the Wisconsin School of Economics encouraged.⁵⁴ The year in Chicago, however, was Theresa McMahon's first exposure to urban slums, and it proved to be a radicalizing experience. She found the poverty, unsanitary conditions of the streets, inadequate housing facilities, high rents, and the ruthlessness of the landlords an outrage. It made her a confirmed "enemy of the employer only interested in profits gleaned from the output of underpaid workmen."⁵⁵ The Chicago exposure shaped her social activism which created some difficulties for her in her next position at the University of Washington.

McMahon's first faculty position at the University of Washington was as graduate Assistant in Political Science. Even though she had received her Ph.D. and thus should have qualified for a regular position, it was a year before she gained an appointment as Instructor in Political and Social Science, a matter of an \$800 increase in salary.⁵⁶ Her philosophical position was questioned even before she was formally offered the position in J. Allen Smith's political science department. Again, the question of segregating certain classes was an issue.⁵⁷ President Kane wanted to bring about segregation of the sexes in certain classes and

asked Theresa McMahon if she would help. Kane's address to the National Education Association on the educational needs of women explains his position. He acknowledged that the special schools, specifically engineering, business administration, and law had until then been developed for men and that only an occasional woman had profited from them. Therefore, he advocated that the same provision be made for women's needs as had been made for the men. He wanted to establish departments "to include teaching, household economics, training for clerical positions, for library work, for different lines of civic and philanthropic work, courses in music, courses in fine arts, and other lines of special training for which there is valid demand."⁵⁸ Kane had little vision for women beyond their traditional activities.

If this speech accurately described his plans for segregation at the University of Washington, it is no surprise that Theresa McMahon gave a firm, negative reply to his proposal and added the promise, "I'll fight you every inch of the way!"⁵⁹ For a young woman who had just received doctoral training in a newly established non-traditional field for women, this proposal to channel women into segregated fields ran directly counter to her own training. In view of her response, it may seem surprising she received the job at all. Pleased that she did not have to compromise her philosophy in the process of

accepting the position, Theresa McMahon found herself on the same faculty as her husband, an Instructor in History.

From 1911 until 1937 Theresa McMahon taught at the University of Washington. At first she taught the elementary economics classes, but later she developed advanced courses in U. S. labor history, European labor history, women in industry, labor legislation, and finally the economics of consumption.⁶⁰ She offered a graduate seminar in the Social Work Department, as well as several undergraduate courses in labor, when that department began with limited funds for its teaching staff.⁶¹ McMahon's first commitment was to teaching.

World War I created a repressive atmosphere on the university campus for some faculty members. A colleague of McMahon's, Ottilie Boetzkes, described the fanaticism on campus. Faculty friends and former students ignored her, but Boetzkes, the only native of Germany in the German department, did not leave the campus. By transferring to the French Department, where she was as competent in the language and culture, Boetzkes survived the wartime emergency.⁶² Theresa McMahon, on the other hand, took a leave of absence. She related that her German ancestry made her a target for "witch-hunters". During her wartime leave, McMahon carried out research in New York.⁶³

In 1917 Theresa McMahon was assigned to the College of Economics and Business Administration as a result of the

Suzzallo administration's decision to break up J. Allen Smith's department of political science. McMahon found less congenial colleagues in the new environment, principally because most of them were concerned only about the economics of business and lacked any concern for its social significance, which was of the utmost importance to McMahon. She shared the philosophical and intellectual interests of Carleton Parker, the first Dean of the College of Economics and Business Administration, but his tenure was cut short by his sudden death during the war. Subsequent deans proved less compatible, and estranged from her colleagues, Theresa McMahon described herself "a strange cat in a strange garret. Besides I was a woman."⁶⁴ McMahon could never accept what she perceived as a general university bias against women as intellectual equals.

Corroborating McMahon's sense of alienation in the Business School is a 1920 assessment of her scholarly abilities by her chairman. In his estimation, McMahon's scholarly abilities were overshadowed by her emotional instability:

...good preparation, emotional mind which is slowly being diciplined [sic]. Breadth good.....One is never sure just where an emotion will lead her. Some resentment has been carried forward from the past. Do not believe she should be advanced in rank."⁶⁵

Despite this chairman's negative judgment, McMahon managed to hold her own and remained on the faculty.

Six years later, promotion finally came to McMahon. In 1926 she advanced to Associate Professor. The Committee on Promotions unanimously recommended:

Mrs. McMahon's reputation for original research and productive scholarship, together with her unquestioned teaching ability, are sufficient to warrant her promotion.⁶⁶

Evidently the above report raised additional questions, because the committee met again eleven days later in the President's office. From this meeting came an additional suggestion to the Personnel Board and to Dean Thomson:

It was the thought of the committee that Mrs. McMahon should be more careful in the future than she has been in the past in regard to criticizing her colleagues and expressing radical views. The committee as a whole had no intention of standing in the way of her promotion. But the recommendation was meant to be conditional: in the event of her promotion she should be spoken to in regard to these matters.⁶⁷

Interpreting the sense of the committee, William H. George, chairman, asserted there was no hint of retaliation or delay in the appointment. They merely wanted Mrs. McMahon warned against expressing radical views in the community because they believed it compromised the university in the eyes of the conservative business community. Thus, despite criticism of McMahon's habits and views inside and outside her department, she earned promotion because of her strong scholarly and teaching abilities.

A lively teacher, McMahon and her husband held open house on Friday evenings. The McMahons invited students and friends; topics of conversation were issues of public interest.⁶⁸ Theresa McMahon was also sought after as a public speaker. Modestly, she maintained that her husband was a "splendid lecturer," but that the public was not then interested in American history:

I received twenty invitations to lecture outside the university to Ed's one. I lectured to Socialists, Chambers of Commerce, and to various women's clubs. Labor was an interesting topic, and I seemed to be the only one who was first in knowledge of its history and present-day status."⁶⁹

In 1937, at age 59, McMahon chose to retire. Officially, she stated that she wished to concentrate on research in the economics of consumption.⁷⁰ Unofficially, McMahon wanted to get at the landscaping of her three acres of land on Mercer Island and to get away from a newly appointed dean whom she regarded as having "less integrity than all the others put together."⁷¹ A founder of the Women's Faculty Club in 1917, she was honored by that group just before retirement.⁷²

McMahon's professional study of labor problems resulted in two publications, several published articles and a book review of her former professor, John Commons' Institutional Economics. Her doctoral dissertation, published by the University of Wisconsin in 1912 as part of its Economic and Political Series, focused on the changing

social and economic status of women. McMahon took an historical, critical view of the conventional assumptions about women's nature. Her assertion that the beginning of the human race was a time of intellectual equality between man and woman was an idea that few people held at the turn of the century. In her estimation what began as an efficient division of labor based on mutual advantage soon became a habit and later was fixed as the custom and tradition of society. It was out of such custom and tradition, then, that the ethos of man's superiority over woman emerged and grew stronger in time. The ethos of male superiority was a mistaken assumption McMahon hoped would soon evolve to embrace a common humanity.

McMahon viewed the Industrial Revolution as the great divide reshaping women's lives. Women had played an important economic and social role in pre-industrial times, but they failed to keep up that involvement in the rapidly industrializing society of the nineteenth century. McMahon's analysis of the disruptions caused by the Industrial Revolution relied upon class differences, which by the turn of the century divided into three groups.

McMahon focused her attention on middle class women, the largest group but the one with the greatest potential for contributing to society. She respected the middle class women who worked because, although they did not necessarily need to work, they were taking a responsible place along

with the men in the attempt to solve social and industrial problems. She also admired their ability to ignore social custom which told them to stay at home. She had less respect for the middle class women who kept busy at home; she considered them a vanishing type. But even lower in McMahan's estimation, though higher on the social scale, were the idle, upper class women. She was especially sympathetic to the plight of working class women who worked out of economic necessity and also kept a home and family going. This group of workers essentially held down two jobs while receiving less pay than a male for the equivalent work.

McMahon's solution for meeting the needs of the working class, both male and female, was state intervention, the solution many progressives were turning toward in their efforts to resolve the social questions posed by industrialization, urbanization and immigration. She demonstrated this concern for the working class while on the faculty at the university. She lobbied for the eight-hour law for women, the minimum wage, and the employer liability law. Putting political issues above her career brought criticism and pressure to refrain. She related that her lobbying efforts in Olympia were considered very undignified activities for a professor.⁷³ Perhaps because she was not entirely dependent on her own salary she could afford to take such risks. It seems more likely, however,

that it was the conjunction of the issues and her professional interests which determined her active involvement. Her role hung in the balance between objectivity (providing technical expertise) and advocacy, a role which no longer met with approbation in the specialized professions of higher education in the early twentieth century.⁷⁴

A three-month term on the Industrial Welfare Commission in 1913 engaged McMahon's efforts as a technical expert. Her position on that commission ended abruptly, however, when the governor determined not to reappoint her because of an uproar over the press coverage of a hearing in Everett.⁷⁵ McMahon knew employers marked employee records when a girl's morality was in question. After a hearing where working girls testified regarding their wages, McMahon asked two employers who were still in the hearing room whether or not they hired detectives to follow their male employees. When told, "No," McMahon then said if that was the case, why was it done in the case of women employees? Trying to make the point of the need for a single standard of behavior for males and females, McMahon was quoted in the headlines the next day, "Theresa McMahon says the Morals of the Working Girls are None of the Employers' Business." Public reaction set in. Churches and women's groups protested. Some thought such a person should not be teaching at the university, while others

criticized McMahon for advocating free love.⁷⁶ The controversy soon subsided but the governor's decision held, and McMahon's brief appointment ended.

In the pre-war years, Theresa McMahon published several articles on labor problems in the Northwest. One concerned the Pacific coast Longshoreman's Strike in 1915-16. Survey, an Eastern journal, published two of her articles, "The 1919 General Strike in Seattle" and "Centralia and the Industrial Workers of the World" (I.W.W.).⁷⁷ She recounted how she got the Centralia story when most reporters had been effectively barred, "I got off the train at Centralia without a briefcase and I looked just like an ordinary 'Butter and Egg Woman'." I was never a dressy person."⁷⁸ Keenly aware of the bitterness between organized labor and organized capital in the Northwest, McMahon deftly described the highly charged political and economic atmosphere surrounding the ill-fated Armistice Day parade in Centralia. In the aftermath of three servicemen dead and one Wobbly lynched, McMahon reported,

An atmosphere of suppression hangs over the city of Centralia. People stare at each other with suspicious eyes. Fear is written on their countenances. A fear inspired perhaps by the thought of a future possible outbreak of lawlessness in the surrounding woods.⁷⁹

With the town of 20,000 inhabitants so polarized, McMahon feared most that the law had been set aside although martial law had not been declared.

In the 1920's, the McMahons twice took a leave of absence from the university and travelled through Europe. Ed McMahon kept diaries of both trips. When in England he told of Theresa's propensity to talk with the common people.

'The missis' would rather talk with fishwomen and workers than visit the finest ruin. So we are cutting out many castles and ruins I had on my list.⁸⁰

Evidently each enjoyed equal time in the choice of activity and in this manner combined business and pleasure in their travels.

In 1925 Theresa McMahon published her first book, Social and Economic Standards of Living, an historical analysis of the standard of living, which McMahon defined as the way a person wants to live, not the way he or she necessarily lives. Thus defined, the standard of living acts as a motive force in human behavior. It exists in people's minds and its vision is essential to social progress, which reveals McMahon's ideal for American society. This vision fit well with the developing consumer ideology of the twenties.

McMahon asserted that the uniqueness of America lay in its democratization of education and in its rich economic resources. Whereas social democracy was at one time a possibility in America, she believed that possibility ended with the Industrial Revolution which had created class and wealth differentiation. She noted the transference of

political control in America from the landowning to the industrial class and was especially distressed by the changes in the modern university as a result of dominance by the values of the business world.⁸¹

Building upon Thorstein Veblen's idea about the loss of the instinct of workmanship through the process of industrialization, McMahan applied it specifically to the lives of women. Thus, the twenties for McMahan represented the continuation of an attempt to define modern attitudes toward women and sex roles. She found that women's lives had been circumscribed in such a way as to thwart achievement. Again, she looked at women collectively through the framework of class. Middle class women no longer seemed potential contributors to society. Instead they faced the greatest isolation from the larger social world. Ironically, they faced increased leisure time but fewer paths of expression, and even the few remaining routine tasks in the home had little creative or social value.

The one hopeful development McMahan observed was the increasing number of business and professional women who were setting their own standards quite apart from the so-called "womanly spheres of work." With the goal of human achievement replacing the materialistic one of displaying one's wealth, these women could set a new direction for a common standard of living based on human needs. McMahan hoped that there would be an end to the belief in unequal

mental capabilities between the two sexes. Meanwhile, she acknowledged,

intellectual equality with men, and an economic independence based on their own professional or industrial activities, are goals sought by so few women as to classify them as pioneers in fields as yet outside the vision of the sex as a whole.⁸²

Theresa McMahon accordingly must be viewed as a pioneer. Growing up in a rural community where there was essentially no political or social organization other than that of the local school, she managed to obtain a college education and then go on for the Ph.D. in a field for which she had little background or experience. The progressive spirit of the University of Wisconsin matched her own and propelled her into an active professional and public life. Her professional writing, while clear and competent, was mostly an assessment of the latest thought on the power of economic and social factors in shaping modern society. Her teaching style was invigorating and challenging, evidenced by the bound volume of letters from former students upon her retirement.⁸³ Committed to the goal of greater freedom for women, she was not a part of the women's movement which laid claim for female distinctiveness. She knew that economic self-sufficiency alone would not emancipate women, although she recognized that economic independence was a first step in that direction. Because of her faith in the dynamic quality of social and economic change, she

envisioned the time when the traditional ideal of separate spheres would no longer exist.

Ober and McMahon are a study in contrast. Although they both came from middle class backgrounds, served many years as teachers on the University of Washington faculty, and had family connections to the university, they had little else in common. Caroline Ober lacked professional credentials sought after by modern universities but received her appointment to the university because of family ties. Her promotion from Assistant Professor to Professor came in three years time, reflecting the fact that the University's hierarchy of ranks had not yet been firmly established.⁸⁴ Her longevity and the honor of recognition as Professor Emeritus give evidence of teaching and administrative talents. She participated in the formation of several emergent professional organizations on the campus and in the state. She sometimes accepted a leadership role but more often declined any additional responsibility proposed to her. She kept abreast of current events, especially those that affected women. She would occasionally attend a Women's Christian Temperance Union meeting or a Christian Science lecture, always voted in municipal elections, participated in the Associated Faculty Women, an organization of women faculty and faculty wives formed in 1907, and in the money-raising campaign for the Women's Building at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition.

A part of that generation of women which outnumbered men, Ober remained single. She had many friends and many interests. She traveled extensively throughout the Orient and maintained a wide correspondence with friends made through her travels. Domesticity wonderfully escaped her, although she often played the role of household manager by assuming the arduous task of finding a reliable cook, houseboy, or housecleaner for the faculty group, or her sister, or her niece. An independent but cooperative person, Ober successfully managed to integrate her private life with her professional life, which was limited by her interests in teaching rather than research and by her poor health. Ober was plagued by heart problems which caused frequent interruptions in her activities and teaching duties. When she did venture out in the public sphere, it was usually for purposes of travel or in the role of spectator rather than that of active participant.

Theresa McMahon represented a new type woman, a social ~~activist and one who achieved the highest credentials the~~ educational world provided in a field very few women entered. Her interest in social change took her outside the familiar bounds of class and occupation to work on behalf of the working class, but most particularly working class women. Her professional writing emphasized the stifling effects of tradition and convention, which denied women any means of self-expression, autonomy, or achieve-

ment. Her professional and public life dovetailed neatly, especially in the years prior to 1920. Since little is known about her private life beyond that of her marriage to history professor, Ed McMahon, their friendship with the J. Allen Smiths, and their weekly open-houses for students and friends, it is difficult to give a more detailed picture. While teaching at the university, Theresa McMahon scrutinized American society in its totality, saw need for change and worked for it. Caroline Ober, on the other hand, was more accepting of American society and sought to share American education with people in other cultures. Both, however, showed the values of persistent personality.

Chapter Notes - Chapter 1

¹Fourth Biennial Report of Regents of the University of Washington to the Governor of Washington (Olympia), p. 15.

²Louise Schutz Boas, Woman's Education Begins, (Norton, Mass.: Wheaton College Press, 1935), p. 2.

³Ibid., p. 5.

⁴Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University - A History, (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1962), p. 323; Patricia A. Graham, "Women in Academe," Science 169 (September 1970), p. 1284.

⁵1887 Report of the Board of Regents, University of Washington, p. 6.

⁶Charles M. Gates, The First Century at the University of Washington, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1961), p. 34; see also Mabel Newcomer, A Century of Higher Education for Women (N.Y.: Harper, 1959), listed eight state universities open to women in 1870: Iowa, Wisconsin, Kansas, Indiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Michigan and California (given in the order of accepting women).

⁷U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Educational Statistics, Digest of Educational Statistics (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office 1973), p. 75, Table 89.

⁸Seattle Post-Intelligencer, January 3, 1897.

⁹Laurence R. Veysey, The Emergence of the American University, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 360; Frederick Rudolph, op. cit., p. 348; Burton J. Bledstein, The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America, (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1976), p. 133; Richard J. Storr, Harper's University - The Beginning (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966); Hugh Hawkins, Between Harvard and America: The Educational Leadership of Charles W. Eliot (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

¹⁰University of Washington Presidents, 1895-1914: Mark W. Harrington, A.B., A.M., 1895-97
 William F. Edwards, A.M., March 1897-October 1897
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 Franklin P. Graves, Ph.D., LL.D., 1898-1902
 Thomas Franklin Kane, Ph.D., LL.D., 1902-1914.
 From Three Quarters of a Century at Washington: A Pictorial Record (Seattle: The Alumni Association, 1941), p. 13.

¹¹Franklin P. Graves to Rev. Clark Davis, June 20, 1898, 78-103, Box 9-9, UW Board of Regents Records, University Archives, UW Libraries.

¹²Seattle Post-Intelligencer, December 1, 1898.

¹³Unmarked clipping, August 22, 1902, Box 11, Caroline Ober Papers, University Archives, UW Libraries. Hereafter cited Ober Papers.

¹⁴Unmarked clipping, Chicago, January 19, 1904, Box 17, Ober Papers.

¹⁵Ober Diary, March 22, 1897, Box 7, Ober Papers.

¹⁶Ober Diary, June 30, 1897, Box 7, Ober Papers; UW Catalog, 1900.

¹⁷Memorandum from the President, March 4, 1918, 71-34, Box 134, Romance Languages, UW President's Records, University Archives, UW Libraries.

¹⁸Ober Diary, March 15, 1904, Box 12, Ober Papers.

¹⁹Boas, op. cit., p. 48.

²⁰Ober Diary, October 18, 1907, Box 21, Ober Papers.

²¹Omaha World Herald, September 27, 1895, Box 6, Ober Papers.

²²Ober Diary, December 27, 1889, Box 21, Ober Papers.

²³Ober Diary, September 10, 1896, Box 6, Ober Papers.

²⁴Ober Diary, October 23, 1896, Box 6, Ober Papers.

²⁵Ober Diary, October 24, 1896, Box 6, Ober Papers.

²⁶Ober Diary, August 18, 1897, Box 7, Ober Papers.

- ²⁷Milo Ryan Phonoarchives, Interview with Otilie Boetzkes, University Archives, UW Libraries.
- ²⁸Ober Diary, August 17, 1898, Box 8, Ober Papers.
- ²⁹Seattle Sunday Times, September 17, 1905.
- ³⁰Ober Diary, August 30, 1905, Box 16, Ober Papers.
- ³¹Ober Diary, March 9, 1904, Box 16, Ober Papers.
- ³²Thomas Franklin Kane to Caroline Ober, September 21, 1906, Box 19, Ober Papers.
- ³³Ober Diary, September 30, 1906, Box 19, Ober Papers.
- ³⁴Ober Diary, October 31, 1910, Box 28, Ober Papers.
- ³⁵Seattle Sun, August 13, 1914, Box 37, Ober Papers.
- ³⁶Ober Diary, March 14, 1918, Folder 1-3, Box 2, Ober Papers.
- ³⁷March 7, 1918, Folder 1-9, Box 2, Ober Papers; "Memo," March 4, 1918, 71-34, Box 134, Romance Languages, UW President's Records, University Archives, UW Libraries.
- ³⁸Seattle Times, November 6, 1897.
- ³⁹Ober Diary, October 20, 1897, Box 7, Ober Papers; see also Charles M. Gates, p. 67.
- ⁴⁰October 30, 1908, Box 24, Ober Papers; University of Washington, Faculty Personnel File: Caroline Ober, Academic Records.
- ⁴¹Ober Diary, April 6, 1911, Box 29, Ober Papers.
- ⁴²UW Board of Regents Records, 1911-12, 78-103, Box 18, University Archives, UW Libraries.
- ⁴³Seattle Times, June 4, 1929.
- ⁴⁴Volume of Memoirs and Genealogy of Representative Citizens of the City of Seattle and the County of King (New York: The Lewis Company, 1903), pp. 308-310.
- ⁴⁵"My Story," Theresa McMahon Papers, University Archives, UW Libraries. Hereafter cited T. McMahon Papers.

⁴⁶Edward McMahon Papers, p. 24, Folder 1-1, University Archives, UW Libraries. Hereafter cited E. McMahon Papers.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 26.

⁴⁸Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, The University of Wisconsin, (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1949). pp. 342-344.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 82; Charles Van Hise, "Educational Tendencies in State Universities", Educational Review 34 (December 1907), p. 519.

⁵⁰Curti and Carstensen, op. cit., p.84.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 85.

⁵²"My Story," T. McMahon Papers, p. 29.

⁵³Theresa McMahon to E. A. Ross, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, November 18, 1930, Folder 1-5, T. McMahon Papers.

⁵⁴Curti and Carstensen, op. cit., p. 341.

⁵⁵"My Story," T. McMahon Papers, p. 37.

⁵⁶Minutes, February 21, 1911, UW Board of Regents Records, 78-103, Box 18, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁵⁷The number of women students in Liberal Arts appeared to be the cause of this problem. In the case of liberal arts degrees granted, the ratio of female to male was sixty eight per cent in 1910--the highest ratio reached until the 1945 (wartime) high of eighty-one percent.

⁵⁸Seattle Post-Intelligencer, July 16, 1911; The Washington Alumnus 4 (November 19, 1910).

⁵⁹"My Story," T. McMahon Papers, p. 20.

⁶⁰Ibid.; T. McMahon Papers, Folder 1-3.

⁶¹Kathryn Ann Brand, "Social Work Education at the University of Washington: the First Twenty-Five Years," M.A. Thesis, University of Washington, 1976, p. 47.

⁶²Milo Ryan Phonoarchives, Interview with Otilie Boetzkes, University Archives, UW Libraries.

- 63 "My Story," T. McMahon Papers, p. 38.
- 64 Ibid., p. 46.
- 65 UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 120, Faculty Ratings, 1920, University Archives, UW Libraries.
- 66 UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 121, Faculty Ratings-Promotions, 1926, University Archives, UW Libraries.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Ibid., p. 20; Charles M. Gates, op. cit., p. 134.
- 69 "My Story," T. McMahon Papers, p. 60.
- 70 T. McMahon Papers, March 30, 1937, Box 1-3.
- 71 "My Story," T. McMahon Papers, p. 50.
- 72 University of Washington Daily, April 16, 1937.
- 73 Ibid., p. 23.
- 74 Mary O. Furner, Advocacy and Objectivity, A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science 1865-1905 (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1975), p. 322.
- 75 Seattle Sun, December 30, 1913; Seattle Post-Intelligencer, December 28, 1913.
- 76 "My Story," T. McMahon Papers, p. 30; UW Daily, November 12, 1913.
- 77 T. McMahon Papers, Folder 1-7.
- 78 "My Story," T. McMahon Papers, p. 33.
- 79 The Survey, November 29, 1919.
- 80 E. McMahon Papers, Folder 1-2.
- 81 Theresa McMahon, Social and Economic Standards of Living, (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1925), p. 295.
- 82 Ibid., p. 261.
- 83 T. McMahon Papers, Folder 1-2.

84UW Catalogs show Caroline Ober as Assistant Professor in 1897-98, Associate Professor in 1899-1900, and Professor in 1900-1901. This evidence conflicts with her Faculty Personnel File, Academic Records, which simply lists her as Professor from the first appointment in 1897.

Chapter 2

Coeducation Redefined Implications for Women Students and Faculty

The increasingly large numbers of women students in higher education was but one manifestation of a burgeoning women's movement in the latter the nineteenth century. Domesticity, which in the pre-Civil War years relegated women to the home,¹ expanded its contours as the nation industrialized and became more urban. Rather than being handicapped by their socially imposed separate sphere, middle-class women instead capitalized on their solidarity. Through strong organizational abilities and social sensitivity women moved out to participate in a number of radical and reform activities, which took them into the public sphere, generally considered the domain of males.² Suffrage was not the chief reform attracting women's energies in the late nineteenth century: social purity, temperance, revision of property and child custody laws, equity in job opportunities and pay, and, for the purposes of this study, higher education for women were equally engaging, depending on one's interests and assessment of how women might gain equity in American society.

Before continuing the investigation of women faculty, it is necessary to digress to the turn of century "crisis" of coeducation, as it was called by many prominent educators. The problem occurred when it did because the number of women students in the liberal arts courses

surpassed that of men. Other factors than the feminization of liberal arts, however, must also be considered: the declining number of young men in the private eastern colleges as compared to the rapid increase in student population in the western public institutions, the transitional nature of the universities which found the interest of its young men far greater in the professional courses than in the liberal arts, the increasing male prejudice against women in higher education,³ and the heightened sociability of the coeducational environment. In order to provide a well balanced educational program, educators believed it necessary to provide a broad, liberal arts foundation of two years prior to specialized training for any of the professions. The needs of the young men took first priority, as had traditionally been the case, but for the first time, and in response to pressure from some women's groups, the needs of young women were also considered. These pressures to shape undergraduate education are important, since they also influenced graduate education and eventually the makeup of the faculty in the coeducational institutions.

I. Models of Higher Education for Women - 1900

By 1900 three models of higher education served women: separate private colleges exclusively for women, annexes or independent colleges coordinate to a larger private

university, and the coeducational university. All three contributed to the resolution of the coeducational crisis which faced University of Washington President Kane in the first decade of the century. Although the University had started out as coeducational in 1861, when faced with a burgeoning number of women students, it thought in terms of coordinate education and even considered establishing a separate campus for women.

Private colleges existed mostly on the Atlantic seaboard. Men's colleges, such as Columbia, Harvard and Brown, had the longest history and strongest traditions, and yet even they adjusted to the pressures of women for higher education. Separate but equal became the solution. In the annexes like Barnard, Radcliffe and Pembroke, women received instruction in classrooms separate from the men students. Since instruction had to be repeated for the women, the women's curriculum was often more limited than it was for the men. That is, if only a few women wanted a course in Geometry, for example, the chance of that course being offered to them was minimal. There was also, no doubt, considerable reluctance on the part of some faculty to undertake the dubious and repetitious task of teaching women students.

Solutions to the higher education of women varied within this model. In 1881 Radcliffe was annexed to Harvard: eight years later Columbia University established

Barnard as a coordinate institution. Relations between the allied institutions varied according to the prejudices of male administrators. For example, Columbia University extended its library privileges to the women students, while Harvard did not. Exclusion from Widener Library proved to be a distinct disadvantage in the education of the first Radcliffe students. Also, Columbia issued its degree to Barnard students, while Harvard did not.⁴

Reflecting upon the strong social prejudice in the East in favor of a separate system of education, President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University asserted that the separation of men and women students in the undergraduate courses at Columbia and Barnard, respectively, "met admirably our local and institutional needs and conditions".⁵ However, not wanting to offend any readers in the coeducational institutions, Butler provided a vigorous, positive analysis of the proven success of coeducation at publicly supported institutions of higher education. Butler's preference nevertheless was for separate but equal education.

Although the curriculum in the coordinate colleges may have been limited and thus not entirely equal to that offered male students, there were certain advantages. Barnard students, for example, did receive the same instruction as the Columbia students, which meant that they were taught by specialists from the university faculty.

Thus, while women students received the benefit of current knowledge, the men's institution likewise gained from the coordinate connection because an increased number of students needing instruction called for an expansion in size of faculty. Putnam commented on the Columbia-Barnard union: "Both institutions were obviously benefitted for Columbia enlarged its staff and Barnard had the range of specialists, instead of being confined to its own two professors."⁶ President Kane embraced this attitude by establishing separate classes in the Liberal Arts in 1909.

The earliest women's colleges established the second model of higher education for women. They clung to their old traditions of classical education and discipline. Getting their start in the 1870s and 1880s, Smith, Hunter, Vassar, Wellesley, and Bryn Mawr determined to offer a curriculum parallel to that given in the men's colleges. M. Carey Thomas, who obtained her Ph.D. in Germany in 1884 and later became President of Bryn Mawr, believed that by the turn of the century the two generations of women graduates had sufficiently proven their intellectual competence in higher education. An ardent feminist and an optimist about women's progress in undergraduate and graduate education, Thomas advocated that women's next educational objectives should be to secure stable faculty positions in the coeducational universities while also increasing the number of chairs in women's colleges. An

outspoken advocate of separate education for women at the undergraduate level, Thomas asserted that only in the separate women's colleges were women students "the chief, instead of only the secondary, interest of their professors."⁷ Proud of women's accomplishments in higher education, Thomas pointed out the inaccuracy of the masculine perception of women's intelligence:

Now we know that it is not we, but the man who believes such things about us (pathological invalids), who is himself pathological, blinded by neurotic mists of sex, unable to see that women form one half of the kindly race of normal, healthy human creatures in the world.⁸

It was the success of women in college work, Thomas claimed, which produced the curious situation in men's education "which was beginning to make itself felt in coeducational colleges".⁹ Success described women's efforts at the University of Washington. Sixty-five per cent of those elected to Phi Beta Kappa in the first decade were women,¹⁰ a fact which belies the ever-recurring argument about women's intellectual inferiority.

Coeducational institutions represented the third model of higher education available to women. Although begun in 1837 at Oberlin, a private college, and instituted later at the private colleges of Antioch and Swarthmore, this model had become practically universal in the public institutions of the Middle West and West by the turn of the century. Men and women students pursued their studies together as

had been the custom in the public schools and academies throughout much of the nineteenth century. Requirements for attendance, preparation of assignments, and examinations were identical; the degree granted was also the same.

Disagreement exists, however, about the origins of coeducation in higher education. President Charles R. Van Hise, of the University of Wisconsin, claimed that coeducation began in the older state universities of the Middle West, "not in consequence of a theoretical belief in it upon the part of the officials of those institutions, but in spite of such belief."¹¹ Van Hise acknowledged that economic pressures were paramount in establishing coeducational institutions.

In addition to the economic necessity of coeducation, other educators acknowledged the strong democratic pressures for equal educational opportunities for all students. State universities in particular, funded by state taxes, responded to popular pressure for the same educational opportunities for all students. Nevertheless, perspectives of coeducation varied. Van Hise asserted that coeducation at Wisconsin was "reached with much hesitancy."¹² Michigan viewed coeducation as a "dangerous experiment."¹³ Wesleyan, the first eastern college to institute coeducation, labelled it a "feminist experiments."¹⁴ In its earliest stage, coeducation gained a foothold only gradually.¹⁵

The coeducational model of higher education formed one part of the nineteenth century feminist radical critique of family and society, a vision well in advance of their twentieth century demand for suffrage. Higher education of women seemed the key to greater participation. However, women divided on the issue of the purpose of higher education: the traditional feminists insisted upon the development of women's individuality and equality, while the domestic feminists perceived themselves as 'wives and mothers.' Domestic feminists advocated educational reform for women in line with their supposed female interests and sensitivities. They strongly supported Home Economics for women, which they perceived in terms of creating a profession for women. They criticized the separate women's colleges insofar as they did not educate students in a "natural" way for the real world. Women's colleges were thought by these women to exaggerate the differences of the sexes, producing a "false consciousness of sex" or an "unnatural sex".¹⁶ These feminists recommended that educational institutions should simulate the natural family by accommodating both sexes, and thus they strongly supported coeducation throughout the educational system.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, physiological, psychological, and moral arguments developed in opposition to coeducation. Dr. E. H. Clarke, a Harvard professor, provoked feminists to a staunch defence of

coeducation when in 1873 he published Sex in Education: or A Fair Chance for Girls. He claimed that any subject in higher education sapped female energy, which was needed for the normal development of the reproductive organs. Menstruation was depicted as mysteriously debilitating. Therefore, Clarke concluded that higher education for girls would produce "monstrous brains and puny bodies, abnormally active cerebration and abnormally weak digestion; flowing thought and constipated bowels."¹⁷ Besides precipitating several quantitative studies disproving his thesis by activist women both in medicine and in the American Collegiate Association, Clarke's book nevertheless influenced many like-minded readers. For example, four years later, University of Wisconsin critics claimed that women students there presented evidence of physical deterioration. President John Bascom, an advocate of higher education for women, informed the visiting committee that it based its judgement on extremely limited observation. Bascom revealed his chagrin with their revival of a controversy just closed: "To be pushed back into the water when we have just reached shore is trying."¹⁸

Psychological arguments against higher education for women focused on women's inferior intellect, her passivity of mind and her tendency toward hysteria. Traditionalists who adhered to the doctrine of separate spheres feared demoralization of both sexes if women ventured out into the

world. By keeping women on the pedestal, such believers thwarted women's social and intellectual development while at the same time ensuring their own place in society.

Moral arguments seemed to center on protecting women's sensitivity and refinement. The Victorian fear that female members would be offended by indelicate remarks that might accompany biological arguments, for example, in the case of scientific courses, or that their presence might deflect men from serious discussion, actually gave men the opportunity to maintain a monopoly on intellectual and public matters. Predictably many of these concerns surfaced again in the first decade of the present century.

Despite frequent setbacks and reversals, sentiment for coeducation persisted and two new private, coeducational universities, Stanford and the University of Chicago, were established in the 1890's. Other private colleges, originally established solely for men, also allowed women to enter. In the thirty-year period from 1870 to 1900, the percentage of students in men's colleges fell from 69 per cent to 29 per cent.¹⁹ Coeducational institutions, on the other hand, experienced a wholly unprecedented growth, "tropical growth," in University of Chicago Professor James R. Angell's words, especially in the decade 1890-1900.²⁰ Despite this numerical success or, more likely, because of it, strong opposition to coeducation emerged in the period 1900-1910.

The Coeducational Crisis Emerges

Educators across the nation debated the issue of coeducation. Western and mid-Western educators placed responsibility for the crisis with the opposition of Eastern educators in the established private colleges. In a speech to the General Federation of Womens Clubs in Los Angeles in 1902, President David Starr Jordan of Stanford informed members of the "adverse influence" of alumni from the oldest and wealthiest institutions of higher education which sent out alumni who were unknowledgeable about coeducation and who judged it "with the positiveness of ignorance":

Most men filled with the time-honored traditions of Harvard and Yale, of which the most permeating is that of Harvard and Yale's infallibility, are against coeducation on general principle.²¹

One year later, in 1902, President Andrew S. Draper, of the University of Illinois, attributed the reaction against coeducation to newspapers and magazines which reported the speeches of "educational authorities" in eastern private universities. Here again, responsibility rested with authorities from leading universities:

There has been small ground for it, but a small reaction can be started in the newspapers and magazines upon a very small foundation. The small ground in this case is in the talk or acts of authorities of two or three conspicuous universities which have been misunderstood, and perhaps in the execrable manners of a few college dudes which have no doubt been exaggerated.²²

Professor Julius Sachs of Columbia University Teachers' College claimed the reaction set in because of "a protesting minority that includes some of the most thoughtful United States educational leaders."²³ A critic of coeducation, Sachs mentioned Harvard, Columbia, Yale, and Princeton as the oldest and best-known universities where coeducation was not accepted.

In addition to Stanford's Jordan and Illinois' Draper, cited above, other university presidents and faculty in the Middle West were concerned with the crisis but attributed it to other causes. President William Harper of the University of Chicago selected the stronger male prejudice against women in higher education as one of three educational issues to be addressed in the year 1902. Well aware of the limited opportunities for educated women at the turn of the century, he even commented upon this fact in public. Despite the high quality of women Ph.D.'s, "as able and strong as the men," Harper noted that even in the women's colleges, where women Ph.D.'s had their best opportunities, "second-rate and third-rate men are preferred to women of first-rate ability."²⁴ Harper chided the "professedly democratic" state institutions, established by the people and conducted with the people's money, for refusing to appoint women who had received the same training as the men.

A University of Chicago faculty member, James R. Angell spoke out in answer to the critics of coeducation who decried the feminization of higher education. The son of James B. Angell, former President of the University of Michigan and ardent advocate of coeducation, the younger Angell pointed out that only in the liberal arts did the number of women students surpass that of the men. He was clearly aware that when the enrollment in the professional schools was incorporated to complete the educational picture, the proportion of men to women was far greater. Thus, the great fear of feminization in the coeducational universities was blown out of proportion.²⁵

Angell had no tolerance for critics who subscribed to the theory that men have greater variability than women. He pointed out that this pernicious concept, a variation of Darwin's 1870 argument of the superior fitness of males, provided support for the belief that "women exercise a repressive influence upon the spirit of research for which they have as a sex neither capacity nor appreciation."²⁶ Because the modern research university was such a recent development, Angell pointed out there was little evidence to support such an assertion. It had a baleful influence, however, in barring women from securing any real influence in the modern university. Believing that women as a class had the same variability as men, Angell asserted they

should have the same wide educational and career opportunities.

Whereas a frequently stated argument in favor of coeducation was the refining influence that women students brought to the university environment, by the first decade of this century that argument had lost currency. With the increased enrollment in the coeducational institutions and with freer attitudes between the sexes, university administrators faced new social conditions on campus. No longer did the women students exhibit the "passionate desire" Carey Thomas' generation had for higher education. Wisconsin's Van Hise characterized the first generation of women students as "too conscientious," a different breed entirely. He recalled how in the earliest days, "the entrance of the few women made scarcely more disturbance in the work of the professors than the appearance in recent years of a considerable group of Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos."²⁷ Van Hise obviously must have put all women and minority students in the same group, thereby perceiving them as outsiders, tolerable when in small numbers, but a problem when in a majority. In a thorough analysis of the coeducational problem in an address before the Association of Collegiate Alumnae in Boston in November, 1907, he asserted the new problem was social.²⁸ David Starr Jordan concurred with Van Hise, but believed the social problems could be managed easily by wise regulations.²⁹

While centered in the coeducational institutions, the only place where competition between men and women students occurred, the "coeducational crisis" nevertheless captured the attention of educational leaders in the three types of higher educational institutions across the nation. A precise definition of the crisis failed to emerge, and not surprisingly, solutions were diverse.

Solutions to the "coeducation crisis" varied. Despite his firm belief in coeducation at the time of Stanford's establishment in 1890, David Starr Jordan deferred to Stanford's founder and set a limit to the number of women students Stanford would admit. Five hundred women were tolerable, while five hundred one were not.³⁰ Wesleyan University, on the other hand, which first set its quota of women students at twenty per cent, by 1909 terminated coeducation.³¹

Other solutions to the "coeducation crisis," besides setting quotas, were various forms of separation of the sexes. William Harper, University of Chicago, temporized on his institution's original commitment to coeducation when a benefactor offered to build a segregated undergraduate college. In the face of considerable faculty opposition, Harper agreed to segregate men and women students at Chicago during the freshman and sophomore years of college.³² Harper even offered a new definition for undergraduate education, "co-instruction" and thus wavered

in his support of coeducation. In reality, the University of Chicago became only partially segregated, mostly due to the complexities of pursuing individual programs in the course of four years of higher education.³³

Downstate from Chicago, the University of Illinois Dean of Men, Thomas Clark proposed segregation in 1909 as the solution to the "evil" social aspects of coeducation:

Perhaps the weakest part of life at the University of Illinois is the imtemperate social activity which it induces. This is, however, one of the results of coeducation which may very naturally be expected....I see no way to remedy this evil, except through personal influence upon the individual, and the encouragement of gatherings composed exclusively of men.³⁴

Clark's solution may have been influential, because a rash of separate organizations occurred in the professions, faculty clubs, and elsewhere on campus.

Western Reserve was the only coeducational university in the West to establish a separate annex for women. Tufts President F. W. Hamilton, faced with declining numbers of both men and women who allegedly did not want to be in each other's presence, recommended an annex in 1907 for women at his institution in Massachusetts: "The average young man will not go to a coeducational university if other things are anywhere near equal...He is not comfortable with women in the classroom."³⁵

Some coeducational universities segregated their students in certain classes. Van Hise of the University of

Wisconsin noted two lines of segregation at his institution, one of which he considered fortunate, the other a problem requiring action. He approved of the first type of segregation, professional courses developed "in accordance with (men's or women's) natural fitness." Yet at the undergraduate level, in the College of Liberal Arts, which provided the basic general training upon which specialized training rested, Van Hise believed the "natural segregation of the sexes" to be wrong, that is, "women unquestionably are pushing the men out by natural segregative laws."³⁶ Therefore, he proposed to save both coeducation and the Liberal Arts curriculum for men by "unnaturally" segregating the sexes in certain Liberal Arts courses.³⁷

Like many educators who believed the university curriculum should include the special interests of women, President Van Hise supported courses for training the heads of households:

The woman who has studied the fundamental science leading to these subjects and becomes trained in their application to the home, is educated in a profession as dignified as other professions.³⁸

Professor Charles de Garmo at Cornell recommended that applied arts be added to the university curriculum so as to "fit professional training to women's abilities until there is that perfect blending of the theoretical and the practical which leads to a harmonious union of learning and

life."³⁹ Professor J. Harvey Robinson of Columbia University shared de Garmo's vision of women:

In no way can we work more certainly toward the discovery of the best course of study for young women than by offering educational opportunities as nearly coterminous with our normal life itself.⁴⁰

Robinson viewed women's education as an amenity and therefore stressed the importance of the Liberal Arts in their search for personal fulfillment. David Starr Jordan agreed with Robinson that women sought education for enjoyment in contrast to men who prepared for careers. Reminiscent of the post-Revolutionary belief in Republican motherhood, Jordan believed that the responsibility of higher education was to keep women in the home:

The highest product of social evolution is the growth of the civilized home, the home that only a wise, cultivated and high-minded woman can make. To furnish such women is one of the worthiest functions of higher education.....A generous education should be the birthright of every daughter of the republic as well as of every son.⁴¹

By perceiving women as the bearers of general culture and by utilizing utilitarian rhetoric, many male educators readily acceded to women's special interests in higher education. At the same time, however, male educators pushed ahead toward their chief goal of shaping the modern university for men: at least two years of undergraduate study in the Liberal Arts followed by specialized training for a career. The modern university very much needed to

establish its legitimacy based on specialized training and knowledge.

Critical voices emerged to this convolution of the meaning of coeducation. An alumna of the University of Wisconsin, Helen Olin, wrote a book on the subject, so disturbed was she by the turn-of-the century reaction to it. Critical of the new policy recommended by President Van Hise, Olin pointed out that whereas segregation theory may masquerade as equivalent to the "settled policy of the institution," its true character was well understood in educational institutions outside Wisconsin.⁴² Olin's lobbying efforts in behalf of full equality and opportunity of coeducation contributed to that institution's reversal of President Van Hise's proposal to segregate undergraduate classes at Wisconsin.⁴³

Operating from the assumption that the relation of women to public education was identical with that of men, Olin firmly believed women needed the same training men received if ever they were to attain professional standing. The fact that the state universities, in their emulation of private colleges, would reverse their commitment to equal education outraged her. She claimed that educators such as Van Hise and Kane held an "illogical and unjust perception of a public institution."⁴⁴ Emulation of the Eastern schools simply had higher priority, as Van Hise's speech clearly indicates:

Indeed the earlier state universities, both South and West, were modeled as closely as possible upon the eastern institutions, and the development of the two classes has been in a large measure parallel. It is, therefore, plain that the private and state universities are very much more alike than they are unlike.⁴⁵

Olin sensed the same spirit which earlier had sought to limit women's intellectual opportunities. Educators who believed that higher education for women should be entirely subordinated to the "normal occupations of women" were experimenting radically with the public higher education system, in Olin's estimation.⁴⁶ She concluded that the "coeducation crisis" was simply the result of a new generation of educational leaders whose prejudices favored discrimination and exclusion. Unlike the critics of coeducation, she believed that the great majority of women, like the men, attended the state universities to provide for their material needs.

Like Olin, Marion Talbot, Dean of Women at the University of Chicago, was vitally concerned with the intellectual development of women in higher education. While a young college graduate in the East, Talbot helped found the Association of Collegiate Alumnae in 1882, the precursor of the American Association of University Women. Recruited by William Harper for his new university in Chicago, Talbot played an instrumental role in its establishment. An ardent believer in coeducation, she

struggled valiantly to preserve coeducation for the undergraduates, while also lobbying for greater participation of women at the graduate and faculty levels.⁴⁷

Whereas "women's work," women in a helping role, had seemed a reasonable compromise to many women in the late 1870's and 1880's, the sex-typed employment world then developing imposed barriers to women's ambition and achievement. Some educated women who had been content to work inconspicuously on the fringes of the rapidly changing field of higher education developed a more aggressive strategy to secure their foothold in academe. Talbot grew angry as she perceived women's opportunities to succeed in education limited by systematic discrimination, and she wrote a book in 1910 exposing the actual situation for women.

Despite the University of Chicago's openness to women students and faculty in that first decade and Harper's prescient comments about the increasingly evident prejudice within academe, restrictions on women's opportunities prevailed on his campus as well. Talbot's own career at Chicago serves as an example of what happened to many women in higher education the first decade of this century. Historian Rosalind Rosenberg claimed that Harper searched for women "who would be willing to be scholars as well as surrogate mothers."⁴⁸ In addition to her appointment as Dean of Women, Talbot was named Assistant Professor of

Sanitary Science, then allied with the Department of Sociology. Talbot later became Professor of Household Administration, a separate department which pleased Talbot, but one of a less androgynous character than her previous department. Talbot realized that positions in Home Economics were both separate and unequal, yet they provided the greatest opportunities for women in coeducational universities. As Rosenberg stated, "despite her best efforts, Marion Talbot fell victim to the very process of academic sex segregation that she was trying to fight."⁴⁹

Talbot was not the only woman in academe concerned about the exclusive direction coeducation had taken. Perhaps reinforced by the revitalized woman's movement, Talbot took an aggressive position in her book, The Education of Women. As Dean of Women she realized the need to strengthen personal relations between faculty and students outside the classroom and called for modification of the social and domestic features of college life. Projecting some sort of national norm for the education of women, Talbot's vision stressed the development of the professional or expert attitude of mind on the part of women students and called for a more just recognition of women in academic and intellectual fields.⁵⁰ Her firm belief that women needed an intellectual life, calling for fulfillment at all stages of training and career. Talbot recognized a "natural craving of nearly all human beings, men and women

alike, to exercise their mental faculties."⁵¹ She asserted that above all, education should assist the development of a student's individuality, both male and female. Educators who insisted upon differentiating women from men were, she claimed, "clinging to the traditions of a dead past."⁵²

III. Coeducational Crisis at the University of Washington

Even though the University of Washington had only begun its metamorphosis into a modern university, it, too, was affected by the fear of feminization in that first decade of the new century. A 1902 editorial in the University of Washington Pacific Wave referred to the "queens" on campus whose presence prevented certain young men, "queeners", from getting on with their serious work: "coeducation makes a crowd of queeners out of a body of young men who ought to be getting a line on their professional work."⁵³ Asserting that a state university must necessarily be coeducational, the University of Washington editor predicted, somewhat ambiguously, that the university would remain coeducational but that the time would come "even here when the queens and queeners will take their college work in separate schools."⁵⁴ Whereas the University of Washington editorial alluded to the males as part of the social problem, most educators opining on the subject of coeducation singled out the women students.

With the number of women students burgeoning, Dean of Women Annie Howard requested dormitories which would serve as a "wholesome and influential power in the moral and social life of the university."⁵⁵ She also envisioned an all-purpose building which would house a Department of Home Economics. In addition to containing a model dining room and kitchen, labs and offices, this building would house a concert hall, social meeting rooms, offices for herself and her assistants, and headquarters for the Young Women's Christian Association and the Women's League. It would be a social center for women students which Howard believed "would take away many of the serious complications that necessarily arise in all coeducational institutions."⁵⁶ Although Howard did not specify what any of those serious complications were, she did mention the overcrowded conditions in the halls and cloakrooms of the main university buildings and the need for women to be in an environment tending toward culture and refinement.

Another voice calling for institutional attention to women's needs was that of "Pro Bono Publico". In a 1911 Alumnus article, "Is Washington Just to Its Women?," Pro Bono Publico noted that women represented one-third of the student body. The author claimed that women did not receive their fair share of the advantages in university priorities, however. Citing discrimination against women on the faculty, in the College of Liberal Arts facilities, in

the use of the gymnasium, and in student affairs, Pro Bono Publico demonstrated "women's secondary role," a pattern which has persisted throughout the century. In addition, the author's purpose in writing was to call upon women in the university and in the state to organize, plan, and lobby for a building to meet women's needs.

Acknowledging that most women students marry, Pro Bono Publico therefore believed women should prepare for the real work of their future lives. Home economics, home nursing, home architecture, and home decoration--all were needs of women and "should be provided for in the real university sense."⁵⁷

Dean Howard's and Pro Bono Publico's recommendations for meeting women's needs in the university reflected the fact that many active women still adhered to the ideology of separate spheres. The line between the men's public world of work and women's private world of the home had blurred as more and more women joined groups for purposes of association and reform. Through education, women assumed they could expand their opportunities in the world--to enter the graduate schools and the professions, including higher education, in greater numbers. Many women demanded professional training appropriate to their interests; they wanted the modern university to provide for them in the same way it had provided for men. This request fit well with the social view that education should be related to

life. Since the working world was segregated into spheres, it seemed natural for women to professionalize in areas appropriate to their sphere--extensions of their traditional role in the home. But this had the effect of reinforcing stereotypes, of imprinting them into the structure of the modern university.

When faced with the situation of more women than men students in the liberal arts classes (Table 2-1), President Kane responded by proposing segregated classes, a solution reached by Van Hise at the University of Wisconsin and Dean Templin of the University of Kansas. Kane called coeducation "a sound doctrine" but insisted that a way be found to secure the benefits of coeducation without allowing any disadvantage to the university. Kane responded to pressure from women students and women's groups when he decided to establish the Department of Home Economics in 1908. He told members of the National Education Association, "Provision should be made for specialized training for young women corresponding to the schools and courses that have been provided for the men."⁵⁸ But to educate or train women differently from men was in effect to keep women in their separate sphere with only those skills requisite for the sex-segregated world.

By establishing separate classes for men and women students in history and English literature in 1907, Kane

Table 2-1Undergraduate Women in the Liberal Arts1898-1909

Year	Total Students	Women Students	Per Cent Women
1898	236	112	47
1899	222	188	84
1900	267	122	46
1901	200	94	47
1902	285	143	50
1903	363	192	53
1905	503	254	50
1907	779	466	57
1909	1,073	650	60

hoped that the College of Liberal Arts would succeed in attracting male students:

The College of Liberal Arts...in its competition for men with other colleges and schools of the university should not have the handicap of being regarded a woman's college and especially it would not have the greater handicap of being a woman's college.⁵⁹

Kane claimed that each sex preferred not to be outnumbered by the opposite sex in the classroom and that the faculty appreciated "the nicer balance" between the sexes and reported that it was possible to get "the desired response from either sex" in the segregated classes.⁶⁰

An undated newspaper clipping, however, presents evidence contrary to Kane's assessment of the general

acceptability of sex-segregated classes. Women students reportedly ridiculed them. One coed spoke out,

There is practically nothing doing in the enrollment line, and the girls laugh long and heartily every time the new class is mentioned to them, or the names of those who have been bold enough to announce their intention of entering it are spoken."⁶¹

The report claimed that male students who expected to gain some desirable distinction from signing up for the all-male class brought only sarcasm upon themselves. Professor F. M. Padelford suffered the loss of some of his popularity with the coeds as a result of his willingness to keep them out of his exclusively male class.

In addition to wanting the College of Liberal Arts to attract "virile, wide-awake men who logically belong there," Kane also wanted to strengthen the liberal arts faculty.⁶² He believed that the College of Liberal Arts must have on its faculty men "who in force of character and virility are the equal of men on the faculty of the other schools."⁶³ Within his vision of the ideal professor of liberal arts, if there were to be women faculty members, "they must have the same force and quality of personality as the men." He went on to conclude, however, that in light of the segregated classes, "doubtless the tendency will be stronger not to have women in charge of classes that are to appeal to men students."⁶⁴ Thus the combined effect of teacher-student sexual segregation and non-reciprocity (male professors can teach female students, but

not vice-versa) acted to circumscribe university teaching opportunities for women.

While appearing to be sensitive to the needs of women students, in effect Kane was chiefly concerned with the quality of education for men students and with reversing the reputation of the College of Liberal Arts as a haven for women. In fact, he set the goal that Liberal Arts must attract male students and male faculty in order to place itself on an equal footing with other colleges in the university. By calling for segregated classes under the direction of vigorous "manly men", Kane hoped to put at an end the feeling that it "was effeminate to be in the College of Liberal Arts."⁶⁵ As Kane told university presidents gathered at the National Association of State Universities, to provide for women "would help solve the problem for men in Liberal Arts."⁶⁶

Part of the cost of achieving the goal of virility in the Liberal Arts was to exclude women faculty from teaching male students, or at least from teaching exclusively male classes. If female professors had the same traits as male professors, as Kane asserted must be the case, then it is difficult to understand why the sex of the professor mattered. Nevertheless, the issue of segregated classes became an issue of faculty gender, reinforcing the view that it was inappropriate for women faculty members to teach male students. This determination shaped an

essentially segregated faculty where women had their best opportunities in the so-called women's fields.

In that same speech to university presidents, Kane referred to "men of large political influence," possibly regents, businessmen, or legislators, who wanted to make the university a school for men. These influential men suggested sending all women students to Bellingham Normal School, which would then be transformed into a college for women. At that time, Washington state had four normal schools, so to transform one into a college for women could satisfy both the parsimonious citizen-elite and the critics of coeducation, as well as the citizens in Bellingham who evidently wanted to keep their school open: "The plan of separate sections (i.e. send women to normal school) then will help not alone in making Liberal Arts appeal to men, but it will in a large degree do away with the prejudice against coeducation."⁶⁷ It is not known why the plan for "separate sections" (sending all the women undergraduates to Bellingham) never materialized; however, Kane's plan for segregated education would have accomplished nearly the same objectives:

To have the work done in the College of Liberal Arts in separate sections, or, in spirit to follow the plan of coordinate education, as it is called, will give the university the benefits of the good features of coeducation.⁶⁸

The chief difference was that male and female students would continue to occupy the same campus, but they would be segregated in some classrooms.

Kane's proposed resolution of the coeducational problem did not go unnoticed. A recent Washington graduate, Rose Glass, class of 1904, adamantly opposed sex segregation when it was introduced. She foresaw that sex-segregated classes would lead to a sex-segregated faculty. Even though a segregated faculty could result in more women securing positions on university faculties, Glass believed the actual result would be that the leading instructors would not agree to teach the women's classes. She cited Radcliffe and Barnard, women's coordinate colleges, as evidence of that possible outcome.⁶⁹ Glass also saw that those women whose interests lay in the so-called male fields would be denied access to education because there would be "too few female students to make up a class" in many cases.

Ultimately Glass asserted that skills in these masculine areas, such as engineering, forestry and mines in 1908, would put women in competition with men and would make them "not merely an adjunct to man's world but a sharer, a co-worker in its activities." She believed that such competition would hinder men more than women and therein lay the peril of equality.⁷⁰

Glass' views were perspicacious. A perusal of correspondence in the Department of Forestry at the University of Washington, discussed later, corroborates this inability of male administrators to perceive women in a professional role. Cooperation between university, state, and federal administrators resulted in the restriction of women's opportunities for education and future work roles. The assumption that professional training was essentially sex-typed meant that the university insured the perpetuation of the "sex-typed" work world.

Glass particularly disliked the tactics of the opponents of coeducation. Rather than attacking the principle of coeducation directly, opponents such as Presidents Van Hise and Kane instead claimed that they were only trying to cure it of some of its faults. They emphasized that the curriculum remained the same and that nothing changed except for the separation of the sexes in the classroom. Glass believed differently and she perceived that sooner or later segregation would shut many doors to women, doors which had been opened to them reluctantly in the preceding eighty years. She viewed sex segregation as a subtle device "for keeping women's lives nicely within well-worn grooves in which they have revolved, lo! these many years."⁷¹ Glass' concern for the quality of education and rightful educational opportunities for women paralleled

the concerns of Marion Talbot of the University of Chicago and Helen Olin of the University of Wisconsin.

In conclusion, the antagonistic views toward coeducation rested less upon any radical disagreement as to the facts of the case than upon the educational ideals and social creeds applied in interpreting the facts. Historically and inherently, coeducation represented the democratic disposition to offer equal educational opportunities to all human beings, insofar as possible. Coeducation necessarily opposed the view that women's only function was maternity and that her only proper attainments were either of a domestic or sexual character, but it was shaped to perpetuate it.

Ramifications of Institutional Policy
on Prospective Women Students

Whereas one might expect subject matter and the quality of teaching to be the major factors attracting university students into a major department and the sex of the student to be an irrelevant factor, just the opposite was true in the first years of the twentieth century. The University of Washington's first professional schools were engineering, mines, forestry, and law, all of which attracted the male students. Subjects which attracted women students were domestic science, language, literature, history, ethics, music and art, all departments in the College of Liberal Arts where women made up fifty nine per

cent of the students in 1908. There were some women students in the professional schools: they made up nineteen per cent of the students in Pharmacy and forty-three per cent of the students in Graduate School (all candidates for the A.M. degree) Otherwise their presence was infinitesimal: three per cent of the Law School were women, and they were in a "special" category; one woman in Engineering constituted .005 per cent.⁷²

Two theories have emerged to explain the disciplines chosen by women in higher education. According to such studies, women's choices have resulted from "pressure" or "preference". "Pressure" theorists believe that women are not free agents, that they are forced by external circumstances to enter fields that are understood to be feminine. In contrast, the "preference" theorists believe that women select their fields entirely of their own volition.⁷³

A perusal of the correspondence with prospective students at the University of Washington serves as an example of the pressure model--the way in which social attitudes constrain a student's choice of field. A prospective female student inquired of President Kane in 1906 if it was possible for her to enroll for a course in geometry. Her letter apparently was turned over to the Chairman of the Department of Education for reply:

President Kane has referred to me your letter of September 19. In answer to your question, I have to say that you could not study geometry at the University. You could,

however get elocution and physical culture in the University and might easily take the geometry with a private tutor.⁷⁴

This response denied the student's serious interest while presuming that she would obviously have an interest in areas generally considered relevant to women. In 1906 geometry was offered at the University only in the Engineering School, a professional school for males. Had Richerd inquired a year later, she perhaps could have taken geometry since it was then offered in the Mathematics Department of the College of Liberal Arts.

While the establishment of secondary schools appeared to offer women greater professional opportunities in teaching, this apparently was not true. The anxiety expressed about appropriate role models for young boys was played out in the high schools. Administrators there definitely preferred male teachers. E. O. Sisson of the U.W. College of Education replied to one Superintendent, "I had already heard of the prospective vacancy through Mr. Porter and have been looking about for a man. I have not found one."⁷⁵ In Sisson's favor, he did then inquire if a woman would be considered, "if we found someone very strong and competent." It seems that women's best opportunities occurred when school district money was in short supply: "I think we shall be able to place Miss Kittredge in Blaine for Science although they want a man if they can get one for \$75."⁷⁶ Pressures to hire male teachers in the high

schools intensified after World War I. Through the Federal Board for Vocational Education, the federal government encouraged returning veterans to consider seriously their joining the public school teaching ranks.⁷⁷

University administrators reported to the Regents in 1921 of their cooperation with the small colleges and normal schools in the state and the encouragement of students to attend them, especially the first two years after high school. They particularly urged women to attend the Normal Schools, "so that they great need of elementary teachers may be met."⁷⁸ Channeling of women into elementary education through the normal schools meant fewer women in the liberal arts courses at the university level.

Correspondence with prospective students in the University of Washington's School of Forestry over a thirty-year period tells further of the exclusion of women students and of the cooperation between administrators at the University and elsewhere. The two replies most frequently given to prospective women students were that the required field work was inappropriate for women --"demands hard work of a rough nature" --and that there were no employment opportunities for women after graduation.⁷⁹ At first, in 1913, Dean Hugo Winkenwerder's replies to interested female students were kindly and sympathetic. By the twenties, however, his replies became curt, as if by then women should know that the question of training them

in forestry was a closed issue. By the thirties, Winkenwerder's secretary answered inquiries directly. In 1937 she recalled an earlier time, "a good many years ago before there were so many restrictions, a woman did graduate from this school."⁸⁰

It was with reluctance in 1917 that Dean Winkenwerder admitted the first female applicant:

Up to the present time we have never had women regularly enrolled in the College of Forestry, but, in addition to your inquiry, we have recently had one from a young lady who has evidently fallen heir to a lumber business, and I suppose we will have to allow women to enroll in the College.⁸¹

Apparently because of her inheritance, Estella Dodge was assuredly a future leader and therefore worthy of a proper education in forestry. Meeting the undergraduate field experience requirement was difficult. Placement posed a problem for the district forester who could only envision a "female" task for Dodge:

"I do not know of any forest work to which Miss Dodge could be assigned. With reference to clerical work, we employ quite a number of temporary clerks, but it is necessary they be stenographers and typewriter operators."⁸²

It is not known how this requirement was met for Dodge, but there can be no question that the roles in the actual world of forestry were then rigidly sex-typed. Some sort of modus vivendi must have been reached, because Dodge did graduate and went on to receive a master's degree.⁸³

Despite the fine performance of the department's first women graduate, future prospective women students were not given the same opportunity. Winkenwerder wrote later, "While we appreciate very much having had her with us, and the spirit which she showed toward her work, we have virtually decided that in the future we will discourage any more women students from entering."⁸⁴ Indeed, letters thereafter stated that the faculty had gone on record as discouraging all women students in the regular program.

When the Ladies Auxiliary of the American Institute of Mining Engineers, meeting on the university campus in 1923, required a woman speaker, Bror Grondal, of the Forestry Department, was patronizing. He recommended Dodge, saying "When I told them that you were the only sweet girl graduate in forestry in the world, the demand for your presence became so overwhelming that I promised that I would try to get you to speak".⁸⁵ Finally, when Dodge married a fellow graduate student, Russell Mills, the department asserted that she had taken on a new master. Properly married to a logging engineer, Dodge was no longer an embarrassment to the department's masculine image.

Women also wrote to the Forestry Department to inquire about positions as fire lookouts. All replies were negative. University and state officials could only perceive males in such an isolated work position: "You are advised that Mr. Allen and I both had men in view for this

position."⁸⁶ University and state officials concurred that only males could apply: "Government positions definitely require that applicants be male citizens."⁸⁷ One applicant who called herself a "forest fanatic" and whose father had been a timber cruiser was not even considered a possible applicant, "You are correctly informed that there are no girl forest rangers in Washington."⁸⁸ Another applicant who had traveled independently throughout the country since the age of thirteen and who knew that she wanted to spend the rest of her life working in the forest was reminded, "The policy of the Forest Service is opposed to using women in fire lookout positions."⁸⁹ What the forestry officials could envision were extensions of women's traditional roles: "Positions for women are rather rare in logging camps. Occasionally a camp will have a woman cook."⁹⁰ Such policy by authorities unduly restricted women's opportunities.

In 1930, opportunities for men in forestry appeared bright. The field was expanding and demand for foresters was unusually good. But because of the bias against women, still no opportunities developed. Two letters told of the restrictions which kept women out of forestry proper but gave encouragement to obtain some general background in forestry courses: "With a background in Forestry you would of course, be a very valuable clerk in one of the Forest Service offices."⁹¹ Winkenwerder's Secretary wrote to

another prospective student that she could enhance her value through research work.⁹² A clear distinction existed between indoor work, appropriate for females, and outdoor work for the males.

Even when the demand for trained foresters was greater than the supply (during World War I and in the thirties in Washington), women continued to be denied the opportunity for training.⁹³ Cooperation between government agencies and officials and university administrators served to block women's aspirations. During each of the two summers the nation was at war (1917 and 1918), Winkenwerder queried the District Forester in Portland about the feasibility of training women students as fire lookouts. He expressed his willingness to train if the Forest Service had need for them:

I have been receiving a number of inquiries as to whether there would be ant [sic] chances for women in protection work. It has rather seemed to me that if properly trained they might make first-class lookouts. If you feel at all that there might be a possibility of taking women who have been specially trained for lookout work, for temporary employment this summer, I would be willing to give them some encouragement....There probably would not be over half a dozen all told, who would take up the work and it might be well to try it out as an experiment, that is, of course, providing you feel that the question of securing temporary help this summer is going to be serious. Otherwise I should want to discourage this thing strongly.⁹⁴

Tentative in his suggestion that women be given training for fire lookouts, Winkenwerder also indicated his willingness to follow the forester's judgment. Cecil's reply suggested that he held a more limited view of women's abilities than Winkenwerder:

It may be that men will be so scarce that it will be necessary to use women in every possible position where they can be employed, but I do not anticipate any such contingency. As I think over the various positions of temporary employment during the summer, there seem to be very few in this District in which I should like to employ women. The position of telephone operator at important ranger stations is, of course, an exception and women have been used in this capacity for some time. From the present outlook it does not seem probable that we will wish to employ women to any considerable extent on the protective force next summer.⁹⁵

The following year, the Snoqualmie Forest Supervisor commented upon the large number of women's applications on hand and noted:

The employment of women in any capacity on the National Forests is such a radical departure from past practices that I most decidedly hesitate to attempt the use of any large number this summer.....Applications from men, however, are desired since there is going to be a marked shortage in desirable material and I am quite sure that we can take on a number of new men, providing they are fit mentally and physically and are willing to take up the work in dead earnest.⁹⁶

Although World War I failed to change the restrictive perceptions of women's capabilities, World War II, because of its four-year duration and relatively greater shortage of men more than anything else, loosened the restrictive

policy and attitudes against women's opportunities for training and for work in the field of forestry.

Winkenwerder was Dean Emeritus in 1945 when he offered his personal opinion, "postwar work for women in forestry would be largely along lines of research"⁹⁷ With this change in attitude there followed an increase in the number of women students. By then two female students managed to be admitted in forestry. Government policy had softened to the extent that the policy for hiring women for lookouts was left to the discretion of the local rangers. Elva Allen, one of the two university women forestry students, did indeed become a lookout and found the experience "truly wonderful." She wrote to Professor Winkenwerder, "My friend and I are reluctant to accept the fact that we shall be leaving here in three weeks...we enjoy the responsibility of scanning the countryside for 'smokes'."⁹⁸ For those few women students whose opportunities were not blocked, the working world of forestry was manageable and satisfying.

These documents from the School of Forestry Archives provide a graphic illustration of the defining power of authority, the process by which sex-stereotyping shaped university policy. In this instance the social attitudes of university administrators, faculty, and government officials clearly shaped policies which enhanced men's opportunities while restricting women's. Many of the women

had familiarity with the field of forestry and therefore were potentially strong candidates. They were neither inhibited nor limited in their aspirations.

If the coeducation crisis focused specifically on undergraduate education, it nevertheless also affected the course of graduate education, which in turn affected professional opportunities for women to teach at the university level. The response of educators and institutions varied, but whatever the solution, the higher education environment was transformed. Originally coeducation gave women the same educational experiences it gave men. After the turn of the century coeducational colleges and universities differentiated between women and men students. As separate educational courses and programs were established for the sexes, higher education tended to reflect the segregated work world. Women students who chose male fields were confined to marginal places within those fields because men pre-empted the leadership positions, and women students who chose the women's fields consequently were considered marginal. Until the 1970's, the highest degree obtainable in the women's fields, home economics, nursing, and women's physical education, was the master's. Nevertheless, opportunities for advancement to leadership positions did exist for women faculty in the women's fields.

Chapter Notes - Chapter 2

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¹⁹Andrew S. Draper, "Coeducation in the United States," Educational Review 25 (February 1903), p. 110.

²⁰James Rowland Angell, "Some Reflections Upon the Reaction from Coeducation," Popular Science Monthly 62 (November 1902), p. 6. The University of Wisconsin increased from one thousand to two and a half thousand, while the University of Minnesota added two thousand students for a total of three thousand. The University of Michigan incorporated one thousand students to make a total of three thousand four hundred by 1900.

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⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Thomas Franklin Kane, "The Maintenance of the College of Liberal Arts in a State University in Competition with Professional and Technical Colleges in the Same Institution," Transactions and Proceedings of the National Association of State Universities 8 (1908), p. 127.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 128.

⁶⁸Thomas Franklin Kane, "College of Liberal Arts in the State Universities," The Washington Alumnus 4 (November 19, 1910), p. 8.

⁶⁹Rose Glass, "Sex Segregation in Classes," The Washington Alumnus 2 (June 1909), p. 9; See MS Magazine, April, 1983, p. 31, where John Kenneth Galbraith, Economics Professor Emeritus of Harvard University, underscored the fears Rose Glass mentioned regarding coordinate education at Harvard and Radcliffe: "If you didn't have enough women to make it worthwhile repeating the course separately at Radcliffe, the course just wasn't given to women."

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Chapter 3

Channeled Fields - Territorial Segregation

Visitors to the United States have frequently commented on American customs and traditions with an insight lacking to those who are a part of that culture. An early twentieth century English educator, Sara Burstall, published her Impressions of American Education in 1908. Even though the modern university was in its formative stage of development, Burstall noticed, "the higher up the scale one goes from kindergarten to the university, the worse is the position of women."¹ Besides noting women's confinement to the lowest levels of teaching, Burstall perceived that the organization, initiative, and administration of education clearly rested in the hands of men.

Burstall's analysis rested upon the reciprocal relationship between opportunity and involvement. She found it an anomaly that the nation which had pioneered coeducation and found women to be competent students at the undergraduate level would deny them opportunities at the graduate level, thus handicapping their potential as faculty members in higher education. Burstall knew that women's future had been severely circumscribed in the coeducational institutions and that only in the women's colleges could women find employment in higher education: "A brilliant college woman, we are informed, would do better to limit herself to seeking work in a separate women's college."²

In the same year that Burstall published her commentary on the manner in which coeducational institutions were excluding women graduate students and faculty, women began to gain access to positions in higher education in disciplines separate from men. In these channeled fields, women did find opportunities for employment and could progress up the academic ladder. A few succeeded in becoming leaders.

Leadership can be defined in many ways. It is generally associated with autonomy, independence, risk-taking, accountability, organizational effectiveness, goal-oriented behavior, decision making, and the ability to influence others in setting their goals. Regardless of the definition, all of these concepts involve behaviors that have been traditionally defined as male, in contrast to behaviors such as caring, empathy, nurturing, and sensitivity that have been traditionally defined as female. This chapter analyzes the degree to which the former set of attributes have been exhibited by the women leaders in the three channeled fields at the University of Washington: Effie Raitt in Home Economics, Elizabeth Soule in Nursing, and Mary Gross in Physical Education.

First, it is necessary to explain the reasons for including only these three fields and excluding others in which women found employment. Social Work and Library Science, for example, are generally considered channeled fields for women, but at the University of Washington these

fields either developed later or attracted fewer women faculty than the three fields selected. In 1934, the University established a separate Social Work Department under the leadership of Arlien Johnson, who remained in the position five years before accepting the position as Dean of the School of Social Work at the University of Southern California. Although Social Work engaged more women faculty than did Women's Physical Education, seventy-one as opposed to sixty-two, the field began fifteen years later, a result of the increased social needs during the Depression.³ The Library School, on the other hand, started at about the same time as the other channeled fields, but only nineteen women achieved faculty status.

A third field, Education, which provided women their best professional opportunities in the lower echelons, engaged the services of only forty-one women faculty. These positions opened first in the 1940s, coincident with a war-time shortage of males. Chapter 4 describes some of the experiences and the opportunities women had in the English Department, the only department which hired women faculty in numbers equal to that of women in Home Economics. Table 3-1 shows the complete picture of women faculty engaged at the University for the entire period of study, 1900-1970.

Table 3-1

Women Faculty Hired by the University of Washington
By Field and By Decade, 1900-1970

The following Table shows by decade, 1900-1970, the distribution of women faculty:

	<u>'00</u>	<u>'10</u>	<u>'20</u>	<u>'30</u>	<u>'40</u>	<u>'50</u>	<u>'60</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Arts & Sci.</u>								
Humanities	8	7	52	30	121	40	107	370
Social Sci.	3	20	22	24	78	42	43	233
Natural Sci.		4	6	7	21	18	13	69
<u>Total</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>220</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>163</u>	<u>672</u>
<u>Professional</u>								
Business			2		14	4	3	23
Dentistry						2	1	3
Dent. Hygiene					1	8	10	19
Education					12	5	24	41
Engineering					3		3	6
Fisheries					1	1	1	3
Law			1		2	6		9
Library			5	2	6	4	2	19
Medicine		1	4	3	16	48	73	145
Nursing			2	31	115	78	132	359
Pharmacy		1	1	3	2	1	7	13
Pub. Health					2	4	4	10
Soc. Work				11	30	7	23	71
<u>Total</u>		<u>2</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>190</u>	<u>168</u>	<u>283</u>	<u>721</u>

TOTAL (A&S and Professional) 1400

Home Economics

Although the late nineteenth century woman's movement perceived women's roles extending beyond the home into the public sphere, most women still assumed full responsibility for their traditional roles at home. By incorporating scientific methods, then considered a panacea for all of life's problems, women intended to create efficient homes. No longer would they simply be housekeepers, because these

activities could be efficiently learned, and once learned there would be sufficient time for more engaging activities outside the home.⁴ In a sense, middle-class women were upgrading their chief occupation, just as the middle class men were doing by becoming specialists in their work. Home Economics, or domestic science, was a cautious approach to women's moving into activities related to but outside the home. It was a way of advancing in the world which did not threaten men, or most of the women, for that matter. What it led to was a continuation of separate spheres in the work world and a concomitant inferior status for women.

By dignifying women's work and careers, women perceived Home Economics as progress toward an idea. Washington women joined women throughout the nation to lobby for the inclusion of Domestic Science in the public educational system. Although Washington had gained its statehood in 1889, women in the state organized and linked themselves to other women's organizations in the nation. The national board of the General Federation of Women's Clubs established the agenda for education reforms to provide kindergartens, manual training, and domestic science in the schools. The first annual meeting of the Washington State Federation of Women's Clubs, held in 1897, discussed the topic of Domestic Science. At its second state convention two years later, the subjects of manual training and home economics, received equal attention. In 1902 the organization had built

sufficient public awareness that it recommended the incorporation of domestic science into the public schools.

Thus, women's career opportunities broadened to include the teaching of home economics, which meant new opportunities for women in public education. Local pressure for these reforms affected the University of Washington, committed as it was to serving the needs of the state. As it had done in so many other fields, the University responded to the public pressures from women's organizations, and in so doing, chose to emulate another university: "the work is mapped out after the courses of some standard schools, particularly the course of the University of Wisconsin."⁵

Several factors combined to bring about the establishment of the Department of Home Economics in 1908: pressure from the women's organizations, competition for students who contemplated transferring to Washington State College in Pullman where there was a home economics department, and Kane's determination to make the College of Liberal Arts more attractive to the men students by siphoning women off from the College of Liberal Arts.⁶ In fact, women students' enthusiasm was so great that the first homes economics majors registered before Sarah Hummel, the first director, began her employment in 1909. According to the 1908 Regents' Report, "the recommendation was finally made that the work might be started next year, provided that only the

first year of such a course be given next year and the first two years of the course the following year. On this plan, the first year's work, and if necessary, the second year's work, could be given before a regular director for the work is brought in."⁷

Sarah Hummel began her work under inauspicious conditions. When she arrived in 1909, she found that her responsibilities were large, while support, space, and equipment were meager. Criticism of her work began shortly after her arrival, yet she was given the benefit of the doubt by President Kane for two years. Kane acknowledged that she worked under a handicap but he nevertheless concluded that her efforts did not measure up to university standards:

We realize that you have been working under trying circumstances, particularly in the matter of room, and before this year in the matter of the large amount of work devolving upon you without regular assistants. Making due allowances for all of these circumstances, it is still clear to me that you are not adapted to the work under the conditions under which our department has to be conducted here.⁸

Sarah Hummel and President Kane exchanged several letters before Hummel chose to protest Kane's decision. In a letter to the Board of Regents she carefully answered each one of Kane's criticisms. Her final point most clearly revealed the complexity of her appointment:

This last year I felt obliged to give the necessary work which they (home economics students) should have consisting of ten courses besides supervising the eleventh one. At one time last year there were 107

students taking work in home economics. At the same time in another department there were the same number of students and three instructors.⁹

The large number of classes and the disproportionately large number of students for one faculty member reflects the low status Home Economics had from its inception. Although Sarah Hummel protested respectfully and rationally, she failed to influence the regents, who had committed Hummel's position to Effie Raitt the previous month.¹⁰

Effie Raitt received a measure of hospitality denied her predecessor. Trained in domestic science at Teachers College in New York, Raitt then served six years as a house director of the women's dormitory at Northwestern University. Responsibilities there included budgeting, purchasing all goods and supplies, and generally supervising all activities for the dormitory. Thus, she had extensive practical experience prior to joining the faculty at the University of Washington. By negotiating with the university before accepting the position, Raitt gained for her department the addition of one instructorship in the department and a temporary move from the basement room of Denny Hall to larger quarters in Bagley Hall. The following year home economics was moved to a temporary building, actually "two little shacks in the rear of Denny Hall".¹¹ Martha Dresslar, hired in 1918 by Effie Raitt, recalled thirty seven years later that it was most often referred to as "The Temple of Home Economics."¹²

The Home Economics Department survived four years in "The Temple" before the first building of the Liberal Arts quadrangle, Home Economics Hall, reached completion. Within the first year on campus, Effie Raitt had begun the campaign for the new building. Cognizant of the enthusiasm which the Federated Women's Clubs had for home economics, Raitt turned to the local and state groups for their support in the campaign for a building.¹³ Students, women faculty members, school teachers, and some businessmen voiced their support for a building. Dean Henry Landes was "the biggest promoter" which is significant because he became Acting President of the university in the interim between Presidents Kane and Suzzallo, a critical time in the planning process for the new building. Home Economics Hall was the first building in twenty-two years to tap general funds and "the last to be built entirely from general taxes."¹⁴ When the state legislature of 1915 voted \$50,000 for the construction of Home Economics Hall, Raitt had proven her ability to engage the support of others for the accomplishment of an objective.

Networking was an ingrained habit of Effie Raitt's. She routinely reached out to make connections with other departments on campus and with persons and organizations in the Seattle community. Home economics invited Carl Gould, the university architect of the home economics building, to give a series of lectures in architecture. Helen Culver

taught a course in design which evolved into the university's Department of Art. In cooperation with the Department of Physical Education for Women, a basic course in nutrition was initiated in 1916. Because of its urban location, the home economics department benefitted from valuable contacts with commercial establishments. Home Economist Grace Denny, for instance, kept Frederick and Nelson, the Bon Marche and J. C. Penney's assistants informed about the wear and care of the of the latest fabrics on the market.¹⁵

When Raitt instituted an annual newsletter for graduates, her network broadened immeasurably. Although brief and informal in the beginning, the Alumnae News Letter expanded to twenty pages in length by 1945 when Raitt wrote her message for the last time. Each faculty member contributed an annual letter, and graduates also contributed an increasing number of notes each passing year. The News Letter served as a means of communication between faculty and former students and was an aid to Raitt in placing graduates in new positions.

Through these community contacts, Raitt orchestrated the placement of home economics graduates as deftly as she gathered support for the building. She was a remarkable organizer and had keen insight into students' special abilities. Grace Denny commented, "We used to say of her that she loved to play checkers with the graduates--lifting them from one position and placing them in a better one."¹⁶

In addition to looking after the careers of the thousand students who graduated from her department in the years from 1912-1945, Raitt carefully nurtured her faculty members. Her human sensitivity enabled her to know how to interact with them--when to empathize and when to push them "to use their latent abilities."¹⁷ When she entertained departmental members at her summer home on the Stillaguamish River north of Seattle, however, it was considered a command performance.¹⁸ Yet her decisive personality did not prevent full faculty discussion on departmental issues. According to Grace Denny, Home Economics was not a one-woman department.¹⁹

Indefatigable, Effie Raitt expended every effort to bring specialists and experts to her faculty. Her professional career, like the careers of most who met with success, reached beyond the university campus. She served as President of the American Home Economics Association from 1934-36 and hosted its national convention in Seattle during her presidency. She was elected Vice-President of the American Dietetics Association in 1923-24 and was appointed a member of President Herbert Hoover's Housing Conference in 1930-31. Home economist Ava B. Milam claimed that this conference made important contributions to the development of household management--its basic principles, content and techniques--as an area of Home Economics.²⁰ Certainly it was

an honor to Raitt's professional stature to receive this prestigious appointment.

Writing about women faculty members in 1964 from a national perspective, Jessie Bernard, nationally-known sociologist, pinpointed 1920 as the year when home economics turned from an emphasis on practical work to one based on social, psychological, and scientific principles.²¹ This date does not fit well with the evolution of home economics at the University of Washington, where the first emphasis was on its scientific foundations as much as on the practical side. For instance, from its inception, the degree leading to a B.S. in Home Economics required three years of chemistry and one year each of physiology and bacteriology.²² Raitt stressed the early and continued support given Home Economics by scientists, who cooperated in large measure "to give that well rounded scientific foundation essential for progress in this field."²³

In addition to the emphasis on its scientific foundation, a necessity for any new department in the modern university, the department had its practical side, too. According to Kane, the primary purpose for establishing the department was to train teachers for any subjects needed in the high schools: "I think that it is generally believed that much good will be accomplished by having work in manual training and domestic science in the high schools of the state."²⁴ The following year The Washington Alumnus called

attention to the new department, labelling it "Household Economics." The Alumnus claimed the department aimed to meet the needs of two types of students: those who wanted to become secondary teachers, and those who desired a knowledge of the general principles and facts of household science as a part of a liberal education. In the latter instance, the main emphasis was scientific and technical, but "the importance of an artistic and literary training for home life was not lost sight of."²⁵ It is difficult to establish whether the scientific or the practical aspects had higher priority for these students. Both were stressed from the beginning, and both continued to receive emphasis throughout the twenties.

If the reliefs incorporated into the design of the Home Economics Building in 1916 are any indication, however, there was a tilt toward the homemaker, or non-scientific, side. On the modified Gothic style three-story brick and terra cotta structure are these bas reliefs: mother and child, woman weaving at a loom, woman washing clothes, woman churning, and woman sewing--all the time-honored domestic stereotypes of women's service roles. The power of tradition appears greater than the university commitment to scientific endeavor, at least insofar as the design of the Home Economics building.

By 1916, Home Economics had broadened its curriculum beyond household management and the preparation for

teaching. Five new areas of concentration attracted students: Nutrition; Textiles, Clothing and Fine Arts; Non-professional Curriculum; and Institutional Management. The latter field was Raitt's. She achieved a respectable reputation as an advocate of household esthetics--the science of providing the desirable qualities of the home for all persons who found themselves living in an institution.²⁶ She also gave her students practical experience in managing institutional food. One of the first recommendations she made upon arrival in Seattle was the need for a cafeteria or some sort of general eating place on campus. Citing the eastern schools as her model, Raitt proposed the name Commons or Union, which would serve the university and the department with a laboratory to "bring their work up to the highest efficiency."²⁷ President Kane supported Raitt's recommendation and a cafeteria was set up in the California Building, one of several temporary buildings remaining after the 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. With the completion of the Home Economics Building in 1916 (named Raitt Hall in 1947), the Commons relocated on the ground floor of the new building where it continued to be run by the department until 1981 when it was closed down by the university administration.

By the 1930s the goal of Home Economics at the University of Washington had narrowed. The Seattle Times interviewed Effie Raitt for a full-page article entitled:

"Once Drudgery, Now a Career." Not surprisingly, Raitt pronounced that woman's place is in the home. What was new about the pronouncement was the advocacy of women making a career in the home. The rhetoric of the business world, mixed with the conventional view of woman as the upholder of cultural standards, clearly resounded:

A woman's career in the home can give as great profits to herself as the woman with a highly paid business position...Remember that housework is only a means to an end, that end being to surround the family with those things that enrich life.

Characterized by the Times reporter as an expert who had spent twenty years studying the "woman problem," Raitt noted that flapper days had ended and that more and more women were seeking careers. Raitt chose to focus, however, on those women pursuing careers in the home:

They are proving, despite the loud protestations of bachelor girls and Lucy Stoners, that Grandma's quiet philosophy is right. Woman's place IS in the home.²⁸

A professional woman herself, Raitt derogated the "bachelor girls" who protested; she also ignored those women with established careers in the public world. By praising the wisdom of those women who took themselves seriously at the "profession" of housewife and mother, Raitt made not only a strong philosophical statement but she also legitimized the need for the home economists' specialized knowledge and skills. This was a very different rationale for studying home economics than the original one to train teachers and

to train women students for a profession in the field of home economics beyond the home. But it was the same rationale proffered by many of the emergent professions at that time which had to first win public support for the expertise they offered. It also fit the needs of the jobless situation of the thirties.

Additional evidence of changed attitudes toward the goals of Home Economics was contained in Raitt's letter to Dean D. D. Griffiths. She identified the limited aims of home economics as preparation for an "interim profession," for the years between graduation and marriage, and for education for homemaking.²⁹ This was not professionalism for the world beyond the home and therefore was basically different from the goals of other professional schools.

In view of Raitt's private and public comments regarding feminists and career women, she was a likely choice to serve on Hoover's Housing Conference Committee. That conference was convened for two purposes: 1) to propose a program for the economic recovery from the Depression, and 2) to support home ownership "for men of sound character and industrious habits."³⁰ Implicit in the campaign for male home ownership was the assumption that males would receive family wages and women would be full-time unpaid housewives and mothers--hence the need for "careers in the home."

Historian Dolores Hayden situated Hoover's Conference in the tradition of state and professional cooperation which

emerged during the progressive years when reformers attempted to grapple with the problems brought on by industrialization, urbanization and a burgeoning immigrant population from southeastern Europe. Whereas most turn-of-century employers had been totally unconcerned about workers' housing, many employers in the pre-World War I years expressed a new interest in helping workers foster "a stable and conservative political habit".³¹ Social pressure was also applied to women who advocated their independence and autonomy. They became the target of an unprecedented attack in the early twenties and thirties.³² Raitt's criticism of feminists, her blind spot regarding the career woman, and her praise for women who shaped their career in the home place her squarely in the mainstream with those who advocated home ownership and family wages. Given the orientation of the committee, Raitt was a logical choice to serve on it.

Effie Raitt belonged to the first generation of home economics professionals who essentially distanced themselves from the ordinary housewife while simultaneously attempting to establish a professional image. Their education, scientific standards, and ability to cooperate set them apart from the amateurs who lacked such standards. Whereas the earliest women professionals in home economics had advocated cooperative housekeeping among neighbors, by the turn of the century, they focused on education.³³ Hayden identified the

shift in focus even earlier:

By the end of the 1890's they (women professionals) were beginning to support only those projects that were initiated and directed by trained specialists. Furthermore, many professionals were prepared to make use of conventional arguments about women's place in the home to justify their own careers.³⁴

Raitt's career illustrates both of Hayden's allegations. She shaped the field of institutional management at the university, directed the institutional kitchen associated with it, and also ran a tearoom in downtown Seattle which served "the best pies in town."³⁵ The use of the conventional argument that woman's place was in the home helped justify her own position as a trained expert in Home Economics.

While conventional in her view about the place of women, Raitt could be critical of society in general. Writing in 1933 when the nation was still in the throes of a social revolution, Raitt pointed out that the voices of the home economists had not seriously been heard:

Attention for decades has been focused upon economics for production, and economics of distribution, while economics of consumption was largely disregarded except by home economists whose voices were but weak cries in the wilderness. The greatest depression the world has ever known is the result of this unbalanced thinking. Now the attention of the entire nation is directed toward the role of the consumer. Repeatedly government agencies have called upon home economists to help in guiding toward the promised land. The country needs knowledge of food, clothing, shelter, home management, child welfare, and the ideals of family relationship.³⁶

Familiarly known as "the big little chief," Effie Raitt served seven university presidents. Margaret Terrell, a faculty member in the department, commented upon Raitt's skill in informing new presidents who generally had little or no understanding of the Home Economics Department. However, shortly before her death, Raitt acknowledged her reluctance to undertake the task one more time: "I just don't have the strength to train a new President."³⁷ The 1945 Alumnae News Letter, dedicated in Effie Raitt's memory, contained her last annual letter, published posthumously. It reflected her keen awareness of the complexity of the post-war world:

For a few days only, we could rejoice the war was over at last. Then we realized that while fighting has ceased in the two major fields, all over the world conflicts of various types were rampant. Peace has still to be won and held. Ours is a definite obligation to know more about the history, culture, and current problems of other nations. For reading I recommend a concentrated plan on two nations that we know too little about, China and Russia.³⁸

What had begun as an interdisciplinary field remained so under the guidance of Effie Raitt. Grace Denny, the young home economics student whom Raitt recruited to the university in 1912, paid tribute to Raitt at a meeting of the administrative women in education: "Miss Raitt was identified with many organizations and in each she was a

leader. All who knew her felt her power as an educational leader."³⁹

If by power Denny meant credibility and the ability to get results, then Effie Raitt had power. Her networking propensity kept her in touch with the wider system of university affairs, as well as with her professional peers. Her personal integrity and gracious hospitality, as noted by Grace Denny, likewise strengthened relations with faculty members. Ironically, the effective use which she made of this power acted to deny to other women professional opportunities which Raitt herself had enjoyed. Her view of woman's place was unduly restrictive and certainly contravened her own pattern of life. Yet for women who chose a woman's field, her own individual career provided a useful role model.

Nursing

Nursing at the University of Washington received its first impetus from Home Economics, largely due to the interest and efforts of Effie Raitt. She brought from Teacher's College in New York a broad view of women's concerns which included hygiene, child care and dietetics.⁴⁰ Raitt offered an elective course in home nursing in 1914. Two years later, on request of the Women's Physical Education Department, Raitt began a series of lectures on nutrition. The latter course broadened its focus to include all women students and to cover the areas of both public

health and personal health. In addition to these parallel professional interests, Raftt also served on the committee to establish the Department of Nursing.⁴¹

Wars have always created an additional need for trained nurses. Women in the Nurses Association Alumni, precursor of the American Nurses Association, had volunteered their services during the Spanish-American War, but the Daughters of the American Revolution instead received the assignment.⁴² From that time until World War I, nursing climbed from a lowly occupation recruited largely from the ranks of the unskilled to a more honorable status which attracted women with college training. Nevertheless, there was still a shortage so severe that a draft was considered. Suffrage leaders in New York City favored this method to alleviate the crisis, although it was not known if a call for volunteer nurses might not also provide sufficient numbers.⁴³ Mrs. Harriett Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Chairman of the Commission on Military Rank for Nurses and a director of the Womens' Land Army, supported the idea of the draft of women for the nursing service. She insisted, however, that women be given military rank and adequate pay for their services. She found no inclination of women to stay out of war work but did report that the greatest difficulty found by her commission was in overcoming the prejudices of officials.⁴⁴

The nursing shortage was ubiquitous. The military services took many nurses, leaving the corps of public health nurses decimated. Dean of Women Ethel Hunley Coldwell became aware of the great need for public health nurses when she served on the Women's Committee of the State Council of Defense under Ruth Karr McKee, clubwoman and first woman regent of the University of Washington and of the nation.⁴⁵ She took that concern to Henry Suzzallo, pointing out the important work the University of Washington could accomplish if it established a public health course. Suzzallo responded immediately and affirmatively. The committee composed of Dean Henry Landes, Dr. John Worcester, Professor of Anatomy and a newcomer to the university in 1917, Effie Raitt, and Ethel Hunley Coldwell began to lay plans for a nursing program at the university.⁴⁶

The U.W. committee carefully studied nursing programs elsewhere in the United States and invited the superintendents of three local nursing schools for consultation. They recommended a three-year basic program of science and arts courses at the university, plus a two-year practical experience in the hospital school programs. This five-year program would result in a B.S. degree in nursing.

Elizabeth Soule's first actual college teaching occurred in the summer session of 1918, when she was called upon to teach public health nursing. That was the first year of the newly developed five-year course in nursing.

University enrollment was down thirty percent that year due to the wartime emergency, but Suzzallo managed to keep the university open by permitting two thousand Army student trainees on campus and by actively supporting the new program of nursing.⁴⁷

The planning and selection committee had chosen Elizabeth Soule to head the new program, and like Effie Raitt, she entered the profession of teaching at the University of Washington after several years of practical experience. And indeed this was the pattern for all new professions.⁴⁸ The daughter of a Malden, Massachusetts physician, Elizabeth Sterling Soule seemingly always knew she would become a nurse. She assisted her father, a doctor, with his patients. His death when she was a teenager, influenced her to take nurse's training rather than to go to college, which was her mother's preference for her. At the age of nineteen she embarked on the career of private nurse in Malden, Massachusetts. Two years in private nursing preceded her entrance into the field of public health nursing, to which she gave her greatest contributions. Upon completion of a Public Health Nursing course in Boston, she quickly revealed her talent for organization and leadership when she became the first district nurse of the Visiting Nurse Association in Everett, Massachusetts.⁴⁹

While working in Everett she renewed her childhood acquaintance with Harry Soule whom she subsequently married.

The Soules moved to the Northwest in 1912. Like most newcomers, Elizabeth Soule sought out new contacts. Turning to the headquarters of King County Graduate Nurses' Association Service for friendship, she soon found employment with the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, which was then developing a public health nursing program. What began as a short-term assignment ended as a three-year appointment. Soule next became county nurse in Walla Walla county, thus occupying one of three such new positions in the state.⁵⁰

As a rural county nurse, Soule served both the Washington State Tuberculosis Association and the Walla Walla County Health Department. Typhoid had reached epidemic proportions in the eastern part of Washington state and was still endemic in 1915. Soule insisted that all cases be reported and met with success in achieving a decline in the mortality rate. She gained public attention for her competence and was persuaded to take on greater responsibility for the supervision of nurses of the Washington State Tuberculosis Association and the Washington Branch of the American Red Cross.⁵¹

Expected to organize and promote public health nursing, Soule fulfilled all those expectations. At the same time, she absorbed many facts about the social and economic conditions throughout the state. She also served on the Women's Commission of the State Council of Defense during World War I and in 1920 the state Department of Health requested that

she expand her responsibilities to include that of state advisory nurse.⁵²

At this juncture, Soule began her career at the University of Washington. The fact that she lacked academic credentials was of concern to her and to Suzzallo, but Suzzallo recognized her ability and willingly gave her advice on how to shape a nursing school. He recommended taking the pre-nursing part of the program from the pre-medical courses and home nursing from the home economics department. These, combined with Soule's public health nursing program, which was then part of the extension service, served as the foundation for the nursing school. Suzzallo recognized that in order to have a department of instruction in the modern university, "You have to have more than one string to your bow."⁵³

Suzzallo and Soule worked well together. Soule's ability to work with diverse groups to achieve a consensus enabled her to form the nursing department with a minimum of friction. She earned and maintained the support of other department heads and her Dean. But her relationship to Suzzallo was perhaps most important for her growth and success in the university environment. For eight years he served as her mentor. When the sole criticism of the Visiting Committee of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing focused on Soule's lack of proper academic credentials, Soule submitted her resignation. Having

determined that she was satisfied with her position and that she wanted to remain on the faculty, Suzzallo tore up her resignation and encouraged her to begin her university education at the University of Washington to obtain her baccalaureate degree.⁵⁴ Five years later she had gone beyond the baccalaureate to receive a master's degree in sociology and education. By 1931 Soule had attained adequate academic credentials.⁵⁵

Soule broadened and strengthened the nursing program by actively participating in professional activities throughout the state and at other universities. She maintained close association with leaders in public health nursing, frequently visited other university nursing departments, and attended meetings up and down the West coast. She extended the horizons of the university nursing students and faculty by keeping informed about the presence of noted scholars who were to visit the West coast. Inviting such outstanding persons became possible when travel costs could be shared by several departments rather than borne totally by one.

Within the university environment Soule reached out beyond nursing to teach courses in cooperation with home economics and physical education. This is not surprising, however, because all three departments shared space in the new Home Economics Hall for several years. For five years Soule and several home economists taught a child development course. Later, when federal monies were available,

instructors in this course broadened to include Trevor Kincaid, zoologist, and Stevenson Smith, psychologist. A course in extension, entitled Scientific Motherhood, resulted from funds allocated to the state as a result of the Sheppard-Towner Bill. The Sheppard-Towner Bill, lobbied extensively by clubwomen, was one of the first to be passed in a special session by the Sixty-sixth Congress. Amended to insure the rights of states to control their own schools, the 1919 version created a federal department of education with a secretary of education, and provided annual federal aid of \$100,000. Specifically, funds were authorized for the removal of illiteracy, Americanization, equalization of educational opportunity; physical education, health education, sanitation, and preparation of teachers. The category "physical education, health education, and sanitation" meshed well with the efforts Soule and home economists had already begun at the University of Washington.⁵⁶

Nursing also cooperated with Home Economics and Physical Education to offer a Community Hygiene course, a year-long course required for all coeds in 1927. Nursing emphasized home care of the sick, as well as the scientific bases of home and community sanitation, immunization and other means of disease prevention. Nutrition, with an emphasis on family diet, budgeting, and cooking, was home economics' contribution, while physical education offered personal hygiene and exercise principles of importance to

coeds as mothers and citizens. The very practical nature of such a course reveals the reflective nature of higher education for women in reinforcing sexual stereotypes by projecting women's future firmly in the home.⁵⁷

Soule viewed her community hygiene course as a contribution to the general education of women.⁵⁸ A fashionable subject in the late twenties, general education received great attention in the private universities before it spread to the state universities--parallel to the direction of the reaction against coeducation at the beginning of the century. General education received support from some University of Washington faculty and from incoming President M. Lyle Spencer. Spencer chose the University of Chicago's Dean Gordon Laing to give the inaugural address in 1928. Laing's speech, "The Function of the University," focused on general education.⁵⁹ Spencer also spoke at his inaugural. An advocate of "fundamental and cultural education," Spencer had little rapport with those whose educational philosophy was progressive.⁶⁰ Fortunately for Soule, Spencer believed in health education for every student and that the university was obliged to provide it in the curriculum. Although her professional field was essentially of a practical nature, Spencer considered it basic. Thus, Nursing did not receive the same pruning that Home Economics, Business, and Education did at the hands of President Spencer.⁶¹

While the university generally faltered under Spencer's leadership, Soule's department laid plans for an innovative four-year undergraduate degree in nursing which included practical experience in Seattle's new Harborview County Hospital. Soule turned to Henry Landes, then Dean of the College of Science, as her new mentor, replacing Suzzallo in that role after Suzzallo had been dismissed as President by Governor Hartley in 1926. Landes had headed the committee to establish the nursing program and was already familiar with the department and with Soule. He was considered a friend of many university faculty women and was husband of the Mayor of Seattle; thus it was natural that Soule turned to him for advice.

Hammering out the details of a program satisfactory to both the university and the county hospital tested Soule's administrative creativity. State laws prevented the university from delegating its educational responsibility to a hospital and Harborview from releasing its responsibility for nursing service to an educational institution. Soule proposed a satisfactory solution, which separated nursing education from nursing service. The university took responsibility for the clinical nursing education in the hospital, while the hospital administration retained responsibility for its clinical nursing service. Soule considered the organization of this four-year basic nursing degree program her greatest professional contribution.⁶²

The Harborview experiment faced more than the ordinary initial problems. Soule selected a staff which functioned smoothly until the eroding effects of the Depression began to be felt. When tax collections slid downward, the Legislature trimmed appropriations to the state institutions, and specifically higher education. In the spring of 1933, university faculty salaries were reduced by thirty three percent in some cases.⁶³ In addition to a major adjustment to far less income, the faculty faced another adjustment to larger classes because of Governor Clarence Martin's order to relax university admission policies. Thus, the university faculty and facilities operated under stressful conditions, including the newly established nursing education staff at Harborview.

Harborview Hospital trustees called for adjustments in hiring practices. They had been directed by the King County commissioners to terminate the employment of all married women who were not the sole support of their families.⁶⁴ This policy would find its parallel at the University of Washington in its anti-nepotism policy (see Chapter 5). In addition to eliminating married women from the staff, all future appointments to the nursing staff were to be drawn from the supply of local residents. As the number of unemployed people increased, those with severe medical problems no longer could afford private medical care, and they therefore turned to the county hospital for medical

attention. As a result, the nursing staff was overworked--far from an ideal teaching situation. Harborview and the four-year cooperative program with the University of Washington both weathered the impact of the depression, however. By the end of the decade, the new four-year model for nursing education extended to three other Seattle hospitals, Providence, Swedish, and Seattle General.⁶⁵

Nursing did not receive high priority under Spencer's leadership (1927-33). Admittedly, it was a time of economic hardship but, more importantly, Spencer valued most highly the traditional departments. Those departments primarily with vocational programs suffered from administrative neglect. At one time, Spencer entertained the possibility of transferring the department of nursing to the State Normal School in Bellingham, reminiscent of the civic leaders' proposal in 1910 to send all university women students there. Spencer's presidency created stress for Soule, the faculty, and the students. He subsequently resigned as President and was followed by Hugo Winkenwerder, Dean of Forestry, who agreed to serve as Acting President.

As in the case of Suzzallo, university regents conducted a nation-wide search for a president of national stature. In 1934, Lee Paul Sieg, Professor of Physics and Dean of the Graduate School and of the School of Education at the University of Pittsburgh, took over the presidency of the University of Washington. Sieg immediately set out to

restructure the university. Under the rubric of University College, arts and sciences merged to provide the general education of the undergraduate. In addition, seven semi-professional schools also stood under the umbrella of University College. This reorganization plan, contrary to Spencer's, enhanced Soule's department. Nursing became an autonomous school within University College at the same time that Home Economics, Journalism, Music, Fisheries, Art and Architecture, and Oceanography did.⁶⁶ Soule thereafter reported directly to Dean Edward Lauer, Sieg's appointee and former colleague in higher education at the University of Iowa. As Director of the School of Nursing, Soule's responsibilities broadened to include control of the administration and finances of the School.⁶⁷

Financial resources for nursing developed outside the university in the thirties. The state subsidized the education of public health nurses, and after the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935, the federal government offered stipends for the training of public health nurses. Nursing finally obtained its own building in 1936 as a result of federal money. Construction began on the new student health center, once sufficient funds had been accumulated. A patchwork assortment of loans and grants from the federal government Public Works Administration, aid from the state, and the University's building fund provided the financing. The Nursing School inherited the old frame health center which

was remodeled to suit their needs with funds from the University of Washington (\$2,000) and from the W.P.A. (\$5,500).⁶⁸ The new quarters provided offices, classrooms and a lounge which served as an informal communication center within the school. Professional groups also held meetings there, facilitating an exchange of ideas in much the same way the home economics building had functioned.⁶⁹

Soule's success at securing the new building, in stimulating the publications output of her faculty, and in active participation in professional organizations resulted in the Nursing School receiving authority to offer graduate training leading to the master's degree in 1939.⁷⁰ In engineering these changes, Soule had proved herself an excellent role model for her staff. In 1940 she was honored for her efforts to improve the health of Washington's citizens. Soule was named *Alumnus Summa Laude Dignatus*, the first woman and the third person to gain such recognition. In nineteen years she had shaped a nursing department from a disparate scattering of courses into a Nursing School which stood in equal rank with "Yale, Western Reserve, Vanderbilt, and Skidmore".⁷¹ Citing Harborview as a "demonstration hospital" and Soule's greatest accomplishment, Edith Korres asserted Soule's qualities of modesty, perseverance, foresight and vision as critical to her success in the nursing world.

For a second time, war challenged Soule to renewed efforts. Memory of the first World War led her to anticipate the wartime needs for more nurses in World War II. With knowledge of the availability of federal money aimed at attracting unemployed nurses back into practice (and perhaps even some of the married nurses forced out of the work force by the anti-nepotism rulings in the 30s), the School offered short-courses for "former nurses to prepare them for duty in the event younger nurses were called into military service".⁷² In order to meet the increased demand for nurses, additional cooperating hospitals were brought into the University of Washington Nursing School orbit.⁷³

Additional changes occurred in the post-war period. The 1944 G. I. Bill of Rights benefitted all discharged veterans, including many nurses. The increase in the number of graduate nursing students surpassed by five times that of the entire student population.⁷⁴ On the other hand, the number of baccalaureate nursing students dropped when funding for undergraduate nurses through the Cadet Nurse Act was terminated in 1946. Thus, from the late 1940's through the 1950's, the number of graduate nursing students increased while the number of undergraduate nursing students decreased, a situation which necessitated a hasty revision of the nursing curriculum.

Soule also invested much time and energy in the postwar planning for a medical school at the University of

Washington. Fearing a loss of autonomy for the Nursing School, Soule spoke to Dean Lauer about the inclusion of nursing in the plans for expansion. Soule proposed that it be called health sciences to include medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, and nursing.⁷⁵ In October, 1945, the two new deans of dentistry and medicine were appointed, and in November, 1945, Soule was appointed Dean of Nursing. Edward Turner, Dean of Medicine, was named the first Chairman of the Board of Health Sciences.⁷⁶

Much as he had done earlier in shaping the academic organization of University College, Sieg established the structure of the Division of Health Sciences. However, the four deans of the health sciences reported directly to the President. When ill health forced Sieg to retire in the fall of 1946, he was succeeded by Raymond B. Allen, a forty-three year old medical administrator. Allen was thought better able to meet the postwar needs of a greatly expanding student body and the new Medical School. Allen publicly expressed his support of the state university and the capacity of its professional schools to contribute to scientific knowledge.⁷⁷ Regarding nursing, he challenged medicine and education in general to "raise their sights and see nursing....on the level of the other professions," a public admission that Nursing had not yet reached the level of a profession.⁷⁸

Despite both personal and public support of Soule and of nursing as an equal and autonomous department in the health sciences, Allen continued the practice of letting the "market" determine the salaries paid to the deans. In 1945 the median salary of university deans was \$8394. Soule earned \$5688, fifty-seven percent of Dean Jones' (Dentistry) salary and forty-seven percent of Dean Turner's (Medicine) salary.⁷⁹ Allen was indeed the one person at the university who could have acted to insure that salaries for the nursing faculty would be "on the level of the other professions," yet he did not take that action on behalf of Soule.

In 1950 Dean Soule retired. Nursing had changed significantly in the years since 1907 when she began her career. Some years after her retirement, Soule told a Daily reporter, "Working twelve hours a day, six and a half days a week, did not seem unusually harsh then. Before minimum wages and hours legislation, this was not unusual and everyone else was in the same boat."⁸⁰ Soule's efforts had focused mainly on shaping a curriculum and developing a nurse's training program in cooperation with local hospitals. To negotiate for more reasonable working hours and conditions or to request higher pay was considered an inappropriate activity for a professor. The idealized picture of the nurse as a selfless, obeisant and passive servant emerges clearly in an undated "Hippocratic Oath for Nurses." It required, among other things, that the nurse

swear loyalty to the physicians under whom she would serve, "as a good soldier is loyal to his officers," and in addition, bow her head "in sign of acquiescence."⁸¹

Utilizing qualities different from those required of the nurses, Soule continually took on new tasks which had led her from nursing to public health to education and administration. Within the university system she worked well with the men whose approval she needed to meet the departmental needs of growth and change. By proposing her ideas indirectly, she generally secured their adoption. Not necessarily original, she was open and alert to new ideas and new ways of organizing and adapting them to fit new situations. She maintained personal and professional ties with friends and colleagues. Nursing at the University of Washington never became isolated from the science departments and in fact often cooperated with other departments to offer joint courses. Both the department and Soule ranked high in the estimation of colleagues. A faculty rating ranked Nursing in first place and Soule twenty-fifth among the total faculty.⁸²

Soule had carefully guided nursing through thirty-two years of rapid growth and change. In that period, she had employed one-hundred forty-eight faculty members and had groomed many to take responsible roles beyond that of a practicing nurse. Her chosen successor failed to gain the support of the university's ad hoc search and selection

committee, but Soule nevertheless left behind an adequately trained "next" generation faculty to cope with the continuing changes in the field of nursing.

In step with twentieth century education trends, nursing shifted from its early emphasis on undergraduate teaching to the graduate training of specialists. The funding of nursing, too, shifted from private sources (hospitals) to public sources (state and federal funds). The federal government first intervened following World War I with funds to support the costs of teaching a hygiene class. The 1935 Social Security Act, the 1943 Cadet Nurse Act, and the 1944 G.I. Bill all attracted students to nurses training. By 1950 nursing and the other schools in the health sciences were primed to receive more infusions of federal money. Health sciences, more than any other part of the university, soon became a concrete example of Clark Kerr's conception of the Federal Grant University.⁸³

Physical Education

Unlike the fields of Home Economics and Nursing which emerged from women's traditional roles in the home, Physical Education emanated from the feminist movement of the nineteenth century. As an antidote to women's proper dress, constricting corsets and heavy gowns over multitudinous petticoats, feminists advocated simpler clothing and physical exercise for women. In addition to "pedestrianism", archery, riding, calisthenics, croquet, swimming, and

skating became fashionable in eastern cities after the Civil War.⁸⁴ In the 1890's bicycling became the rage, spurred on undoubtedly by the increasing industrialization and urbanization. Middle class women sought activities outside the home. Workers who spent long hours in the offices, factories, and industries, compensated by unwinding in the out of doors. Interest in recreation and sports proved to be increasingly absorbing to both sexes by the turn of the century.

At the same time that President Henry Suzzallo sought a leader in the field of nursing, he began the search for a new person to direct physical education for women. As in the case of home economics, the second person selected remained to develop the field and serve the university for many years. Suzzallo's Dean of Women, Ethel Hunley Coldwell, assisted him in determining the direction the field of physical education would take and in selecting the new director, Mary Gross. Mary's sister, Ellen, received the first offer from Suzzallo, but when Ellen refused due to a prior commitment, Suzzallo next offered the position to Mary, who was then stationed in Paris with the American Red Cross during World War I.⁸⁵

Out of the wartime experience, the American public learned of the physical unfitness of its youth. Reflecting upon the forty percent of the draft age men between ages twenty-one and thirty-one who were found unfit, Coldwell

decided to look at the statistics from the university's department of physical education for women. Coldwell found, based on a report compiled in 1916 by Mary Gross' predecessor, that university women were afflicted to a great extent by goiter (forty two percent), uneven shoulders (seventy-nine percent), uneven hips (sixty-eight percent), and spinal abnormality (fifty-seven percent). Because of the preventability of most of these afflictions, Coldwell presented a strong case for the inclusion of the new-type physical education in the university's program. Gross' predecessor, Miss Merrick, was trained in gymnastics, which emphasized a regimented series of exercises to develop the body. Coldwell and other progressives knowledgeable about the developing field of psychology perceived gymnastics as passe in 1918:

The time is past when schools of gymnastics in which young people are taught that it is well to train the body to do anything which it can do, will suffice to train teachers. Not only must teachers understand physical development, they must show the psychological principals [sic] which underlie human actions. The very least that should be demanded of the effective teacher of physical education is a substantial college education in which a fair study of the humanities is added to laboratory research and physical training.⁸⁶

Thus, another professional field, physical education for women, was built into the university curriculum to insure students' health and to train teachers scientifically. Based

on the broad foundation of the humanities, its new emphasis, not surprisingly, included research.

In addition to outlining the need for the modern field of physical education, Coldwell also emphasized the need for a new women's gymnasium. She was not the first woman to point this out. Dean of Women Annie Howard included a women's gymnasium in her list of needs for housing in 1908.⁸⁷ The following year, Pro Bono Publico included a women's gymnasium in her list of women's needs.⁸⁸ Women's groups in 1913 successfully influenced the Board of Regents and the Washington State Legislature, only to be rejected by the Governor's veto.⁸⁹ In 1918 Coldwell contrasted the high quality of the teaching staff, well trained and devoted to offering a quality program, with the decrepit conditions under which they taught. Approximately eight hundred women participated in physical education in 1918, and they used "a rough, drafty, and ill-ventilated room with a floor space eighty by forty feet, thirty dressing rooms, averaging four by five feet, six shower baths, and two hundred twenty five steel and one hundred forty four wooden lockers." Clearly, a new gymnasium was needed to accommodate the greatly increased number of women students and, in Coldwell's view, to meet the standards of daintiness and modesty appropriate "for the state's daughters."⁹⁰

Coldwell's article thus heightened public awareness in advance of Mary Gross' arrival at the university as

assistant professor and administrative supervisor of the women's division of physical education.⁹¹ As for the home economics building, women's organizations throughout the state applied pressure in support of a women's gymnasium, but they had little success at a time when the football stadium indebtedness was still very high:

A deputation of ladies appeared before the Board of Regents in behalf of a new gymnasium for university women and were accorded a sympathetic hearing. In reply, President Suzzallo submitted an exhaustive array of facts and figures showing the total inability of the university finances to erect and equip this much needed adjunct to its facilities at the present time. After a long discussion of the subject and the answering of all questions asked by the deputation, the ladies retired.⁹²

The university was indeed overcrowded at the end of World War I. According to Regent Ruth Karr McKee, "every sort of shack, the hastily constructed barracks of the S.A.T.C., indeed, everything with four walls and a roof had to be utilized for class room space. Even then classes were disgracefully large, and signs, 'standing room only' might well have been used."⁹³ The overcrowding in the women's gymnasium thus was not an unusual condition in those early postwar years.⁹⁴

Women's groups in the state remained firm in their support for a women's gymnasium: the King County Legislative Federation, the Washington State Branch of the National Congress of P.T.A. and the Washington State League of Executive Women. The Executive Women appointed a committee

to study the issue of securing a women's gymnasium at the university. Rose Glass, a Lincoln High School teacher of Social Studies and the alumna who was most critical of the university's wavering commitment to coeducation ten years earlier, chaired the committee. After collecting the latest statistics and analyzing the need for and the possibility of securing the promised women's gymnasium, the committee issued its report in 1922. The committee also developed a strategy to accomplish the task, one that included lobbying the members of the Board of Regents, enlisting public support to take action by writing legislators and editors, and informing all community groups while focusing especially on all college women of the state. The committee pointed out that women students paid nearly half the student fees which made up the building fund, yet their floor space for physical education was half that provided the male students. The report reflected the frustration the women's groups felt with the low priority the "much sought after and long-deferred" women's gymnasium held. Originally promised a women's gymnasium after the Home Economics and Commerce Buildings, they were now put off by the construction of the stadium and the Library.⁹⁵

Despite the pressure from women's groups, four years passed before the regents authorized appropriations for the women's gymnasium in 1926.⁹⁶ Several additional delays occurred before the building (named Hutchinson Hall in 1947)

was finally completed in November, 1927.⁹⁷ In the eight years it took to obtain the the women's gymnasium, Mary Gross offered suggestions patiently. She worked closely with Carl F. Gould, the same architect who designed the Home Economics Building, to insure that the building would function smoothly. Gross shared Ethel Coldwell's concern for the proper environment for the modern college woman and worked to achieve a building of beautiful and stately proportions, as well as of practicality and usefulness.⁹⁸

Upon completion of the women's gymnasium, the Seattle Times called it a "monument to Miss Gross":

She had her wish. Even the bricks in the outer masonry are rose, blue, and yellow. From the roof of the collegiate Gothic ediface down to the patterns in the floor of the entrance hall, gorgeous, harmonious colors are blended wherever color could be used.⁹⁹

The Times might also have acknowledged the support which women's groups had given to the women's gymnasium. The King County Legislative Federation, the Seattle branch of the American Association of University Women, the Washington State Branch of the National Congress of Mothers, the Parent Teachers Association, and the Washington State League of Executive Women had helped build public awareness of the need for a women's gymnasium. Rose Glass' statement reflected this cooperative effort: "The beautiful and spacious women's gymnasium that today graces the evergreen campus of our alma mater, is more than an architectural

achievement--it is also a triumph of patience and persistence."¹⁰⁰ Mary Gross acknowledged the combined efforts of many who helped in the planning:

No article on the new gymnasium would be complete without a word of appreciation to the architect, to the administration, to the Associated Students of the University of Washington, and to all those who have helped and assisted in the realization of this dream.¹⁰¹

Whereas it took eight years to obtain adequate physical education facilities for women students, Mary Gross wasted no time in shaping and expanding the physical education curriculum. The first program to receive attention was teacher training in 1921, then community and recreational leadership in 1924.¹⁰²

The first master's program started in 1929, and by 1936 Physical Education instituted a five-year program in professional teacher education. Further adaptation of physical education occurred in 1940 when recreational leadership and health education became viable degree programs, and in the 1945 postwar world the department began a pre-physical therapy program for physical education majors. While adapting and broadening the curriculum, the department also offered an active intramural and recreational program, which appealed to a wide spectrum of women students, many of whom were not physical education majors, and greatly extended the teaching time of the faculty.¹⁰³

Mary Gross Hutchinson introduced a new concept, Play Day, to the field of physical education in 1925.¹⁰⁴ In response to the mounting disapproval of intense competition for girls, Hutchinson's idea directed the focus away from school teams, utilizing instead teams made up of players drawn from the participating schools. This approach capitalized upon the social values of competition and upon both team and individual sports. Although scorned initially by those who valued school teams and the loyalty and competition they invoked, Play Day eventually spread to many colleges and high schools throughout the nation. Play Day continued to be an annual event at the University of Washington for the next nine years.¹⁰⁵ It apparently became a casualty of the dwindling funds available for transportation and facilities during the Depression rather than a lack of participants' interest.

Gross was at her strongest in the 1932 reorganization crisis at the university when Physical Education faced extinction according to the plan developed by President Spencer. Although Spencer appeared to be responding to the economic emergency, he was also determined to leave his stamp on the University:

There will be an elimination of the less essential courses. Every university has many it could get along without. Many of these courses are lacking in substance. There will be greater emphasis on those disciplines which are fundamental in higher education.¹⁰⁶

What is fundamental in higher education was, in 1932, as it has always been, subject to debate. An amalgam of the eighteenth century ideal of shaping students' character, of the late nineteenth century dedication to the scientific ideal, and of the early twentieth century devotion to serving the state, the modern university was broad in its conception. Therefore, the incorporation of physical education in the curriculum seemed appropriate, providing opportunities for students to maintain a balance between their intellectual and physical activities.

Spencer not only targeted Physical Education, which is of the utmost importance to Mary Gross' story, but he also named Home Economics and the office of Dean of Women expendable.¹⁰⁷ Alumnae and women's groups protested sufficiently that Spencer delivered a radio address to Washingtonians. While talking about the many difficulties facing the university, he reassured those listening that the university was not contemplating the abandonment of coeducation. He asserted women did indeed play a role in the university:

It would be an unhappy and unfortunate day for the University of Washington if we lacked the women who are among the greatest assets and adornments of our beautiful campus.¹⁰⁸

However, Spencer did not take women's roles seriously. Public pressure influenced Spencer to reinstate the position of Dean of Women, which he did within four months.¹⁰⁹ Women

chairmen, on the other hand, had to assert their department's rights to exist.

As if prompted by Rose Glass' formula on how to win support for the physical education building, Mary Gross personally lobbied both the regents and members of the state legislature to insure the survival of her department. Her efforts paid off. By the end of the summer, women's physical education was secured as an appropriate area of study at the university, as indicated in the regents' records:

...physical education on motion duly made, seconded and carried the following recommendation of the special committee to review the personnel and curricula of the department of physical education for men and women was satisfied and approved.¹¹⁰

A woman of some ability and influence in the world of politics, Mary Gross was also an influence on campus. Ariel Stout interviewed several faculty members who attested to Gross' personal network on campus. She was particularly effective in face-to-face conferences, especially when dealing with Deans.¹¹¹ She was respected by her colleagues throughout the university; she served three terms on the University Senate and one term as President of the Women's Faculty Club.¹¹²

Of the three women leaders at the University of Washington, Mary Gross Hutchinson was the only one to have a child. Married in 1933 to Arthur Howard Hutchinson, a graduate of Yale University Law School and a widower, Mary

Gross Hutchinson gave birth to her only child, a daughter, at age forty-three. She combined motherhood with her responsibilities as a university faculty member and administrator, a situation not typical of most women faculty members in the thirties. Her career apparently was not set back by her role as mother, because she was promoted to professor in 1936 and continued to serve as Executive Officer throughout her tenure.¹¹³

During the course of Mary Gross Hutchinson's career from 1918 to her death in 1947, the field of physical education evolved from the turn-of-century emphasis on physical culture to one stressing exercise and activity which engaged the interest and enthusiasm of the whole individual. Women physical education leaders emphasized the social and cooperative aspects of sports and games. Intramural activities took precedence over extramural or intercollegiate competition. In addition to promoting health and fun, Hutchinson believed that physical education for women should preserve the feminine qualities. Stressing the differences between the sexes, Hutchinson did not allow her students to emulate males in sports nor to compete in sports outside the university.¹¹⁴

Mary Gross Hutchinson must have believed she was fighting an uphill battle for physical education. She first offered graduate courses in 1926-27, leading to the first M.S. degree in 1929.¹¹⁵ In the late 1930s she reported that

graduate students had appeared from throughout the United States and called for expansion of the graduate program.¹¹⁶ By the end of the second World War, she called specifically for a more sophisticated graduate program, one which utilized the talents of other professors in the fields of education, physiology and psychology. Up until her death in 1947, she was the sole member of her department to teach graduate courses; her awareness of the need for more sophisticated courses and a broader approach to graduate training may therefore have been keener than that of her colleagues and that of her dean.¹¹⁷

The careers of the three women leaders came to an end within a five-year period: Effie Raitt in 1945, Mary Gross Hutchinson in 1947, and Elizabeth Soule in 1950. Each began her career at the university when each of their respective fields first emerged in the university curriculum. None was the first person selected to lead the new department, but each one essentially played the key role in selecting the faculty and shaping the curriculum. Raitt and Hutchinson each cooperated with the architect in the planning and construction of the departmental building, and their names were given to the respective buildings on their death. Soule directed the remodeling of one building and helped in the planning of the Health Sciences complex to the extent that President Allen publicly acknowledged that the medical

school had been "mothered by Mrs. Soule."¹¹⁸ An exhaustive yet engaging experience, supervision of the building process took energy beyond that of their routine administrative duties.

Their leadership style under ordinary circumstances was open and democratic. Because they had built up their departments, they had the advantage of selecting compatible faculty members who recognized their competence. Concern for the welfare of their colleagues and for their students also characterized their style. A sense of community was achieved within each department, providing a women's support group otherwise missing in the general setting of the modern university. Combining the ability to make long-range plans and to make use of the administrative structure to achieve those plans, Effie Raitt, Elizabeth Soule, and Mary Gross Hutchinson successfully incorporated their interpersonal skills with high levels of competence in their leadership styles.

Reform was the prevailing spirit in the first two decades of this century; it was a time when opportunities for women opened up in the public sphere. The university, in its commitment to serving the state, accordingly responded to the requests of organized women's groups to offer courses specifically for women. At the same time, this allowed the university to meet its strongly perceived need to provide a more satisfactory educational environment

for its male students, thereby legitimizing its own drive toward stability by offering a liberal arts undergraduate education to undergird professional education. Guided by the ideal of the modern university dedicated to the furthering of knowledge through research, the university president and regents supported the establishment of home economics, nursing, and women's physical education for its female students.

While publicly committed to the ideal of coeducation, the university altered its structure to accommodate women students and faculty on a sex-segregated basis, and it was in this area that women faculty had the greatest opportunity for work. Thirty-seven percent of all women faculty members worked in these departments, and these fields essentially provided the only opportunity for women to advance and develop their leadership potential. Benefitting from the progressive years' openness to women's aspirations, albeit in a separate sphere, Raitt, Soule, and Hutchinson proved their mettle as teachers and administrators. Within a female enclave, they became role models and mentors for their faculty and students.

By establishing the channeled fields, the university created a certain tension within its own structure. On the positive side, the autonomy of units such as the Nursing School, Home Economics, and Women's Physical Education allowed the women administrators and faculty within them to

chart somewhat of an independent course. This created an abundance of role models for the women students, as well as a positive atmosphere which encouraged active participation and helped students develop a strong sense of self. On the other hand, segregation isolated these women faculty and their activities from the mainstream of a academic life. Consequently, male faculty and administrators considered their own interests, activities and social preferences to be the norm. Low status, low pay, and an emphasis on teaching provided little time or support for research in the channeled fields. Separatism rarely provides equality and in fact accentuates the prevailing view that anything having to do with women is automatically inferior.

Chapter Notes - Chapter 3

¹Sara Burstall, Impressions of American Education in 1908 (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1909), p. 275.

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¹⁸Interview with Marion Fish Cox, October 21, 1982.

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²⁰Ava B. Milam, op. cit., pp. 199-200.

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Chapter 4

Sub-Faculty: Hierarchical Segregation

For most faculty members academic life entails a certain number of classes to teach, university committees on which to serve, and the contribution of a reasonable number of papers of acceptable quality to their various disciplines in the form of articles in scholarly publications and speeches at meetings of professional peers. In return for these efforts, most faculty members then climb the successive steps in the promotional ladder at varying rates, which depend upon peer evaluation of their work. Thereby, they achieve job security, tenure, salary increases, and health benefits based on their outside recognition and/or contributions to the growth and quality of the university.

Not all faculty members, however, gain access to that ladder of upward mobility. This chapter focuses on women's role in the Sub-faculty, a group of excluded faculty members, called at various times Assistants, Associates, or Instructors, is the focus of this chapter. Most often this group is referred to as "sub-faculty" in the university records; however that term was not always clearly defined. Frequently part-time, but in most instances full time, the sub-faculty served as a loyal reserve teaching force. Often excluded from the normal faculty communication networks, the sub-faculty were also generally excluded from departmental meetings or, if included, they lacked voting

rights. This category of instructors found their jobs expendable, unprotected either by law or by university rules. Most often their needs were not considered in any faculty efforts to secure greater job rights or security.

The University of Washington created a new rank, Associate, in 1918. Economic conditions forced this solution to the postwar problem of an increased number of students and a hold-the-line budget. In establishing the new rank of Associate, below that of Instructor, Assistant Professor, Associate Professor and Professor, the Regents stated their belief that this rank would be "as far as possible temporary" and noted that this decision would make possible "at lower cost the teaching of the elementary classes".¹ Requiring a good command of scholarly materials and methods and an above-average ability to cooperate, the University expected the Associate to have had two years' teaching experience.² At the same time the University acknowledged the need for such qualified teachers, it also defined their restricted status: "Associates are not ordinarily eligible for change of title to Instructor or to promotion to professional grades. In highly exceptional cases they may be made Lecturers."³ Although the Sub-faculty category was not established for women, it is in this category that generally more than fifty per cent of the women faculty members resided (see Table 4-1). In keeping with the Regents' original intent that the rank was

Table 4-1Women Sub-Faculty as Per Cent of Total Women Faculty,1920-1970

<u>Year</u>	<u>TWF*</u>	<u>WSF**</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1920	37	22	60
1925	58	47	81
1930	76	48	63
1935	91	57	63
1940	110	67	61
1945	148	82	55
1950	288	249	86
1955	189	94	50
1960	171	89	52
1965	246	77	31
1970	338	145	43

*Total Women Faculty

**Women Sub-Faculty

a temporary solution of limited duration, over sixty per cent of the total women sub-faculty served one to three years.

Although the Associate rank generally did not carry faculty status, it did carry faculty teaching responsibilities. Full time teaching was defined as "over twelve quarter credits," and often the teaching load included more credits than that. D. D. Griffith, Executive Officer of the English Department, explained the situation in his department at the time some of the Associates were nearing retirement:

The teaching schedules twenty-five years ago were very heavy and the practice was to save every penny by adapting teaching assignments to registration. Such a situation required we protect the quality of teaching by having available full-time effective teachers who would accept partial assignments.⁴

In addition to benefitting the university by permitting more teaching for less money, these positions were construed by the administration as benefitting the recipients by providing an "apprenticeship and status in university teaching".⁵ However, any position of a temporary nature or minor character, one which made no allowance for growth and development, tended to lower university standards and also, to lessen faculty morale, most certainly that of the sub-faculty members. As one former Associate stated when she submitted her resignation, "I do not wish to be a party to a policy that I consider degrading to its teachers as

individuals."⁶ Whereas she found the teaching assignment satisfactory, she considered the low pay an affront to her professional self-concept.

Faculty Organizations Emerge

The Instructors' Association

Faculty morale and the establishment of a salary scale were the two vital issues facing the University of Washington faculty immediately following World War I. As inflation soared and the number of returning students increased, faculty salaries failed to keep up with inflation, and faculty morale indeed deteriorated. In the five years prior to 1919, university salaries rose sixty-seven per cent, lagging far behind the ninety-four per cent increase in the cost of living.⁷ Activist faculty members formed a new organization, the Instructors' Association, to deal with the pressing issues of faculty welfare. Salary increases to meet the higher cost of living and faculty security in the form of tenure and promotion policy received the greatest attention. Asserting that its aim was to achieve harmony between faculty and administration, the Instructors' Association pressed its claim for an advancement policy, essential in their estimation if the university was to attract and hold "well prepared, ambitious, and efficient young teachers."⁸

Affirming the 1919 Report of the Board of Regents that the proper ambition of the younger members of a department was to advance as rapidly as possible in both rank and pay, the Instructors' Association went further to propose definite incentives which they deemed essential to creativity in scholarship. Reflecting upon the wide-spread faculty discontent exhibited by inefficiency, waste and unnecessary friction, the Association called for a set salary schedule and a firm policy, formalized in a written agreement between the President and Regents, regulating the length of time in each rank. Whereas such a policy placed a minimum wage beneath each rank, it was sufficiently open-ended at the other end of the continuum to accommodate the exceptional teacher and scholar whose talent and abilities warranted additional recognition. They asserted that, as in the business world, the university needed to recognize that growth and improved service merited increased compensation. Thus, for those situated on the academic ladder, the Instructors' Association expressed great concern. Those who were not on the academic ladder, however, received but one brief mention by the Instructors' Association. In their 1920 Report, the Association explained its position regarding those in the lowest rank: "Because of the present instability of the particular rank of Associate, their case is not considered in these recommendations."⁹ Through the 1920's, the Instructors'

Association identified salaries, retirement allowances, salary scales, appointments and tenure as their chief concerns.¹⁰

The Teachers' Union

In contrast to the Instructors' Association's neglect of those at the rank of Associate, the University of Washington Teachers' Union expressed strong and frequent concern about them. Surfacing as an organization in the early thirties in response to the disarray caused by the Depression, the Teachers' Union attracted a nucleus of independent-thinking faculty members. Many of these faculty members were young, vigorous and eager to enhance the education offered to students. Officially organized in 1934 to take collective action, the Teachers' Union also advanced some of their educational ideals. According to William R. Wilson in the Psychology Department, some of the faculty joined the Teachers' Union because it offered a possibility to "escape the feeling of futility that suffocated them."¹¹ Wilson recommended to Sieg that the university somehow tap their youthful energy to actually make the university a better educational institution. Characterizing the state of the university as "pathetic," Wilson cited the stifling effect of faculty-imposed barriers to education for students and the existing barriers to effective contact among faculty colleagues. Viola Garfield of the Anthropology Department joined this group because "it was

the only organization on campus which represented my interests as an Associate."¹²

Specifically, the Teachers' Union was disturbed by President Sieg's response to a recommendation of the Instructors' Association regarding advancement in rank. The Teachers' Union noted that Sieg had willingly concurred in writing with this recommendation, yet he neglected to observe it in practice. The Union's executive committee diplomatically attempted to open up communication on at least four occasions.¹³ Sieg at first ignored their letters, but then subsequently answered them explaining his position. Responding to unionization as most employers did, he said that he would recognize them as individuals but that he could not deal with any representative delegation of the organization. In Sieg's estimation the Teachers' Union represented the voice and thinking of organized labor, and therefore they were not properly representative of the faculty as a whole.

Sieg, in fact, issued a memorandum to the faculty on this very issue of some faculty members forming a new teachers' association. Calling for judgment on the faculty's part in appealing for public support, Sieg stated his belief that the public would only be confused by the number and variety of individual voices emanating from the university. Sieg's uppermost concern was maintenance of the public's perception of the university as a provider of

educational services to the state. Only in the interests of education should the university go before the citizens-- not in the name of some political or social group. Sieg warned in the conclusion to this memorandum,

I want it made clear that any such appeal is thoroughly distasteful to the administration of the university and will not be countenanced.¹⁴

While effectively gagged in its public pronouncements, the Teachers' Union continued to assert its concerns on campus. One of its first reports focused on the "one-third of the teaching staff classified as sub-faculty".¹⁵ Whereas the sub-faculty had received the right to vote in departmental affairs in 1925, by 1937 it still had no right to membership in the Instructors' Association.¹⁶ Thus, the sub-faculty members (over two hundred teachers out of a total faculty of four hundred fifty in 1936) were denied any opportunity to express themselves collectively until the Teachers' Union formed and cultivated their membership. Not surprisingly, by the mid-thirties when the economy was still depressed, the sub-faculty carried an even heavier teaching load. In the estimate of the Teachers' Union the sub-faculty received "wretched wages" for the very responsible teaching role they carried out for the university. More democratic than meritocratic, the Teachers' Union expressed chagrin when faculty salaries were restored in 1935 to the 1931 level but did not include those in the sub-faculty ranks. Further, the Teachers' Union membership

disagreed with the university decision to cut the salaries of the Assistants, Teaching Fellows and Readers in 1937, the lowest ranks of the sub-faculty.¹⁷

An exchange of letters between President Sieg and E. R. Guthrie in Psychology reveals a divergence in viewpoint toward the sub-faculty. Guthrie respected the uniqueness of the Teachers' Union in its concern about the "status of the aging full-time assistants."¹⁸ On the other hand, Sieg referred to the sub-faculty as "underpaid individuals" whom he did not consider members of the faculty, but who have come "in many cases to look upon themselves as such members."¹⁹ Sieg's disdain is illustrated further by his assertion that the sub-faculty was the cause of "a great deal of our discontent" and by his ability to exclude them from his purview. In Sieg's estimation the concerns of the sub-faculty were "still not official problems of the faculty," and to him, it was proper that the Instructors' Association did not include the sub-faculty.²⁰

Besides valuing the sub-faculty somewhat more highly than did President Sieg, Guthrie also acknowledged that the Teachers' Union had value as a faculty organization. Guthrie claimed that the Teachers' Union was the only deliberative group on the faculty where "any of the not in executive places [sic] men have any opportunity to express their opinions and have possible action follow that expression".²¹ A forum for the expression of opinion was

evidently sorely needed at the university in 1937, faculty meetings having been abandoned as a means of faculty expression.²² A former President of the Executive Board of the Instructors' Association (1932), Guthrie was not a member of the Teachers' Union. Often exasperated with some of the positions the Teachers' Union took, Guthrie nevertheless believed that the "Union crowd" would act more responsibly if only they were included in university deliberations on methods and policy. Sieg, on the other hand, saw nothing of value in the Teachers' Union and did his best to exclude them from the mainstream of university life.

The concern of the Teachers' Union for the sub-faculty stemmed from their democratic views on university governance. By the mid 1930s, some of the Associates had taught for fifteen to eighteen years. To deny these loyal instructors voting rights on the faculty was as harmful to the university as it was to the individuals, according to the Teachers' Union. Most of the Associates were regular teachers who needed little or no supervision. It seemed incongruous to the Teachers' Union that the recipients of the same collegiate training as those on the promotion ladder and many of whom had wide experience in college teaching should be denied the opportunity to participate fully in university affairs.²³

In addition to faculty recognition and voting rights for the sub-faculty, the Teachers' Union was equally concerned about the Associates' retirement situation. The Teachers' Union recognized that the Associates were doubly handicapped: their low pay prevented any savings for future financial independence, and the university policy of non-recognition prevented their participation in any planning for a faculty retirement program.

...

The Experience of Women Faculty, Full-time and Part-time

Women in the sub-faculty ranks of Assistant and Associate shared with their colleagues in part-time and acting faculty positions a severely limited role within the institution, especially a lack of job security, opportunity for growth, retirement plan, or other benefits. While the individuals described below do not constitute a random sample, certain common threads recur in the lives of women who remained on the staff for five years or longer. Whereas all women sub-faculty were included in the quantitative study based on Personnel Records, the cases selected for study were chosen from those whose experiences resulted in their carrying on correspondence regarding their personal situation with their departmental Chairman, Dean, or in some cases, President of the University. This correspondence is located in the University Archives. In the sense that their situations called for clarification, perhaps

they should be viewed as problem cases and thus not typical. On the other hand, records of an exceptionally sensitive nature (those of the most controversial cases) may very well not have been placed in the archives. The following cases provide a more or less representative view of the roles which most women played in university instruction. Women sub-faculty taught the elementary courses, served in a helping role to a senior professor, or advised students. They faced either no or, at best, slow promotion and low pay and suffered from shifting policy so far as grievance issues, procedural rules, tenure, and leaves of absence were concerned. Subject to the whims of administrators directing university policy, these women sub-faculty led a precarious and marginal existence in the university.

Although the Associate rank was set up to attract faculty with a master's degree whose responsibility would be to teach the elementary courses, over time the rank evolved to one serving as a holding pattern for those near completion of the Ph.D. For example, in 1927 Dean F. M. Padelford explained to one prospective Associate that once the Ph.D. degree was obtained, promotion would follow:

I think you may misunderstand the term Associate as we employ it here...Under ordinary circumstances, we are reserving the Instructors and Assistant Professors for those who have already secured the doctorate. Thus, in English we have some

very promising young men as Associates who will become Instructors and Assistant Professors as soon as the degree is received.²⁴

Four years later Padelford wrote to a new appointee, explaining both the title, Associate, because he had not yet received his doctorate, and the salary, which was higher than that normally paid to an Associate:

The doctorate is normally required for an appointment to an instructorship or an assistant professorship and where a member of the staff does not possess the degree he is made an Associate until the degree is secured. Your salary is that which would be paid an Assistant Professor, and you would have been appointed an Acting Assistant Professor if you had already secured the degree.²⁵

If Padelford's interpretation of the rank Associate was correct, then was this true for all appointees to the rank?

Looking at women in the Liberal Arts, four of them, originally appointed Associates, eventually received their doctorates. Two were promoted, although slowly, and two were denied promotion. What are the common threads to their experiences? Let us examine two success stories and then two failures.

Bertha Mehitable Kuhn served twenty years (1940-1960) as a full-time teacher on the freshman staff in the English Department. In 1960 the Executive Officer of the department requested that credit be extended for Kuhn's first thirteen years of teaching prior to receiving the Ph.D.

degree so that she would qualify for adequate retirement benefits. During those years, she held the titles Teaching Assistant, Part-time Assistant, Full-time Assistant, and, finally, Special University Fellow.

As retirement neared, Kuhn's department chairman acknowledged that the long delay in the completion of her dissertation resulted from her being overworked as a teacher. He also commented upon her professional record of teaching and publication:

If one compares it with that of a distinguished full professor, it is trifling; if one compares it with that of an undistinguished full professor, it is no less impressive.²⁶

The acknowledgement that not all full professors are distinguished is refreshingly honest. Even though Kuhn held her own when measured against the yardstick of a typical or at least an undistinguished professor, she was not rewarded by promotion in rank beyond that of Assistant Professor. Kuhn was fortunate, however, that a later executive officer was concerned enough about her welfare to take action on her behalf prior to her retirement. Her colleagues also recognized her contribution by naming her Assistant Professor Emeritus; however, much of her career can be characterized by high commitment to teaching, slow promotion and lack of recognition.

Viola Garfield served as a Teaching Fellow in the Anthropology Department for three years (1932-35) while

working on her master's degree. While maintaining her home in Seattle, Garfield made three trips to New York to complete requirements for the Ph.D. degree with Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict. Columbia then required all doctoral dissertations to be published before the degree was officially granted. It took three years to shape her dissertation into a book, which was published in 1939; during these years she served as an Associate, carrying out full faculty responsibilities at the salary of \$95 per month. Although she had hoped to be promoted to Instructor upon completion of the Ph.D., it was four years (1943) before that occurred. Thirteen years later (1956) she earned tenure and promotion to Associate Professor. Finally, one year before retirement in 1970, Garfield became a full Professor. It is with a degree of resentment that Garfield recalled her career of heavy teaching and undergraduate advising responsibilities, low pay and slow promotion at the university.²⁷

An Associate in History, Iva Buchanan, was less successful than Kuhn or Garfield. Assistant Dean of the Faculty F. M. Padelford viewed the Associate rank as a temporary step up the ladder for certain "very promising young men" in the English Department. However, he reminded Iva Buchanan, eight years after her first appointment as an Associate, of her "impermanent" status. Her first appointment came in 1923 under President Henry Suzzallo, who under

conditions of severe economic stringency first created the rank of Associate in order to meet a perceived short-term need for additional teachers. Suzzallo's letter of appointment left no doubt that it was for one year only and that she was specifically needed "to help fill the gap created by Mr. Eddy's leave of absence."²⁸ To Buchanan's advantage, Suzzallo pointed out that it would be a year's apprenticeship and status in university teaching which could only enhance her opportunity for a future appointment elsewhere. Just how much of an apprenticeship remained to be seen.

For the ensuing eight years the history department engaged Buchanan's services annually in a helping role to Professor Richardson, years which were truly that of an apprenticeship. The arrangement apparently was satisfactory and came to an end only when Professor Richardson left the university in 1929. However, because the university failed to act quickly enough to secure his replacement, they retained Buchanan one more year. At the end of her eighth year, Padelford reminded her of her temporary status and informed her that the issue of a further appointment was closed:

The minor character of an associateship implied impermanency. It is hardly correct to say the university is dismissing you. No permanency is implied in an appointment as Associate and there is no implication that those who served as Associate for a season shall be promoted to Instructor.²⁹

Thus, even those who had served eight seasons lacked value and an opportunity for promotion. With no recourse to an organization which represented the interests of those at the Associate rank, Buchanan accepted Dean Padelford's verdict. However, she did reply to Padelford's letter, presenting her side of the situation. She acknowledged that the original appointment in 1923 had been for one year only. Once she had begun teaching with Professor Richardson, however, she claimed that Professor Meany, then chairman of the department, and Richardson had told her the position was permanent. The Dean then confirmed that her work would continue in the lower division courses and in assisting Professor Richardson, but he made no reference to the temporary nature of the appointment. Buchanan's presumption that the nature of the appointment had changed perhaps accounts for her failure to request clarification of that point in writing.

Praised repeatedly by Professors Harvey, Robbins, and McMahon for her excellent teaching in the History I and II course, Buchanan handicapped her own future by focusing on teaching and giving extra time to undergraduate students and their research problems.³⁰ Energy directed toward student research problems might otherwise have been spent completing her Ph.D. dissertation, a project she carried on while also teaching full time. Had she completed her

dissertation, she might conceivably have qualified as Professor Richardson's eventual replacement.

Padelford's words explain what the university needed to insure its prestige:

...the future welfare of the department requires that all permanent appointees should be specialists in the field in which they are to teach, and should give evidence of fruitful scholarship therein. We shall never build up the European history to the proper point unless every addition to the staff on that side is a promising scholar who has made European history his major concern.³¹

Not yet considered a specialist because she had not completed the Ph.D. degree, and definitely no longer a young scholar who made European history "his" major concern, Buchanan left the department after twelve years of continuous employment, three as a reader in history, followed by nine years as Associate--a period sufficiently long to insure a responsible relationship between employer and employee. But because of the minor character of her position, the employer, in this case, the university, freely dismissed the employee when finally it believed it could locate a more suitable candidate to meet its needs. Despite the length of her service, which one must assume was satisfactory, Buchanan had not acquired any job security.

A leave of absence appears to be a crucial point, potentially fatal to the careers of women faculty. However, in the case of Otilie Terzieff, there was the additional

complication of a change in departmental chairmen. Terzieff had served continuously as an Associate in German for thirteen years, except for a year's informal leave of absence in her eleventh year to complete work on her doctoral dissertation in Germany. According to the Executive Board of the Instructors' Association, she had been promised, in writing, a promotion to Instructor once she had completed her doctorate, yet in 1939 she was given notice of dismissal from the faculty effective in June, 1939.³² The stated reason for her dismissal was "reorganization," coupled with a pro forma administrative complement that her teaching ability and scholarship were satisfactory.

When the Instructors' Association queried President Sieg on behalf of Terzieff, however, Sieg insisted the dismissal was not for reorganization. He chastised the organization for not taking the trouble to find out what the actual facts were and proceeded to inform them that it was her leave of absence which created the circumstances for dismissal:

It must be remembered that Mrs. Terzieff left the University without any regular leave of absence, and so that her return was effectively a return as a new Associate.³³

Upon further examination of Terzieff's case, however, the Executive Board of the Instructors' Association urged postponement of the decision for one year because the German

Department was in a state of transition between chairmen. The chairman who had initiated her dismissal had subsequently resigned "under great mental strain." Because the search had begun for a new chairman the Executive Board recommended that her case ought then to be reviewed in its entirety by the new chairman.³⁴ The concern and recommendation of the Executive Board were not heeded, and Terzieff "withdrew" after fifteen years' service to the university, the first two of which were at the rank of Teaching Fellow, while she had worked toward her master's degree. Although the promise of promotion had been tied to receiving the Ph.D. degree, which Terzieff obtained in good faith, and although the accepted practice was to reserve "the instructorship and assistant professorships for those who have already secured the doctorate," Terzieff did not receive her promotion and her career at the university came to an abrupt halt.³⁵

A letter written to President Sieg by J. H. Groth, the chairman who had been "under great mental strain" the previous year, shows little respect for Terzieff:

"Mrs. Terzieff hasn't answered my letter. I suppose she has wept on your shoulder and on Dean Lauer's. But the move was the only right one. I hear her friends in the department were furious and dear old Eck was ill several days over this Hans Groth business."³⁶

In contrast to Groth's disdain for Terzieff, E. O. Eckelman, Groth's predecessor as chairman of the Department

of Germanic Languages, apparently strongly supported Terzieff from her earliest days as a graduate student. In a 1925 recommendation for a teaching fellowship, he praised her highly: "Rarely does one find so many qualities of a good language teacher combined in one person. She is a good linguist...She is fairly vibrant, with reserve strength, energy, and enthusiasm. She teaches from sheer love of teaching."³⁷ German was Terzieff's native language, and she was also fluent in French. If the opinions of Eckelman and Groth represent the two extremes regarding Terzieff's abilities, then one might assume the truth of her abilities lay somewhere in between. If she had been promised an instructorship upon completion of the Ph.D. degree, then obviously the university failed to meet its commitment to her. Terzieff understandably must have been shocked when she was instead dismissed because of "reorganization." It is heartening to learn that the Instructors' Association took up her cause, even though she did not qualify for membership in the organization, but disappointing to learn that the university administration could so blatantly ignore its policy of due process and the request of the Instructors' Association for further deliberation of her position.

Three cases in the Liberal Arts, where the highest degree earned was the master's, serve to illustrate the same problems of insecurity brought about either by

overwork or underutilization, irregular promotions, and low pay. This situation leads one to believe that gender was the determining factor, rather than ability or credentials. Maud Beal, another member of the English faculty, served twenty-six years. D. D. Griffith, Executive Officer, had to clarify her teaching record for her to qualify for retirement benefits. In the five years prior to 1931, when she received her first full-time appointment, Beal taught a total of $12 \frac{1}{3}$ quarters, or four and $\frac{4}{9}$ years, which counted toward retirement. Full-time teaching in the 1930s consisted of twelve or more quarter credits. Griffith acknowledged that these teachers, even when on part-time, "were giving all their time to the university" and recommended that they be helped by receiving credit for all teaching done beyond the full-time limit.³⁸

Beal received her first appointment in 1926, a year after she received her A.B. degree. She won the appointment, according to Griffith, because "she was maturer than most college graduates and was a very forceful and interesting teacher." Beal completed her undergraduate education at the age of forty-four. Three years later she completed work for the master's degree, which made her eligible for Associate rank. She joined the Teachers' Union at its inception because it was the only faculty organization which represented her interests. Called before the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Affairs (the

Canwell Committee) in 1946 because of her alleged Communist activities, she refused to name other faculty as members of the Communist Party.³⁹ Beal appears to have remained a forceful and active person throughout her career at the university.⁴⁰ From her first appointment as Assistant, she then served eight years in the "temporary" rank of Associate, seven years as Instructor, followed by four years as Assistant Professor. A "liberal" adjustment was made in her salary (fifteen and one-half percent increase) the year before her retirement at age seventy in 1952.⁴¹ Her colleagues recognized her contributions by recommending her appointment as Assistant Professor Emeritus. Recognition and reward for her efforts came late to Beal.

Mercedes Hensley began her work at the university thirteen years later than Beal. She started as Acting Associate in the Art Department in 1939, a year after she received the Master of Fine Arts degree. She believed she had earned tenure in the two years she served as Acting Associate, and in fact at that time two years was considered the period of probation.⁴² In her case, however, the university interpreted the policy differently. Hensley received promotion in rank to Associate, then to Instructor and finally to Assistant Professor. In 1952, thirteen years after her initial appointment, Hensley's department unanimously supported her promotion to a tenure position. They acknowledged that the university had capitalized on the

availability of local artists and that for years they had avoided overstaffing by maintaining certain teachers on a temporary basis. On the basis of seniority and merit, Hensley's department made their recommendation.⁴³ However, by 1952, departments no longer had the sole power to recommend tenure appointments to the Dean. A central committee, the College Council, composed of representatives from the entire college, reviewed all proposals for tenure emanating from the various departments. Major criteria for tenure were research or professional contributions and excellence in teaching.⁴⁴ The College Council, therefore, did not recognize seniority as a basis for tenure.

When the adverse decision of the College Council reached her, Hensley wrote directly to President Henry Schmitz:

The small salaries paid to me were in part the result of a policy of the former Director of the School of Art, by which married women instructors were held in temporary rank and were not granted salary increases and promotions in the same ratio that single or male instructors were advanced.⁴⁵

Hensley suffered the double burden of being married, and therefore it was thought that she neither needed work nor payment for her efforts, and of being limited to the lowest rank in the faculty.

Schmitz evidently responded favorably to Hensley's letter, because the university extended her faculty appointment. The university appointed her Lecturer and

informed her it was a final appointment of three years' duration. In 1955 Hensley received a new title, Lecturer without tenure, and was told that her salary would remain fixed until she reached retirement. This action served to insure her retirement benefits but not to bolster Hensley's morale.⁴⁶

Mercedes Hensley spoke out again. She questioned both the title, "which implies some reflection on my record as a faculty member which I feel I do not deserve and is humiliating to bear," and the fixed salary, which she found unnecessarily discriminatory should other faculty receive advances in compensation in the same period. At the same time she expressed gratitude for the security of the retirement annuity, she essentially scolded the institution for its inhumane policy, "the way in which it (retirement) had to be achieved has savored the closing years of a career of service with a bitterness which one would rather have been spared."⁴⁷ The university evidently reconsidered its decision to terminate Hensley, because she continued to teach at the university until 1962 when she retired at the age of sixty-nine.

Hensley's career at the university, while not typical of the experience of most of the women sub-faculty members, who served one to three years, is typical of the careers of those women who served many years in the sub-faculty category. Because she was articulate and left written

accounts, we can piece together the frustrations she faced in a university structure which allowed minimal space for her growth and professional development.

Hensley appears to have had a fairly objective view of herself. She assessed her weaknesses: her teaching evaluations were ambiguous and her efforts were spread too thin, resulting in the failure to develop any specialty of her own. She seems to have fallen into that altruistic trap wherein peers and superiors assume men have careers, but women are to help out where needed. Having volunteered to teach ceramics during World War II, Hensley then withdrew from ceramics when Paul Bonifas was recruited after the war. Hensley recounted teaching Bonifas:

On Mr. Bonifas' arrival I continued at the studio, assisting him in becoming familiar with his new environment, while I carried other classes which had then been assigned me in the department. Mr. Bonifas was immediately provided better equipment, a monitor, an assistant, and an interpreter. Within a year he was promoted to the rank of Associate Professor and has never been called upon to teach any additional classes.⁴⁸

It is not surprising that Bonifas developed a specialty quite soon, considering the support given him and the psychological boost that promotion in rank and pay provided. Lacking support of either kind, Hensley continued to teach. Her assignments ranged from weaving to oil painting and watercolor.

Her loyalty to the department and to the university was deep, even when that loyalty was not reflected back to her. In her own words,

I believe it would have been possible for me to achieve a notable reputation in any one of these fields. However, it is difficult to find good design teachers who are willing to continue teaching freshman courses. Professor Isaacs has always felt that I was particularly well adapted to working with freshmen students, and although I should have preferred developing in a more advanced field, I was willing to serve in this capacity if in doing so I best served the needs of the department and the university. In accepting these assignments, I was given the assurance of our Director that a person doing this work should be given consideration in matters of salary and promotion with those teaching more advanced subjects.⁴⁹

Hensley's experience illustrates the way in which women faculty were channeled into teaching the elementary courses. By emphasizing their service, the institution reinforced women's traditional roles without ever seriously considering their abilities or their needs for a professional identity.

Although informed in 1955 that she would be terminated in 1958, she nevertheless continued to teach seven more years, another example of institutional policy and practice diverging. Her final comment in the letter to Dean Woodburne is indicative of her commitment to teaching:

I know of no member of the staff who has engaged in as continued study or whose preparation would have enabled him to teach the variety of subjects which I have been called upon to teach.⁵⁰

Hensley's regard for teaching perhaps reflects a naivete as to the university's renewed post-war commitment to research and other advanced scholarship. The necessity for a Ph.D. degree or its equivalent, preferably from a major university, together with an ability to make scholarly contributions at an advanced level became the standard for promotion to a tenured position. This change in the operating rules for promotion worked a hardship on members of the faculty who were preoccupied with teaching. Unfortunately, these changes worked against many of the women faculty members whose assignments restricted them to undergraduate teaching and advising.

A second Associate in the English Department, Margaret Walters, began her appointment the same year as Maud Beal. She articulated the dilemma of the sub-faculty member who liked her work but, lacking the proper credentials, realized there was no future opportunity. She reported to the Instructors' Association 1934 confidential survey of faculty attitudes toward promotion:

I do feel that there are members of the composition staff doing excellent work and with years of experience behind them, whose salaries are absurd. These teachers are very often women, of course. Their feeling is a rather hopeless one; they feel that if they do work for a Ph.D. they

will be told to move on and out and that if they don't, bright young men with Ph.D.'s and less teaching experience will move up above them.⁵¹

By raising standards, institutions of higher education complicated the positions of faculty who were not mobile. Married women are most frequently handicapped by this policy because they are unwilling to give up their marriage for a career. Walters was a married woman, and in addition, explained that she was one who was not working for pin money:

As I say, I could use more money, since I have been chief breadwinner for three years, and have a husband whose nerves are such that I shall always be apprehensive lest he have another breakdown.⁵²

Walters had taught eight years on the English faculty and was teaching 13/15 time in 1934, which tells how closely the department calculated teaching assignments of the Sub-faculty. While not chiefly concerned about her rank, Walters was concerned about her teaching load and salary:

As far as classes go, I have been given more than any other woman in my department although sometimes my salary has been much less than that of men teaching the same subject, and possibly less than that of some women not given advanced courses. Have never checked on this--no use getting uselessly wrought up!⁵³

Walters recognized her strengths and knew her preferences but evidently in the social climate of the thirties could take no action to change her situation:

I would like more variety in classes than I have had during the past two years; one grows fed up passing out the same brand of inspiration quarter after quarter. Besides, the one talent I lay claim to is the ability to teach Freshmen and Sophomores almost any kind of literature and make them like it.⁵⁴

Walter's personal stoicism in adjusting to a system of little opportunity is typical of the response of many professional women in this period.

In summary, the Liberal Arts fields utilized women sub-faculty as assistants to senior male faculty and as advisors and teachers of undergraduates. This study does not speak to the professional quality of the women faculty. However, it is clear that this lowest faculty rank held a disproportionate number of women whose positions were insecure, subject to changing administrations and institutional policies. For these women, getting the necessary credentials for university teaching did not improve their opportunities in the system. There was an invisible lid or upper limit restricting their opportunities.

Because science and the scientific method have served as the foundation for the modern university's research orientation, the question of the role of women scientists comes to the fore. Did women scientists fare better in the modern university? The answer may lie in the very paucity of women scientists. There has been a total of only sixty-nine women faculty in science during the entire period of study. Most of these (all but seventeen) entered in the

1940s and later. If one adds women in medicine to this total, the number of women scientists triples (214), but this did not occur until the 1950s and 1960s. Ahead of the sciences in accommodating women faculty were the Social Sciences (233) where the fields of Home Economics and Women's Physical Education accounted for one hundred sixty-nine of the total, Nursing (359) and Humanities (370) (Table 3-1). The only other field which had a significant number of women was the Librarianship School (145).

Only fragmentary evidence can be provided, but it seems to provide much the same picture. Ethel Radford, appointed an Associate in Chemistry the first year the rank was instituted, served twenty-seven years in that position.⁵⁵ She received an M.S. degree at McGill University and taught in Montreal and Massachusetts before coming to Seattle. In contrast to teaching assignments, generally in the beginning level courses, scientific fields also offered research positions. In the 1930s Dr. Lois Clark, a botanist, began collaboration with Dr. T. C. Frye in a study of North American Liverworts. Dr. Clark donated her time and bore the expense of travel between her home in Minnesota and Seattle, where the research was conducted. Six years into the project, Dr. Clark finally received an appointment as Research Associate in Botany, without salary. By 1946, Dr. Frye was seventy-six years old and nearing the end of his career. The department hoped that

Dr. Clark would continue the work for many years and to that end, they unanimously recommended that she be put on a twelve month salary of \$50 a month, the title to remain Research Associate. The university's rationale for the salary:

She (Dr. Clark) is a person of very modest means, and we feel it is neither fair to expect, nor logical to assume that she would continue her work alone with no financial encouragement from the university.⁵⁶

There evidently was no concern on the part of the department for the first sixteen years of the collaboration.

Dr. Florence Harrison's experience is another example of a research relationship to the university but one with a different title. She held at first a "courtesy appointment" in zoology. She and Dr. Arthur Martin had carried out several joint research projects and prepared papers for publication as a result of their research. In 1962 Dr. Harrison received an appointment as Research Assistant Professor without salary, a higher rank than Associate but not one on the promotion ladder.⁵⁷ In the recommendation for this appointment, the department chairman commented on the dual benefit of the appointment, "it will be of benefit to Dr. Harrison and to the university that she have an appointment."⁵⁸ No mention was made of Harrison's special talent or abilities, other than brief mention that her research and publications warranted this appointment. The rationale given was that the university would receive

credit for the work done by Harrison, which must have been valued and perhaps added prestige to the institution's publications. The person carrying out the research, however, was not equally valued--at least not enough to receive a permanent appointment.

It appears that women scientists faced a similar limited environment in the university. Either they taught an elementary course or their position lay at the periphery of the university's major concern as an instructional and research institution. Even when recognized and valued for their special research talents, they were not considered as an integral part of the regular faculty. Gender appears to determine the role women scientists with a recognized specialty could play as much as it did for women in the liberal arts.

Although the rank of Assistant Professor in the 1930s normally carried tenure after an initial two-year probationary period, that was not necessarily true for faculty members who were part-time. Part-time status is particularly relevant for women because fifty percent of all women faculty members at the University of Washington have held acting or part-time appointments at some point in their careers. Florence Bean James' case is an illustration of the tenuousness of the part-time position. Her first appointment at the university was in 1931 as Assistant Professor of English, part-time. Known for her

talent as director of theater performance both at Cornish School and at the Seattle Repertory Theater, which she and her husband began in Seattle, Florence James' appointment enhanced the quality of the drama faculty of the university.

Uncertainty, low pay, and lack of promotion were not limited to the Sub-faculty, of course, as the case of Florence James indicates. After serving eight years on the faculty, one of which was a sabbatical year with the Federal Theater Project, a special project funded by the federal government to create jobs during the depression, Florence James received notice from D. D. Griffith, Executive Officer, that 1937-38 was to be her last year. Reorganization of the Drama Department, then part of the English department, was the reason given by Professor Griffith for her "withdrawal." Because the department tendered a one-year "timely" notice, Florence James had sufficient time to question the university's rationale for its decision and to state her position. Griffith noted the general belief that Florence James' other commitments prevented her from consideration for a full-time position. Accordingly, he presumed, "Your engagements and interests outside the university make it impossible to adjust your time to our needs."⁵⁹ No amount of reassurance from Florence James that she could and, in fact, wanted to work full time affected the unilateral judgment of the

university. As in the cases of Terzieff and Miller, the university administration insisted that their decision in no way reflected on James' abilities and that they were grateful for her services.

Florence James naturally objected to the university's presumption regarding her career. From an autobiography written in 1969 she recalled the heightened "austerity in the James family, for I was fired in 1938, after eight years, from my teaching job on campus."⁶⁰ From her correspondence with Professor Griffith, Dean Lauer, and President Sieg during her last year at the university, we learn that she clearly and repeatedly requested continuation in a full-time appointment.⁶¹ After a six-months exchange of letters, Griffith clarified James' status in the university,

Your status at the university has always been that of a person having a principal occupation outside the university but engaged in part-time work...It has always been recognized that your principal occupation is community drama...Your application for permanent employment is therefore in the nature of a new application, as nothing other than the regularly recognized part-time service has ever been considered for you.⁶²

The dichotomy between full-time and part-time faculty was clear in Griffith's mind, just as the dichotomy between permanent and impermanent faculty was clear in Padelford's. Drawing such boundaries frequently assists the definition

of one's own position, particularly important when status and prestige are involved.

Florence James had a strong sense of due process in the administration of university policy, yet she was unable to extract any of those rights in her own behalf. A member of the Teachers' Union, James had that organization's complete support. However, backing by the Teachers' Union proved to be of little actual advantage in view of its marginal standing within the university structure.

University students were quick to respond in support of Florence James. On the day her dismissal was announced, student supporters signed petitions requesting her retention. When two other drama instructors, Wilbur Sparrow and Sophie Rosenstein, resigned because they did not receive expected increases in salary and rank, drama students organized an ad hoc committee to deal with all three faculty losses. The students formed an Executive Committee which requested a hearing before university administrators. The Committee reported that they were "well treated but received no recognition and no response."⁶³ This same committee was refused a hearing by the Board of Regents at its May 7 meeting.⁶⁴

The Instructors' Association also took up the cause of Florence James and the disturbance in the dramatic arts faculty. Prior to any public announcement of her dismissal, the Executive Board of the Instructors'

Association had discussed the issue with President Sieg. But after the two Drama Department resignations and the student reaction, the board intervened a second time:

It would seem on the face of the evidence that the personnel problems of the Dramatic Art faculty are inter-related in such a way as to make a careful investigation of the entire situation advisable. Both the crisis in the instructional staff and the reactions of the drama students suggest that something more than routine procedure is indicated.⁶⁵

Referring to Florence James specifically, the Executive Board requested clarification of the tenure status of part-time instructors. Noting the length of James' service (eight years), her rank as Assistant Professor, and the fact that the previous year she had been granted a regular leave of absence, the Executive Board believed all were indicators, or coordinates, of permanent tenure. Administrative opinion, however, differed on the issue. President Sieg and Dean Lauer did not believe that James, as a part-time instructor, had tenure rights. Professor Griffith, on the other hand, said there was no clear policy. In a letter dated January 22, 1938 he acknowledged that the question of whether the tenure of a part-time person is the same as that of a full-time person had, "as far as I know, never been decided."⁶⁶ Because there were no precedents to guide their decision, the Executive Board recommended that a policy be developed.

A second point needing clarification was the dismissal procedure used in James' case. President Sieg claimed that proper procedure had been followed: "I have looked over the entire file of correspondence in connection with the matter raised in your letter, and I have also examined thoroughly the whole procedure and, as a result of that, it seems to me that every step that has been taken has been taken with sufficient attention to the origin of the act and adequate notice."⁶⁷ The Board of the Instructors' Association, however, felt differently. They recalled Sieg's agreement with the Instructors' Association in December, 1934. That agreement included the following statement: "It is desirable that termination of a permanent or long-term appointment for cause should regularly require action by both a faculty committee and the governing board of the college...the accused teacher should always have the opportunity to face his accusers and to be heard in his own defense by all bodies that pass judgment on his case."⁶⁸ Acknowledging that James' dismissal was not "for cause," the Board questioned how unilateral administrative action, which in Florence James' case was the only action taken, could be considered the equivalent of the above described procedure on dismissals. Furthermore, the Board expressed concern that "reorganization" within a department was not sufficient grounds for dismissal of a faculty member. Asking for Sieg's

observations on the last two points, the Board reaffirmed its belief that the letter of the 1934 procedure on dismissals must be observed in order to avoid any imputations of arbitrariness or injustice. Unfortunately, there is no extant letter of reply to the Instructors' Association query.

In Florence James' case, administrative decisions took precedence over the shared faculty-administrative responsibility in reviewing dismissals. Yet there was another aspect to the dismissal--the question of democratic participation in the departmental decision for dismissal. James was apparently dismissed arbitrarily by her departmental chairman, without consultation with a departmental committee and without the concurrence of a departmental vote. Obviously, the university faculty had not yet succeeded in winning the principle of faculty authority in all decisions affecting their peers. Despite these irregularities in university policy, and despite petitions from the Drama Students Organization, the Public Affairs Group of the Seattle Y.W.C.A. Business Girls' Club, the Oral Expression Association, and the Committee for the Defense of Women's Rights, the University Board of Regents unanimously authorized the following statement:

...after considering the petitions presented by students and others regarding the affairs of the Drama Division, the Board sustains the action of President Sieg in terminating the employment of Mrs. F. James, in accordance with notice given to her a year ago.⁶⁹

Florence James' dismissal is recorded in her personnel record as a "withdrawal."⁷⁰

By 1936 public protest had little or no effect on university decision-making, unlike that in 1932 which restored the office of Dean of Women and that in the 1920s which helped obtain a women's gymnasium on campus. In 1926 the organized pressure sought constructive change, as opposed to the organized pressure in defense of Florence James. James was also cast in a controversial role by her choice of artistic theatrical productions of a political nature, particularly Clifford Odet's "Waiting for Lefty."⁷¹

Whether part-time or full-time, in science or the liberal arts, whether specialists or teachers of elementary courses, women sub-faculty members faced institutional ambivalence. They were generally versatile, flexible, available, and needed. They served an important role in the modern university by enabling professors with status time to carry out research and to teach the advanced courses. The women faculty members served and were dismissed at the convenience of the university administra-

tion. Arbitrary administrative decisions could not be checked by either faculty organization nor seriously questioned by the individual faculty member affected. "Reorganization" was frequently used as the rationale for dismissal, thereby making dismissal as painless and impersonal as possible. Certainly reorganization could take priority over "tenure," which at best was an imprecise, though familiar, term in university procedures during the first two decades of the sub-faculty's existence. In 1941 the university faculty adopted a Tenure Code which finally included the Associates: "all persons holding rank of Associate at the adoption of this report except for those holding appointments for a limited period shall have permanency of tenure within the provisions of the law."⁷² The status of part-time faculty, however, remained unresolved until the College of Liberal Arts granted tenure to zoologist Dr. Mary Griffiths in 1974.⁷³

In the 1960s, economists developed a new theory which sheds light on this chapter. Called the dual, or segmented labor market theory, it helped explain the phenomenon of urban poverty, racial discrimination, and the persistence of income inequality in America. According to the theory, there are two spheres to the labor market. In the primary sphere, there are the desirable jobs which offer high wages, good working conditions, job security, advancement, equity and due process in administering the rules. For

those who don't make it into the primary sector where skills and credentials are of key importance, there is the secondary labor market. This secondary labor market is characterized by low wages and benefits, poor working conditions, job insecurity, few chances for advancement and arbitrary supervision. Women, according to the dualists, are most likely assigned to the secondary sector and are held there by an almost impenetrable barrier of discrimination.⁷⁴ Such discrimination not only excludes women from job promotion ladders but crowds their growing numbers into the more competitive secondary sector, where wages are lower. The University of Washington's sub-faculty ranks, conceived in a time of economic stringency, can be seen as a variation of the secondary labor market. The establishment and definition of the Associate rank in 1919 created a two-class system among the university faculty. Although the Associate title was not specifically intended for one sex, it engaged the services of women faculty in far greater proportion than men (see Table 4-2).

Few women rose above the sub-faculty category. When the new rank was adopted in 1918, the Board of Regents envisioned that it was temporary and without potential for advancement for those appointed to it. However, the rank has survived into contemporary times, and its definition has varied in practice. Exceptions were made for promising

Table 4-2Sub-Faculty Associates and Instructors, 1920-1970

Percent Women Sub-Faculty of Total Women Faculty Compared
to Percent Men Sub-Faculty of Total Men Faculty

<u>Year</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>		<u>Number</u>	
	<u>%WSF</u>	<u>%MSF</u>	<u>TMSF</u>	<u>TMF</u>
1920	60	12	28	235
1925	81	43	121	282
1930	63	28	99	350
1935	63	20	67	339
1940	61	20	89	436
1945	55	18	74	412
1950	86	46	656	1409
1955	50	19	149	762
1960	52	34	578	1655
1965	31	20	290	1386
1970	43	12	267	2077

young men, according to Dean Padelford, but that standard of upward mobility did not always apply, as shown in the cases of Terzieff, even though it was asserted by the Instructors' Association that she had been promised such a promotion in writing, and of Iva Buchanan. Nor, according to Margaret Walters, did the women sub-faculty members in the English department believe they would be promoted if they obtained their Ph.D. and/or served their "apprenticeship". Of the one hundred twelve women sub-faculty who held Ph.D.'s (twelve percent out of a total of nine hundred fifty-five), many never received serious consideration for "ladder" positions.

Women Associates (including those who obtained the Ph.D.) who received promotion to higher ranks, were generally seen either as "helpers" to senior faculty, as in the experience of Buchanan, Hensley, Harrison and Clark; were perceived as able teachers of the elementary level courses, exemplified by Kuhn, Garfield, Beal, Hensley, and Buchanan; or assisted by advising students, as did Garfield. Walters was the exception insofar as teaching advanced courses, which implies some administrative regard for her abilities. Twenty-six of the women faculty elected to Emeritus status started their careers at the Associate level. Four retired as Lecturer Emeritus; ten as Assistant Professor Emeritus; five as Associate Professor Emeritus; and eight as Professor Emeritus. While these few women

faculty, slightly more than two percent, managed to advance beyond the Associate rank, the subordinate position of women's place in the university hierarchy is the more striking feature. The existence of this rank no doubt helped underwrite the success of the modern university as an institution by freeing time for the senior faculty to build solid reputations based on research and advanced level teaching.

Chapter Notes - Chapter 4

¹Fifteenth Biennial Report of Board of Regents of the University of Washington to the Governor of Washington (Seattle), p. 39.

²Henry Suzzallo to the Faculty, May 13, 1919, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 133, Promotions, 1912-19, University Archives, UW Libraries.

³Ibid.

⁴D. D. Griffith to Nelson Wahlstrom, Comptroller, March 31, 1952, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 124, English Department, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁵Frederick M. Padelford to Iva L. Buchanan, Department of History, June 6, 1930, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 125, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁶B. J. Binder to R. B. Heilman, Executive Officer, Department of English, August 30, 1949, University of Washington, Faculty Personnel File: B. J. Binder, Academic Records.

⁷Instructors' Association Records, January 5, 1942, 78-97, Box 1-22, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁸Instructors' Association Records, 78-96, 1919-1926, University Archives, UW Libraries; University of Washington Daily, November 11, 1919.

⁹UW Board of Regents Records, 78-103, Box 32, University Archives, UW Libraries.

¹⁰Conversation between L. P. Sieg and J. B. Harrison, representing the faculty, November 31, 1935, Instructors' Association Records, 78-97, Box 1-25, University Archives, UW Libraries.

¹¹William R. Wilson to L. P. Sieg, December 18, 1935, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 133, Psychology, University Archives, UW Libraries.

¹²Personal interview, March 9, 1982.

¹³Elton F. Guthrie to L. P. Sieg, December 19, 1935; Executive Board to L. P. Sieg, October 23, 1936; E. F. Guthrie to L. P. Sieg, November 17, 1936; and E. F. Guthrie to L. P. Sieg, January 4, 1937, UW President's Records, 70-28, Box 6-6, University Archives, UW Libraries; see also UW Board of Regents Records, 78-103, Box 6-3, University Archives, UW Libraries.

¹⁴L. P. Sieg Memorandum, no date, UW President's Records, 70-28, Box 6-6, University Archives, UW Libraries.

¹⁵Teachers' Union, UW Board of Regents Records, 78-103, Box 6-3, University Archives, UW Libraries.

¹⁶UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 133, University Archives, UW Libraries.

¹⁷Teachers' Union, UW Board of Regents Records, 78-103, Box 6-3, University Archives, UW Libraries. The report of the Teachers Union included Assistants, Readers, and Teaching Fellows in the sub-faculty, which accounts for the higher proportion of sub-faculty to faculty than this study shows.

¹⁸E. R. Guthrie to L. P. Sieg, February 16, 1937, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 133, Psychology, University Archives, UW Libraries.

¹⁹L. P. Sieg to E. R. Guthrie, February 17, 1937, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 133, Psychology, University Archives, UW Libraries.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹E. R. Guthrie to L. P. Sieg, February 16, 1937, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 133, Psychology, University Archives, UW Libraries.

²²Ibid.

²³Teachers' Union Records, estimated date, 1937, Box 11-52, University Archives, UW Libraries; Garland Ethel Papers, University Archives, UW Libraries.

²⁴F. M. Padelford to S. Brown, July 6, 1927, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 131, University Archives, UW Libraries.

²⁵F. M. Padelford to E. Thompson, May 21, 1931, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 135, University Archives, UW Libraries.

26 R. B. Heilman to Charles Odegaard, May 18, 1950, University of Washington, Faculty Personnel File: Bertha Kuhn, Academic Records.

27 Personal Interviews, January 21, 1982 and February 24, 1982; University of Washington, Faculty Personnel File: Viola Garfield, Academic Records.

28 Henry Suzzallo to Iva Buchanan, Department of History, May 18, 1923, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 125, University Archives, UW Libraries.

29 F. M. Padelford to Iva Buchanan, Department of History, June 6, 1930, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 124, University Archives, UW Libraries; University of Washington, Faculty Personnel File: Iva Buchanan, Academic Records.

30 Iva Buchanan to F. M. Padelford, June 19, 1930, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 125, University Archives, UW Libraries.

31 F. M. Padelford to Iva Buchanan, June 5, 1930, University of Washington, Faculty Personnel File: Iva Buchanan, Academic Records.

32 E. R. Wilcox to L. P. Sieg, March 17, 1939, Instructors' Association Records, 78-97, Box 2, University Archives, UW Libraries.

33 L. P. Sieg to E. R. Wilcox, March 23, 1939, Instructors' Association Records, 78-96, 1928-46, University Archives, UW Libraries.

34 Executive Board of Instructors' Association to Dean Edward Lauer, April 10, 1939, Instructors' Association Records, 78-97, Box 2, University Archives, UW Libraries.

35 F. M. Padelford to S. H. Brown, July 6, 1927, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 131, University Archives, UW Libraries.

36 J. H. Groth to L. P. Sieg, June 7, 1938, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 123, University Archives, UW Libraries.

37 E. O. Eckelman to Henry Suzzallo, April 4, 1925, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 121, University Archives, UW Libraries.

³⁸D. D. Griffith to Nelson A. Wahlstrom, Comptroller, March 31, 1952, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 124, English Department 1926-27, University Archives, UW Libraries.

³⁹UW Comptroller's Records, Box 10, 72-30, Department of English, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁴⁰Second Report: Un-American Activities in Washington State, 1948 (Olympia).

⁴¹University of Washington, Faculty Personnel File: Maud Beal, Academic Records.

⁴²"Report on Tenure," Instructors' Association, 1934, 78-96, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁴³Faculty of the School of Art to Dean L. S. Woodburne, January 28, 1952, loc. cit.

⁴⁴UW Senate Records, 78-7, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁴⁵Mercedes Hensley to Henry Schmitz, October 25, 1954, loc. cit.

⁴⁶Dean L. S. Woodburne to Mercedes Hensley, December 20, 1954, University of Washington, Faculty Personnel File: Mercedes Hensley, Academic Records.

⁴⁷Mercedes Hensley to L. S. Woodburne, January 19, 1955, loc. cit.

⁴⁸Mercedes Hensley to L. S. Woodburne, June 5, 1962, University of Washington, Faculty Personnel File: Mercedes Hensley, Academic Records.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Instructors' Association Survey, 1934, Engineering Experiment Station, Instructors' Association Subgroup, 71-3, Box 21, Folder J-Z, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid. Erna Gunther, Assistant Professor and Acting Chairman of the Anthropology Department, also reported heavy work assignments: "I would like to call attention to the fact that I have for the past four years done the work formerly assigned to two men, both receiving much more than I have drawn, and one of them a full professor." As Acting Chairman Gunther was in a position to know the facts. Gunther, who died in 1982, deserves further study. She is an exception to the general finding that women outside the channeled fields were marginal in status.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵University of Washington, Faculty Personnel File: Ethel Radford, Academic Records.

⁵⁶C. L. Hitchcock to Dean E. H. Lauer, December 17, 1946, University of Washington, Faculty Personnel File: Lois Clark.

⁵⁷This title became more common in the 1960s as the federal government awarded grants for research projects. A person holding such an appointment was said to be on "soft" money, as opposed to one paid by the state on "hard" money.

⁵⁸University of Washington, Faculty Personnel File: Florence Harrison, Academic Records.

⁵⁹D. D. Griffith to Florence James, June 29, 1937, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 119, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁶⁰Florence James, "Fists Upon A Star," unpublished manuscript, Box IIA, University Manuscripts, UW Libraries.

⁶¹Florence James to D. D. Griffith, May 22, 1937 and December 22, 1937, Instructors' Association 78-97, Box 2, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁶²D. D. Griffith to Florence James, January 8, 1938, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 119, University Archives, UW Libraries..

⁶³Garland Ethel Papers, Box 11-51, April 23, 1938, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁶⁴UW Board of Regents Records, 78-103, Box 22-7, April 7, 1938; The Washington Teacher 6 (May 1938), Garland Ethel Papers, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁶⁵Executive Board, Instructors' Association, to L. P. Sieg, April 14, 1939, Instructors' Association, 78-96, 1928-1946, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁶⁶Memorandum from Executive Board, Teachers' Union, to Faculty, University of Washington Clipping File: Florence Bean James, January 22, 1938, Pacific Northwest Collection, UW Libraries; Garland Ethel Papers, Box 12-12, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁶⁷L. P. Sieg to Florence James, March 21, 1938, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 119, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁶⁸Francis G. Wilson to L. P. Sieg, April 14, 1938, Instructors' Association, 78-96, 1928-1946, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁶⁹UW Board of Regents Records, May 7, 1938, 78-103, Box 22-7, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁷⁰University of Washington, Faculty Personnel File: Florence Bean James, Academic Records.

⁷¹Personal Interview, Margaret Baker, September, 1981.

⁷²Tenure Code adopted by University Faculty, UW Regents Records, 78-103, Box 33-10, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁷³Seattle Post-Intelligencer, July 28, 1974.

⁷⁴Francine Blau, Equal Pay in the Office (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Co., 1977); Richard Edwards, David Gordon, Michael Reich, eds., Labor Market Segmentation (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Co., 1975).

Chapter 5

Anti-Nepotism Policy

Nepotism is defined by Webster as the showing of favoritism or the bestowing of patronage by reason of relationship rather than merit. Through its early history the University of Washington faculty included a number of faculty members, including both Caroline Ober and Theresa McMahon, whose appointments would have been questioned had a vigorous anti-nepotism policy been in effect. Anti-nepotism rules came into being at the University of Washington during the depths of the Depression. The stimulus for action came then, it appears, not from any flagrant favoritism in hiring on behalf of relatives but rather as a consequence of the social views of the university administrators, Board of Regents, state government, and the general public.

Specifically, the anti-nepotism policy adopted in 1936, ostensibly to help solve the financial emergency caused by economic depression, was designed to eliminate "dual-family" or "duplicate family employment." No two members of the same family were to hold major positions within the university from that time on:

In future husband and wife shall not both be employed by the University if either one occupies a regular full-time position on the academic teaching staff above the rank of assistant.¹

Like sub-faculty status, it did not focus specifically on women. This policy had the effect of curbing women's

opportunities for faculty positions. It deleteriously affected the careers of women faculty then employed and limited future opportunities for the next generation of potential women faculty.

Consonant with the belief that the receipt of two paychecks per family from the public payroll was to be forbidden, President Sieg sent a memorandum in 1936 directing department chairmen to give full information concerning the resolution to the members of the staffs and to present such information in the future to any new staff members. Not wishing that news of this action go beyond the university staff, Sieg added, "I am not desirous of having widespread publicity given to these regulations".² This was not an unusual request for Sieg, for a large part of his administrative style was to avoid unplanned publicity at all costs.

Background to the 1936 Resolution

Although the University of Washington's 1936 Resolution did not specifically mention working wives, that was its intent. Antagonism toward women workers has had a considerable history in American culture. Historian William Leach reported that pressure against married women school teachers began in the 1880s.³ In 1902, the New York Board of Education succumbed to these same social attitudes and passed a by-law disqualifying married women from teaching.⁴

Ottillie Boetzkes, a retired University of Washington faculty member, recalled that in Seattle as elsewhere at the turn of the century, "The public school teacher, you know, if they married, they just had to quit."⁵ In the first decade, societal pressure intensified and many educators asserted that only men could educate potential "manly men", and their concern was as much for teenage males as for college-age males.⁶ Government publications encouraged returning World War I veterans to enter the field of high school teaching.⁷ By the late 1920s, over seventy per cent of the nation's school districts refused to hire married women and dismissed those who did marry.⁸ Teaching, which had become one of educated women's acceptable occupations in the nineteenth century, began to shut its doors to married women as high school subjects in particular were perceived as sex specific. While high school teaching had originally been viewed by women as another occupational opportunity for them, cultural pressures served to constrain their opportunities.

The decade of the twenties attracted married women into the work force in greater numbers, resulting in an increase of forty per cent.⁹ The technological changes of that decade called for more workers in the newly emerging service sector and resulted in more employed middle-class women. Other factors which accounted for the increase in number of women workers were the declining birth rate, the

decline in child labor, the changing economic function of the home, and the potentially higher standard of living of two-income families.

With the advent of the Depression and job scarcity, the employed married women worker, assumed to be working for pin money, became the scapegoat for society's problems. Since the married woman worker presumably had a husband to support her, she became the natural victim. Over half the states introduced legislation against work by married women.¹⁰ President Herbert Hoover's Organization on Unemployment Relief first proposed to dismiss wives from federal government jobs. Those early attempts to legislate such policy failed. However, in 1932, the Federal Economy Act contained Section 213 which prevented any two persons in any family to be employed in government service. Before its repeal in 1937, some fifteen hundred employees had been discharged, three fourths of whom were women.¹¹ In addition to this legislative harassment, newspaper vilification and public pressure intensified on the issue of married women working in business and the professions. A 1936 Gallup Poll reflected the strong public sentiment in opposition to married women working: over eighty per cent of the men and women expressed this belief.¹²

In spite of the knowledge that the federal government had abandoned Section 213 as a menace to the social and moral welfare of the nation, Washington state's Governor

Clarence D. Martin officially decreed that women whose husbands are employed or employable must be dismissed from state employment without regard to length of service, efficiency, or experience.¹³ This issue must have had high priority for Martin, since he had sought out from Sieg information as to the existence of any nepotism policy in 1934.

An unpublished manuscript of Theresa McMahon's, "Job Control" argued that it was pressure from the American Legion for more jobs for veterans that led to this heightened scrutiny of the number of married women working.¹⁴ Anna Keyes similarly reported to readers to The People's World that pressure from the American Legion influenced the Governor "to cooperate in the nation-wide purge of duplication of jobs within families to create more jobs for veterans."¹⁵ The American Legion ostensibly opposed the unjust "double income" situations resulting from a two-paycheck family, and indeed, as late as 1944 President Sieg expressed such a view (see p. 261). But as Mrs. Nell Laws, President of Seattle Business and Professional Women's Clubs claimed, "there are important principles involved. There is a real danger to the livelihood of every woman who works. Women have to eat, too, you know."¹⁶ Laws reported that the state American Legion Unemployment Committee had embarked on a state-wide movement to have state, county and city governments, as well as

private business firms, spread employment by giving families with more than one income the choice of keeping one but not both members employed.

The same social attitudes found expression at the University of Washington. As early as 1928, University of Washington Professor Cecyl Lovejoy, in Dramatic Arts, wrote to President Spencer regarding his wife's appointment at the university. Of particular concern to him was the recent ruling of the Regents that "no more wives of faculty men should be added to the faculty or office forces of the university."¹⁷ Change did not occur immediately, of course. In 1931 Vice-President David Thompson sent a letter to all department heads requesting their recommendation regarding the continuation on the payroll of all "women whose relatives or husbands are gainfully employed."¹⁸ That was the same year that county officials adopted a resolution to fill all positions under their control with married men who were supporting families. Married women who supported invalid husbands or fatherless children remained an exception to this new policy which adversely affected all the married nurses working at Harborview Hospital.¹⁹ The bias against married women in the working world characterized the social climate of the early thirties.

The University of Washington, thus, was no exception in its concern about married women on the university payroll. As the depression deepened, the university

comptroller compiled a list of all married women employees whose husbands were gainfully employed, not just those husbands at the university.²⁰ When drawing up the 1933-34 Budget, the university administration recommended, "those married women on the payroll whose husbands are employed and are able to support them" were to be released from their positions.²¹

Mary Gross Hutchinson, whose department contained three married women, expressed her concern to Acting President Hugo W. Winkenwerder and the Board of Regents regarding the question of the reappointment of married women in the university. Recognizing each one's specialized talents, she noted how difficult it would be to replace any one of them and that, even if it were possible to do so, it would be at a much higher salary and thus of higher cost to the university. She considered them a distinct asset:

..they give more, rather than less, time to their work than many unmarried teachers. Since they lead normal lives, they have a resulting influence on students which I have observed to be exceedingly good and wholesome. I find that this position is also held by some of our most prominent educators.²²

Hutchinson's use of stereotypes indicates the extent to which she absorbed cultural values. Not yet married, Mary Gross nevertheless placed a high value on married life, equating it with normality, goodness and wholesomeness. To her benefit it must be noted that she also identified the

individual talents that each person brought to the department.

Despite the positive qualities Hutchinson found in her married women faculty members, the university administration continued its efforts to identify the married women employees, as if to ferret out each one. Lists of "Married Women and Relatives," "Notes, Married Women and Relatives, February 2, 1934," and "Married Couples - 1934" were compiled the following year by the Comptroller's Office.²³ Within a year of Sieg's appointment as President in 1934, Governor Clarence D. Martin requested that the Regents look into the question of reported nepotism on the university faculty and staff.²⁴ With all the information from the compiled lists, in addition to his own bent, Sieg responded to the governor that the matter was already under consideration:

This was one of the first questions we raised after we came to the University, and we had already taken steps looking toward correcting this practice at the earliest practicable date.²⁵

The Regents also went on record as disapproving the practice of nepotism and requested Sieg to institute a "suitable means of remedy."

In addition to the problem of married women on the staff, Sieg inherited the unresolved issue of faculty tenure. Already demoralized by the high salary reductions at the beginning of the 1933-34 biennium, the faculty was

anxious to obtain a policy governing academic tenure and dismissals. In December 1934, the Instructors' Association presented their "Report on Academic Appointment, Tenure, and Promotions" to President Sieg, who willingly accepted their proposal: "I fully and wholeheartedly concur in the report and I assure you that as far as I am concerned it is in effect immediately."²⁶

Among the several points Sieg agreed to was that of faculty participation in all decisions regarding faculty dismissal. In addition to requesting a voice in all dismissals, the Instructors' Association insisted on a sufficient period of time between notification of dismissal and the actual fact of dismissal:

It is desirable that termination of a permanent or long-term appointment for cause should regularly require action by both faculty committee and the governing board of the college...Dismissals for other reasons than immorality and treason should not ordinarily take effect in less than a year from the time the decision is reached.²⁷

The contradiction between this 1934 policy on tenure and dismissals and the 1936 policy on dual family employment created the month-long controversy over Lea Puymbroeck Miller in 1938.

Sieg's plan to remedy the problem of dual family employment ran into a snag even before it was approved by the Board of Regents. The fact that the original 1936 resolution of the Board of Regents did not affect the

already-married couples on the faculty was largely due to the efforts of Howard Martin, Professor of Geography and husband of Frances Earle, an Assistant Professor in the same department. Advised that his wife would be dropped from the faculty the following year as part of a "general clean up" by the administration, Martin realized that such a decision violated the principle of tenure established in 1934.²⁸ After considerable discussion between Martin and the Instructors' Association Executive Board, it was the unanimous agreement of the Board that their chairman, Professor Joseph B. Harrison, should talk to President Sieg about the 1934 agreement and the contradiction of the 1936 resolution to it.

Time was of the essence, since the Regents' meeting was scheduled two days hence, and Sieg needed reminding that the proposed resolution was not in accord with the principle of tenure which he (Sieg) had approved the previous year.²⁹ In addition, Martin took advantage of the opportunity to address the Regents himself and to present the problem from the "faculty man's viewpoint, and more specifically the case of himself and his wife, Dr. Frances Earle."³⁰ No doubt influenced by what Professor Martin had to say, the Regents passed the resolution against dual family employment anyway but determined "not to embarrass" any of the then-married faculty couples.³¹ By making the resolution "not retroactive" the Regents secured the

positions of four married couples then on the faculty. This decision strengthened the rapport between the faculty and administration for the time being. Within a year, however, relations between the faculty and administration became strained once again.

"The Fine Arts Incident"³²

On January 4, 1938, Lea Puybroeck Miller, an Instructor in Art, was informed by her department chairman that her employment at the university had been terminated because of her marriage the previous September to Robert Miller, Professor of Zoology. Their marriage, it was believed by Sieg and the Regents, conflicted with the resolution passed by the Regents in 1936. Some faculty members, however, believed the resolution, pronounced as not retroactive, should not apply to the Millers, both of whom were on the faculty at the time the resolution was passed, although at that time they were not married.

There are several points surrounding the notification which reveal a lack of candor on the part of the administration. Miller's chairman, Professor Walter Isaacs, made it clear that he supported the continuation of her services but that he was merely following the Dean's suggestion to replace her in view of her recent marriage. He requested that the administration at least send some official memorandum or statement to Lea Miller, since she had spent the

previous year (1937-38) on leave. Her only official communication with the university had been receipt of her annual contract the previous May 18. Professor Isaacs concluded his letter by calling for a review of Lea Miller's case, particularly in light of the fact that the two departments affected, Art and Zoology, were in administratively separate schools of the university.³³

On December 3, Lea Miller wrote to Dean Edward H. Lauer. A competent and articulate advocate on her own behalf, she called attention to the fact that she was totally unaware of university policy regarding the employment of husbands and wives and attributed the fact most likely to her fifteen months' leave of absence studying abroad. She stressed that she had supported herself for the period of the leave, since the university had no sabbatical funds. She had thought that such study would increase the value of her services to the institution. Finally, she challenged the university's right to revoke her contract as Instructor in Art mid-way through the contract year. She resented the fact that part of her salary was withheld "without any formal notification that my appointment by the Regents has been revoked."³⁴

Such summary treatment of a faculty colleague aroused the concern of both the Instructors' Association, which represented a broad cross-section of the university faculty, and the Teachers' Union, the local group of the

American Federation of Teachers, which represented a smaller but more politically-oriented segment of the faculty. Lea Miller belonged to the Instructors' Association and had their support. The Executive Board of the Instructors' Association supported the university's decision not to employ any new faculty members from families already represented on the faculty, but it questioned the policy of making the ruling retroactive.³⁵ It petitioned the Board of Regents to waive the marriage rule in the case of Professor and Mrs. Miller, "both estimable and valued people."³⁷

Lea Miller realized the issue was larger than just her personal situation. University appointment policy, security of tenure and arbitrary administrative decision-making, without regard to faculty opinion, obviously affected the entire faculty. When the larger community, both local and national, responded to her case, Lea Miller attempted to curb the efforts of the Teachers' Union to promote her case and to influence them to cooperate with the Instructors' Association:

It would be unfortunate if different faculty organizations should - while seeking the same ends - work at cross purposes. It appears desirable that any communication to the faculty made in the present connection should come from the Board of the Instructors' Association, as representing the entire group.³⁷

It is not clear whether Miller's appeal was jeopardized by the leading role taken by the Teachers' Union in the

beginning, but it is clear that Miller identified with the Instructors' Association and preferred to channel communication with the faculty through that organization.

Lea Miller continued to speak in her own behalf. She appealed her case to President Sieg on December 20 and to Harold Shemanski, a member of the Board of Regents, on December 24. To a great extent, Miller's December 24 letter repeated her earlier letter to Dean Lauer. The only difference was that she questioned whether the publicity given to the 1936 resolution was indeed widespread: "inquiry among the faculty has disclosed that very few persons are conversant with the resolution referred to...nor with its terms."³⁸ She noted also that the University of Washington resolution was not in line with the state legislature's recent rejection of a proposal to restrict dual employment of husbands and wives in the state government. Lady Willie Forbus, a Seattle attorney, successfully lobbied against the "working wives bill," House Bill 34.³⁹ The bill, which would have made it unlawful to employ married women whose husbands received \$100 a month, failed by virtue of being tabled in the Committee on Compensation and Fees for State and County Officers.⁴⁰

Furthermore, Miller pointed out that the resolution conflicted with the guidelines of the American Association

of University Professors published in the December, 1937, issue of the Bulletin:

- 1) The terms of all appointments should be in writing.
- 2) Short-term appointments should be terminable by timely notice. Faculty consideration in such cases is recommended.
- 3) Except in cases of extreme aggravation, or where the facts are admitted, permanent or long-term appointments should not be ended without faculty consultation and action by the governing board. Except in extreme cases, dismissals should only be after a year's notice.⁴¹

In Miller's case, only the first guideline applied. She held an annual contract and had completed the autumn quarter. In November, her departmental chairman abruptly terminated her contract once he had finally secured her replacement.⁴² Such a dismissal, offered reluctantly and informally by her chairman, hardly qualified as a timely notice. The entire manner in which her termination was presented shows little regard for her as a person, or as a faculty member of seven years standing.

The Instructors' Association canvassed faculty opinion regarding Miller's dismissal. Taking votes on four specific issues, the faculty overwhelmingly requested reconsideration of Miller's dismissal (seventy-two per cent), recommended that marriage between established members of the faculty should not be cause for dismissal (sixty-nine per cent), asserted faculty deliberation and participation in any case for dismissal (eighty-nine per cent), and

reiterated the need for a year's notice in advance of any dismissal (ninety-three per cent).⁴³ The results of the poll were discussed at a closed meeting of the Instructors' Association on Jan. 14. The Seattle Post-Intelligencer reported more than two hundred faculty members attended, "a large percentage being women."⁴⁴

Similar results emerged from the poll of women faculty taken by Psi Chi, an honorary psychology society. Eighty-three per cent of the women faculty opposed the firing of Lea Miller and the university ruling against working faculty wives. While ninety-four per cent opposed the idea that a woman should have to foreswear marriage if she chooses to have a professional career, only sixty-four per cent approved forming a faculty women's group to consider such problems.⁴⁵

Two representatives of the Instructors' Association spoke with the Board of Regents in a "somewhat extended conference" on January 15. The President's Report of that date records several suggestions from the Association. First and foremost, the Instructors' Association pointed out the ambiguity of the 1936 resolution as to the time of its application--should employment end immediately following marriage, at the end of the current quarter, or at the end of the academic year. Second, the Association requested that the Regents reconsider their decision to dismiss Lea Miller from the faculty. They firmly believed marriage

between established members of the faculty should not be made cause for dismissal. Third, they reiterated that President Sieg had agreed in 1934 to submit any proposed faculty dismissal to a committee of the faculty for its investigation and recommendation and to give a year's notice before any termination of an established faculty member. Finally, the Instructors' Association recommended that any future policy changes should be recognized as departures from established practice and should be made only after consultation and advice from the faculty.

Having heard and duly recorded the faculty representatives' reasoned proposals, the Board of Regents proceeded to vote unanimously "to reaffirm the rule passed January 31, 1936, against dual family employment on the faculty" and also to reaffirm its decision of December 4, 1937, wherein the rule was applied to the case of Mrs. Lea Puymbroeck Miller.⁴⁶ President Sieg's letter to Miller confirming the regents' decision was cursory,

...May I inform you that the Board of Regents on 1/15/38 confirmed your withdrawal [sic] from the University faculty, effective 1/1/38.....The Board expressed its appreciation of your excellent past service.⁴⁷

Lea Miller must have chafed at the word "withdrawal", but she accepted the Regents' decision as final. At the same time, however, she told local reporters that the result of the regents' ruling clarified how fragile all university

appointments were--that they have no legal status and "exist only as gentlemen's agreements."⁴⁸

Public Response

The public responded vigorously to the dismissal. Not surprisingly, statements in support of the dismissal came from persons who argued either on behalf of the many men out of work or of strict opposition to double incomes under any circumstances. The Regents received supportive advice from one L. S. Winans, "Stand pat, my friends, and am sure you will as undoubtedly you men threshed this thing out before committing yourselves to your sensible policy." In a postscript, Mr. Winans revealed his bias, "Unselfishly, we must think of the other fellow and being our brothers' keeper."⁴⁹ It is doubtful that Mr. Winans was using the words "fellow" and "brother" in their generic sense.

The Native Sons of Washington, claiming it spoke for 7,000 members, supported the dismissal. Another group of men which responded to the resolution was the Executive Board of the Central Labor Council. Whereas organized labor generally favored the principle of a wider distribution of jobs, the Executive Board affirmed that the wives of employed union members should be discouraged from working. They concurred that exceptions to the policy of wives not working were appropriate only when the husband was unable to work.⁵⁰

In contrast to those who believed that men were the breadwinners and that married woman's first responsibility was to her marriage, and that work for a married woman is acceptable only when the husband is unable to work, those who opposed Miller's dismissal provided wide-ranging intellectual arguments. Opponents also constituted a far larger number of individuals and organizations. Most arguments focused on the larger issues rather than simply upon Lea Miller's case. Many viewed it as an issue of women's rights to a career and self-fulfillment, others as a corruption of the merit system, while others provided a critique of the economic system.

Arguments that centered on the issue of women's rights noted the discriminatory aspects of the policy which completely overlooked the faculty member's ability to teach and instead focused on sex or marital status. Some considered the resolution unethical and grossly unfair, especially in view of women's continual struggle to develop as individuals in public life. Others noted that it actually placed a penalty upon marriage for a professional woman and established a dangerous precedent against any special group whose "rights can be attacked by specious argument".⁵¹

Those with a working knowledge of federal law pointed out that the recent (1937) repeal of Section 213 of the 1932 Economy Act had established the principle of a married

woman's right to earn a living, implying that the University of Washington was completely out of line with federal standards.⁵²

At time of passage, Section 213, "the married persons clause," the brainchild of the House Subcommittee's chairman's vision of preserving the American home by keeping the wife in it, actually received little attention.⁵³ Much greater concern was expressed in the House over the proposed ten percent pay cut for all government workers earning over \$1000 a year. Opposition to the married persons clause first emerged in the Senate.⁵⁴ However, because the Economy Act had been joined to a general appropriations bill, time worked against a full debate on Section 213. It finally emerged as an issue worthy of a full hearing in the Senate. Senators opposed to the discriminatory clause (Section 213) realized they would incur more hostility if the appropriations bill were delayed beyond the end of the fiscal year. The Senate thus passed the measure, which was then signed by President Hoover, but only after he censured Section 213.

Repeal of Section 213 required strategic planning and patience. Protest from some of the fifteen hundred federal employees and also from organized women's groups finally filtered up through the political system, where representatives developed strategy to bypass the chairman of the House Subcommittee on Appropriations and thus secure repeal

of Section 213. This occurred in 1937, five years after its initial passage and censure by President Hoover.⁵⁵ Historian Lois Scharf noted the public approbation of the married women's clause:

If Section 213 was politically expedient for government officials, it was socially and economically abhorrent to the women who opposed it. From passage until repeal, before congressional committee hearings, in their publications, and in public pronouncement, the leaders of women's organizations maintained their opposition in the face of hesitant administration, recalcitrant Congress and hostile public.⁵⁶

Washington State opinion reflected the national norms. Otherwise, the regressive social attitudes of Sieg and the Board of Regents would have been challenged by a wider spectrum of the public. Generally, it was organized groups representing business and professional women and labor, who articulated both the immediate grievances of individual women and the broader context of the issue of married women in the work force. Seattle organizations which voiced their opposition to the University of Washington's resolution were the League of Women Voters, the Federated Women's Clubs (both the Seattle and the University branches), Theta Sigma Phi, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Seattle Local of the American Federation of Teachers, and the Seattle Industrial Labor Union Council of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.⁵⁷

Organizations within the state which opposed the resolution were the Tacoma Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Tacoma Local American Federation of Labor #461, Olympia Local #483, Bremerton Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Washington Association of Social Security Workers, and the State Federation of Teachers.

Outside Washington state, protest came from the North Dakota American Federation of Teachers, the Philadelphia American Federation of Teachers, the National Organization of Women Lawyers' Association, the National Women's Party, the National Organization of American War Mothers, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Club, the National Education Association, and the Club Women's Consultant in New York City.

Local elected individuals who spoke out against the resolution were Councilwoman Mrs. Frances Powell, State Representative Margaret Coughlin, and State Senator Mary Farquharson.⁵⁸

Mrs. Anna Thomsen Milburn, State Chairman of the National Women's Party and President of the Seattle Garden Club lashed out at the inequality between men and women so far as constitutional rights:

Back of man stands always the constitution
protecting him in his right to earn a living
and his right to the 'pursuit of life,
liberty and happiness.'

Insisting that women are persons, she asserted that they should have the same backing. Instead, however,

Back of woman still stands (except in her right to vote) the old common law of Blackstone which said that 'when a man and woman marry, they become one, and that one is man.'

Milburn's indignation at the legal discrimination and the "taboos which a man-made world have brought into being regarding the position of women" shone through the interviews.⁵⁹

University of Washington's Theresa McMahon contacted Sieg by letter. From "somewhere in Idaho" enroute to Washington, D.C., for a meeting of the National Advisory Board on Social Security, McMahon sought verification of the rumor that Lea Miller was asked to resign due to her recent marriage to a faculty member. Her final comment was prophetic:

I did not have time to verify this rumor although it doesn't seem likely that you would make such a mistake...I want you to realize the price you will have to pay in terms of national publicity if the rumor is correct.⁶⁰

When McMahon returned to Seattle, she gave an interview to the Post-Intelligencer: "Ex-Instructor Hurls Unfair Charge at the U." McMahon had had personal experience with Sieg's discrimination:

About two years ago President Sieg had Mr. McMahon in his office and told him how the Governor was bringing pressure to bear to remove one member of the family if two were on the payroll. He reassured Mr. McMahon that the ruling would not be retroactive but he made it clear that my resignation would be welcome.⁶¹

Protestors who believed in the efficacy of the merit system pointed out how such a discriminatory policy weakened the university system. Noting that training and ability were the supreme tests for faculty selection, one respondent charged, "When you descend from this professional level to consider in your accrediting wholly irrelevant factors such as marriage, you are laying yourselves open to the suspicion that your whole system is weak and shot through with irrelevancies."⁶²

Another critic sensed that the university as an institution was becoming a place which provided jobs for "deserving people" and questioned how it could maintain its professional standing on such a basis. Another group suggested that if faculty positions were indeed to be disposed of on the basis of economic need, then professors "whose incomes are augmented by investments and inheritance should also be dismissed."⁶³ Sex and marital status were obviously arbitrary distinctions in judging whether or not to retain a faculty member. Such distinctions certainly had no connection with merit.

Those who criticized the economic system pointed out that opponents to the right of married women to work were faulty in their approach to the economic problems of the day. By focusing on the removal of married women, university leaders apparently were acting to alleviate the tensions of the economic depression. Actually they were

favoring one group at the expense of another while overlooking other and more fundamental causes of the floundering economy.

In general, protesters perceived the issue as a blow to the 1920s ideal of marriage and careers for women and an attempt to thwart the steady advance of gainful employment of women. Dr. Myrtle E. Ely of the Business and Professional Women's Club of Tacoma predicted that the ruling "will destroy the great American privilege of choice of vocation and dwarf individual initiative." In short, she asserted that her group found the resolution "grossly discriminatory and unAmerican".⁶⁴

Several critics compared the university's decision to what they perceived as a world-wide anti-feminist trend. Clubwoman Consultant Laura Waples McMullen pointed out how hard women have worked for the right to education and the right to work in fields where their talents made them useful. She challenged the university's leadership to stand up as supporters of women's rights:

We look to the West for leadership in all matters of social import and rightly so. We have a right to believe from past experience that it is in the Mid-West and Far West that men will stand as supporters of the rights of women to fulfill their obligations to their families without molestation.⁶⁵

From Minnesota came another voice which noted the comparison between the university's resolution and that of Germany's 'back to home' movement: "This sort of procedure

is unpleasantly reminiscent of Nazi tactics and hardly seems fitting in a democratic nation."⁶⁶

The Teachers' Union led the organization of the Committee for the Defense of Women's Rights which helped put a stop to the state legislative campaign against married women working. Their publication, The Washington Teacher quoted Eleanor Roosevelt, who spoke out publicly against the campaign. Roosevelt criticized the "shallow thinking" of those who expect to solve the unemployment problem by victimizing working women who happen to be married.⁶⁷

When Professor Elton Guthrie, Secretary of the Executive Board of the University of Washington Teachers' Union sent a letter to The Nation relating the details of the dismissal of Lea Miller and the supportive response of the faculty to her plight, he urged readers of the magazine to join in sending letters of protest. Instead of registering protest, however, one alumnus, Gustav J. Martin, recommended that Mr. Guthrie should be taken out to the woodshed and reminded of his boyhood.⁶⁸ Guthrie evidently had two goals in writing this letter: to secure Lea Miller's reinstatement and to prevent similar dismissals in the future. The fact is, however, the incident was closed at the university well before The Nation published the letter.

Initially Lea Miller had hoped to keep her negotiations with the university out of the news, but she was unsuccessful in this endeavor. It is possible that all the publicity, both local and national, prevented her from speaking personally to the Dean and/or to President Sieg. Ordinarily support of the department chairman and of the major faculty organization, which Lea Miller had, would be sufficient to gain a fair hearing. However, in view of the zeal of the governor, much of the public, the Board of Regents and President Sieg to deal with the "problem" of nepotism, someone was bound to be the victim:

It is the desire of the regents that as soon as it can be done without injustice, present cases of dual [sic] employment be reduced as rapidly as possible.⁶⁹

Although the economic emergency provided the rationale for the resolution, the university budget was hardly affected by the policy. There were only four married couples on the faculty, the women constituting four percent of all faculty women and .008 percent of the total faculty. In addition, in each case the male spouse earned the higher salary and held the superior rank. "Naturally" the lower ranking and lower-paid spouse would give up the position, and this made the policy discriminatory against married women. Herbert Condon, Secretary to the Board of Regents, expressed this clearly in his explanation of the Miller controversy to the secretary of the National Education

Association: "He was her senior in service by a good many years, and it was the natural thing for her to retire."⁷⁰

Not surprisingly, the Millers left for a more congenial environment. The following June Professor Miller took a position as full-time Director of the California Academy of Science.⁷¹ Lea Miller continued her profession of design at the University of California in Berkeley. In 1951 she returned to teach again at the University of Washington for two weeks during the summer session.⁷²

Although the university administration considered the matter of dual employment closed with the regents' decision of January 15, 1938, they continued to receive letters of criticism from individuals and organizations protesting their decision. For example, at its annual meeting in the summer of 1938 the National Education Association, representing more than 30,000 American teachers, passed a resolution opposing the university's ruling.⁷³ Thus, if one tallies up either the number of letters received or the number of people represented by those letters, the dominant response was to protest the university's action:

Public Response to Antinepotism Ruling
University of Washington

*	Supportive		Not Supportive
Native Sons	7,000	A.F.T.	30,000
# Organizations	2	# Organizations	27
# Individuals	8	# Individuals	4

This fact, however, stands in contrast to the claims of the University and of the Seattle Times that in general, public response supported the university's position:

Meantime, Seattle citizens kept right on agreeing with the University officials who discharged Mrs. Miller, and declared righteously that wives should not work if their husbands are employed.⁷⁴

This controversy, plus that surrounding the dismissal of Florence James (Chapter 4), brought considerable public reaction in the 1930s.⁷⁵ However, the university managed the controversy so well that the public remained uninformed as to the facts and to the range of public opinion.

Renewal of the Issue of Dual Family Employment, 1944-45

In time, memories of the 1938 controversy faded, and several of the faculty couples with dual employment were promoted in rank and salary. Sieg continued in his role as President and continued to enforce the anti-nepotism rule. Marion Fish, Professor of Home Economics, gave up her position when she married Professor Cox in the Business School in 1945. Having arrived as a new faculty member at the University at the height of the Miller controversy, Fish knew well of the existence of the rule and the force with which it was applied. When she later contemplated marriage to a faculty colleague, she realized it would mean the end to her professional career at the university.⁷⁶ Marion

Mitchell, who held a temporary position as Acting Assistant Professor of History, left the University when she married Ivar Spector, Professor of Oriental Studies.⁷⁷ As the nation entered World War II, a time when women's efforts were sought in many previously all-male fields of work, Sieg continued to uphold the policy on duplicate family employment. He also imposed his narrow view of woman's proper place in the university community.

In view of the manpower shortage, it is permitted that temporarily and for the duration of the war only, wives of faculty members may be employed in purely clerical positions where other assistance cannot be obtained.⁷⁸

This ruling was more discriminatory than the original 1936 resolution, which was ostensibly against dual family employment. The 1944 ruling specifically targeted wives, limiting their opportunities to clerical work.

A surprising development of 1944 was Sieg's proposal to make the original 1936 resolution retroactive. This decision not only shocked the four married couples remaining on the faculty, but it even disturbed many faculty members who otherwise supported the policy regarding nepotism.⁷⁹

It is worthwhile to investigate Sieg's method of presenting this revised version of dual family employment, which ran counter to the 1936 resolution. President Sieg consulted the Senate Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom. The University Senate, established in 1938, had

Sieg's blessing from its inception. In fact, it functioned in coordination with him, in contrast to the Instructors' Association which dated back to 1919 and thus had established a tradition of independence from any particular administration. For a period after 1938, three organizations, the Senate, the Instructors' Association, and the Teachers' Union coexisted to provide the faculty a voice in university affairs. Sieg, however, worked best with the Senate and thus sought their advice as to the best procedure in dealing with the question of dual family employment. Sieg submitted the original resolution to the Committee but did not include the statement that the ruling was not retroactive. The Committee therefore interpreted the 1936 resolution "to cover clearly not only subsequently married couples but as well couples who were married before adoption of the resolution".⁸⁰ However, some tenure committee members recalled that the 1936 resolution was not retroactive, and they knew that there were married couples still on the faculty to whom such a rule had not been applied. Jesse Steiner, Chairman of Social Work and of the Tenure Committee, reflected this part of the committee's deliberation and then recommended: "In these circumstances, we do not think that without further action of the Board of Regents it would be proper to attempt to apply the resolution to those who were married before its adoption."⁸¹

However, in the conclusion to the Report of the Committee on Tenure, Steiner contradicted the above, insofar as it affected those couples still on the faculty who had been married prior to the 1936 Resolution:

..the resolution be readopted in a form which clearly and unmistakably applies to all married couples now on the faculty as well as those hereafter married, and that the resolution be made effective, as regards those married prior to January 31, 1936, at the end of the school year 1944-45, and as to everyone else, at once.⁸²

President Sieg quoted Steiner's letter verbatim to the next meeting of the Board of Regents and he recommended to the board that it "reaffirm its original resolution of January 31, 1936, particularly, in reference to a definite and clear-cut determination to permit no employment of husband and wife regardless of when they attained their present marital status."⁸³ The board adopted Sieg's recommendation unanimously and instructed Sieg to notify each couple involved that by July 1, 1945, one of each couple would have to withdraw from the faculty.

Controversy swirled anew. Faculty members, both for and against nepotism, reacted to Sieg's action. At least one couple approached the national office of the American Association of University Professors with details of their position. The Executive Board of the Instructors' Association challenged the right of the Committee on Tenure to recommend that a new rule be adopted or to recommend dismissals of any kind without a hearing. The Committee on

Tenure obviously had exceeded its authority. As the Instructors' Association charged, "a Senate committee has no power to recommend new rules regarding dismissals to anyone but the Senate."⁸⁴

Sieg's response to the Instructors' Association reveals his self-assurance and perhaps a contempt for general faculty participation in university affairs:

It may be true that the meeting of the Tenure Committee was unfortunately conducted but since I was present at the meeting in which they reached their decision and there was no question whatsoever that they reached that decision, no matter what anyone says, I am confident that the Chairman of the Committee honestly reflected their opinion. There was no occasion for any hearing which you mention in your letter because all I asked the Committee to do was to advise me as to what the best procedure would be and as to whether or not they approved the procedure I recommended.

Sieg's letter also reveals his frank view of the three remaining married couples' situation. Upholding conventional values toward two-income families, he rationalized his decision:

It is my feeling that certain families have enjoyed for a period of eight years and will have enjoyed for a period of nine years, most of it during the depression, a family income of between \$6,000 and \$10,000. No individual will be thrown on the bread line, the spouse in each case is earning a very satisfactory salary, and certainly in these days, when the possibility of employment is available, I somehow cannot feel there has been any essential injustice.⁸⁵

Injustice again appears to be problematical. From the perspective of the institution, Sieg achieved the goal to rid the faculty of all married couples. But from the perspective of the excluded faculty member, the effort expended to obtain specialized training and to teach and carry out university service year after year apparently counted for little or no consideration. By 1944 economic issues obviously were not at stake. The issue of dual family employment must be seen clearly as one of social policy.

Additional evidence suggests that the revival of the nepotism policy in 1944 actually hinged on one couple whom the university administration found difficult. Evidently their presence was not entirely satisfactory and by reexamining the nepotism issue, Sieg believed he could solve this problem. Edwin R. Guthrie of the Psychology Department provides some information on this issue. In a letter to William Wilson, Professor of Psychology and one of the married couples at issue, then in New York on leave, Guthrie gave his account of the history and present status of the new rule of the regents concerning married couples:

The first recordable event of the present series was the appearance of President Sieg and Dean Lauer before a meeting of the Tenure Committee. There Dean Lauer gave reasons for "reviving" the 1936 rule against employment of married couples. These reasons had to do with one of the couples affected by his proposal.⁸⁶

The second piece of evidence that it was one couple in particular for whom nepotism received scrutiny in the forties is a letter from President Sieg to Dr. Howard H. Martin in geography. In this letter Sieg recalled that in 1936 Dr. Martin had appeared before the Board of Regents to raise the issue of the soundness and fairness of making the resolution retroactive. As a result of his appearance, Sieg claimed the board did not alter the resolution but "left the situation of you and Miss Earle temporarily in a status quo position".⁸⁷ This 1944 interpretation of Sieg's hardly squares with the extant facts of 1936. Although the Board of Regents Minutes do not reveal that the resolution was not retroactive, the notice sent out to the Deans and department chairmen by Sieg clearly stated that the resolution was not retroactive. Martin must have been surprised at this 1944 re-interpretation of the original 1936 resolution. Sieg also mentioned in his letter that the Tenure Committee had given "careful study" to the question of dual employment and had recommended that Sieg give a period of grace for the accomplishment of the new resolution:

In the case of you and your wife, Miss Earle, you are herewith given notice that you may maintain your present positions in the University until the end of the school year 1944-45, but subsequent to that time, a decision will have to be reached as to which one of you shall retire from a position in the university.⁸⁸

The issue of the revised nepotism policy would not go away. Faculty discussion continued. One couple, the

Wilsons, submitted their case to the American Association of University Professors. Pressure from both the faculty and the A.A.U.P. apparently influenced Sieg. In his letter to the Associate Secretary of the A.A.U.P., Sieg related details of the past year:

Since the action was taken last spring by the Board of Regents, even though, at that time it really emanated [sic] from the faculty itself, there has been a slow but steady development of opinion among the faculty members that making the original resolution of the Regents retroactive, even after eight years, would be an act of injustice.⁸⁹

There were indeed differing interpretations of "injustice," and this time Sieg acquiesced to the faculty interpretation. But again, Sieg misinterpreted the facts as they occurred. The above quotation contains a distortion; it was Sieg who sought out the advice of the faculty Senate Committee on Tenure. It was also Sieg who initiated the re-opening of the issue and even attended the meeting of the committee. There is no evidence to support Sieg's statement that the issue emanated from the faculty.

In 1944-45 the nepotism issue did not reach the height of crisis that it had in the 1938 dismissal of Lea Miller. Also, in the second round, President Sieg did not focus solely on the women faculty members. He did send letters to all eight individuals, informing them that by July 1945 one member of each of the couples would have to withdraw from the university.⁹⁰ This action suggests that, in this

instance, Sieg was truly concerned with the issue of nepotism rather than with eliminating women from the faculty.

Realizing that responsible faculty opinion had steadily grown against such retroactive application of the 1936 resolution and that the A.A.U.P. had a definite policy against such retroactive application of any regulation affecting tenure, Sieg proposed a compromise. He urged the faculty group to prepare a tenure law which would protect the remaining faculty couples who were married as of January, 1936. This law passed both houses of the state legislature but was vetoed by the governor.⁹¹ Sieg acknowledged, however, that since the legislature had taken a clear stand, state political opinion did not favor making the nepotism resolution retroactive for university faculty. Therefore he recommended to the Board of Regents that it reaffirm its adherence to the 1936 resolution against the employment of married couples, including the statement that the resolution was not retroactive.⁹²

Much more responsive to faculty and state political opinion in 1945 than in 1938, Sieg perhaps realized that Theresa McMahon had been right when she wrote him of the price he would have to pay in terms of national publicity. Within a year of reopening the issue of dual family employment in 1944, Sieg closed it again by recommending to the Board of Regents that the three couples remaining on campus

be exempt from the 1944 resolution. The board concurred in Sieg's recommendation, thus allowing Sieg to inform the Associate Secretary of the A.A.U.P., "as you see, this closes the question."⁹³

The case was indeed closed so far as the three married couples careers were concerned. However, at the same time the regents exempted the three couples from the operation of the 1944 policy, they reaffirmed their "adherence to the original rule against married couples being employed."⁹⁴ This anti-nepotism policy, although invoked at the University of Washington at a time of economic depression, remained in force until 1971.

Modifications of the anti-nepotism policy occurred periodically. President Raymond Allen refined it in 1949: "No two members of the same family may be employed in the same department."⁹⁵ Ten years later, by petitioning the President, a faculty spouse could receive an annual appointment, the process to be repeated annually. Further modifications were made throughout the sixties, but it was generally understood that two regular (tenured) faculty positions could not be granted.⁹⁶ Many qualified women accepted less than ideal positions in a decade which faced a shortage a qualified teachers.

Anti-nepotism regulations stopped many educated women from achieving their potential and failed to alleviate any of the economic problems. The passage of anti-nepotism

rules reflected the social bias of the University administration and was an admission that merit was not the sole qualification for selection and retention of university faculty. It is difficult to see how this policy placed the university in the forefront of enlightened, tolerant and profound thought in the state, an image the modern university tried to project. This policy reinforced both the masculine image of the institution and the traditional cultural attitudes of married woman's place in the home.

Chapter Notes - Chapter 5

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¹⁸David Thompson, Vice-President, to Department Heads, December 21, 1931, UW Comptroller Records, 72-30, Box 9, University Archives, UW Libraries.

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²²Mary Gross Hutchinson to Hugo Winkenwerder, April 14, 1933, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 131, PE-Women, University Archives, UW Libraries.

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²⁶Lee Paul Sieg to Dean Shepherd, December 14, 1934, Instructors' Association Records, 78-97, Box 2, University Archives, UW Libraries.

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²⁸January 29, 1936 and June 9, 1936, Instructors' Association Records, 78-96, 1928-1946, University Archives, UW Libraries.

²⁹January 19, 1936, Instructors' Association Records, 78-96, 1928-1946, University Archives, UW Libraries.

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⁵¹Washington Education Employees' Union, Local #483, Olympia, UW Board of Regents Records, 78-103, Box 31-16, Petitions and Protests, 1938-1944, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁵²Mary C. Sichmon, National Women Lawyers Association, to President, Board of Regents, UW Board of Regents Report, 78-103, Box 31-16, Petitions and Protests, 1938-1944, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁵³Lois Scharf, op. cit., p. 46.

⁵⁴Lois Scharf, op. cit., p. 47.

⁵⁵Lois Scharf, op. cit., p. 50.

⁵⁶Lois Scharf, op. cit., p. 51.

⁵⁷UW Board of Regents Records, 78-103, Box 31-16, Petitions and Protests, 1938-1944, University Archives, UW Libraries.

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⁶²Tacoma Local #461, UW Board of Regents Records, 78-103, Box 31-16, Petitions and Protests, 1938-1944, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁶³Washington Education Employees, Local #483, Olympia, UW Board of Regents Records, 78-103, Box 31-16, Petitions and Protests, 1938-44, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁶⁴Myrtle T. Ely to Lee Paul Sieg, January 14, 1938, UW Board of Regents Records, 78-103, Box 31-16, Petitions and Protests, 1938-1944, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁶⁵Laura Waples McMullen to Lee Paul Sieg, February 5, 1938, UW Board of Regents Records, 78-103, Box 31-16, Petitions and Protests, 1938-1944, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁶⁶Mrs. I. R. Meltzer, Minneapolis, Minnesota, to Lee Paul Sieg, UW Board of Regents Records, 78-103, Box 31-16, Petitions and Protests, 1938-1944, University Archives, UW Libraries; see also Ware, op. cit., pp. 117-118.

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⁶⁸Elton F. Guthrie, Secretary, University of Washington Teachers' Union, "Rights of Women Attacked," The Nation, March 19, 1938; UW Board of Regents Records, 78-103, Box 31-16, Petitions and Protests, 1938-1944, University Archives, UW Libraries.

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- 81 Jesse Steiner to Lee Paul Sieg, March 25, 1944, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 110, Nepotism, University Archives, UW Libraries.
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- 86 Edwin R. Guthrie to William R. Wilson, April 17, 1944, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 110, Nepotism, University Archives, UW Libraries.
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- 88 Ibid.
- 89 Lee Paul Sieg to Robert Ludlum, April 4, 1945, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 110, Nepotism, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁹⁰Lee Paul Sieg to Halley Savery, William Savery, William Wilson, Frances Wilson, Edwin J. Vickner, Bertha Vickner, Howard Martin, and Frances Earle, March 31, 1944, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 110, Nepotism, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁹¹UW Board of Regents Records, March 31, 1945, 78-103, Box 22-14, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Lee Paul Sieg to Robert Ludlum, April 4, 1945, UW President's Office, 71-34, Box 110, Nepotism, University Archives, UW Libraries.

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Chapter 6

War and its Aftermath: Women Faculty's Second Regression

Commentators on American women's educational and professional activity in the United States have noted the 1920's as the high water mark. Subsequent to 1930 women have represented a declining proportion of those receiving doctorates and of those holding college teaching positions.¹ Since women doctorates found fewer work opportunities than men doctorates, it is plausible to expect that any change in the supply of women holding advanced degrees would be reflected in the faculties of higher education. As we shall see, however, cultural forces continued to mitigate the economic law of supply and demand. The generally acknowledged periods of the 1920s as a high point and the 1930s as the beginning of decline do not accurately describe the experience of women faculty at the University of Washington.

This chapter traces the effects of World War II and its aftermath on that experience. The war brought large numbers of veterans to the university to study under the G. I. Bill of Rights. In the wake of the massive influx of G. I.'s came a smaller number of veterans of the Korean War and then the baby boom children, born during and just after World War II, who reached college age in the mid-60s. Compounding these demographic factors, economic forces also played an important part in shaping the university. The affluent

economy of the 1960s allowed more young people to undertake post-graduate studies before seeking employment. In the post-Sputnik era, government-subsidized fellowships were available for graduate study in natural sciences and engineering, fields in which women traditionally have been underrepresented. Further adding to the surge of male graduate student enrollment was the Vietnam War, during which draft deferments allowed male students to remain in graduate school. In the period 1940-1970, enrollment in graduate school doubled each decade:

Table 6-1

U.W. Graduate School Enrollment, 1940-1970

<u>Year</u>	<u>Students</u>
1940	1,099
1945	495
1950	2,000
1955	2,755
1960	4,049
1965	5,567
1970	8,084

Men students received the lion's share of graduate degrees; women suffered their greatest proportionate loss in graduate and professional degrees granted during the immediate post-war period (1945-50).² The proportion of degrees granted to women after 1950 remained substantially constant, at around fifteen per cent until 1970, when it climbed to twenty two per cent.

Table 6-2

U.W. Graduate and Professional Degrees Awarded,
1940-1970

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Per cent Women</u>
1940	172	55	32
1945	66	21	32
1950	594	94	16
1955	660	88	13
1960	936	153	16
1965	1,531	227	15
1970	2,242	485	22

The entire post-war period was also dominated by males at the faculty level. Women faculty reached their highest proportion in 1945 when they constituted twenty-six per cent of the total faculty. From that high point, the percentage of women faculty began a decline which continued until 1970, when it reached fourteen per cent (see Table 6-3).

Table 6-3 gives an overview of the number and proportion of women faculty to the total faculty for the seventy year period, 1900-1970. Discounting the 1945 high point of twenty six per cent women faculty due to the departure of male faculty for war mobilization, one can see a fairly stable employment level for women faculty from 1925-1950, followed by a decrease between 1950-1970. High values of the differential growth rate highlight the period during World War II (1940-45) and the Depression (1930-35) as periods in which women faculty were preferentially hired. Both of these were typical of emergency situations in which

Table 6-3

Proportion of Women Faculty to Total Faculty
University of Washington, 1900-1970

<u>Year</u>	<u>TF</u>	<u>TWF</u>	<u>Per cent Women</u>	<u>Net Change in TF</u>	<u>Net Change in WF</u>	<u>Differential growth rate*</u>
1900	44	5	11			
1905	59	4	7	+15	-1	-
1910	115	7	6	+56	+3	.05
1915	204	28	14	+89	+21	.23
1920	234	37	16	+30	+9	.30
1925	290	58	20	+56	+21	.37
1930	426	76	18	+136	+18	.13
1935	430	91	21	+4	+15	3.75
1940	555	110	20	+125	+19	.15
1945	560	148	26	+5	+38	7.60
1950	1,365	288	21	+805	+140	.17
1955	975	189	19	-390	-99	-
1960	1,104	171	15	+129	-18	-
1965	1,607	246	15	+503	+75	.15
1970	2,357	338	14	+750	+92	.12

*Differential growth rate divides the net increase in women faculty in the period under consideration by the net increase in total faculty.

women generally have had their greatest work opportunities. The fact of the continued high growth rate for women faculty in the 1930s is contrary to the generally accepted nation-

wide pattern of women faculty's declining participation in this period. Explanation of the decade 1950-60 follows in Tables 6-8 and 6-11. Comparative growth rates for women and men faculty from 1950-70 extend the information contained in Table 6-3.

The 1940's - Wartime and Transition to Peacetime

By accepting Army and Navy trainees during World War II, the University of Washington protected its student enrollment against a wartime decline in numbers. Even with the military students, however, undergraduate enrollment declined from twelve thousand in 1940 to six thousand by 1945. Graduate school enrollment declined more than two-fold, from one thousand one hundred to four hundred ninety.

Because many faculty members volunteered for military service, temporary vacancies were widespread. University administrators appointed women as replacements. The university decision to hire more part-time personnel resulted in a slight increase in total faculty (from five hundred fifty five in 1940 to five hundred sixty in 1945). President Sieg reported to the Regents that he considered the interim faculty qualified to "meet our standards of instruction" and competent to relieve the teaching load of those regular faculty members remaining on campus.³ This five-year period represented women faculty's greatest overall gain.

Although most faculty women may have gained entrance on a temporary and part-time basis during the war, it appears

that their willingness and capacity to work gained them promotion to ladder ranks of Professor, Associate Professor, Assistant Professor and Instructor. While the greatest increase in women faculty occurred at the Instructor rank (from forty-one per cent to sixty four per cent), substantial gains also occurred at the Associate Professor and Professor levels. The eight per cent of women faculty at the Professor level represented a high point for the entire period studied--except for the year 1900 when the two women faculty members made up nine per cent of the total faculty. Table 6-4 also shows the high percentage gain for women on the ladder faculty.

Table 6-4

U.W. Women Faculty by Rank, 1940-1945

	<u>1940</u>			<u>1945</u>			<u>% Change Women Faculty</u>
	<u>T</u>	<u>WF</u>	<u>%W</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>WF</u>	<u>%W</u>	
Professor	144	8	5	155	13	8	+63
Associate Professor	76	14	18	81	21	26	+50
Assistant Professor	114	21	18	94	27	29	+29
Instructor	77	32	41	80	51	64	+59
Associate and Lecturer	<u>144</u>	<u>35</u>	24	<u>150</u>	<u>36</u>	24	+ 2
Total	555	110		560	148		

Faculty received recognition from President Sieg for their part in meeting the shortage of teachers in fields which demanded trained personnel. Noteworthy for women were the Women's Physical Education Department which trained qualified recreation leaders "to fill the gap left by men Physical Education directors being called into service."⁴ The School of Nursing provided training for the depleted supply of civilian and military nurses. The wartime need for dieticians, nutrition specialists and home economists was so great that, despite increased enrollments, the School of Home Economics could not satisfy the demand for such personnel. The Journalism School trained women to enter the advertising, public relations, and newspaper fields, while the College of Education trained new teachers.

The war-time period produced women faculty's largest gain ever on the University of Washington faculty. This occurred largely because of the reduced availability of males for faculty positions and therefore did not reflect any lasting trend in employment for women faculty at the University of Washington:

Table 6-5

U.W. Ladder Faculty, 1940-1945

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Ladder Faculty</u>	<u>Total Women Ladder Faculty</u>	<u>Per Cent Women</u>	<u>TLF Change</u>	<u>TWLF Change</u>
1940	334	43	13		
1945	330	61	18	-4	+18

Institutional Accommodation of Veterans

The first post-war non-military student enrollment occurred in 1946. By 1948 sixty-two per cent of the 15,524 student body was studying under the federal government's G. I. Bill. President Sieg's concern about the problems facing the returning veterans, their maturity, their diverse and perhaps specialized wartime experiences, and their great desire to get on with their private lives led to his recommendation for institutional flexibility in applying collegiate standards.⁵

It fell to President Raymond B. Allen, Sieg's successor, to resolve the problems of the massive influx of returning veterans. Allen found housing the chief problem, but in a very short time suitable housing was made available to veterans. All on-campus housing for single men was restricted to veterans. For married veterans, four hundred units in Union Bay Village provided them shelter, including a "Nursery Building" for their children and a central laundry for community use. The University provided housing listings for the larger Seattle community, as well as low-cost bus service to a housing area in Kirkland. In addition, the University ran a well-baby clinic for their children, available at no cost to the veterans.⁶

Allen pursued a course of institutional flexibility and accommodation to the special needs of veterans, just as Sieg had recommended. Besides lowering entrance

requirements, the university established special courses to provide academic work for those "education-hungry" veterans who reached the university too late to enter classes already underway.⁷ The University Counseling Center offered its services free of charge to aid the veterans with personal problems and guidance toward a career. In addition, the University expanded its dining facilities and offered veterans a twenty per cent reduction in meal prices.⁸

Professional schools responded to the veterans' needs in a variety of ways to insure their adjustment to the academic environment. The Law School provided refresher courses to enable a more rapid readjustment to a depleted profession. Orientation courses in Economics and Business assisted veterans to develop good study habits. Industry and government cooperated to provide veterans with up-to-date information on job opportunities.⁹ Such flexibility for one group is impressive, and it might well have served as a model for the subsequent integration of other groups, such as racial minorities, into the university environment. However, other groups have lacked the backing of the powerful American Legion lobby, which in 1948 charged alleged discrimination against veterans at the state institutions of higher education. Putting the state's educational institutions on the defensive, the American Legion pressured University administrators to be explicit regarding their academic standards and their services to student veterans.¹⁰

Cultural forces also shaped women's roles. The G.I. Bill enabled many couples to marry at an earlier age, particularly if the wife worked to supplement the family income. A renewed emphasis on the husband's educational and vocational career reinforced the helping role women have traditionally played in American society. Coincident with the return of veterans to the university, official attitudes toward women students seemed to shift. By reestablishing the traditional sex roles, the university did its part in helping society to return to "normalcy" for a second time in this century. The Men's Physical Education Department regained its responsibility for "professional" teacher training programs in health education, physical education, and recreation, a task the Women's Physical Education faculty had so effectively carried out during the wartime emergency. Four years later, according to the report of the Regents, the Women's Physical Education faculty emphasized "learning by doing" and maximum participation in intramural and curricular activities, surely perceived as a less vital task than the training of students for the professions.¹¹ Whereas the official view may or may not describe the actual activities of the respective departments, it does reflect the variable social valuation of men's (professional) and women's (amateur) activities.

The women's tasks emphasized in Home Economics likewise shifted markedly during the immediate post-war years.

Whereas during wartime, students received training for active roles in society--dietitians, extension workers and business women--those in the post-war years received training which emphasized "education for the home."¹² Food, Nutrition and Home Management, also Textiles and Clothing were presented as new course offerings in 1946. The same emphasis on the home appeared in the topics addressed at the Home Economics Club annual banquets: "A Free World Must Start at Home," and "How to Preserve a Husband."¹³ The post-war reinforcement of family values stemmed from the 1930's, according to historian Winnifred Wandersee, and represented a break from the changes of the 1920's which had reflected a new social morality and encouraged women to move beyond the home toward autonomy and self-realization.¹⁴ The trauma of the Depression had fostered a domestic climate wherein the total commitment for women was marriage and family. University anti-nepotism policy underscored these values by excluding faculty wives from positions on the faculty. The post-war years reinvoked this domestic climate rather than the attitudes of the 1920s. The University's reassertion to women students of the conventional sex roles paralleled its solicitous accommodation to the rush of returning veterans. Thus higher education continued to reinforce the social values of the time.

The 1950s

The decade of the 1950s began with uncertainties. Security, material prosperity, and the need for well trained workers to meet societal needs characterized these years. The nation found itself involved in another "hot war" in Korea followed by many tension-ridden years of "cold war." Security became a central concern of what many leaders considered the "Defense Decade." The nation's expanding economy apparently had unlimited need for workers and reached out to include an increasing number of women, despite the decade's dominant cultural ethos of a revitalized family life.

The nation's march toward greater production and material prosperity created a mood of complacency which was temporarily shaken in 1957 by the news of Russia's launching of Sputnik. Noted economist John Kenneth Galbraith claimed Sputnik had the same precipitating effect on American society as the 1929 Stock Market Crash and the 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. It was not the blow itself, but the "fragility of what was struck that caused attention and created the alarm."¹⁵ The American people finally took a critical look at their alleged technological superiority and came to the realization that an advanced technological society needed well-trained, well-educated workers. Galbraith asserted that it was the short-sightedness of the ideal man of the decade, tough, practical, and hard-headed, the "instinctive man of action" who had created the many

critical, unsolved human problems of American society. With relief Galbraith projected the end of the decade as the "end of an era." The decade closed with a heightened sense of a larger role for higher education in American society.

The University of Washington began the 1950s with a new set of problems. The wave of World War II veteran enrollment had subsided by 1950, providing the university some planning time for faculty expansion to meet future increases in student enrollment. The university decided to respond to the coming need for a larger faculty by making appointments at the ranks lower than Associate Professor. Thus, the university selected young faculty members with potential rather than proven scholars:

Many young men of outstanding ability have been attracted to the university and are expected to lend distinction to the faculty as they mature in their teaching and research.¹⁶

By intentionally refusing to hire at the higher ranks, the university also kept open opportunities for those in the lower ranks to be promoted.

Inflation necessitated many economies in operation, while another effort toward national mobilization for the Korean crisis made its imprint on campus. The University faced two successive budgets calling for reductions due to the inflation and a recession in the state's major industries. In this respect, the state of Washington did not yet share in the nation's prosperity. The decision of

University administrators to reduce faculty, reduce services, and increase student fees proved workable until 1954, when enrollment had already surpassed that expected in 1957.¹⁷

While suffering under austere biennial budgets, the University nonetheless managed to achieve wider national recognition than it had ever enjoyed. Admission to membership in the American Association of Universities (AAU) boosted institutional morale and its public image. The university had been rejected for membership when it applied in the 1920s because the AAU determined that the University of Washington had not yet attained the position of a leading graduate school. Most of the graduate degrees granted by the University then were masters, and the AAU required doctorates to meet their standards: "the Ph.D. is, of course, the chief interest to members of the AAU."¹⁸ By 1950, therefore, the University could take some pride in gaining membership on the basis of its teaching and research and the achievements of the Graduate School--"an honor unsolicited by the University."¹⁹ With this recognition, and with an infusion of federal money for research, approximately two and a half million dollars in 1950, the University of Washington finally fulfilled its 1890s vision of a modern university committed to research.²⁰

Growth, encouragement, and recognition did not describe women's experiences in the university during this period. A

post-war trend toward early marriages, no doubt enhanced by the government's educational benefits to veterans, and the increasing "fall out" of women students from higher education re-activated the century old question of whether liberal arts or vocational courses would best educate the marriage-bound coeds. Although greater numbers of women obtained Ph.D.'s during this period, 1950-54, their proportion declined, relative to men both at the University of Washington and nationally. The national pool of Ph.D.'s is the more important measure for this study because it reflects a much larger number of candidates and it also provided the candidate pool from which the University of Washington sought prospective faculty members (see Table 6-6). Generally, higher education institutions do not employ their own doctoral candidates; they prefer to attract graduates from more prestigious institutions.²¹

Women faculty, constituting nineteen per cent of the total faculty, did not share in the general enlargement of the faculty. In fact, their numbers decreased from 288 to 189 in the period 1950-1955 (Table 6-3). Historian Charles M. Gates commented upon the "less cosmopolitan" qualities of the University in this mid-period.²² The sub-faculty discussion has told of the many women hired in the 1920s when the University faced another post-war financial squeeze. Many women were hired on a temporary and part-time basis, but those who remained on the faculty, despite such

official policy, reached retirement age in the 1950s. Institutional upgrading forced out other faculty women as a result of the University decision to implement certain recommendations of the Strayer Report, an educational assessment of public education throughout the state.²³ The University determined to overcome its inbreeding and actively seek out candidates from other institutions. This decision led to closer scrutiny of the teaching, research and community service contributions of the faculty. Of the three areas of contribution, research carried the highest priority after 1950. Women faculty, who had often been channeled into time-consuming teaching and/or advising

Table 6-6

Ph.D.'s Granted, 1940-1970

<u>Period</u>	<u>University of Washington</u>			<u>Nationally²⁴</u>		
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Per cent Women</u>	<u>Per cent Women</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
1940-44	123	14	11	13.5	1986	14724
1945-49	103	10	10	13.4	2130	15904
1950-54	321	15	5	8.	3181	38671
1955-59	570	49	8	10.5	4645	44240
1960-64	729	44	6	10.8	5002	46315
1965-69	1364	113	8	11	1831*	16467*
1970	338	28	8	13	3976	29866

*Numbers are for the year 1965.

assignments, did not measure up to the more stringent research and publication standards of the 1950s. In addition, many women faculty lacked their doctorate, a fact which made it easier for the institution to replace them once the supply of male doctorate holders increased.

The second half of the decade brought enrollment pressures nearly equal to that of the post-war years. After consciously reducing the size of the faculty in the first years of the decade, the university next faced the perplexing problem of a shortage of approximately one hundred faculty members, the additional burden of teaching an increasing number of students, and the problem of low faculty salaries. According to a 1956 survey, University of Washington salaries fell nearly twelve per cent below the average of seven other representative state universities-- Oregon, California, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. The 1956 salary scale reached the lowest point of the decade, which might suggest an increased role for women, who have tended to gain entry at times of tight budgets.²⁵ This period, however, was one in which the absolute number of women faculty remained constant, while their proportion relative to men decreased sharply (Table 6-7). Women faculty experienced a disproportionate loss compared to men faculty between 1950 and 1960, the relative decline was more than three times higher for women (-41%) than for men (-13%). This decrease more than wiped out the

Table 6-7Changes in U.W. Faculty, 1950-1960

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Faculty</u>	<u>Total Women Faculty</u>	<u>Per Cent Women</u>	<u>Change Total Faculty</u>	<u>Change Total Women Faculty</u>
1950	1365	288	21		
1955	975	189	19	-390	-99
1960	1104	171	15	+129	-18

gains in women faculty made during the preceding four decades. By 1960 women made up only 15% of the faculty, as compared to a high of 21% in 1950 (Table 6-8) and 26% in 1945 (Table 6-3).

Table 6-8Growth of Women Faculty Compared to Total Faculty,1900-1970

<u>Year</u>	<u>TF</u>	<u>TMF</u>	<u>TWF</u>	<u>WF/TF</u>	<u>% Change Per Decade</u>	
					<u>MF</u>	<u>WF</u>
1900	44	39	5	.11	177	40
1910	115	108	7	.06	45	430
1920	234	197	37	.16	78	105
1930	426	350	76	.18	27	45
1940	555	445	110	.20	137	162
1950	1365	1077	288	.21	-13	-41
1960	1104	933	171	.15	116	98
1970	2357	2019	338	.14		

A major factor in the enormous increase in positions held by male faculty was the largesse of American society in underwriting higher education for veterans and in encouraging advanced study for teaching and the other professions. In line with this national trend, the increasing emphasis on graduate education resulted in a ten-fold increase in graduate and professional degrees granted by the University of Washington between 1945 and 1955. By 1958, according to the report to the Regents, nearly thirty-one per cent of all University of Washington degrees were in the graduate and advanced professional category.²⁶ Reports from the Registrar give a slightly lower number and percentage, although they confirm the trend of an increasing proportion of higher degrees (Table 6-9).

Table 6-9

U.W. Degrees Awarded, 1940-1970

<u>Year</u>	<u>B.A.</u>	<u>M.A.</u>	<u>Ph.D.</u>	<u>Prof.</u>	<u>Total Grad.& Prof.</u>	<u>% Grad. & Prof.</u>
1940	1,694	133	34	5	172	10
1945	889	48	16	2	66	7
1950	3,302	352	39	183	574	17
1955	2,072	360	89	211	660	32
1960	2,572	609	122	205	936	36
1965	3,073	1,062	226	243	1,531	50
1970	5,000	1,643	337	262	2,242	45

During the second half of the fifties, the percentage of women on the faculty decreased in all ranks, with the exception of that of Lecturer. The rank of Instructor attracted many young male doctorates. As a result, fewer women gained entry at that level (their numbers declined from thirty-eight to twenty-four per cent of the total in this rank from 1955 to 1960). However, at the lowest rank in the university hierarchy, Lecturer, women did secure faculty appointments. Because Lectureships carried no promise of continuity, they did not provide a sound base from which to build a career. Once again, as in the inauguration of the rank "Associate" in 1918, women faculty appeared in the greatest proportion at the lowest rank. It seems that although the rank of Associate was abandoned after 1950, it surfaced again in 1955 under a different name (Lecturer) and similarly largely engaged women faculty:²⁷

Table 6-10

U.W. Women Faculty by Rank, 1950-1960

	<u>1950</u>		<u>1955</u>		<u>1960</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%W</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%W</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%W</u>
Professor	15	7	14	6	14	4
Associate Professor	21	15	27	14	30	10
Assistant Professor	63	20	63	20	61	19
Instructor	106	37	73	38	36	24
Lecturer	-	-	12	32	30	93
Associate	83	24	-	-	-	-

It is instructive to compare, for this and other periods, the relative rates at which men and women joined the university faculty in comparison to their proportions in the national pool of recent Ph.D.s. As a measure of the number of new faculty hired in each period, Table 6-11 lists the increases in total male and female ladder faculty for each half-decade. Because the actual figures are net changes in male and female faculty, reflecting retirements and resignations as well as new hires, the male/female ratio (Column 4) does not precisely correspond to the sex ratio of newly hired faculty, but closely approximates it. For each interval, the male/female ratio of new faculty can be compared to that in the relevant pool of newly awarded Ph.D.s. There is an approximate parity of sex ratios between faculty hired and doctorates earned in most periods, with 1955-60 being a major exception and 1965-70 a less dramatic one.

Table 6-11

U.W. Ladder Faculty,
Compared to National Ph.D. Pool, 1945-1970

<u>Period</u>	<u>U.W.LF Increase</u>		<u>Ratio</u>	<u>Ph.D.s Nationally*</u>	
	<u>MLF</u>	<u>FLF</u>	<u>M/F</u>	<u>M/F</u>	<u>Period</u>
1945-50	319	38	8.4	6.4	1940-44
1950-55	56	6	9.3	6.5	1945-49
1955-60	171	1	171	9.6	1950-54
1960-65	380	42	9.0	8.5	1955-59
1965-70	596	47	12.7	8.3	1960-64

*Numbers taken from Table 6-6

Between 1955 and 1960, the number of male professors increased from 209 to 229 and Associate Professors from 163 to 266. During the same period, for women faculty, the number of professors stayed constant at 14 and the number of Associate Professors increased only by three, from 27 to 30. At the Assistant Professor level, men increased by four and women decreased by two. Added together, this shows for the five-year period a 171:1 preferential accumulation of males in the three ladder faculty ranks (Table 6-11). On the other hand, the granting of Ph.D.s favored men to women only 9.6 to 1 in 1955 (Table 6-11). Thus, in hiring and/or promotion of women faculty, there was a major deficit in the years 1955-60. In a more minor way, the 1965-70 figures reflect a similar situation. In this period, the number of women faculty members in all three ladder categories increased, albeit at a disproportionately low rate as compared to that for males (Table 6-13).

The 1960s

The decade of the 1960s brought higher education's maximum involvement in American society. Responsible for educating undergraduates and training professionals for an increasingly complex scientific and technological society, higher education won a degree of national support and influence which would have satisfied the early university presidents. The requirements of a rapidly developing

technology and a burgeoning population captured the attention of American leaders early in the decade. Soon, however, American involvement in Viet Nam took higher priority while at the same time the nation's minorities, followed by women, began to openly express their dissatisfaction with the status quo. As the decade wore on, a general cognizance emerged of fundamental differences between white male and minority group experiences in society, especially in the educational and occupational worlds.

As a part of the general questioning of the American educational system, government, industry, and educational leaders discovered that women were the major untapped resource in society. Plans to bring women into the educational and occupational mainstream never reached the degree of commitment the nation gave to educating World War II veterans, but many barriers to graduate education for women were lowered as were some barriers to married women on the faculty (Chapter 5). Women leaders in government, business and education initiated studies and surveys of the plight of women in the occupational world. By the end of an otherwise turbulent and questioning decade, women, especially those of a liberal, intellectual, and radical persuasion, actively sought change at all levels of the social system--cultural, legal, and political.

When the University of Washington celebrated its centennial in 1961, among the many distinguished guests was the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy. Delivering the centennial convocation address, Kennedy commended the support the American people gave to the universities and noted that, "the nation needs today as never before, educated men and women."²⁸ Kennedy's inclusion of the need for educated women reflected the then current context of a national need for talented and highly trained professional people. He was one of the first American presidents, however, to speak of the nation's need for educated women to carry out roles outside of the home. He appointed a national commission to investigate the status of women, a process carried out simultaneously in most of the states.

The 1963 Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women described some outstanding achievements by women, yet it made the point that American women did not develop their capacities to their fullest potential.²⁹ The desire for high professional achievement evident in some women who came of age in the 1920s did not carry through after 1945. The Report noted the discrepancy between the number of men and women graduate students, as well as the small number of women in administrative positions requiring executive skills. The statistics in this report and in various reports by the Women's Bureau of the Department of

Labor, soon became general knowledge--that married women occupied an increasingly greater percentage of the work force and that more "mature women" students filled the university campuses in search of additional education and training.³⁰

The sheer facts of the growth in number of employed women came as a shock to many Americans. Catalyst for the increased public awareness regarding the significant changes in the life pattern of American women was the 1957 study by the National Manpower Council. Hailed as a pioneering work, Womanpower, chronicled a veritable social revolution.

Noting the shifts in the average age at which women marry, have children and complete their primary role of motherhood, the study revealed the "long life ahead for the average mother" after her last child enters school.³¹

Six years before the 1957 National Manpower study, however, the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors (NAWDC) granted \$50,000 to the American Council on Education (ACE) to study the education of women. An organization of women personnel workers from all levels of education, NAWDC purposely chose this established and educationally acceptable framework (ACE) for the study because they believed it essential that the educational process recognize and attempt to counteract the subtle pressures of mores and customs that have always tended "to prostitute intelligence appearing in feminine garb."³² ACE

created a Commission on the Education of Women which carried on its work for ten years. Through their research, it became evident that attention to the special educational problems of girls and women was a sine qua non of improvement that extended to all areas of women's activities. In a real sense, NAWDC's 1951 grant was the first volley in the revolution on women's education.

What appeared startling to the American public in 1963 had long been known by women educators. As early as 1907, M. Carey Thomas had reflected upon the changed role of women. At that time educated women had finally proven their ability to keep up with the intellectual level demanded by higher education. Commenting upon the combined effects of a lowered birth rate, industry which produced much that women had previously made at home, and an increase in the number of educated women, Thomas predicted that women would move into diverse occupational roles outside the home. Thomas' expectation was long delayed--due largely to the deeply ingrained cultural belief that women's primary social role is in the family.³³

University of Washington's Theresa McMahon also wrote of the changing roles of women in her Ph.D. dissertation in 1908. She, too, was optimistic that women would soon take an active role in the work world alongside men, especially the middle class women whose tasks in the home had been lightened by labor-saving products of industry. By the

1920s, however, she was less sanguine about the middle class women. She believed that many middle-class women, living in their isolated homes, no longer contributed to society. McMahon viewed the traditional housewife as a social parasite, while most Americans viewed the married woman who worked a threat to the social fabric. What is unfortunate is that so many educated men shared that social vision which perceived women's role so narrowly. Theresa McMahon's view was decidedly a minority viewpoint in the 1920s, as was Thomas' in the first decade of the century.

Other educated women, however, shared McMahon's perspective in the 1920s. They knew from the 1920 census that more married women worked outside the home:

Table 6-12

Per Cent Married Women in the Work Force³⁴

<u>Year</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1890	14
1900	15.4
1910	25
1920	23

Foreshadowing the discovery of the "empty nest" syndrome of the late 1950s, Ethel Puffer Howes called for the invention of "social machinery" to accommodate women's needs. Howes, who herself was a Ph.D., strongly advocated marriage and career for women. With Rockefeller support funds, she established the Institute for the Coordination of Women's Interests at Smith College in Massachusetts in 1926. The

Institute tried experiments varying from day-care programs and cooked food for working wives to part-time career training for married women to assist women of all ages to engage in intellectual activity. Howes realized the limitations early marriage and motherhood had as an active lifetime vocation. She knew that women must pursue some personal interests. Otherwise, "at the zenith of their powers," women would find themselves superfluous, most likely either holding on to their vocation as mother, thereby resulting in fixation or creating tension as the mother-in-law, or resolutely withdrawing from any social and cultural role. Howes firmly believed that both men and women needed marriage and a career, with the exception that society needed to adapt to the special needs of women during the child-bearing and early-child rearing years. Unfortunately, Howes did not achieve great success in influencing social thought in her lifetime.³⁵

Thirty years later, however, when the nation sorely needed additional trained manpower, Howes' ideas bore fruit. Women leaders at the national level spoke out on the societal changes as they affected educated women. Margaret Mead, well-known anthropologist, called attention to the hiatus or "necessary interruption" of the young adult woman:

The girl's career line, as she looks ahead, is fundamentally different from the boy's...the two kinds of timetables do not match...today with the emphasis on early marriage, the girl who has intelligence and ambitions will be on the side of early marriage. Her time scale becomes longer.³⁶

Mary Bunting, President of Radcliffe College, perhaps more than any other woman became the spokesperson for the movement to get more women involved in activities outside the home, whether professionally or as a volunteer. She characterized the cultural "climate of unexpectation" as damaging to young women's aspirations.³⁷ Bunting was instrumental in encouraging part-time study for married women and in the establishment of the Institute for Independent Study at Radcliffe College to develop and utilize the talents of academically oriented women.

Esther Peterson, Director of the Women's Bureau, told Seattle women in a 1963 conference on "Women's Destiny" that the educational institutions "must accommodate women's special needs" if society were to gain women's talents.³⁸ It is ironic that educated women's talents had so long been ignored. By the turn of the century educated women had finally proved their intellectual abilities to keep up with university standards. Gaining their political rights in 1920, educated women next wanted to resolve the issue of economic independence. However, during the 1930s and 1940s, first the Depression and then the wartime experience, took

precedence over any question of women's rights. Through those decades, women seemed to lose their sense of solidarity that was so impressive in obtaining the vote, although individually more women received a college education and participated in the world of work. Once they had attained a sufficient density in numbers in the working world, many women began to realize that some of America's cherished notions, such as equality and equity, did not apply to their lives.

Washington was the first state to issue its report of the Commission on the Status of Women. Two months after the Kennedy Commission Report, Governor Albert D. Rosellini released the results of the survey in Washington. Thirty-one percent of the married women in the state worked, while forty-one percent of the single women did. Despite state legislation which insured equality, women's earnings compared unfavorably with those of men. Knowledge of a discriminatory salary structure raised women's collective consciousness. The revival of a woman's movement seemed a likely response to such public information.³⁹

University of Washington's President, Charles Odegaard, appointed an Ad Hoc faculty committee in 1961 to study the education of women on campus and report their findings to him.⁴⁰ Odegaard was one of a number of educators who was convinced of the need for "a critical reappraisal of women's

education." As if echoing Howes, he noted the two perspectives from which women's education was perceived: 1) women comprised a waste of vast resources of talent, and 2) such waste created deep personal frustrations in such women. As the University of Washington awakened to the local situation, workshops, symposia, and lectures organized through the Dean of Women's Office and that of Continuing Education engaged the attention of women students and women in the greater Seattle community.

Women faculty who served on the Ad Hoc committee were Marion Gallagher, Law Librarian, Chairman; Katherine Hoffman, Assistant Dean of Nursing; Ruth Pennington, Professor of Art; Dorothy Strawn, Dean of Women; and Ruth Wilson, Professor of Physical Education.⁴¹ Appointed to gather and compile the facts, they completed their report in 1965, concluding that the principal area of immediate concern was counseling and guidance, both for the undergraduate women and the mature returning students. It is ironic that it was the counseling and guidance organization (NAWDC) which had first posed the investigation of the subtle forces at work discouraging women's participation in higher education fourteen years earlier. The 1965 University report is indicative of the repetitive nature of women's history.⁴²

Another Commission functioned during the sixties on the University of Washington campus, appointed by the Associated Students to investigate the role of women students and women

faculty. The Associated Women Students' Report, completed in 1970, presented convincing evidence of a limited representation and a truncated opportunity structure for faculty women, especially for those not in the traditional women's fields.⁴³ The power of the educational version of "women's place" was indeed tenacious. All the public dialogue of the sixties about the needs of a society for the most talented individuals proved hollow in higher education. If we examine the faculty statistics for the decade 1960-1970, although women did increase in absolute numbers, their proportion to male faculty declined. Women faculty's greatest gain continued to occur at the lowest level (Instructor). Considering the fact that only the superior woman gains entry into academe, then it would seem to follow that at least the same or a higher percentage of women would earn promotion through the ranks.⁴⁴ This has not described the experience of women faculty at the University of Washington:

Table 6-13

U.W. Faculty, Professor through Instructor, 1960-1970

<u>Year</u>	<u>Professor</u>			<u>Associate Professor</u>			<u>Assistant Professor</u>			<u>Instructor</u>		
	<u>TN</u>	<u>TW</u>	<u>%W</u>	<u>TN</u>	<u>TW</u>	<u>%W</u>	<u>TN</u>	<u>TW</u>	<u>%W</u>	<u>TN</u>	<u>TW</u>	<u>%W</u>
1960	307	14	5	296	30	10	317	61	19	154	36	23
1965	490	19	4	438	64	15	414	64	15	180	77	43
1970	705	26	4	601	71	12	679	97	14	200	85	43

Women faculty benefitted from the absence of male faculty during the war. However, the major postwar expansion of the University of Washington faculty between 1955 and 1970 was overwhelmingly male. The postwar societal ethic of male professionalism and female domesticity and the choice of program areas for University expansion helped shape the masculine environment. The establishment and staffing of the University of Washington Medical School and the post-Sputnik emphasis on science and technological education, both fueled with federal dollars the growth of disciplines from which women were excluded either by artificial professional barriers or by intellectual preference. During the 1955-1970 period, women faculty declined relative to men faculty, just as they had at the turn of the century when the University of Washington claimed university status for itself and sought out faculty members holding doctorate degrees. In both periods, 1900-1910 and 1945-1970, men's success meant regression for women faculty (Table 6-14).

Sociologists David Riesman and Christopher Jencks characterized the 1960s as an "academic revolution."⁴⁵ Lightened teaching loads, higher salaries and increased opportunities for federal research grants and for industrial consultation allowed faculty a degree of autonomy never before experienced. Research productivity became the yardstick by which faculty members were judged successful. In the decade 1960-1970, the total faculty increased by one

thousand two hundred fifty three members, an increase of 113%, while women faculty increased by one hundred sixty seven, an increase of 97%. On the ladder faculty, however, men faculty increased by 120%, while women increased by 85%. Cultural forces continued to propel men forward in careers in higher education. The lag in opportunities for women faculty paralleled an uneasiness and growing frustration among many college-educated working women.

Table 6-14

U.W. Women Faculty as Per Cent of
Total Faculty and Total Ladder Faculty, 1900-1970

<u>Year</u>	<u>%TF*</u>	<u>%TLF**</u>
1900	11	10
1905	7	4
1910	low.....6.....point.....	3
1915	14	8
1920	16	7
1925	20	8
1930	18	10
1935	21	13
1940	20	13
1945	wartime.....26.....high.....	18
1950	21	14
1955	19	14
1960	15	11
1965	15	11
1970	14	10

*Total Faculty

**Total Ladder Faculty
 (includes Professor, Associate Professor, and
 Assistant Professor)

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¹William Henry Chafe, *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles, 1920-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 93-94; Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 239; Barbara J. Harris, *Beyond Her Sphere, Women and the Professions in American History* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), p. 138-141; Jessie Bernard, *Academic Women* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1964), p. 35-37; Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for Women* (New York: Harper, 1959), p. 48; U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, "1962 Handbook on Women Workers," (Washington: 1963); John B. Parrish, "Women in Top Level Teaching and Research," *Journal of the American Association of University Women* 55 (February 1961), pp. 67-73.

²Graduate degrees include masters and doctorates; professional degrees include Medicine and Dentistry (first granted in 1950), Law, and Engineering (discontinued in 1956). The Fact Book (Seattle: University of Washington, Budget Office, 1979), p. A-28.

³Twenty-eighth Biennial Report of Regents of the University of Washington to the Governor of Washington, (Seattle: University of Washington Press), p. 10.

⁴Ibid., p. 38.

⁵Ibid., p. 39.

⁶Glen T. Nygreen, Office of Student Affairs, to Donald K. Anderson, October 26, 1948, UW President's Records, 70-28, Box 16-8, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁷Twenty-ninth Biennial Report of Regents of the University of Washington to the Governor of Washington (Seattle: University of Washington Press), p. 10; Thirtieth Biennial Report of Regents of the University of Washington to the Governor of Washington (Seattle: University of Washington Press), p. 12.

⁸Glen T. Nygreen to Donald K. Anderson, loc. cit.

⁹Twenty-ninth Biennial Report of Regents of the University of Washington to the Governor of Washington, (Seattle: University of Washington Press), p. 10.

¹⁰"Report to American Legion Regarding Alleged Discrimination," UW President's Records, 70-28, Box 16-8, University Archives, UW Libraries.

¹¹Thirtieth Biennial Report of Regents of the University of Washington to the Governor of Washington, (Seattle: University of Washington Press), p. 65.

¹²Twenty-ninth Biennial Report of Regents of the University of Washington to the Governor of Washington, (Seattle: University of Washington Press), p. 45.

¹³Home Economics Club, 1952-1970, Nutritional Science and Textiles School Records (NS&TSR), University Archives, UW Libraries.

¹⁴Winifred D. Wandersee, Women's Work and Family Values (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 101; see also William Chafe, op. cit., pp. 915-916.

¹⁵John Kenneth Galbraith, "The Social Balance," Educational Record 40 (July 1959), pp. 183-188.

¹⁶Thirtieth Biennial Report of Board of Regents of the University of Washington to the Governor of Washington, (Seattle: University of Washington Press), p. 23.

¹⁷Thirty-first Biennial Report of Regents of the University of Washington to the Governor of Washington, (Seattle: University of Washington Press), pp. 13-36; Jane Sanders, Cold War on the Campus: Academic Freedom at the University of Washington, 1946-1964 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), p. 85.

¹⁸David Robertson, University of Chicago, to Henry Suzzallo, President, December 10, 1919, UW President's Records, 71-34, Box 113, University Archives, UW Libraries.

¹⁹Thirty-first Biennial Report of Regents of the University of Washington to the Governor of Washington, (Seattle: University of Washington Press), p. 37; Charles M. Gates, op. cit., p. 220. The University of Washington thus became the thirty seventh institution in the nation and the fourth in the West to gain admission after Stanford, University of California and California Institute of Technology.

²⁰Thirty-fifth Biennial Report of Regents of the University of Washington to the Governor of Washington, (Seattle: University of Washington Press), p. 7.

²¹Alan M. Cartter, Ph.D.'s and the Academic Labor Market (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1976), p. 206.

²²Charles M. Gates, op. cit., p. 157; Jane Sanders, op. cit., p. 12.

²³Public Education in Washington: A Report of a Survey of Public Education in the State of Washington, p. 510-64; Sanders, op. cit., p. 13.

²⁴1930-1960 National percentages and numbers from Susan B. Carter, "Academic Women Revisited: An Empirical Study of Changing Patterns in Women's Employment as College and University Faculty: 1890-1963," Journal of Social History 14 (Summer 1981), p. 697; 1965-1970 from NAS, Doctorate Recipients in United States Universities, 1970-1974.

²⁵Susan B. Carter, loc. cit., p. 687.

²⁶Thirty-fifth Biennial Report of Regents of the University of Washington to the Governor of Washington (Seattle: University of Washington Press), p. 7.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Thirty-seventh Biennial Report of Regents of the University of Washington to the Governor of Washington, (Seattle: University of Washington Press), p. 2.

²⁹American Women, Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1963).

³⁰"Highlights, 1920-1960," Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, 1960; Lois Meek Stolz, "Woman's Search for a New Self," Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors (NAWDC) 22 (April, 1959).

³¹Womanpower, National Manpower Council (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957).

³²Helen B. Schleman, "New Directions for NAWDC", address to NAWDC Convention, Minneapolis, April 10, 1965, UW Dean of Women, 75-19, Box 21, University Archives, UW Libraries.

³³M. Carey Thomas, "Motives and Future of the Educated Woman," in Barbara M. Cross, ed., The Educated Woman in America. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1965), p.166.

³⁴Woman in the Modern World, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences (AAP&SS) 143 (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, May, 1929), p. 263.

³⁵Ethel Puffer Howes, "The Meaning of Progress in the Woman's Movement," Woman in the Modern World, AAAP&SS, 1929, p. 19.

³⁶Margaret Mead, quoted in The Superior Student 4 (May 1961), p. 1.

³⁷Time Magazine 78 (November 3, 1961), p. 68; UW Daily, January 25, 1962.

³⁸Esther Peterson, Women's Bureau, Keynote Address, "Women's Destiny -Choice or Chance?," University of Washington, November 21-22, 1963, UW Dean of Women Records, 75-19, University Archives, UW Libraries; Seattle Times, November 24, 1963.

³⁹Albert D. Rosellini, Governor's Report (Olympia: State Printing Office), December, 1963.

⁴⁰Charles E. Odegaard to Colleagues, Ad Hoc Committee on the Education of Women, November 2, 1961, UW Dean of Women Records, 75-19, Box 23, University Archives, UW Libraries; UW Daily January 25, 1962.

⁴¹Ibid. Two male professors also served on the Ad Hoc Committee: Kenneth McCaffree, Professor of Economics, and Henry P. Knowles, Professor of Business Administration.

⁴²"Report of the Ad Hoc Committee to Study Problems in the Education of Women," UW Dean of Women Records, July 28, 1965, 75-19, Box 23, University Archives, UW Libraries.

⁴³"A Report on the Status of Women at the University of Washington," Associated Students of the UW Women's Commission, 1970, UW Dean of Women Records, 75-19, University Archives, UW Libraries; Thelma Kennedy Papers; Davida Teller Papers.

⁴⁴Rita J. Simon, et. al., "The Woman Ph.D.: A Recent Profile," Social Problems 15 (Fall 1967), pp. 221-236.

⁴⁵Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1968).

Conclusion

In 1896 the University of Washington determined to join the ranks of modern universities throughout the nation. Emulating the larger mid-western state universities, particularly Wisconsin, it dedicated itself to serving the needs of the state and to providing for the education of its youth at the graduate as well as the undergraduate level. A commitment to emphasize research rivalled teaching as a primary focus. In casting off its pioneer image, the University needed new types of administrators and faculty, preferably specialists who held doctoral degrees in their respective fields. The result was that the faculty became predominantly male.

Traditionally higher education had been a male occupation. Since the 1830s public school teaching had provided an occupation for educated women and by the turn of the century had become a profession dominated by them. For the few educated women who had doctorates and thus met the new standards of graduate education required by the research university, the expectation that higher education as an occupation would be open to them did not seem illogical. Yet their success seems to have provoked a reaction, and measures were taken that restricted their opportunities while enhancing those for men, thus insuring that higher education remained a male domain.

An examination of the career experiences of two women who were members of the faculty during this period provides a unique insight into the changes experienced by the university. Both had family ties to the University which are likely to have influenced their selection. Caroline Ober lacked the credentials which were only then becoming necessary for faculty positions. She had gained her knowledge of Spanish during a three-year teaching assignment in a private school in Argentina. Without formal training or an academic specialty, both of which were theoretically necessary, Ober nevertheless managed to keep her position at the University and served as department chairman for a number of years. She obviously was a person of good character and some intelligence. Although she did not meet university hiring standards, she nevertheless functioned well in her teaching position.

Theresa Schmid McMahon, on the other hand, had received her undergraduate and graduate master's degree from the University, married her classmate Ed McMahon, and then they both went on to the University of Wisconsin for Ph.D.s. Though he did not complete his doctorate, Theresa received hers in Economics in 1909. She then worked for a year in Chicago for United Charities (1909-10) and spent a summer at Jane Addams' Hull House. Returning to the Northwest with a Ph.D. and a year's experience as a statistician in Chicago, she received an appointment at the

University as a Graduate Assistant. In spite of the high quality of her education and credentials, she waited a year before appointment to a regular position as Instructor. (Her husband with only a master's degree began his career as an Instructor the previous year.) Her appointment to a low rank and slow promotion up through the ranks has characterized many faculty women's experience.

Because of Theresa McMahan's activist stance, she had some difficulty with her peers and the community outside the University. This may have accounted for the fifteen-year delay in her promotion to Associate Professor (1926). McMahan became a full Professor three years later (1929) and retired from the University in 1937.

The difference in length of time which these first two women faculty took to gain full professorships can be explained by the differences in the decades of their appointments. Ober rose quickly because she began her career earlier. McMahan was slowed by higher expectations. The concentration of Professors on the faculty was highest in the first fifteen years of its existence as a modern university, 1896-1910 (Appendix A). The hierarchy of ranks evolved over that same period of time. In 1914 Acting President Henry Landes surveyed the faculty positions and budget and realized steps had to be taken to slow down the process toward promotion in the ranks. In the interest of budgetary planning and economic survival, he

introduced greater differentiation in the ranks and attempted to establish norms for time spent at each level. After the turn of the century, few faculty reached full professorship as quickly as Caroline Ober. Certainly, Theresa McMahon, while more highly educated and with more experience, progressed through the ranks much more slowly, a progression more typical of promotions in this period of study.

The issue of coeducation reached crisis proportions in the first decade of the twentieth century when the number of women in the Liberal Arts classes surpassed that of men. This was an overriding issue to most administrators and educators, who had to define a more precise relation between professional study and general education. In an attempt to offer a more rigorous general education, a possibility actualized by the great increase in numbers of students, President Franklin T. Kane determined to require a broad liberal arts education prior to any specialized training. Like many other educators of the time, he perceived women in numbers a threat to the vigor and virility of the College of Liberal Arts. When faced with pressure from women's organizations to offer an educational program fit to women's needs, he responded affirmatively. He, thus, achieved two objectives at once: Home Economics for women students and a more masculine environment in the Liberal Arts classes. Because Kane would personally select

"virile" professors to teach the "manly men," Liberal Arts could shed its "effeminate" reputation. Although he expected women faculty to have the same vigorous qualities as the male faculty, he obviously could not imagine them as appropriate role models for the impressionable males. He therefore told the public that women faculty would be restricted to women's classes. This rationalization of the "coeducation crisis" severely limited women faculty's teaching opportunities in higher education.

Three fields into which women were channeled demonstrate the strengths and weaknesses of segregation. While experiencing a degree of autonomy and providing to those in them both a sense of belonging, these fields had little impact on the university as a whole. Home Economics got off to a shaky start because of a rapidly rising enrollment, makeshift and limited facilities, and a staff of one. The situation improved, however, under the leadership of Effie Raitt, who took over the leadership of the department in 1911. Historians have long recognized the role which the organization of women played in securing the vote, but women's organized efforts focused on many other issues as well. Interest in Home Economics emanated from the national office of the Federated Women's Clubs just before the turn of the century. Educating their membership to inform the public, these women's groups slowly built their case for the inclusion of Home Economics

in the schools, which in turn required Home Economics training at the University level. Effie Raitt assiduously cultivated the backing of these groups to support her need for a building, which was ready for occupancy in 1916.

Women's groups also lobbied for a women's gymnasium, but women's priorities after World War I took a back seat to the demands for a stadium and additional classroom buildings. University alumnae and Regent Ruth Karr McKee kept this issue at the forefront until finally in 1926 University women succeeded in securing their new gymnasium. By their combined efforts, Effie Raitt, Mary Gross Hutchinson and various organized women's groups in the state showed impressive skill in setting goals and working together to achieve them.

Elizabeth Soule built upon her knowledge of public health nursing to shape a department of nursing which gradually incorporated courses in nutrition and health previously taught in Home Economics and women's Physical Education. As did Raitt and Hutchinson, she shaped her department essentially single-handedly. In addition, all three worked effectively with the male administrators. When that was not possible, they would cultivate a male mentor through whom ideas could be tested and either developed or discarded. Since each channeled field had a feminine constituency and a practical focus, administrative support and recognition varied according to the social

views held by the administrator and the economic possibilities at a given time. Even though the channeled fields had geographically separate space, the women administrators interacted frequently with the larger University faculty.

A clear line of demarcation within the faculty ranks began in 1918 with the institution of the rank of Associate. In the years since the inception of the modern university, a differentiation of ranks had occurred: Professor, Associate Professor, Assistant Professor, and Instructor. The post World War I University budget failed to keep pace with the large increase in number of students and the high rate of inflation. Although this situation prevented the hiring of permanent new faculty, the University solved its immediate problem by establishing the new rank of Associate. By lowering university requirements for teaching faculty to a master's degree, two years teaching experience, and a cooperative attitude, the University met its teaching responsibility with a minimum of financial cost. Although this decision was to have been a temporary solution to an immediate financial crisis, the Associate rank remained until the 1950s, when it was abandoned for a few years and then reincarnated in the 1960s. This rank has largely engaged the services of women faculty, but it has included those who possessed the intelligence to climb the steps to security and status.

University administrators viewed the Associate rank as an apprenticeship and opportunity to achieve faculty status. Women engaged at that rank, however, felt trapped, disparaged, disillusioned, and used. The obvious institutional preference for promising young men with a newly-minted Ph.D. caused many women not to make the effort to obtain the doctorate. Without the degree, however, they knew they were limited to a low-paying, insecure position, dependent on the shifting preferences of students and the whims of administrators. A clearer example of how the secondary labor market theory operates would be difficult to imagine. From the time the Associate position originated, over fifty per cent of women faculty have found themselves at this level.

By 1920 the basic structure of the modern University of Washington was set. Women's fields had been created to serve women's alleged needs, and a new low level in the hierarchy of ranks to bring in, as needed, Associates who would help teach overflow classes, substitute for or assist senior faculty, or perhaps combine teaching and advising students.

Although a sharp division in men and women's fields existed, many of the women's fields also served men's uses. Home Economics trained women in institutional management, a large part of which revolved around food service. Nursing largely trained women to assist the male doctors. If the

Oath located in the University Archives was truly imposed on the nurses in training, it left little opportunity for individual responsibility or judgment. Critics who blame women for passive and obsequious behavior should realize that the educational system helped shape that behavior. Powerful forces of tradition have operated in higher education to circumscribe women's roles, while enhancing men's success and domination.

Emergencies have often presented women the opportunity to experience new roles. Women's patriotism in World War I strengthened their demand for the vote. The post-war period, however, was characterized by a return to "normalcy," and certainly a return to the cry for jobs for veterans on the part of the American Legion. As the decade advanced and the economy faltered, the apprehensions of men regarding jobs focused on the married women who held jobs. To some it became the moral equivalent of a crime against society for a married woman to deprive a breadwinner of a job. This pervasive mentality even found expression in university circles, where educated women had worked hard to prove themselves, first as students and then as members of the faculty. Regardless of their level of training, ability, or years of experience, women faculty lost their positions simply because they were married. The forced resignations of several women faculty as a consequence of anti-nepotism rules adopted in 1936 confirmed women

faculty's lack of status. Devastating to the women affected, the arbitrary and inconsistent implementation of this policy also communicated to potential women faculty the feeling that little future existed for them in higher education.

Women faculty have never been central to the modern university. From their peripheral positions, however, women faculty have attempted to help shape the institution. Some women met with success. Caroline Ober succeeded in turning her department in the direction of conversational Spanish, when previously it had only offered the formal "old-fashioned" approach. Theresa McMahon refused to agree to teach President Kane's segregated classes and yet obtained an appointment to the faculty anyway. A labor expert, she spoke out on many social issues of the day, published in national journals, wrote two books, and served on the Social Security Commission in 1937. Her propensity to speak out on social issues diminished as pressures were brought to bear from the university administration and colleagues. Hired in J. Allen Smith's Department of Political Science, McMahon was reassigned, following its dismemberment, to the School of Economics and Business Administration. There she always felt an outsider and in fact was one philosophically and intellectually. Colleagues found her opinionated and a detriment to the scholarly impression they wished to convey. They feared

that her radical image would harm their efforts; McMahon's radicalism consisted of no more than being informed about labor's activities in Seattle and in teaching about the labor movement to University students. During her tenure as professor, reform interests became less tolerable, detached objectivity was sanctified, and respect flowed to the experts, who soon learned to speak only upon their area of expertise. Ironically, Theresa McMahon was doing that, but her area of expertise was considered controversial in the 1920s.

The three women leaders in the channeled fields found greater latitude for their talents despite more traditional and circumscribed disciplines. They shaped the curriculum, chose their faculty, and Raitt and Hutchinson each directed the planning of a new facility for her department. In carrying out these multifarious activities, they exhibited many of the qualities generally considered masculine: organizational effectiveness, decision making, goal-orientation, and the ability to influence others in setting goals. Leadership opportunities came their way, thanks to their segregation into a women's field, as to few other women faculty. The same qualities no doubt resided in other women faculty but remained dormant because they were untapped by the University structure.

Although leadership opportunities existed for women in the channeled fields, their voices often were not heard.

Effie Raitt acknowledged this in the 1930s when she linked the economic problems of the Depression to society's denial of the issue of consumption, which had always been a chief concern of Home Economists. Mary Gross Hutchinson pressed for advanced graduate training in women's Physical Education for fifteen to twenty years without success. She had been much more effective in the 1930s lobbying Legislators to save her department from extinction at the hands of President Spencer. As outsiders in the university structure, the women leaders walked a narrow line between effectiveness in their own domain and deference to the university administration.

Women faculty who protested their plight found themselves ignored or targeted by university administrators. Of the women faculty who were forced out, their departure was labelled a "withdrawal." A leave of absence proved fatal to three who had assumed their positions secure. Instead, on their return to the University, they were reclassified new appointees, without seniority, and were easily dismissed by University administrators. Otilie Terzieff and Florence James both suffered this fate; both protested the treatment given them, James more persistently than Terzieff, yet their arguments failed to influence University administrators. Marriage to faculty members ended the careers of Lea Miller and Marion Fish Cox; undoubtedly there were others. Strong faculty support of

Lea Miller's retention was likewise ignored by the university administration.

Despite these hazards to professional advancement, faculty careers at the University of Washington were available to an ever-increasing number of women during the 1910s to the 1940s. In each of these decades the growth rate of women faculty exceeded that for men (Table 6-8), the greatest difference occurring in the years between 1910 and 1920. This marked increase in women faculty can be attributed to the emergence of the women's fields, and after 1920 to the establishment of the Associate rank.

If the women faculty remained peripheral to the modern university, was that also true of the women students? From the administrative standpoint, ambivalence typified the institution's position toward women students. On the one hand, women students at the undergraduate level were desirable, because their presence contributed to the need for a larger faculty. However, at the same time, their increased numbers posed a threat. Administrative perplexity about the numbers of women students surfaced first in the coeducation crisis. The consideration of Bellingham Normal School as a possible solution for a women's separate campus lost out to President Kane's suggestion for establishing segregated sections in certain large Liberal Arts classes. Although Home Economics did attract large numbers of women students, as Kane hoped,

female enrollment continued to exceed that of males in the Liberal Arts throughout at least the succeeding two decades. In the years immediately following World War I, university administrators again posed as a solution to overcrowding that women students attend the Normal Schools, where they would receive training as elementary teachers. For a third time, Bellingham was proposed as a solution to University of Washington problems. In 1933 President Spencer proposed as part of his reorganization scheme that the Nursing program be transferred there. The elimination of the office of Dean of Women was also part of Spencer's plan, but public reaction set in to the extent that he took to the radio to explain his decisions. Asserting that women adorned the campus to an extent he deemed essential to the university as a whole, Spencer obviously did not perceive women in their rightful place as serious students and faculty members. Surpassing Spencer's skeptical view of women's role on campus was Sieg, who in 1944 relegated all faculty wives to the upper limit of the position of Secretary. In spite of the general administrative ambivalence and ever-recurring hostility, women students and faculty continued to play a role in the institution.

Forces which have limited women faculty's role in the modern university have been persistent. First, requiring a Ph.D. for entrance into the modern university faculty exercised a selection for male faculty. Only a few women

held Ph.D.s at the end of the nineteenth century; however, as more women met the requirements for graduate education, further university actions served to keep the faculty a male preserve. The coeducation crisis of the first decade led to the appointment of male faculty as role models for the male students, thereby relegating women faculty to women's fields. The 1918 decision to hire less rigorously trained faculty to teach the elementary classes created positions which engaged women faculty disproportionately. The 1936 decision to eliminate "dual-family employment" also adversely affected women's opportunities. Finally, the post-World War II and post-Sputnik expansion of the university faculty occurred preferentially in the fields of natural science, engineering and medicine wherein women became underrepresented in ladder faculty positions either because of stereotyping and sex discrimination within the profession or from a lack of sufficient numbers of women in the pool of suitably trained candidates.

The prospects for hiring and advancement of women faculty during the 1950s and 1960s were shaped not only by these discipline-specific effects, but also by the existence of certain deep-seated attitudes of the university administration and faculty toward the place of women in the institution. In this dissertation, the pervasive effects of these attitudes have been traced through seven decades. The decade of the 1960s has been lauded as an era of

evolutionary rapprochement in achieving equality; however, the statistics on women faculty at the University of Washington do not mirror this. Although the absolute numbers of women in ladder faculty positions increased, by 1970 the percentage of women in the total faculty (fourteen per cent) and in the total ladder faculty (ten per cent) had fallen to their lowest levels since 1915 and 1930, respectively.

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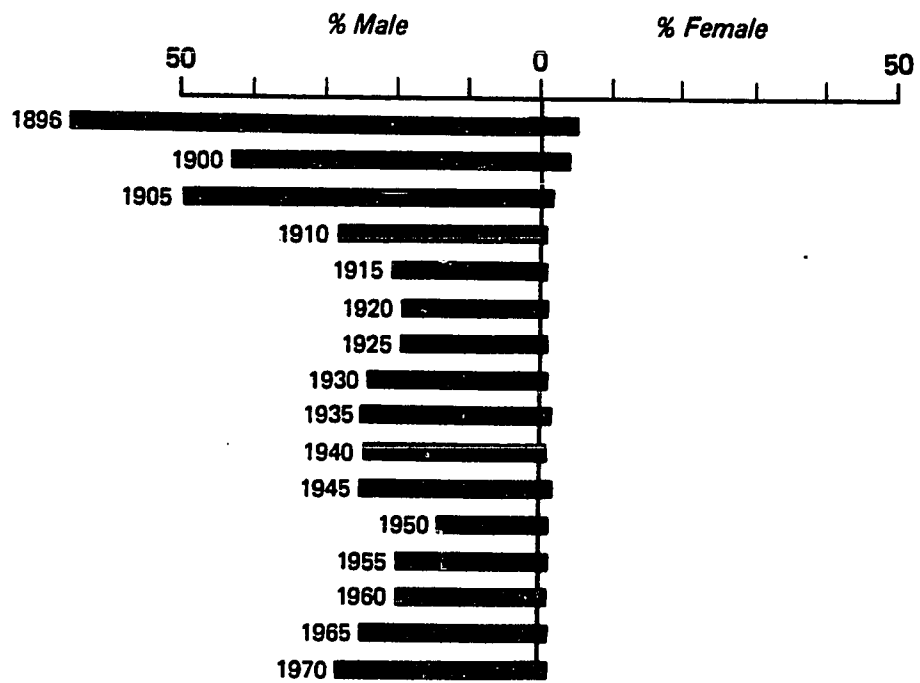
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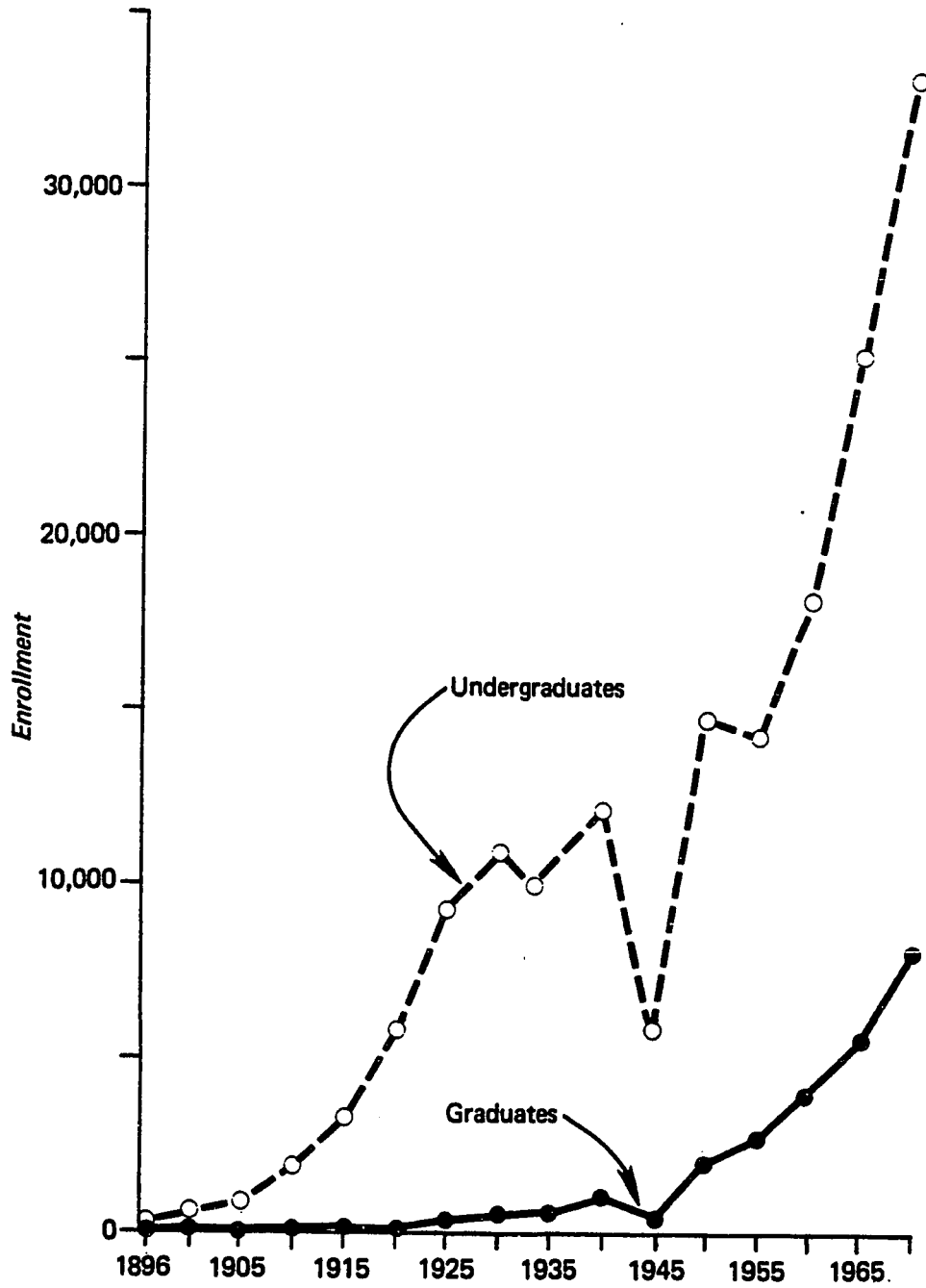
Appendix A

U.W. PROFESSORS AS PERCENT OF TOTAL FACULTY, 1896-1970



Appendix B

GRADUATE, UNDERGRADUATE ENROLLMENT, U.W., 1896-1970



Appendix CGrowth of Ladder Faculty, Women Compared to Men, 1940-70

<u>Year</u>	<u>TLF</u>	<u>TMLF</u>	<u>Increase</u>		<u>TWLF</u>
			<u>ZM</u>	<u>ZW</u>	
1940	334	291			43
1945	330	269	-7	42	61
1950	687	588	118	62	99
1955	748	644	9	5	104
1960	920	815	26	1	105
1965	1342	1195	47	40	147
1970	1985	1791	50	32	194

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