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Women at Lawrence University: the first seventy-five years, 1849-1924

Pamela Ruth Paulsen

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WOMEN AT LAWRENCE UNIVERSITY: The First Seventy-Five Years 1949-1924

Pamela Ruth Paulsen
WOMEN AT LAWRENCE UNIVERSITY:
The First Seventy-Five Years
1849-1924

by
Pamela Ruth Paulsen

A Thesis Submitted in Candidacy for Honors
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INTRODUCTION

"...institutional studies reflect historians' assumption that it is only when women are behaving in ways usually regarded as masculine—that is politically and collectively—that they merit historical discussion...Thus, writers of institutional studies assume that women have had a history, properly speaking, only when they have managed to step out of their proscribed sphere and enter the world of men."

-Ann Gordon
"The Problem of Women's History"

Lawrence University of Appleton, Wisconsin is the second oldest coeducational college in the United States. The history of the college is one of pioneering, problems and progress. Women at Lawrence have been the silent minority in that history. Statistically, women have always comprised a highly significant portion of the University; yet, to date, very little has been recorded about women at Lawrence and their role in the historical development of the school.

No formal and complete history of Lawrence University has ever been published. An unpublished manuscript, "The History of Lawrence College," written by
past Lawrence History Professor, William Francis Raney, is in the University archives. But out of the more than 700 pages of the manuscript, only two and one-fourth pages are devoted specifically to women at Lawrence. An informal history of the campus (mainly the architectural developments), *Creation of a Campus*, was written by Marguerite Schumann. One three page chapter in McKenny's *Educational History of Wisconsin* (written in 1912) is devoted to Lawrence College. Other than that, the history of the University and the vast primary resources that recreate its past, have been largely left unsynthesized in Lawrence's archives.

The intent of this paper is to investigate the role of women at Lawrence during its first seventy-five years, 1849-1924. In order to investigate this topic, a broader background and perspective for interpretation was needed. Significant space in this paper is devoted to subjects not involving Lawrence, though directly related. General trends in educational history needed to be understood before the significance of Lawrence's role as the second oldest coeducational college could be appreciated. When Lawrence was chartered in 1847, it was not a general assumption that women deserved to be educated. Within such a framework the university's founders took the radical step of initiating a coeducational institution in Wisconsin territory.
Lawrence was second to Oberlin College in Ohio in establishing education of the sexes together. Using the Oberlin model as a framework for understanding Lawrence's experience thus became useful both for the similarities and the differences it showed between Oberlin and Lawrence. Cornell University in Ithaca, New York admitted women shortly after Lawrence began instruction. Cornell's founders had thoroughly investigated coeducation before it was adopted. It was useful to set Lawrence chronologically between an older and a younger coeducational institution; the space devoted to the Oberlin and Cornell models of coeducation has provided the paradigm for investigating Lawrence University.

Finally, a rather lengthy discussion of Methodism and its significant role in the history of Lawrence is included. Methodism, as a particular denominational set of beliefs may not have controlled Lawrence, but a non-denominational Protestantism was strongly present during the first seventy-five years of Lawrence's history.

The sources used in this study were largely archival materials: course catalogues, yearbooks, newspapers, presidents' reports and speeches, faculty and trustee minutes, letters and all of Amos A. Lawrence's correspondence. The Raney manuscript was also utilized, mostly for background information.
By late twentieth century standards, one would be tempted to claim that the writing found in the primary sources on Lawrence is discriminatory against women. However, it was common practice to use the masculine pronoun in all writing of the period covered by this study. There were a few occasions when the use of terms like "he" and "the men" were taken to be significant in indicating biases. For example, when the phrase "the men participate" was written in a course catalogue, and a year later the catalogue specifies "the students participate," the shift of perspective is considered significant.

Women have been remarkable in history chiefly by their absence. In general terms, historians have neglected women because of ideas about historical significance. Significance has been defined chiefly in terms of power, influence, and active involvement with the political and economic world. Women have not been political and economic leaders and have thus remained outside of historical inquiry until the relatively recent developments in social history. Women have not had access, for very long, to the means which have caused men to "make history." Men have been rewarded and recognized — and thus classified as historical. Women have been passive, at least in terms of masculine political, social and economic domination.
The women at Lawrence during the first seventy-five years began to be "historical individuals" by gradually gathering rights and minimizing restrictions. Lawrence women did not have the same education as men for at least the first eighteen years of the university's history; neither did they have the same restrictions or the same organizations. But the 674 women who graduated from Lawrence from 1857-1922 were given a unique and rare opportunity in their time.
I. The Origins of Higher Education for Women in the United States

"We were told that women's brains were too light, their foreheads too small, their reasoning powers too defective, their emotions too easily worked upon, to make good students."

-Educational Review
XXXV, 1908, p.70-71

Two hundred and one years after Harvard College opened, four women enrolled at Oberlin College in Ohio in 1837, and three received the A.B. degree four years later. This was the first instance of women in the United States receiving bachelor's degrees equivalent to those granted to men. In nineteenth century America, suggestions that women should attend classes with men and be educated in a similar manner provoked lively debate. There was a great lag between the establishment of institutions of higher learning for men and the recognition of women's right to similar or equal
opportunities. The original idea for establishing colleges in America was to have an educated clergy. (1) Prior to the 1830's no institution of higher education permitted young women to enter; yet colleges for young men went back to the seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century and the first three decades of the nineteenth century, there was an upsurge in the founding of colleges. But none of these admitted young women. "Higher education was part of a man's sphere because the purpose of it was to train ministers, professional men and political leaders." (2) Nine colleges that exist today were founded prior to the American Revolution, and every college president appointed before the revolution was a clergyman, as were most of the faculty. Even before the Civil War, the large majority of institutions were founded by churches.

There were reasons other than the need for an educated ministry for college education, all of which were designed to exclude women. Early colleges in the United States sought to educate men in the "learned professions" - ministry, law, teaching and medicine.(3)

College education was largely professional education; and the professions were all male dominated. There seemed to be no apparent reason to provide for the education of women. Prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, no formal schooling, even at the elementary level, was desired for girls. Opportunities for women in higher education were the result of advances in the lower educational levels. Masters were usually hired to teach the boys of a locality. Often there were not enough boys available for instruction, so girls were allowed to attend classes to make it worth the parents' money and the school master's effort. Tutors were hired by wealthy families, and daughters as well as sons were likely to receive instruction. The tradition of education for women thus began not on a principled basis, but for expediency.

Secondary education for girls began in a similar way. Usually, private schools for girls were started by, and for, those who could afford to pay for the education of their daughters. Most of the early schools were designed to teach only the social graces which were becoming to a woman. College preparation or training for an occupation (except homemaking) was nonexistent. (4) American education continued to follow the European model

of intellectual training for professional work for men and training in suitable domestic accomplishments for women.(5) The first public high school for girls was opened in Worcester, Massachusetts in 1829, and a second was opened in New York City two years later. As public high school education expanded there was an increasing tendency to accept female students in the classroom with male students, especially when numbers were small. "Education for women became available as a fringe benefit of the education of men, not as the innate right of women."(6)

The innate rights of women were strongly limited by the society in which they resided. The enlightenment philosophy of the eighteenth century proclaimed the natural rights of men, but these were not extended to women. Jean Jacques Rousseau believed, in fact, that women were inherently inferior to men. In 1759 Rousseau proclaimed that "Woman was designed so that she would submit to men."(7) He further believed that men and women were designed to do different work: "In truth, women are

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(6) Ibid., p.24.
not rulers but are created to be ruled and to lead lives exclusively concerned with the care of the home and the family."(8)

One contemporary of Rousseau's, Jean Le Rond D'Alembert, disagreed with Rousseau's view of women and believed that the wisdom of enlightened centuries needed to be spread more evenly to all people:

If no honest and virtuous woman can be found, he wrote, then the fault lay with a society that enslaved and degraded women by chaining their minds and their spirits. It was a society that addressed them in a trite and frivolous jargon, humiliating both to them and to the men who employed it. It is not a weakness of body that hinders genius and wisdom, but lack of education. Since women are not exempt, d'Alembert argued, from the trials and tribulations of life, why should they be excluded from that cultivation of the mind and talent that makes life worth living? Reason, humanity and justice argue for the education of women. D'Alembert made an impassioned plea to philosophers all over the world to end a barbarous custom and to point the way to others by 'giving your daughters the same education as your other children.'"(9)

The debate over the value of educating females continued for nearly a hundred years before women in the United States were systematically educated. John Stuart Mill was the sole male intellectual leader of the 1850's to include sex along with class, religion and politics as a source of oppression. In his treatise "The Subjection of Women" (1869) Mill urged greater educational and

(8) Ibid., p.225.
(9) Ibid., p.226.
professional opportunity for women. Even European philosophers were urging the changes that would eventually bring about coeducation, an American innovation.(10) Not only were writers such as Mill inspiring women to pursue an education, but women's consciousness was beginning to be developed through events such as the First Women's Rights convention at Seneca Falls in 1848. The goal of the convention was equal educational opportunities, as well as suffrage for women.

Still, coeducation "was considered by many to be an experiment fraught with peril to women, men, and educational institutions."(11) Because coeducation was "dangerous," women who tried to break into the male dominated system were denied access outright. An example of this occurred in 1783 when Lucinda Foote, a twelve year old, "was examined in the 'learned languages, the Latin and the Greek,' it was found that she had made 'commendable progress' being able to give the 'true meaning of passages in the Aeneid of Virgil, the Select Orations of Cicero and in the Greek Testament.' She was accordingly declared 'fully qualified, except in regard to sex to be received as a pupil of the Freshmen class of

(10) Charlotte Conable, Women at Cornell, p.7.  
(11) Ibid., p.7.
Yale University."(12) Other such cases might be mentioned if it were necessary to prove the existence of antagonism to women's college education; "but it is a well known fact and calls for no lengthy proof at this point. Indeed, even in the nineteenth century, this same opposition still prevailed. It was feared that, as one asserted, women might forsake their infants for quadratic equations."(13)

Women were denied education. The predominant social attitudes of the mid to late nineteenth century preclude the need or usefulness of women's education. The nineteenth century has been

"characterized as a period of affluence and polarization, a time marked by the emergence of an upper class which placed great value on manners and morals, and consequently, as an era when conservative respectability became a primary social goal and repression was common. The differentiation between the sexes which occurred...merely reflected a predominant social view..."(14)

Why did society deny women educational opportunities? The forces confining women were diverse, but can be broken down approximately into three categories. One barrier to education was the

(13) Ibid., p.138.
(14) Charlotte Conable, Women at Cornell, p.106.
Judeo-Christian heritage, where in particular, the epistles of Saint Paul became a powerful authority on the proper sphere for women. Secondly, the tradition of English common law, such as "Blackstone's commentaries," considered women to have no rights to property, wages or her children. A married woman was one person with her husband; a wife, in the eyes of the law, was a non-person. The third barrier to women's education was biological myths. Delicacy and fainting spells were fashionable. Women were supposed to be suited only to marry and bear children and not to be educated. A woman's anatomy defined her destiny. A woman's place was so carefully restricted by theology, law and biology that she had no need for education.(15)

A closer look at some of these arguments will make clear the strength of the barriers to education which women had to confront in nineteenth century America. Legally, courts were passing judgment on the proper duties of women. The Wisconsin Supreme Court enunciated a view on women in 1875 declaring:

The laws of Nature destines and qualifies the female sex for the bearing and nurture of the children of our race and for the custody of the homes of the world...in love and honor. And all life-long callings of women, inconsistent with these radical and sacred duties of their sex...are, when voluntary, treason against it.(16)

(15) The three categories adopted here are used in Charlotte Conable's Women at Cornell, p.20-21.
Bills introduced throughout state legislatures in support of women's higher education met with unfavorable response. One legislator declared in 1825 that such an idea was "an impracticable fancy born in the reverie of some speculative mind, well meaning perhaps, but utterly ahead of sober sense and prudent wisdom." (17) When a bill proposing a coeducational college was introduced by Duncan G. Campbell in 1825 to the Georgia State Legislature, it passed the House but was resoundingly defeated in the Senate. The goal of permanently establishing an educational institution where women would have the same advantages as men, failed because public sentiment was not yet ready for so radical a departure from "American tradition." (18)

Another barrier to women's education, and perhaps the most controversial, was that the biological composition of a woman could not tolerate education, and that education would undermine a woman's primary function as wife and mother. The general public believed in the biological inferiority of women, and their beliefs were supported by medical authorities. Dr. A.L. Smith wrote

(18) Ibid., p. 139.
in the Popular Science Monthly in 1904 that most ill health was due to

"over education because it takes blood to the brain which is needed for muscular and generative organs; it overdevelops the nervous system, causes women to lead abnormal lives, and not to marry till twenty-six or twenty-seven, if at all, whereas they ought to marry at eighteen; finally education raises women's standards so high that no man can afford to marry them."(19)

Smith was concerned about the effect of education on the physical health of women. Women should be wary, he warned, of letting education overdevelop a woman's brain and keep her body less well developed. "Not only does wifehood and motherhood not require an extraordinary development of brain, but the latter is a decided barrier against the performance of these duties."(20) Whereas the uneducated wife will cheerfully perform the domestic duties, Smith believed that educated women would scorn these duties and thus fail to be married.

Much popular literature was written on the subject of education's grave danger to health. Dr. E.H. Clarke, a former Harvard professor, wrote two particularly influential books on the subject: Building a Brain (1880) and Sex in Mind and Education (1884). In the former book, Clarke attempted to document his

conclusions by sending out a survey to teachers and physicians across the nation. In the first question he asked: "Is one sex more liable than the other to suffer in health from attendance on school?" One hundred and nine out of one hundred and fifty-nine responses said that females were more liable than males. Only one respondent thought that males were more likely to become ill from attending school. And thirty-one physicians and teachers believed that both sexes were equally liable. The second question was whether or not puberty increased this liability. One hundred and twenty answered "yes - for girls," while twelve answered "no" and nine remained uncertain. (21) The results of the study led Dr. Clarke to conclude that women between the ages of fourteen and twenty were especially susceptible to the strain induced "by overexcitement, physical exercise or 'brain work.'" (22) The strain of education (particularly coeducation) Clarke believed, would cause neuralgia, uterine disease, and hysteria and could possibly create an imbalance in a woman's system such that children would be born deformed.

Despite the widespread and commonly held view that women's bodies would collapse under education, some women

(21) Ibid., p.276-277.
(22) Charlotte Conable, Women at Cornell, p.72.
and some administrators were willing to take a chance and promote the education of women. President Andrew White of Cornell University responded to Clarke's reports by saying that "the failure of men to find solutions to female health problems indicated clearly the need for educated women to address these issues."(23) Martha Carey Thomas, educated at Cornell and later the Dean of Bryn Mawr College, related, in 1905, her fears as a young woman that she "and every other woman...were to live as pathological invalids" because of her pursuit of higher studies.(24) Only after women such as Thomas completed their four years of mental culture could they reassure others that their health was not impaired mentally or physically.

Even if a woman's body could tolerate education, most men believed that a woman's brain was unlike a man's and was incapable of handling college work. These attitudes continued even after women had been admitted to colleges and had done college work successfully. Indeed, it is odd, considering the immediate and obvious success of women doing college work, that beliefs of mental inferiority and physical weakness continued as long as they did. Statistics began to show that women, as

(23) Ibid., p.72.
college students, were equal to or better than men. In an article from the "Educational Review" (XXXV) of 1901, it was shown that more women from the University of Chicago and Boston University had been elected to Phi Beta Kappa than had men. Martha Carey Thomas concluded that "we should have been satisfied if they had proved to be only a little less good than men college students, but tested by every known test of examination or classroom recitation, women have proved themselves equal to men, even slightly superior."(25)

Professors and students alike agreed that women did as well or better than men. Universities had feared that a school's standards would be lowered by admitting women. But Professor Cooley of the Law Department at Michigan found otherwise. "You are misinformed if you are told that the standard of admission is lowered by admitting women to the university. The tendency has been in the other direction."(26) President White of Cornell agreed with this statement and declared that all facts observed at his institution confirmed the view that women were as capable as men.(27) Thus two of the fears that prevented female education - that it would coarsen, demoralize or destroy feminine sensibility and that females would

(25) Ibid., p.158.
(26) Ibid., p.298.
(27) Ibid., p.299.
feminize (down-grade) an institution - were both disproved by actual experience.

After the predicted results of women's collegiate education did not appear, a new and more terrible outcome was predicted and thus a new social barrier to women's higher education was erected. That college educated women did not marry to the same extent as other women was considered a subversive influence upon the traditional American conception of women and the family.

"No matter who collected the statistics, the figures always showed that at least a fourth of the women who graduated from college never married, a proportion that was more than double that for non-college women...By arousing women's sense of self and identity, higher education seemed to be undermining one of the chief reasons for opening colleges to women - that is, to make them into better wives and mothers." (28)

Making better wives and mothers had been proclaimed as the reason for educating women by those institutions which directed the education. Many educational pioneers attempted to guard against this subversive influence of women's education in a way similar to the way men had - by establishing schools which taught women to excel in the domestic skills.

Catharine Beecher was such an innovator. Beecher was particularly opposed to coeducation believing that it would be like "bringing gunpowder and burning coals into

(28) Carl Degler, At Odds, p.314.
close vicinity." (29) She could not even imagine the horrible things that would happen to innocent young girls subjected to such education. Beecher did not believe that women should receive the same degrees as men, as it would be in bad taste, cause needless ridicule and painful notoriety. (30) Moreover, such a degree would appear to be an attempt to unsex women. Catharine Beecher wrote a book entitled *Domestic Economy*, used by young ladies at home and at school, which delineated the demands upon a woman as a homemaker, her "sacred profession." Beecher believed that a school was needed where women would be educated for their life's work.

Catharine Beecher was a pioneer in women's education. Beecher along with Emma Willard and Mary Lyon initiated the female seminary movement in America. The seminary movement grew at a phenomenal rate throughout the United States, though more slowly in the East, where the male dominated systems of Harvard, Yale and Princeton were predominant. Throughout the first three quarters of the nineteenth century, the seminary was the dominant agency of women's advanced education. (31) Troy Female Seminary, established by Emma Willard, has been said

(31) Ibid., p.363.
"with some exaggeration, to mark the beginning of higher education for women in the United States." (32) The aims of the early seminaries were to prepare women for life, rather than for college. At the time, seminaries offered the chief means of advanced education for women. (33) The facets of "life preparation" that were stressed at seminaries included Christian religion and morals, maternal influence, domestic training, social usefulness, physical health, intellectual enjoyment, training for the teaching profession, and mental discipline. (34) Obviously, religious and domestic training were central objectives of female seminary education.

While female seminaries offered girls a more liberal education than they had been afforded previously, the content of education was markedly dissimilar from that which men received. Shortcomings in female seminaries were realized early in their history. But the existence of these educational programs for women, though limited, paved the way for women's colleges and finally for coeducation. As early as 1821 the central defect in "female education" was realized. In The American Lady's Preceptor of that year it was stated that:

(32) Ibid., p. 344.
(33) Ibid., p. 397.
(34) Ibid., p. 397.
The only cardinal defect in the education of our females...is perhaps an undue appropriation of time to the acquisition of those light accomplishments, which serve well to enliven and decorate... but are attended with no durable advantages.(35)

The concept of equal education was developed slowly from 1800 to 1850. Though women's seminaries and colleges contributed much to the independence of women, it is clear that coeducation was the greatest step taken in an attempt to put woman on a plane of absolute equality with man.(36) When looking at the last several hundred years, political emancipation has been the great symbol of women's achievements. Their intellectual emancipation, however, was more significant because of its priority and its fundamental character. Coeducation was adopted first in the Midwest by various institutions and did not spread East until much later, after the Civil War. By 1870 there was progress for coeducation; but of the estimated 3000 women studying at institutions awarding bachelor's degrees, only 800 were at coeducational institutions.(37) Slowly, cautiously, and reluctantly coeducation was being adopted.

In order to investigate the reasons for adopting coeducation as well as the effects of coeducation, it is

(37) Charlotte Conable, Women at Cornell, p.62.
necessary to formulate a more complete notion of what is meant by the term "coeducation." Alternately, "coeducation" has meant three different things. "Coeducation" can mean identical education of the sexes together, education of the sexes together in the same college (but not necessarily the same education for both) and finally, education in coordinate colleges.(38)

Of all the reasons given for adopting coeducation, the economics of the decision is cited most often and seems to have had the biggest influence on the decision. Women were initially educated with men not because it was believed to be ideologically sound, but because it was economically expedient. The economic factor in education loomed particularly large in the developing states of the midwest. Several factors inherent to the frontier states provided a climate conducive to the development of sexually integrated colleges.

"The strength of the tradition of sexual segregation in higher education so strong in the Eastern United States was diminished by the migration West, educated women were in short supply to function as wives and teachers, and the economy of educating both sexes together was particularly decisive."(39)

The total exclusion of women from colleges was broken in 1837 when Oberlin College in Ohio permitted

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(39) Charlotte Conable, Women at Cornell, p.25.
women to enroll with men at its opening. The Western states and the churches in these days were too poor to support two high grade educational institutions.\(^{(40)}\) The only way to afford to educate both men and women, particularly in frontier areas, was to adopt coeducation, even if this did not mean equal education. Gradually this economic solution was forced on even the older state universities in the Middle West.\(^{(41)}\)

Two other reasons are commonly cited for the roles they played in the development of coeducation. The Civil War served as a catalyst, destroying traditional restraints and encouraging women's involvement in activities outside of the home.\(^{(42)}\) Once barriers of discrimination began to be attacked, it became easier for women to rally together for their intellectual emancipation. Organizations of women were effective in the anti-slavery cause. Such associations gave women rallying points to work together for the immediate benefit of women. The other reason for coeducation, was the increasing need for professional teachers. Women were willing to accept lower wages and fewer promotions than men, and such conditions stimulated the growth of

\(^{(41)}\) Ibid., p.256.
educational institutions of higher learning. Still it was over two hundred years before any of these barriers had been challenged at all.
II. Oberlin and Cornell Models

"As for training young ladies through a long intellectual course, as we do the young men, it can never be done. They will die in the process..."

-Reverend John Todd
"Liberal Education of Women"

In order to put the educational development of Lawrence University into perspective, models from two other schools will be studied briefly to provide a general framework.

Although Oberlin College was the pioneer institution for coeducation, its beginnings were not moved by egalitarian principles as might be supposed. Indeed, the introduction of coeducation was not equally geared toward men and women, but was conceived and implemented with a desire to meet the needs of men.(43) As the founders

pointed out, women's presence would give men an alternative to single-sex education. It would also provide a social outlet for men and "encourage male academic concentration."(44) Moreover, the presence of women, it was thought, would have the effect of civilizing and humanizing the male students. Since the male students were largely destined to be future ministers, these influences were considered important. "The founders referred to the women students, significantly enough, as the 'female appendage' to the college; nor was it unusual to refer to the male students as 'the leading sex.'"(45)

The religious goals of Oberlin College - the promulgation of the Gospel - called forth the need for as many participants as possible. Everyone, even women, were needed to help the University in this endeavor. According to a bulletin issued by the University, one of the objectives of the College was "...thorough education of women and the training of a band of self-denying, hardy, intelligent, efficient laborers of both sexes, for the world's enlightenment and regeneration."(46) Specifically regarding women, an 1834 circular

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(44) Carl Degler, At Odds, p.310.
(45) Ibid., p.310.
announcement of the University declared that it sought to elevate the female character, "bringing within reach of the misjudged and neglected sex, all the instructive privileges which hitherto have unreasonably distinguished the leading sex from theirs." (47) Thus, like most denominational schools established in the first half of the nineteenth century, the main purpose at Oberlin was to educate men for the "gospel ministry" and to help civilize and save the West.

The attitude towards women at Oberlin was distinctive, but the difference was in degree rather than in kind. (48) The presence of women was not only to serve a religious purpose but was to serve a social purpose -- the well-being of men. Admitting women to the school would ensure a ready and suitable supply of future wives for the young male students. Many believed that ministers needed to claim a wife right after graduation and before taking a pulpit: "It is not surprising therefore that the school consciously attempted to provide these future evangelical ministers with suitable wives. This was accomplished primarily through the vehicle of the Female Department." (49) For a time, Oberlin had both a collegiate Department and a Female

(47) Ibid., p.163.
(48) Ibid., p.166.
(49) Ibid., p.166-167.
Department side by side. (50) Members of the Female Department participated in the same classes as their male counterparts even when college classes began in 1834. Women only comprised about one-third to one-half of the student body in the first several decades. Most of these women graduated from the "Ladies Department" which had a course of study different from the liberal arts program. Only one-fifth of the women received the same degree as men. (51) The disorder that many feared would occur as a result of coeducation did not take place. Members of Cornell University's administrative staff visited Oberlin in 1871 to investigate the experiment of coeducation. When the visitors observed recitations in mathematics and languages, order was prevailing: "'The young ladies, while showing self-possession, appeared refined, quiet and modest. Their exercises were in all cases performed as well as those of the young men, in many cases better.'"(52) The report of the Cornell visitors noted not only order, but that coeducation also seemed to promote morality. "'Evils that might be tolerated in the shape of drinking saloons and other places of

(52) Charlotte Conable, Women at Cornell, p.68.
dissipation, if young men only were present, seem intolerable when ladies are gathered with them.'"(53)

The history of coeducation at Cornell University provides a slightly different model as explanation for the nature of the initiation of coeducation. Initially, the founders awarded women equal opportunities based on innate abilities and a faith in women's intellectual capacity. After the initial period of development, however, university policy changed so that economic considerations and social pressures shaped the educational experience offered to women, and resulted in dissimilar preparation and motivation for future endeavors.(54)

The founders of coeducation at Cornell, particularly Andrew White and Ezra Cornell, thoroughly investigated the merits and disadvantages of coeducation before adopting it for their university. In 1871 they corresponded with other educators, read reviews of reports of other colleges with coeducation and visited other coeducational institutions (e.g., Oberlin). In 1872, White presented the report to the Board of Trustees.(55)

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(53) Ibid., p.69.
(54) Charlotte Conable, Women at Cornell, p.7-8
(55) Ibid., p.67
White began by studying the 1858 report of the University of Michigan's Board of Regents. The opinions of distinguished male educators were contained in this report; and the majority of them were opposed to coeducation. They declared it "'contrary to nature,' 'likely to produce confusion,' 'at variance with the ordinances of God,' and 'dangerous.'" (56) Both women's delicacy and man's dignity would be compromised or destroyed by such an experiment, the report noted. White, however, chose to discount the entire report. Although the men were supposed experts, none of them had any actual experience with coeducation. Similarly, White discounted popular theories about women's limited intellectual capacity and their "proper sphere." (57) Fortunately for women, the men at Cornell wanted only to consider actual experience as evidence for their study.

White countered almost every attack upon coeducation. He believed that the presence of women had a refining effect upon young men, without causing men to become effeminate. Finally, White considered the concern that women would divert men's attention from studying to love. But "the conclusion was that men would study harder to appear to best advantage before the women and

(56) Ibid., p.67
(57) Ibid., p.67
the conscientiousness of women would raise the level of scholarship."(58) The men at Cornell may not have been the first to adopt coeducation, but they were certainly pioneers, especially for the Eastern part of the United States. Even in 1870, of all the institutions for higher education in the U.S., only twenty-nine percent were coeducational.(59) From this background, it can be concluded that coeducation at Cornell was adopted, at least to a large degree, because of the commitment of enlightened men.

Sage College for women was opened in 1875 at Cornell. For twenty years the building was not fully occupied. The Trustees, in 1884, stated that the building must be fully utilized or given up by the women students.(60) It was ruled that all women would be required to live in Sage College after 1884. Women's freedom of choice had to be violated if Sage College for women was to be economically viable.(61) This (initially) economic measure soon extended into other areas and significantly altered the status of women within the University. Admission policies changed towards women. Whereas men were admitted to the University according to

(58) Ibid., p.71
(59) Ibid., p.99
(60) Charlotte Conable, Women at Cornell, p.101
(61) Ibid., p.106-107
the space for students in classes, women were admitted based on the number of beds, and the space in the dormitory rooms. The regulation that women had to live in Sage College severely limited the number of women admitted to Cornell; more women were rejected by Cornell than were men. In 1900 only fourteen percent of Cornell students were women; the number did not exceed twenty-five percent until the 1960's. (62) Neither individual merit nor individual potential was the standard of admission. Propriety was.

The strict segregation of the sexes in living arrangements and thus admission policies was maintained in other areas. "...only women were admitted to home economics and only men were permitted to prepare themselves in such fields as engineering and law." (63) Charlotte Conable in her book Women at Cornell would argue that the Cornell experience was reinforcing a cultural message to be heard by men and women alike: "That women's proper role is as a social appendage to a man." (64)

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The Oberlin and Cornell models for coeducation provide a basis for the understanding of the history of women and coeducation at Lawrence University from 1846-1924.

(62) Ibid., p.111
(63) Ibid., p.115
(64) Ibid., p.122
III. Origins and Pre-Collegiate Years of Lawrence University

"No one can estimate too highly the importance of a thorough female education: at the same time, it has proved highly injurious to some seminaries where it has been attempted in connection with that of the males. Besides other bad results it has lowered the standard of scholarship, or has prevented its being elevated as it otherwise could have been."

Amos Adams Lawrence
April 5, 1848

Amos Adams Lawrence, a Boston merchant, first became interested in Wisconsin lands when contacted by Reverend Eleazer Williams, a missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church to the Oneida Indians (and the pretender to the throne of France as the "lost dauphin"). Williams induced Amos A. Lawrence to advance him funds to pay the taxes on a large tract of land he possessed in Wisconsin. Originally, the land had been a grant from the government to Williams and the Oneida Indians. Williams was attempting to obtain a permanent deed for the land, but found that the land had been sold to
pay the previous year's taxes. When Williams' cause eventually failed, Lawrence found himself in possession of some 5000 acres of land in Wisconsin. In 1845, Lawrence first communicated his idea of a college to his Wisconsin agent in Green Bay, H. Eugene Eastman.

Nearly a year elapsed before Eastman communicated Lawrence's correspondence to the presiding elder of the Green Bay Mission District of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Elder William Harkness Sampson received the following correspondence from Eastman, a letter which Lawrence had sent to Eastman, which formally marks the origin of the concept of Lawrence University:

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of a letter from a gentleman in Boston, whose name I am not at liberty to disclose, containing the following proposition which I take the liberty of tendering to you to be submitted to your annual conference should you see fit to do so.

"If there is any certainty of a vigorous cooperation of any other body, lay or clerical, I should be willing to put such a sum of money in the hands of Trustees, as placed at interest, will in ten years amount to $10,000, and also give (provided there should be no failure in case of my death), the sum of One Thousand Dollars yearly for ten years toward securing a competent salary to such instructors as may be required, or if necessary, I will pay the $10,000 in cash now to secure the desired object. But all this is founded upon the expectation of a similar sum from other quarters. I should have a high opinion of the adaptation of the Methodists to the people of the West, and I think from all I can learn, that their institutions are carried on with more vigor, and diffuse more good from the same means than others. It seems to be decided that all literary institutions must be controlled by some sect, and efforts to prevent this have often blasted their usefulness. I wish you to keep this to yourself as far as possible, at any rate keep my name out of view." (65)
Eastman clarified to Sampson later in the letter that the proposition was for establishing an institution of learning at or near DePere, Brown County, where the potential benefactor owned land. Sampson presented Eastman's communication to the Rock River Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Peoria, Illinois in August of 1846. "The conference was not greatly interested in a college so far from its center of population, especially as it was already committed to an educational program in Illinois." (66) The letter which Eastman forwarded to Sampson kept the name of the potential benefactor anonymous, which added to the Conference's suspicions about the proposal. The proposal was referred to the educational committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was returned to Sampson with the instructions that he secure a correspondence with the initiator of the project. (67) Sampson was ready to conclude that the whole project was an imposition that should be forgotten.

Three months later, Lawrence's proposal reached the Wisconsin Methodists through another channel. (68) Reeder Smith, the travelling agent of the Wesleyan Seminary at

(67) Ibid., p.119.
Albion, Michigan, went to Amos Lawrence to present the cause of Albion Seminary and to ask for financial assistance. Lawrence refused because he said he was planning to establish an institution of learning in Wisconsin. Smith became interested in Lawrence's idea and Amos Lawrence was impressed by Reeder Smith. Thus, Smith became involved with the Lawrence project in Wisconsin. Smith was not yet a paid agent, but went to Wisconsin to inspect the Lawrence lands for their suitability for a Methodist institution. Smith contacted William Sampson in Fond du Lac and Henry Root Colman, a veteran Methodist missionary to the Indians, to help him survey the land. Smith and Colman became convinced that Grand Chute was the best location for the institution, and that the Williams land was unsuitable. (69)

Amos Lawrence had quite definite ideas in mind when he initiated his project for a school in Wisconsin. Lawrence had a decided interest in the future of the territory of Wisconsin, as he had a great deal invested in the land. It seemed that Lawrence wanted to improve the moral, religious and intellectual tenor of the area - an action that would attract more desirable settlers to the area. In a February 11, 1847 letter to William Sampson, Lawrence discussed his initial objectives.

The design which I had in mind when I made the offer of ten thousand dollars for an Institution of learning was that to improve the moral and religious character of the

(69) Ibid., p.32.
present and future settlers in the region of the country where I have an interest, as well as to afford them an opportunity of literary education. I am aware that there is a great need for improvement in the character of the present inhabitants (being mostly French and Half-breeds) and I presumed that a good school or college would afford an inducement to draw a better class of settlers. (70)

In a letter to his son William, Lawrence reiterated these thoughts, but also stressed that the Wisconsin people needed "uplifting" more than almost any other part of the country. (71) Amos A. Lawrence's father had planted the seeds of this project in his son's mind when he said that "...the people there must do all they can to build an Oxford or a Cambridge that shall be the glory of Wisconsin." (72)

If the correspondence of Amos A. Lawrence is investigated, one would either be surprised that women were admitted to Lawrence from the outset, or would conclude that Amos Lawrence did not have a very great influence on the school which bore his name. The subject of women's education at Lawrence was initiated in 1846 by a letter H. Eugene Eastman sent to Lawrence. Eastman, after talking to the principal men of the area concludes "that a school for boys and one for girls could be well sustained here now. We should all be glad to guarantee to any competent young lady, a comfortable home and all the proper provisions, who should undertake to spend

(70) Correspondence of Amos A. Lawrence, Vol. I, p. 121.
(71) William F. Raney, "History of Lawrence College", p. 27.
(72) Correspondence of Amos A. Lawrence, Vol. II, p. 75.
her time in teaching a small class of children . . . "(73) Eastman clearly did not intend to suggest that women should receive the same professional college education as men, but that women should be allowed to meet the increasing demand for teachers in the area. He even stipulated that the school be separate - one for boys and a different one for girls.

Nearly a year later, the issue was being discussed more specifically. On December 14, 1847 Lawrence wrote to Reeder Smith with the conclusion that he did not want anything to do with a female department of his school, and that it was really no affair of his:

I have lately had some more information in regard to the connection of a male and female Department in the Institute and have concluded that it will not be judicious to have the females at all, under the same Incorporation. If individuals choose to set up a female school that is no affair of mine. (74)

That spring, Lawrence wrote again to Reeder Smith in regard to the question of admitting women. Unfortunately, none of Reeder Smith's responses and letters are available for study. Although the correspondence is one-sided, it can be concluded that the issue was alive, for Lawrence continued to write about it as though he were responding to inquiries about women's education.

Amos Lawrence's letter of April 5, 1848 expresses,

(73) Correspondence of Amos A. Lawrence, Vol. I, p. 66.
(74) Lawrence to Reeder Smith, December 14, 1847, Ibid., p. 193.
specifically, his concern about admitting female scholars. His fears seem to be those that were current at the time - and that have already been discussed in an earlier segment of this paper:

The question of admitting females as scholars, is a very important one. It is what I did not contemplate and it is liable to objections. At the same time, it may be possible to make an arrangement by which a branch of this institution, if it should be prospered, may be devoted to them. No one can estimate too highly the importance of a thorough female education: at the same time it has proved highly injurious [in the original the word "fatally" here appeared] to some seminaries where it has been attempted in connection with that of the males. Besides other bad results it has lowered the standard of scholarship, or has prevented its being elevated as it otherwise could have been: it has made high schools of institutions which were intended for and ought to have been colleges. The plan which you suggest of separating the Female Department from the other and making it a "preparatory school" entirely distinct from the college or Institute, though under the same charter, may be successful."(75)

Obviously, Amos Lawrence did not have coeducation in mind when he initiated his plan for a literary institute of higher learning in Wisconsin. And if coeducation were to be adopted, he could not envision equal education, but only separate or dissimilar education "entirely distinct" from the education of men. That Lawrence University became the second coeducational college in the United States was not the intention of its founder Amos A.Lawrence. Rather, it was in spite of his efforts.

(75) Amos Lawrence to Reeder Smith, April 5, 1848, Correspondence of Amos A.Lawrence, Vol.I, p.211.
Even after classes (preparatory) had begun in 1849 with both men and women in attendance, Amos Lawrence clung to his model of single sex education. On May 1, 1847, Lawrence had drawn up an indenture to transfer some of his stock to a Mr. Parker, as a Trustee for the money. The money would be paid over to the trustees of the University on January 1, 1850 if the conditions of the indenture had been met. On November 25, 1850, another indenture was drawn up since "the said trustees have not yet succeeded in establishing a College for the education of young men as said Lawrence had hoped and expected, but have established what is called the Preparatory School of Lawrence University for the education of boys and girls..."(76) Later in the document, when the stipulations are set, Lawrence gives to Parker twenty shares of stock that are held by him "to insure that the main purpose of the said Lawrence may be accomplished and the "University" so called, be established for the education of young men exclusively..."(77)

It is difficult to say how much the ideas of Amos A. Lawrence shaped the early college, or to what degree they were put into effect. In at least two cases, the Methodists specifically did not follow Lawrence's wishes. The college was located where it is today rather than on Lawrence land;

(76) Correspondence of Amos A. Lawrence, Vol.II, p.283.
(77) Ibid., p.284.
and females were admitted as students, an action which Amos Lawrence thought unwise.\(^{(78)}\) Even while the question was still being debated, Reeder Smith and William Sampson (both apparently strong supporters of coeducation) issued a subscription book (1847) that indicated that both sexes were welcome at Lawrence: "The Lawrence Institute of Wisconsin is to include a Preparatory and a Teacher's Department under the same charter affording gratuitous advantages to both sexes of Germans and Indians."\(^{(79)}\) One might be curious about what happened to the "French and half-breeds" that Amos Lawrence said solely inhabited the area. Also in this first subscription book was yet another description of the people in the area. What was written describing the early inhabitants of the "Town of Lawrence" (largely people associated with the University) was not entirely favorable or conducive to drawing people who were looking for intellectual or moral stimulation:

Amos A. Lawrence, Esq., of Boston, Mass., has regarded this location very important, as an opening, for the promotion of good morals and education among the promiscuous crowds of emigrants in a portion of the country, where it is most needed, and also, for the benefit of the numerous tribes of uncivilized nations in the West, and the half civilized which are permanently located near the spot. \(^{(80)}\)

Despite a publication such as this issued by the Lawrence


\(^{(79)}\) Alumni Record 1857-1922, p.30.

\(^{(80)}\) Ibid., p.30.
Institute, Amos Lawrence, six years later, still considered the school an all male endeavor. The August 24, 1853 statement of indenture for the Lawrence Institute stated that Amos A. Lawrence "...is desirous of founding within the state of Wisconsin, in the town of Lawrence, a school, for which a charter has been granted by the Legislature, for the purpose of educating young men." (81) The statement was signed by Amos A. Lawrence and Mason C. Darling, a trustee of the University. Either Lawrence was still firmly holding his original position and denying reality, or the reports he was receiving from Wisconsin were not telling him what was truly happening.

If any credit is to be given to individuals for Lawrence's history as a coeducational institution, it would go to William Harkness Sampson and Reeder Smith, both Methodist ministers. Sampson was apparently the ideological force behind the initiation of coeducation at Lawrence and Smith was the financial-legal defender of the women of Wisconsin. In a brief sketch of the early history of Lawrence, Sampson wrote that "we concluded (members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Wisconsin) that a college for both male and female students where each and all should be entitled to educational advantages was a desideratum." (82) Sampson and the Methodists, thus superseded the wishes and mandates of Amos Lawrence to

(81) Correspondence of Amos A. Lawrence, Vol. IV, p. 59.
(82) Alumni Record 1857-1922, p. 9.
establish coeducation.

Reeder Smith's earlier connection with Wesleyan Seminary in Albion, Michigan is indirectly responsible for coeducation at Lawrence. In drawing up a charter for the Lawrence Institute, the chief models used were the charters of the Wesleyan Seminary at Albion and of Beloit College. Much of the wording in the Lawrence charter is taken directly from the Albion charter: "The words, 'for the education of youth generally,' first appeared in the Albion charter in 1841, and were adopted by Lawrence in 1847. At a later time they were understood to mean that men and women students were on equal footing at Lawrence." (83) On January 17, 1847 the charter of Lawrence Institute was signed by Governor Henry Dodge. The Preparatory Department opened with thirty-five students on November 12, 1849.

IV. Role of Methodism in the Early Development of Lawrence University

"...your committee are fully assured that the most sanguine anticipations of the friends of the Institution for imparting thorough scholarship in all departments of literature, are now being fully realized. This is the more gratifying to us all, as the University originated and attained its present eminence, in part under our own fostering care; and we rejoice now to recognize it as a powerful and indispensable auxiliary to the spread of scriptural holiness over these western lands...The compositions of the young ladies and the orations of the young gentlemen showed a high state of intellectual and moral culture, and gave very general satisfaction. A deep religious sentiment pervaded many of the productions and they were all characterized by a profound deference to Christian principle."

-Minutes of the First Session of the West Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1856

It would seem that the Methodist-Episcopal Church played a strong role in the early development of Lawrence as a coeducational school. While Amos Lawrence respected the Methodist Church and its adaptability to the people
of the West, he did not want sectarian influence to predominate. It would have been impossible to start a school except under the auspices of some religious group. Even though Sampson and other members of the administrative staff denied that an overwhelming Methodist influence presided at Lawrence, it would seem that in its first seventy-five years of existence, Lawrence was very much a Methodist institution.

The Methodist Church was founded in the United States at the so-called Christmas Conference at Baltimore that began on December 24, 1784. The Methodist-Episcopal Church became incorporated in Wisconsin on March 10, 1849. (84) Almost all colleges and universities established during the nineteenth century were associated with one denomination or another. Methodists were leaders in the revivalist movement across the United States that created the organizational pattern for educational institutions associated with a particular denomination. "The outcome was a vast educational campaign to save the West from sin in general and Roman Catholicism in particular." (85) The revivalism effort of denominations was essentially educational; but the

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(84) Elizabeth Wilson, Methodism in Eastern Wisconsin, 1832-1850, p.58.
denominations used the school to instill a common belief system which "combined undenominational Protestantism and nonpartisan patriotism."(86) The Church was used self-consciously to create a systematic instruction of the public in a particular view of America and its future.

Methodism, like any other Protestant denomination, was used as a tool of Americanization rather than to espouse a particular system of religious beliefs. The Methodist "discipline" was merely an organizational technique to generate an attitudinal climate - a climate that could respiritualize the institutions in which young people were growing and being educated.(87)

The sect-like religious zeal often associated with nineteenth century religious colleges is then, probably a misinterpretation. It seems more likely that strong denominational influence in founding colleges came after the Civil War rather than before: "For most of the institutions with founding dates prior to 1850 this degree of denominationalism is a departure from the primary role played by localism in founding and nurturing these educational enterprises during their earliest years."(88) While religious zeal is an element of

(86) Ibid., p.51.
(87) Ibid., p.49.
(88) David M. Potts, "American Colleges in the Nineteenth
localism, secular forces played the predominant role in building the denominational colleges.

A monograph, written in 1928, investigated Methodist affiliated colleges in the years prior to 1869. Using official denominational sources, it was concluded that the Methodist-Episcopal denomination lacked control over their educational institutions, a fact which was odd considering the highly organized and bureaucratic nature of the sect. (89) The report also concluded that these churches did not attempt to direct the activities of their educational institutions with regard to the needs of the denomination as a whole.

With these three views of the Methodist role in denominational colleges in mind, one may conclude that the church was not an overpowering or dominant force in the early life of church colleges. A distinction needs to be made, however. While the organized hierarchy of the church did not dictate policy to its colleges, the administrative staff of a school may have instituted policy in keeping with the religious heritage of the denomination that sponsored the college. At Lawrence University there was a decided Methodist influence --

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(89) Ibid., p.107.
and a general Protestant influence both stated explicitly and felt pervasively. In the first seventy-five years of its history, every president of Lawrence University was a Methodist minister. Four of the first six presidents were graduates of Wesleyan University of Middletown, Connecticut, the first Methodist College in the United States. In fact, Edward Cooke, the first president of Lawrence, picked six professors, all of whom were graduates of Wesleyan. (90)

Amos A. Lawrence was skeptical, at times, about the role played by the Methodist Church in the operations of Lawrence Institute. He did not want all power and control to reside with the Church. It seems that Lawrence took the advice of Reverend L.K. Lathrop, a man he had asked to examine the charter for the University in the summer of 1847. (91) Lathrop agreed that the University should be begun under the auspices of the Methodist denomination. He also agreed with Lawrence's fear regarding the selecting of the University's president:

I would start the institution under their auspices. I would give them control of it - I would have them feel that they are responsible for it and can retain the management of it so long as they are wise, prosperous and faithful in the administration of it. But I would not secure them this control forever by a chartered right and perogative, [sic] and I

(91) Correspondence of Amos A. Lawrence, Vol.I, p. 166.
certainly would not place the election of the President, the very soul and life of the institution, if it is to have any soul or life, in the hands of a popular ecclesiastical body of that or of any other religious denomination. (92)

In order to limit the Methodist influence over the college, Amos Lawrence included restrictions in his indenture on the percentage of trustees who were to be Methodists. In the November 25, 1850 indenture, Lawrence agreed to give the $10,000 provided that, among other conditions, "a large minority of the joint board of visitors and trustees of said Institute shall be of some other denomination than the Methodist and that at least one professor in said Institute shall not be of said denomination." (93) This had been changed from the original designation that no more than one half plus one of the members on the Board should be Methodist. (94)

Mason C. Darling, one of the trustees at the time, corresponded with Lawrence about objections to this stipulation in the indenture. Apparently, many of the Methodists were concerned that they were losing control of the institution to either Amos Lawrence or the Congregationalists. The wording was left at "a minority" to show that Amos Lawrence and the Methodists had

(92) Ibid., p.170.
(94) Ibid., p.226.
confidence in each other. (95) Darling was able to convince the Rock River Conference of Methodists that the arrangement was actually to their advantage. In the summer of 1850 he wrote to Lawrence that some of the zealous Methodists were afraid that the split on the Board would lead to factional difficulty, jealousy and hard feelings between the Methodists and Lawrence. But Mason Darling convinced them that Amos Lawrence was not trying to take over control of the Institution from the Methodists, and that the measure "was designed, and would have the effect to elevate the character of the Institution and give it a more commanding influence as an institution of learning, by engaging the interest of a portion of the community who would otherwise feel but little interest in it." (96)

Even though the charter was to settle worries of sectarian domination from a legal perspective, Mr. Lawrence remained concerned. Students were required to attend religious services, but they could attend the service of their choice or of their parents' specification. Reverend A.B. Randall wrote to Lawrence to explain why, to a large degree, it may have appeared as though the Methodists were dominant. When the Board

(95) Ibid., p.226.
(96) Ibid., p.225.
first began, Randall said, only a small majority were from the Methodist Episcopal Church. But the Board almost ceased to function, because those members who were not Methodists did not have as great an interest in Lawrence University as those who were Methodists. "The fact is that Dr. Darling and Chas Linsby are the only active Trustees the Board has been able to secure out of the M.E. Church... Members of other churches have institutions of their own; and they are determined to maintain them in preference to others."(97) Instead of the Board's initial fears that other denominations would take over, the opposite occurred. And unlike the benefit anticipated by Dr. Darling, the involvement of other denominations on the Board did not increase community involvement with Lawrence University.

Randall also assured Lawrence that "As to your fears of the Lawrence University's becoming a sectarian concern, they are entirely groundless."(98) Randall believed that the charter firmly settled the question by allowing complete religious freedom for students - provided that they worshipped somewhere. Similarly, "no particular tenet distinguishing between different Christian denominations shall be required as a

(97) Ibid., p.249.
(98) Ibid., p.249.
qualification for a professor in said Institution."

When the cornerstone of Main Hall was dedicated on June 28, 1853, the controversy over the Methodist influence at Lawrence still raged strong. That the address delivered at the dedication of the building should be a defense of the Methodist's lack of sectarian influence, indicates that the issue was still current. Reverend Alfred Brunson in his address said:

We are aware that some morbid minds and squeamish hearts fear, or pretend to fear "sectarian" influences from schools patronized and conducted by one religious sect. It is true, there is a moral influence surrounding every man, and every association of men; and who ever comes within this, will feel more or less biased in favor of their benefactors. This is natural and cannot be avoided. But further than this we declare before God and the world that we have not and shall exert and use no sectarian influence whatsoever.

There is, quite obviously, another side to this story. Even in other places, there are conflicting reports about the purpose and intent of the church. In the 1851 Minutes of the Wisconsin Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the record details what the church perceived as its role at Lawrence University. The Methodists' purposes were chiefly two: to convert the students to a Christian life, and to train the future ministry of the denomination. And it was their goal to

(99) Ibid., p.249
(100) Alumni Record 1857-1922, p.39-40.
create an environment suitable to these purposes. The purposes given here sound much like the purposes earlier associated with the origin of Oberlin College. According to the minutes:

"The moral and religious state of the institution has been, and is good. Some of the students have embraced religion; the various religious meetings have been well attended, and Christian influence has been thoroughly dominant. Let us but continue our prayers from every altar, and year after year will be won, in this institution, trophies to the cross who shall bless the world when we shall have passed to our happy reward." (101)

While the structure and strength of religious influence varied, it had a great impact on educational opportunities and on the participation of women within these opportunities.

(101) Minutes of the West Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Church, 1851, p.26.
V. Early Years: 1853-1867

"...that from the halls of this institution will go out men who will grace the pulpit, the forum, the Senate, the executive chair of states and of the nation, and of the healing art; that the farm, the shop, and the counter may be conducted in accordance with the rules and laws of sanctified science here obtained. And we hope that the future wives and mothers of our land may carry from these halls the means of guiding future generations in the paths of virtue, religion and usefulness to our race."

-Rev. Alfred Brunson
Address at the laying of the cornerstone for Main Hall, 1853

The opportunities for men and women were "specified" as equal from the outset of instruction. The Preparatory School began in 1849 to prepare students for college level work. The first catalogue was called the "Catalog of the Corporation, Faculty, Students and Course of Study of the Preparatory Department of the Lawrence University 1849-50." It registered fifty-six gentlemen and forty-nine ladies as students. The catalogue delineated a one year Preparatory Course and a three year Collegiate
Course. The Graduate Course for Ladies was a three year program similar to the one for men, with a few exceptions. "Ladies desiring a more ornamental course, may substitute Drawing and Painting for Latin each quarter, or Music for Mathematics."(102) Ladies would receive a diploma (not a degree) at the end of the three years provided they had maintained good moral character and "correct deportment."(103) The only other structural difference noted, was that "the gentlemen declaim and read composition alternately each week. The ladies compose and read once in two weeks."(104) In the first year, then, women could substitute ornamental courses for the classics which women did not need --Latin and Mathematics-- and women did half as much public speaking as the men did.

The rules of conduct for discipline and the By-Laws detailed specifically what was and what was not allowed. The overall disciplinary aim of the school was to secure the happiness of the students and to make certain that they had the habits becoming to ladies and gentlemen.(105) The By-Laws demanded strict observance of the Sabbath. Students were required to go to church in

(102) 1st Catalog of Lawrence University, 1849-50 (Milwaukee, 1850) p.10.
(103) Ibid., p.10.
(104) Ibid., p.19.
(105) Ibid., p.19.
the morning and in the afternoon. On Sundays, no one was allowed to leave campus, except to go to church, and students were not allowed to converse with each other. (106)

The By-Laws regulating the Female Department, as it was called, were mainly concerned with visitation hours. Males and females were not allowed to converse except under appropriate supervision (presence of preceptress or faculty member). (107) If any man violated the laws, which were to protect the females, he was first punished at the discretion of the Faculty and after the second offense, dismissed from school. (108)

In the second catalogue, only a few changes were made. It appears that the Collegiate Preparatory Course at this time was only for men. Women's three years course work ends in a diploma; men's preparatory course prepares them for college. Men and women participated in similar events, but the manner in which they were described leads one to conclude that the women were doing less. For example, in reference to the general exercises in the Second Catalogue, the following statement appears: "A Lyceum for improvement in argumentative discussion and for the support of a paper which is read publicly in

(106) Ibid., p.21.
(107) Ibid., p.22.
(108) Ibid., p.22.
Chapel each alternate Saturday, is supported by the gentlemen. The ladies also publish a semi-monthly paper."(109) An inspection of the remaining copies of each of these papers reveals, that they are actually quite similar in length and coverage. But the way the statement appears in the catalogue, as an afterthought, diminishes the importance (at least in print) of what the women were doing.

In 1853 Dr. Edward Cooke became the first President of Lawrence University, and the first collegiate classes began. Dr. Cooke was as opposed to coeducation as Amos A. Lawrence was. Although women continued to be entitled to the same education as men, Cooke did much to gloss over this fact, and especially to keep it from being public knowledge. In his brief sketch of the early history of Lawrence, William Sampson remarks on Cooke's aversion to coeducation. Sampson had been the principal of the Preparatory Department before Cooke arrived to assume the presidency; and Sampson was a champion of coeducation throughout:

The Lawrence University was started on the plan of the coeducation of sexes, giving to each student the opportunity of competing for any honor conferred by the University and of enjoying that honor when justly earned. Dr. Cooke seemed to think that the dignity of a college Faculty was somewhat compromised by giving the ladies a place on the same page with the Gentlemen, and practically the
original design was not carried out by him except in the class recitations. There was a male and female department for the Faculty, for the College and for the Preparatory students in the catalogue and in the commencement exercises. Dr. Mason followed the precedent set by his illustrious predecessor, and not till 1805, when Dr. Steele assumed the duties of president, did we have a man of sufficient progress and courage to carry out the original design of the founders of the Lawrence University.

When Cooke arrived, he wrote his first impressions of Lawrence University and Appleton to Amos Lawrence. At that time (June 15, 1853) Lawrence had more students and more faculty than Madison, Beloit or Ripon. Cooke wrote Lawrence that "There are both young gentlemen and young ladies here who for general scholarship and refinement would be a credit to any academy in New England." This was the only recorded occasion when Cooke categorized men and women together. In all of his subsequent reports to Amos Lawrence he either talks in general terms about the students (but the subject usually involves only the male students), or he extols the virtues and accomplishments of the young men. "I really feel proud of the character both intellectual and moral of our young men especially when I see in what esteem they are held by the people..."

(111) Correspondence of Amos A. Lawrence, Vol.IV, p.37.
(112) Ibid., p.37.
(113) Ibid., p.113.
school is everywhere referred to in masculine terms. Cooke tells of the great influence the young men have and how all the young boys in Wisconsin anxiously wait to attend Lawrence.

Cooke was exceedingly concerned about what others would think about his coeducational school in the wilds of Wisconsin. In all of the announcements and catalogues printed during the presidency of Edward Cooke, the men and the women students were listed separately as though their education was entirely dissimilar. When he sent the course catalogue to Amos Lawrence in December of 1854 he included the following note: "You will perceive by the catalogue which I herewith send you that we are giving to the Female Collegiate Institute an identity of its own. This will be necessary in order to prevent the College proper from losing cast among the older Colleges of the Country." (114)

Cooke was not the only president concerned about the appearances of coeducation. Coeducation of the sexes resulted only after considerable debate, and there were still very strong feelings against it even after its inception. The early catalogues do not make reference to the intention of coeducation. (115) But it must be

(114) Ibid., p.178.
(115) M.Lyle Spencer, "Lawrence College" in Charles McKenny, ed. Educational History of Wisconsin
remembered that only one school before Lawrence had admitted women with men to their institution. Coeducation was still an experiment, and to the school in need of financial support, the risks had to be visibly minimized. Lucinda Darling Colman, the first woman graduate of Lawrence University (by virtue of the location of her name alphabetically) recalled the separation into two separate schools as being a myth:

"To make the myth of 'male' and 'female' departments seem more real, the early catalogues show that not until 1866, were the 'females' enrolled as Freshmen, Sophomores, Juniors and Seniors. Previous to this they were simply First Year, Second Year, Third Year and Fourth Year students. This would sound better in 'The Hub' of culture at that time." (116)

Although boys and girls met together in the same classroom under the same teachers, many thought that the dignity of the University would be compromised by giving the girls recognition with men in the catalogues and on the commencement platform.

Lucinda Darling Colman recorded the first graduation of the second oldest coeducational school in America. Seven people graduated from Lawrence in 1857: Four men and three women.

"The four men delivered their orations, one in Latin. As they bowed themselves off the rostrum, they were showered with bouquets from every section of the gallery. Woman's day had not then fully arrived. The 'females' of this class had read their graduating essays the evening before, as addenda to

(116) Lawrence College Alumn Record, 1857-1922, p.159.
the "exhibition of the Preparatory Department." We were allowed to receive our diplomas, standing on the same platform with the 'males'. This was a concession on the part of our president [Cooke], who did not wish it known in Boston that he was teaching in a boys' and girls' school."(117)

In 1853 the true Collegiate Courses began in addition to the Preparatory course. The University was divided into two departments, one for the men called the Collegiate and one for the "ladies" called the Female Collegiate. The men's department embraced two courses, the Ancient Classical and the Scientific. The ladies had only one course, but had options within the curriculum to meet the essentials of women's education.(118) Lawrence offered instruction in art and music from the beginning to provide a more "ornamental" course for the females. The ornamental branches included oil painting, Grecian, drawing, wax flowers, wax fruits, Pellis work and ornamental hair work. (119) The theory that women needed a special course structure was thus set forth: "The design of the Female Collegiate Institute is to afford young ladies a systematic course of study; giving due attention to the practical and useful, and at the same time not neglecting those minor graces that so highly adorn the lady."(120) The fourth catalogue also stated

(117) Ibid., p.158-159.
(118) Ariel 1907, p.19.
that at the end of the three year period required to complete the course, the student was entitled to receive the degree of L.B.A.- Lady Baccalaureate of Arts. (121) The requirements for admission to this course were the same as for the regular classical course, and "any lady can take the full four years classical course if she prefers it." (122)

Lyle Spencer, in his chapter on Lawrence in Educational History of Wisconsin does not believe that men and women learned the same things, nor were they prepared for the same things at Lawrence.

The women - "ladies," the early catalogues always termed them - did not necessarily have the same course as the men. In the first year they substituted rhetoric for algebra, French for Greek, and omitted Chemistry. In the second year they began Chemistry and algebra, and took up Botany instead of trigonometry. And in the third year they studied a bit of geometry and began geology, moral science and natural theology. (123)

It is difficult to discern how separate the two departments were. It appears that people within the university did not make the same distinctions as people outside of the school. Perhaps the school's "public relation system," like the first several presidents (or maybe indeed, the presidents were the public relation

(120) 4th Catalog, 1854-55, p.29.
(121) Ibid., p.16.
(122) Ibid., p.17.
(123) Lyle Spencer, Educational History of Wisconsin, p.375.
system) did not really want the public to know that the sexes were being educated together. In a Milwaukee Sentinel article of February 15, 1856, the reporter claimed that the literary character of Lawrence was the best in the state and that the overall influence for distributing knowledge was greater than any institution in the West: "It has a Freshmen, Sophomore, and Junior class in the college proper, and corresponding classes numbering nearly as many more, in the Ladies' College." (124)

After Main Hall was ready for use in the fall of 1854, the building on Academy Square became the "Female Collegiate Institute." As the catalogue stated, "The young ladies occupy a separate building a little remote from the College." (125) The women's department thus became a little remote from the regular Collegiate course in a physical manner as well as in a psychological and attitudinal way. A separate organization for women students at Lawrence existed until 1865. "It was called in succession, Female Collegiate Department, Female Collegiate Institute, Female Branch and finally, Ladies Department. From 1853 to 1867 the catalogue outlined a course especially designed for women." (126) While women

(125) 6th Catalogue, 1856-57, p.33.
often pursued an educational course identical to the one pursued by men, they were not publically recognized in the same manner. Not only were male and female students listed in alternate segments of the course catalogue, but the teachers were divided in a similar fashion. In the Female Collegiate Institute, all the teachers were women; and in the males' Collegiate Department, all instructors were men. (127) At times, the female instructors (not titled "professors" until 1902) were not even considered part of the faculty. In several reports on the University made by the second president, Russell Z. Mason, he does not mention any of the women when he lists the members of the faculty. At other times, they are grouped together as "the ladies." (128) Also, as French and German, the Modern Languages, were considered less important than classical Greek and Latin, they were usually assigned to women on the staff. (129) In all the years that the West Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church elected visitors, no woman was ever a visitor. The trustees were all men until 1874 when two women were elected. (130)

(127) 5th Catalogue.
(128) Lawrence College Alumni Record, p. 22.
(130) Ibid., p. 181.
The rules the University enforced through the By-Laws were changed after 1854 and listed more specifically thereafter. Students were not allowed to assemble in mixed crowds or have parties of any kind without faculty permission. Men and women could not "ride or walk out together without express permission."(131) Ladies were never allowed to visit men, but they could receive calls from men in the parlor, under supervision, but not during unseasonable or study hours. Men could not go anywhere within a building occupied by females unless accompanied or chaperoned. Only brothers were allowed to go for walks with their sisters, and then only by permission from some faculty member.(132)

In the fifth catalogue, 1855-56, a new section titled General Information appeared. But apparently, the information only applied to men. Parents were warned that "young men at college have really but little need of pocket money. A too abundant supply has proved the ruin of thousands...The government of the College is designed to be moral and paternal..."(133) While the institution is urging parents to watch their sons' money supply, the university takes responsibility for watching the women

(133) 5th Catalogue, 1855-56, p.20.
themselves. While there were rules of conduct for men and women, only the women were "policed": "The young ladies are under the immediate supervision of the Principal and her assistants; and in addition to the instruction they receive from them, they are admitted in Ancient Languages, Mathematics, Natural and Moral Sciences to the classes of the College Professors."

(134) Thus, the university assumed the role of protector and supervisor for women, a role it did not assume for men. The educational experience of women took on a dimension it did not have for men. Curfews were assigned, proper social behavior was defined, and proper training in the social graces was instituted.(135)

The Female Collegiate Institute was under the management of the same Corporate Body that managed the gentlemen's department. The females, exclusively, occupied the old preparatory building. All five teachers in 1854-55 for the Preparatory Department were unmarried women, the majority of whom only maintained these positions for a year or two.(136) In other words, there was very little stability and continuity in the Female Collegiate Institute. The government for the Female Department was similar to that for the men, only the

(134) Ibid., p.29.
(136) 5th Catalogue, 1855-56.
dimension of "university-as-protector" was added to "university-as-enforcer" for the women. Women needed permission to converse with men and "only so much of social intercourse between Ladies and Gentlemen will generally be allowed as necessarily grows out of their moral and intellectual relations."(136)

Throughout the 1850's and for several decades afterwards, the University suffered a grave fiscal crisis. Lawrence had incurred a huge debt, it owed a great deal of money in back salary to every professor and needed money for buildings and scholarships. When the preparatory building burned in 1857 - the building which housed the ladies - the financial difficulties increased. The University had committed itself to "protecting" the women. The ladies' branch of the school was "at all times under the immediate supervision of the Principal and Preceptress, aided by competent and faithful assistants."(137) In fact, in the seventh catalogue, it was stressed that the women were housed together like a well regulated family, and such restraints were imposed as "deemed best calculated to promote improvement and preserve the morals of young ladies."(138)

The fire destroying the ladies' building disrupted

(130) Ibid., p.31-32.
(137) 7th Catalogue, 1856-57, p.33.
(138) Ibid., p.38.
the social and domestic arrangements made for the women. The University thus sent Reeder Smith, agent for Lawrence, to the Eastern part of the United States to give lectures about Lawrence and to try to raise money to build a dormitory for women. The speech Smith delivered throughout the country had two purposes: To state the fine education available to Lawrence men (and the attempts at education for women) and to stress the need to educate women to be good wives and mothers, and possibly teachers. At the beginning of the lecture entitled "Importance and Claims of the Lawrence University of Wisconsin," Reeder Smith described the school: "The faculty consists of six professors of distinguished ability and rare literary qualifications who work on small salaries, with a conviction that they are doing a great work for the accomplishment of a great object. There are also two female teachers, who are doing all they can with their department, under embarrassments[ sic]." (139) Smith, here denied any claim that the women at Lawrence were being educated with the same quality of instruction as the men.

The role of educated "ladies" as mothers was stressed throughout Smith's plea. It was the familiar claim, that by educating a woman (a potential mother) one

(139) Lawrence College Alumni Record 1857-1922, p.68.
was educating the whole world. Referring to the building destroyed by fire, Smith talked of "one hundred and fifty-six young ladies looking in vain for accommodations[sic] to assist them in acquiring a discipline necessary to a position of a most responsible nature, in forming a country's destiny as teacher and mother." (140) Smith claimed that 150-200 young ladies asked to enter Lawrence each year, and awaited their entrance and the refining process that a Lawrence education would give them. "The progress of science and civilization in any country will be just in proportion to the character and condition of their 'females,'" Smith said.(141) The immediate importance of female education (and therefore the building to house them) was crucial to everyone, not just to the University or to the residents of Wisconsin. Smith argued that improving the mind and character of women shaped the character of the entire nation. Therefore, no one could possibly contribute to a greater good than the rebuilding and permanent establishment of the Female Collegiate Institute of Lawrence University.(142)

Smith's efforts met with little success; consequently money was not raised for a women's dormitory.

(140) Ibid., p. 72.
(141) Ibid., p. 73.
(142) Ibid., p. 74.
for another thirty-seven years. The public in the eastern United States did not want to risk an investment in Lawrence when the people of Wisconsin were not even willing to support the cause. The University began to enter a period which historian Lyle Spencer labeled Lawrence's "period of struggle." (143) In 1856 enrollment had grown to 445 students - an attendance that Lawrence would not again have in a single year for the next forty-five years. (144) It seemed to be the University's fault that the public did not take a financial interest in Lawrence. Endless conflicts had arisen over the various pieces of land owned by Amos A. Lawrence in Wisconsin. After contributing $10,000 to found and establish the institution, Lawrence learned that in the handling of his funds he had been cheated out of several thousand dollars. (145)

Four years before the fire in the Female Institute, Lawrence had conducted a similar campaign to raise money. The goal had been to raise the endowment by $100,000. $50,000 had been raised in endowment funds, but President Cooke had let $15,000 of it be spent to finish building Main Hall. Word about the mismanagement of funds and the

(144) Ibid., p. 376.
(145) Ibid., p. 377.
financial crisis of Lawrence reached the public and people began to lose faith in the new university. (146)

Throughout the period of financial uncertainty, Lawrence still endeavored to provide opportunities for all of its students. In the eighth catalogue, two male teachers were included in the Female Collegiate Department: one in vocal and instrumental music and one in bookkeeping and penmanship. (147) Women were entitled to receive the same degrees as men and "Ladies share equally with gentlemen all the advantages of the University." (148) The year 1857-58 also marks the introduction of the "Normal Department," a department designed to qualify both ladies and gentlemen for the profession of teaching. (149) Lawrence was still considered, through at least 1864, to be more of an institution than either the state university at Madison or Northwestern University. In 1864 Lawrence had eight instructors, seven alumni, 129 students and 3800 books, whereas Madison had seven instructors, six alumni, 30 students and 1900 books. (150)

(146) Ibid., p.376.
(147) 8th Catalogue, 1857-58, p.35.
(148) Ibid., p.49.
(149) Ibid., p.51.
The women pictured above are members of the Kappa Upsilon sorority (top) and the Athena Literary Society (bottom) of 1905. In the early 1900's the literary societies began to lose their position of dominance on campus to the newer Greek letter societies that were forming.

There were two literary societies for women, Athena and Lawrean; and two literary societies for men, Philalthean and Phoenix at Lawrence periodically throughout the school's early history. The literary societies were the main extracurricular groups on campus, serving both an academic and a social purpose.
In the early years, however, many organizations were designed only for male participation (with no female counterpart). There was the Young Men's Debating Society, The Young Men's Literary Society, The Students Miscellany (a journal), groups called Excelsior, Philomathean, Arcadian, Phoenix Literary Society, Philalthean Literary Society, and Rho Iota Phi. (151) Most of these were academic or literary societies of some variation. In 1858 when Miss Mary Hastings came to Lawrence as a preceptress and teacher of French, there were no literary societies for women. That fall she helped twelve girls to found a literary society which they chose to call Athena. For the next twelve years, Athena was the only campus organization for women.(152)

Another department was added to the university in 1858-59. The "Department of Industrial Science: School of Engineering" was a radical departure from the Classical and Scientific Courses. The engineering school was only for men and had the goal of giving training "to such men, for example, as mean to be Carpenters, Joiners, Cabinetmakers, Stone Cutters, Machinists, Locomotive Engineers or Engineers on

(151) Faculty Minutes, January 25 and February 2, 1855, Lawrence University Archives.
(152) William F. Raney, "History of Lawrence College" p.265.
Steamers."(153) The term "liberal arts" had not yet been applied to the curriculum at Lawrence, but the School of Industrial Science was certainly a deviation from the liberal arts--non-technical education that existed up until this point.

The women were now being housed in a rebuilt home near Academy Square. Men roomed and boarded throughout the city in private dwellings, not subject to the university's supervision. All lady students who were not from Appleton, however, were required to live on campus. "Experience proves the wisdom of the requirement. For reasons obvious to all there are stronger objections to ladies being scattered through the town in private families than obtain in the case of gentlemen."(154)

In 1859 Russell Z. Mason became the second President of Lawrence University. Very few changes affecting women were made during his stay at Lawrence. The name of the Female Institute changed several times, but always remained at the back of the catalogue under a separate listing. The women instructors were still considered "teachers" instead of "professors" and were not listed with the male instructors. Undergraduate class lists of students and alumni remained separate -- for men and women

(153) 9th Catalogue, 1858-59, p.29.  
(154) Ibid., p.53.
- until 1865. The noticeable change upon Mason's arrival was the revised list of "Things Prohibited":

1. Unpermitted association of Gentlemen and Ladies
2. Games of chance; the use of intoxicating drinks
3. Profane or obscene language; smoking or chewing tobacco on the College premises
4. Visiting on the Sabbath or in study hours
5. clamorous noise in and about the institution
6. Absence from examinations, or other required exercises
7. Leaving the city without permission
8. Frequenting bar-rooms or groceries
9. The use of gunpowder in any form on the premises
10. Unpermitted absence from the room after the evening signal for study hours, or spending the night in any other student's room.

Reverend George M. Steele was elected third President of Lawrence University in 1865. In the first catalogue he published, the sixteenth catalog, for the first time, male and female graduates were listed together in alphabetical order. Women were finally allowed to be registered as "Seniors, Juniors, Sophomores and Freshmen" instead of as "fourth year, third year, second year, and first year." The Ladies' Course, however, was still listed separately and the ladies still had a separate commencement exhibition.\(^{(155)}\) But the situation for women had begun to change. For the first time, as well, the faculty were all listed together - instead of listing the men in the front of the book and the women at the back of the catalogue.\(^{(156)}\)

A year later, Steele established a new department called

\(^{(155)}\) 16th Catalog, 1865-66.
\(^{(156)}\) Lawrence College Alumni Record, 1857-1922, p.20.
--Lawrence graduating class of 1866 --
Phoebe D. Bullock is the woman third from the left in the back row of this picture. Bullock was the first Lawrence woman to deliver the Salutatory commencement address in Latin. Phoebe Bullock was also the first woman graduate of Lawrence to earn her Doctor of Medicine degree.

At right: President George M. Steele, third president of Lawrence University, 1865-79. Steele was the first president to publically acknowledge that women were being educated in the same manner as men were at Lawrence. Steele abolished the "Ladies Course" in 1867. He was also responsible for allowing Phoebe Bullock to give the commencement address in 1866.
the "Academical Department." It was distinct from the Collegiate Course and from the Preparatory Department. (157) It seems that President Steele was less concerned about what the public might think about his coeducational school than his two predecessors had been. Not only did Steele say that women were entitled to the same privileges as men, but he let the public know that women had the same recitations and the same instructors as the men had. "They are also at liberty to pursue the full Classical Course and may receive the same degrees as the gentlemen. It is believed that the facilities furnished to ladies for acquiring thorough scholarship in this institution, are surpassed by very few in the land." (158) By 1867 even the lists of undergraduate students were no longer separate.

(157) 17th Catalogue, 1866-67, p.25.
(158) Ibid., p.32.
VI. 1867-1894

"After the course for women disappeared from the catalogue (1867), men and women students seem to have been offered the same fare, and there is little to say that is especially about women except the statistics of their number."

William F. Raney
"History of Lawrence College"
p.198

Starting in 1867, the men's and women's course of study was identical for the first time. The University was publicly admitting that students were given equal advantages. In William Sampson's brief history, it is clear that Sampson believes that President Steele was the first president to make truly equal educational opportunities available to men and women competing for recognition: "To keep the peace, I suppose, he [President Steele] gave Valedictory addresses to male and female. But the second year he had received his D.D., and he gave the Latin Salutatory to Phoebe D. Bullock, the first time we have full evidence of equal opportunity to
compete for college honors by ladies and gentlemen in Lawrence University. Since then, he is entirely ruined in the estimation of old fogies."(159) According to Sampson, a good number of the faculty and male students resented women being given the chance to compete or speak at commencement at all.

It was not only men that proved a barrier to ready acceptance of women's advancement within the university. University policy was not always as restricting as the women's own perception of themselves and their role in society. One example of this attitude is evidenced in a part of a reunion pageant reprinted in the Alumni Record:

"First girl:...we must take the Ladies' Course, I suppose.

Francena Kellog: "You will not be permitted to take Mathematics. That is only fit for men.

Miss Colman: "The classes are so small you can probably take most anything you want, but of course they couldn't print the same course for men and women in the catalogue.

First girl:"How good they are to let us come at all. Most colleges are only for men. And some people think its shameful for women to be admitted to a college." (160)

The early women at Lawrence seemed accepting, for the most part, of the sphere assigned to them as separate from the one assigned to men.

(159) Lawrence College Alumni Record, 1857-1922, p.20.
The Lawrence University Tennis Club was established in the early 1880's. The 1885 Tennis club, shown above, has more women members than men. At this time, the University did not recognize women's athletics as team sports, but only as club sports. Tennis was the first mixed-sex club in which women participated.

The Lawrence Bicycle Club for women was organized in 1894. Bicycling and tennis were the only sports for women recognized during most of the nineteenth century.
Beginning with the nineteenth course catalogue (1868-69) some changes are noted. Curiously, in some senses, it seems that men were being restricted more than women. Gentlemen were **required** to live on campus (in Main Hall) whereas women were only **advised** to room at the Institution Boarding House.(161) The reason for this difference was economic for the men and social for the women. Economically, the University needed the money from the male boarders, especially since much of the rooming space in Main Hall was unused. There was less room for the women students in the Boarding House, but more than sufficient space for the number of women enrolled at the time. The reason for advising women to use university housing was that there "they will be under the eye of the Preceptress and in every respect more safely provided for than at most other places."(162) Men were explicitly being told what to do while women were not as strictly regulated. The implicit reasons behind university policy, however, still kept Lawrence in the role of protector over the women and not over the men.

In the announcements distributed by the university, it was proclaimed that "both [women and men] are admitted to the same privileges 'in all respects' (in italics) and

(161) 19th Catalogue, 1868-69, p.29.
(162) Ibid., p.29.
are permitted to compete on equal terms for all the honors and prizes awarded by the University." (163) It is unclear whether the italics were added in that statement for emphasis or for qualification. In any case, it seems that some discrimination in privileges still existed. In an article in the "Collegian" (the first college paper published in Wisconsin, started in 1868) of March 1871, the writer urges reform within the school:

'It has become recognized in most quarters that the students is a man (or a woman) and has rights that instructors are bound to respect...Our courses might be improved, our code of laws might be modified to good advantage...The marking system needs discussion, the question of compulsory attendance at church need inquiry and examination...ladies need and deserve to be 'admitted to the same privileges as gentlemen' in our colleges.' (164)

Nothing more was said than this, making it impossible to discern if this was one student's view or a widely held opinion. A year later in the "Collegian," another article appears that relates to the privileges available to women. The male student writing the article asserts that men have fought hard to secure equal privileges for women (perhaps in response to the claim made a year earlier) but that women are not taking advantage of the opportunities the men have secured for them. Up until 1872, ladies were only allowed use of the reading room of

(163) Ibid., p.31.
(164) "The Lawrence Collegian", March 1871, p.145.
the library on Monday and Thursday afternoons, "at which
time all gentlemen — the postmaster excepted — are
prohibited." (165) Apparently (at least according to the
"Collegian" article) the men had lobbied to give women
equal access to the reading room, a privilege of which
the women were not availing themselves:

How is it ladies? Don't you like to read?...Have
you forgotten that Lawrence says "Ladies have equal
privilege in ALL respects with gentlemen?" In other
words, why don't more of you come in and adorn our
Reading Room and also get good unto yourselves?...We
"the boys" felt that we were gaining great glory to
ourselves, opening up fields of progress for our
institution, and handing down a lasting benefit to
the ladies, when we labored long and earnestly with
"the powers that be" for your equal suffrage in the
reading room, so don't turn such a cold shoulder to
our innocent, earnest effort, lest we fear to strive
again. But come one and all, join our organization;
demand an equal position. Unite your might and
mites with ours and make the reading room "a thing
of beauty and a joy forever." (166)

The quotation from the "Collegian" probably needs to be
interpreted as satirical. Even so, several questions
arise: Was it difficult to secure equal privileges for
the women? Did the men really attempt to do this? Did
the women play any role in gaining privileges for
themselves? Did the men merely want the women to "adorn"
the Reading Room? Or did they seek equal privileges for
the women on the basis of women's merit? None of these

(165) Marguerite Schumann, Creation of a Campus, p.44.
(166) "Lawrence Collegian," Vol. 5, No.7, April 1872,
p.110-111.
questions was answered in any of the issues of the "Collegian" prior to or after this issue. Neither did faculty minutes, course catalogues or any other publications or announcements offer any insight. If the women did not take advantage of the opportunities gained for them, Lawrence cannot be accused of restricting its women. Rather the women limited themselves.

In 1871 the Institution Boarding House for ladies was discontinued. There was, thus a reversal in university policy. Whereas initially, women were under mandate to live on campus and men boarded in the city, now gentlemen students were required to live in the college building and "Ladies can secure rooms in private houses."(167) This policy reversal was only temporary, however. In the twenty-third catalogue the "ornamental branches" that had previously been a part of the ladies' curriculum, became separate schools within Lawrence. The "School of Drawing and Painting" and the "School of Music" were thus established in 1872.(168) Even as opportunities were gradually opened to women, and the stigma of a "Ladies Course" removed, some traditions were slow to change. In the "Collegian" of April, 1872 an article appears on the requirement of graduation

(167) 21st Catalogue (1871), p.27.
The special course for ladies in the Female Collegiate Institute allowed women to substitute painting and drawing for Latin and Greek. The "ornamental branches" for women were designed according to the philosophy that women did not need as rigorous an education as men. When the Female Branch of the University was discontinued in 1867, the ornamental courses became a department by themselves.

Zelia Smith devoted her life to Lawrence University. She graduated from Lawrence in 1882 with a bachelor of science degree. Smith was the librarian of Lawrence for 41 years. Out of the 674 alumnae and out of all the professors during the seventy-five years of this study, Zelia Smith gave more years of service to Lawrence than any other individual.
speeches: "But they will have to make a speech first; that is the ladies will read essays."(169) The ladies read their graduation essays the night before commencement, rather than as speeches on graduation day as the men did. Women's public speaking was restricted throughout, as it was deemed somewhat improper for ladies to declaim and argue in public. The faculty of the college remained all men through 1875. There were very few changes of any kind in the college catalogues from the twenty-fifth through the thirty-ninth (1874-1889).

President Huntley, 1879-1883

One of the dominant concerns during President Huntley's tenure at Lawrence was an effort to secure donations for the construction of a Ladies' Building. Huntley believed that having women scattered throughout town in private homes kept the university from providing its function as protector over the women. Also, what he termed "lawlessness" was due to the women's housing situation:

"Give us a Ladies' Building," thundered President Huntley in one of his controversial reports, "and you will hear no more about the lawlessness at Lawrence." The lawlessness referred to was an inability to keep students in their rooms from 7:00pm to 7:00am, for they were scattered throughout Appleton in private homes. "A system of espionage such as is necessary to enforce our study hours rule

(169) "Lawrence Collegian," Vol.5, No.7, April 1872, p.112.
would require a force almost equal to the number of students themselves." (170)

But donations were not secured at that point to erect the Ladies' Building. During the next presidency, Reverend Bradford P. Raymond abolished the restriction on men's living arrangements. The College Building offered room for twenty-five men, but after 1887, they were not required to live on campus any longer. (171) At the same time, the contract was signed for the work to begin on a hall for ladies designed to house about sixty women. (172) Within two years, Ormsby Hall for women was completed and dedicated. "It is provided with all the modern improvements, reception room, parlors, gymnasium, a commodious dining hall and pleasant dormitory rooms." (173) Housing requirements for men and women before this time had not been based on a specially designed structure or a permanent building solely erected to house students. Now, women were required to live in university housing, a commitment which Lawrence made to women before it was made to men, emphasizing the school's protective role over the coeds.

The "By-Laws of the Lawrence University of Wisconsin," reprinted in the catalogue of 1891-92, were

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(170) Marguerite Schumann, Creation of a Campus, p. 18.
(171) 38th Catalogue, 1887-88, p. 47.
(172) Ibid., p. 47.
Ormsby Hall (above), erected in 1889, was largely the gift of the David G. Ormsby family of Milwaukee. This is the earliest picture of Ormsby, before any additions or the porch were added. The shift to a residential campus at Lawrence University began with the building of Ormsby Hall.

Cora Crowe (above), class of 1897, Phi Beta Kappa, was the first woman president of the Oratorical Society. The yearbook, The Ariel, however, did not advertise the fact that a woman was the head of this organization. Crowe taught at Lawrence from 1896-97 and 1900-1901. She married Dean Wilson Naylor of Lawrence College in 1921.
* Cora Crowe was the president.
altered after the erection of Ormsby Hall. The stipulations of section 57 in Article VII required the female teachers of the university to live on campus, a requirement which enhanced the expectation that only single women would be teachers working outside of the home. According to the By-Laws,

The Preceptress is required, and all other female teachers are expected to room and board at the Ladies' Hall and to exercise a careful supervision of the students therein. They are also expected to be uniformly at meals and to preside at the tables, thus being able to judge of the management of the domestic department and the propriety of deportment of such students."(174)

Female employees of the university, were thus restricted in the same way that female students were with respect to housing arrangements. Neither the male instructors nor the male students were under similar restraints.

While it may seem, outwardly, that women were less involved and less important than men at Lawrence, one alumnus of the class of 1890 had different recollections. Nostalgia may not be accurate historically, but Dr. James Arneil recalled women classmates in his day being the controllers of the university. In the Alumni Record of 1922, Arneil said: "This was before the enfranchisement of the woman voter, however this fact

(174) "By-Laws of the Lawrence University of Wisconsin," Article VII, Section 57, 42nd Catalogue, 1891-92, p.28.
made no difference to these young women. They were the dominating personalities; the political bosses of the college; what they said went." (175) He went on to describe the role women had in campus activities. One classmate of his, Elizabeth Wilson, was the editor of the "Lawrentian" in 1890, and supposedly controlled many campus activities. She later taught at Lawrence for six years and wrote several books.

The rules legislating student conduct had not changed much in the thirty years preceding the 1890's. According to the 42nd Catalogue (1891-92) the university did not want to perform the espionage President Huntley had envisioned, but still wanted to keep close reins on the students:

Persons guilty of profanity, irreverence, disorderly conduct, or low vices of any kind soon lose the respect of the great mass of students and are glad to leave... While impertinent informers will not be encouraged, it is expected that when young persons are exposing themselves to permanent harm, high-minded students will be governed by the dictates of conscience and common sense, rather than by any false sense of honor, in regard to disclosure of facts... All association of ladies and gentlemen is regulated by the faculty. (176)

(175) Lawrence College Alumni Record, 1857-1922, p.166.
(176) 42nd Catalogue, 1891-1892, p.52.
VII. The Plantz Era
1894-1924

"Some schools pride themselves on their buildings and apparatus, but Lawrence boasts its men - the warm Christian personalities who, as teachers, stand before the youth, examples of true culture and lofty Christian character. Buildings and apparatus are useful, but the teaching power, helping power is in men."

-1897 Ariel

Reverend Samuel Plantz, Ph.D., Ll.D., class of 1880 from Lawrence, was elected the seventh president of Lawrence College in 1894. In his thirty year administration, many significant changes were to be enacted. The enrollment increased from 200 students in 1894 to 1200 in 1924. An endowment of less than $100,000 had become a two million dollar asset to the University. Eight major buildings were constructed as well as four smaller houses. The content of the curriculum was upgraded, departments were standardized, entrance requirements were raised, and the reputation of the University took a major upswing. In 1894-95, Plantz's
first year, there were only 77 students in the college proper. The faculty was composed of seven professors (six full-time and one part-time), all men, and three instructors, all women. Plantz was the only faculty member with a Ph.D. Even in 1923-24, the last academic year of his presidency, the college was still having serious financial troubles, though less than it had at the start of his administration. In fact, "in 1894 the majority of the friends of the institution seemed to have finally lost heart, and there was a serious proposition on foot by the Methodist ministers of Wisconsin to sell the college campus and buildings at any creditable price that could be got for them and to invest the whole in a monumental dormitory for Methodist boys and girls at the University of Wisconsin." (178) The trustees of Lawrence never seriously entertained the idea of selling the school, but the crisis facing them was realized. Plantz's first response was to upgrade the academic reputation of the school by strengthening the curriculum.

The History Department's curriculum, for example, was revised in the 45th Catalogue of 1894-95. According to the catalogue, new methods had been introduced for the study and teaching of history as well as new goals for

(178) Lyle Spencer, Educational History of Wisconsin, p. 379.
the object of historical study. These ends, of course, were articulated specifically for men. "The ends are no longer those of the training of memory and the possession of knowledge alone, but it is held that the study of History has a place in the creation of a strong and powerful manhood. Hence the old method of mere slavish text-book study has been largely abandoned."(179) Another example where the curriculum was upgraded or expanded, but only to meet the needs of men, was in regard to religious studies. While all students could take a course in Christian evidences, only the men were instructed weekly by President Plantz in preparation for entering the Christian ministry.(180)

Attitudes toward women and men in regard to athletic pursuits also varied throughout the institution's history. Organized athletics first began to surface during the beginning of the Plantz era. A section on athletics was first included in the 46th Catalogue. The ladies had their own gymnasium in Ormsby Hall before a special gymnasium was constructed for the men. In 1895-96, the male students were first organized into a military corps of cadets which consisted of a battalion

(179) 45th Catalogue, 1894-95, p.25.
(180) Ibid., p.49.
of infantry.\(181\) All male students who were physically capable were required to take the drill course for two to three hours a week under a United States officer. The women students "petitioned to have drill likewise, but their request was not granted."\(182\)

What was required of women was one hour of Physical Training per week in the Department of Physical Culture. The training was designed to develop the weakened muscles, to "correct mistakes in carriage and to promote health, strength, symmetry, ease and grace. The object of the work is not to produce rigid muscles, but flexibility and control of the body."\(183\) Part of the philosophy involved in this systematic physical culture for women relates to the still widespread view that education of females destroyed their body and its natural functions. The women's Delsarte Club had been organized in 1893. The Delsarte philosophy of expression was designed to create freedom of bodily action so that blood flowed freely through the body rather than simply to a woman's brain.\(184\) Women had at least a part-time instructor in physical culture from 1894 onward, whereas men did not have a special physical instructor or

\[\text{(181) 46th Catalogue, 1895-96, p.43.}\]
\[\text{(182) Faculty Minutes, January 22, 1895, p.142.}\]
\[\text{(183) 47th Catalogue, 1896-97, p.38.}\]
\[\text{(184) 52nd Catalogue, 1901-02, p.71.}\]
Delsarte

The marked improvement in health, symmetry, ease and grace of the lady students of the college is the highest compliment to the department of Physical Culture. It has for its use a well equipped gymnasium in Ormsby Hall. The ladies are organized into two classes, have regulation suits, and the work is as popular as it is practical. A public exhibition to ladies is given at commencement time.

MISS SARA H. PARKES,
INSTRUCTOR.

1897 Ariel
requirements until 1901, when the new gymnasium was built. Interest in women's athletics was increasing, but many sports remained clubs rather than university-sponsored teams. Women's tennis, the Ormsby Tennis Club, was organized in 1892. The first record of a school team in a sport for women was the ladies' basketball team in 1897, which was typically coached by male students.\(^{(185)}\)

By 1907-08, men were allowed to receive a certificate of Physical Education from Lawrence College. The women were not qualified to receive such a certificate because, it was rationalized, only "men will be called to fill positions requiring physical training and athletics."\(^{(186)}\) The "L" letter award for excellence in athletics was only awarded to men between 1895 and 1918. In the first ten years of existence, seventy-nine men received the award. The men were organized into an athletic association from the beginning of Plantz's presidency. All the representatives on the board were men until a women's Athletic Association and Women's Athletic Board were organized in 1917.\(^{(187)}\) In the spring of 1917 the sports listed for women included basketball,

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\(^{(185)}\) Lawrentian, January 1898, p.57.
\(^{(186)}\) 58th Catalogue, 1907-08, p.117.
The girls' basketball team had more than quadrupled in numbers of participants between its origin in 1897 and this photo from the 1909 Ariel. Basketball was the first officially organized women's sport at Lawrence, and the only sport recognized by the Ariel for several decades.

The philosophy club always admitted women, though women rarely actually joined the men. In 1904-05 three women belonged to the club, even though they were out-numbered two to one by the men. Many campus organizations were still highly segregated at this point.
hiking, indoor meet, swimming, and tennis. Typically, however, the only sport for women recognized by the Ariel was women's basketball. In 1918 a point system was devised for women to allow them to accumulate points to wear the Varsity "L". (186) The recognition, or lack of recognition for women's athletics is clear in any of the Ariels of the period. For example, in the 1924 Ariel, forty pages are devoted to athletics, twenty-two of which were devoted to football and only one page recognized women in athletics. Arthur Denney had been hired as the Physical Director for men. His slogan, "A Sport for Every Man in School" summed up the emphasis on athletics for men at Lawrence.

But women were beginning to organize - not only in athletics but in other areas as well. Paying tribute to the Lawrean Society (literary society), the first Ariel of 1897 said:

Twenty seven years ago, any woman's movement was more difficult than now. Girls might read literature, but it was masculine to be rivals in debate. Greatest honor, then is due to those who were willing to forfeit popularity, endure the trials which they could foresee, and others which they knew not of, that future generations of Lawrence girls might have the highest literary opportunities that can be given. (189)

(188) 1918 Ariel, p.37 and Lawrentian, May 9, 1918.
(189) 1897 Ariel, p.153-154.
The Lawrean Society (1901-02) above, was one of the two literary societies for women. The societies met weekly to read compositions, discuss current events, or to learn about a variety of things. Each literary society had its own room -- the men's rooms were in Main Hall and the women met in Ormsby Hall. At times, the various groups sponsored social gatherings, as well.

The rooms in Ormsby Hall, like the one on the right, were designed to meet the needs of "modern women." The dormitory was fixed with all the modern conveniences, as well as having a gymnasium and a dining hall. Sixty women could reside in Ormsby. Men were only allowed in the first floor parlor of the building, and there under the supervision of the Preceptress and her assistants.
Literary societies were the major social force and offered the "most attractive social life in the college community during Plantz's first decade."(190) The popularity of these societies began to decline and other organizations and social activities began to replace the four literary societies: Philalthean and Phoenix for men and Lawrean and Athena for women. The October 16, 1906 "Lawrentian" stated,"...we have known for a long time that the literary societies need obituary notices."(191) President Plantz, however, tried to revive the literary societies from 1917-1920. The 68th Catalogue labeled the Phoenix Forum a new organization "made up of the old Politics Club and the Forensics Club...active membership is limited to 50 male students."(192) The purpose of the group was to investigate social and political conditions as grounds for discussion and debate. Similarly, there was an attempt to revive the Athena literary society for women. Many students wanted a strictly social, rather than academic organization, a desire thwarted for a time by President Plantz and the Methodists. The fraternities and sororities of other schools were not allowed at Lawrence for three reasons: they were undemocratic, they

(192) 68th Catalogue, 1917-1918, p.50-51 and 70th Catalogue, 1919-1920, p.46.
would cost students extra money and they would destroy moral order.

The Wisconsin State Legislature even commented on the Greek system as undemocratic. "In 1913, a bill was introduced in the Wisconsin State Legislature forbidding the existence of any secret fraternity or sorority in any university, college or high school in the state." (193) Early in his administration, Plantz said that "the outside expenses...with us are very slight as we do not admit the college fraternities which are usually such an expense to the student." (194) But within a few years, university policy was to change and in 1899 the first fraternity was begun at Lawrence. By 1903, two more fraternities were on campus and between 1902-04 four sororities were authorized. By the end of Plantz's presidency, there were nine sororities on campus - seven national and two musical sororities. (195) By 1924 over fifty per cent of the men belonged to fraternities and thirty-seven per cent of the women were in sororities. The Greek system both reflected and caused a change in the social attitudes that began to occur in the 1920's. It was difficult, if not impossible, for Lawrence to

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(193) "Lawrentian," February 11, 1913, p.5.
(194) Lawrence Messenger, 1897, p.2.
remain an isolated Methodist college. It cannot be certain that fraternities and sororities forced the college community to change,

But it does seem clear that at Lawrence the fraternities and sororities served as a spearhead in the introduction of social dancing, card playing and the use of tobacco in a college community that had lived for the most part without them. The faculty, as a discipline committee, also had to take note of the use of alcohol by some individuals who lived in fraternity houses. (196)

In 1904-05 the Women's League was formed for faculty women and female students. The purpose of the organization was mainly social - to bring together the women. (197) For two years, from 1910-1912, all associations of women on campus were discontinued, but starting in 1913 an increasing number of organizations for women were formed. The 64th Catalogue (1913-1914) records the origin of the "Association of Collegiate Alumnae" at Lawrence. The purpose of the group included, but went beyond, the merely social function of the Women's League which it replaced. The goal was to assist in the promotion of higher education among women and to help improve society. Theta Alpha, an honorary society for senior women was also initiated in this year. (198)

(196) Ibid., p.613.
(198) 64th Catalogue, 1913-1914, p.58.
The sophomore class of 1900 had nine women and fifteen men, varying widely in ages. Women at Lawrence almost always comprised at least 30% of the students. Twice in seventy-five years there were less than 30% women, but five times there were more than 60% women. In the year of this photo there were more than 55% women on campus.

Women were required to live in Ormsby Hall after its erection in 1889. The University made the commitment to house women long before it provided housing for male students. Even women faculty members were required to live in Ormsby. Lawrence assumed the role of protector over its women.
Almost all of the university-sponsored clubs were for the students in general. Only a few organizations maintained their bias based on sex. Several organizations were only for women and several were only for men. The sex distinctions clarify professional and societal biases towards both men and women. Besides the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, there were two honorary journalism societies for women, founded in 1918. These groups were pre-professional societies directed at women interested in writing and secretarial-type work. The Premedic Club was a group composed exclusively of young men. At its origin in 1916-1917 all of the other clubs listed in the college catalogue were coeducational. Presumably, only men pursued a career in medicine.(199) By 1920, the Premedic Club was open to all students, but the Oxford Club was exclusively established to help prepare men entering the ministry.

Christian-centered organizations such as the Oxford Club were prevalent on campus throughout the Plantz administration. The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. were a particularly important facet of campus life. "...The first college associations ever formed by an accredited agent of the YMCA's were those organized at about the

same time at Lawrence and the University of Wisconsin."

(200) At first, the Lawrence Association included both men and women, but when the cry of "'Woman's Work for Women,' which was being heard all over the land came to Wisconsin, the young women of the state responded and banded themselves together on the work of uplifting womanhood." (201) Thus in 1884, a separate society for women was formed. The YMCA and YWCA published the student handbook, conducted classes in missionary work and got a large portion of the students involved with the religious culture of the campus. For example, in 1907 Professor Naylor and the Young Men's and Women's Christian Associations formed the Africa Club - a missionary club with 143 student members.

In the seventy-five years that elapsed between the beginning of instruction at Lawrence University in November 1849 and the death of President Plantz in November 1924, the distinctly religious purpose of Lawrence was clear. The Methodist Conference was pleased with the religious environment prevailing at Lawrence, and felt that the religious tone and spirit were much better at the College than at most churches. In the 1905

(201) 1897 Ariel, p.104.
minutes of the conference, the Methodist visitor to the college claimed that:

Never has the provision for the religious culture and growth of the students been so adequate as now...Every young man and every young woman who attends Lawrence may not become devout Christians, but no student of Lawrence can leave its halls without having the claims of Christ persistently and lovingly pressed upon him. (202)

The college itself made its claims about being a Christian (not a sectarian) college. In the 58th Catalogue of 1907-08, under a section entitled "Moral and Religious Life," the assertion was made that the religious tone was as high at Lawrence as at any other college: "Lawrence is a Christian community. About eighty per cent of the students are professing Christians...There are twice as many religious services at Lawrence each week as the average church offers its constituency...We know no college where the religious tone is higher." (203) Lawrence considered courses in the Bible to be "essential factors in the liberal culture of twentieth century men and women," thus such courses were periodically required at Lawrence. (204) Lawrence was almost always considered a Methodist college by both the institution itself and the Methodist Conference.

(202) Minutes of the Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Church, 1905, p.73.
(203) 58th Catalogue, 1907-08, p.39.
(204) Ibid., p.41.
However, the college had an independence not usually associated with church colleges. The property of Lawrence College was not owned by any church and the trustees were not elected by a church conference.(205)

President Plantz was concerned about the effect that intellectual development would have on a student's spiritual existence. The combination of changes in societal attitudes as a result of modernization and concentrated academic studies, Plantz was afraid, would undermine religious faith. In the course catalogue of 1916-1917, under the section "Moral and Religious Life" were comments on the college's attempts to give the student a broad, spiritual outlook:

In view of the intellectual and religious readjustments that inevitably result from higher education, and in view of the present dominant commercialism and indifference to formal religion, college students are in danger of seeing life only from the standpoint of selfish and material ends. Accordingly, though the instruction at Lawrence is scientific and exceptionally free from sectarian or doctrinal bias, it is all characterized by a definite aim to give the student a broad, spiritual outlook and to impress him with the ideal of service rather than of selfish acquisition.(206)

It was Plantz's strong view that professors at Lawrence were not simply to teach their subject, but to help shape students' character and direct their lives.

In his collection of correspondence and letters, there are many examples of Plantz's commitment to providing a Christian atmosphere at Lawrence. He wrote in 1917, that

The money that has been given with the emphasis on the word "Christian" rather than on the word "College"...Half the students who come here are sent to this college...by parents who expect that the teachers will have great influence on the religious lives of their children...Let us...consider carefully...whether we are not becoming so absorbed in the intellectual side of our work that we forget the...great opportunity which we have for shaping character and directing life.(207)

Plantz went so far as to dismiss a professor (Raney said a "competent teacher") in 1919 because "He is not a church goer and he is extremely liberal for a Christian College. I saw a letter which he had written to the pastor of the Methodist Church...in which he stated that he did not understand how men could believe in a personal God these days."(208) Apparently, the man was also dismissed for his socialistic ideas.

Plantz remained essentially a Methodist minister to the end. Chapel was required five times a week throughout his era. Revival meetings were held in the Chapel to try to convert all of the students to Christianity. It was the religious function of Lawrence, in Plantz's mind, which distinguished Lawrence from the state universities. "When Dr. Plantz spoke to the

(207) Samuel Plantz (letter No. 5161), February 1917.
(208) Samuel Plantz (letter No. 9623), March 25, 1919.
faculty just before these revival meetings, he said in substance: 'We ought to do all we can to make this campaign a success. If we are not willing to work for this cause, we might as well close the college and send the students to the state universities.'"(209)

The affiliation with the Methodist Church dictated the religious and social atmosphere at Lawrence throughout the first seventy-five years of its history and until the end of the presidency of Samuel Plantz.

Besides taking part in religious organizations, women during World War I organized at Lawrence to aid the war cause. The women started a Patriotic League sponsored by the Junior War Work Council and the YWCA. Two hundred and thirty Lawrence girls were involved with the Patriotic League and Red Cross work. The By-Laws from 1888-1924 specified, as well, a committee on the "Welfare of Women Students." What precisely the group was to do is unclear and could not be ascertained from any of the sources consulted.

Women's status seemed to be improving at Lawrence, at least as it related to participation in university organizations. Women faculty members also achieved a better status in Plantz's era. Previous to 1902, all women instructors had been considered "teachers" whereas

(209) Lawrence Scrapbook, p.8.
Emma Kate Corkhill was one of the first two women named "assistant professor" at Lawrence in 1902. Previously, women had been considered "instructors." Corkhill taught English literature at Lawrence from 1902-1913 and was the first Delta Iota house mother. Even though women were granted the title of "professor" they were consistently paid less than men for the same work and the same responsibilities.

The 1907 graduating class of Lawrence University had thirty-three students, of which ten were women. Women and men were taking the same course work at Lawrence by the early 1900's, but the men and the women had different reasons for seeking a degree. Women rarely came to Lawrence looking for "career preparation," but rather came to become certified to teach for a couple of years until they were to get married.
the men were labeled "professors." Caroline Elizabeth DeGreene and Emma Kate Corkhill were the first women to be called "professors." In 1902 the two women were elevated to the rank of assistant professor and DeGreene was named Dean of Women in 1904. (210) From the founding of the institution on, the university always employed a preceptress to "look after the girls." Miss DeGreene had been preceptress for two years before she was made Dean—the first person at Lawrence to have that title. (211)

"Between 1906-1918 the rank of full professor was given to men and one of the lower professorial ranks, to women. This practice fitted in very conveniently with the undoubted fact that Lawrence still, as in its early days, paid women much less than men." (212) For example, the salary schedule of June 1908 listed Professors with an endowed chair at $1500, other professors at $1300, assistant professors at $1100 and instructors at $900. Any way it is viewed, women were paid considerably less than men (60-73% of what men were paid) for performing the same work. (213) Near the end of Plantz's presidency, he included in an annual report a statement by a faculty

(210) 54th Catalogue, 1903-04, p. 11 and 1907 Ariel.
(211) "Committee on Faculty and Degrees, 1904," p. 55.
(213) "Committee on Faculty and Degrees, June 1908," p. 83-84 adopted by the Board of Trustees, June 10, 1908, p. 344.
member, which said that for the past twenty years Lawrence had been built up at the expense of salary increases to professors. A large part of the burden was on the women who "were always paid much less than the male professors,"(214) and who seldom were elevated to the same professorial rank as the men. Teachers of Painting and Drawing and the commercial subjects did not even receive a salary, but only the fees which students paid them.

Considering the way in which women faculty were treated, it is not surprising that few women instructors remained at Lawrence for more than a couple of years. In the first seventy-five years there was an extremely high turnover of female faculty. Almost all of the women who taught at Lawrence were single, and only taught until they were married. Between 1847 and 1922 one hundred and fifty-four women were instructors at Lawrence. According to the faculty lists in the alumni record, sixty-six of the 154 women faculty remained at Lawrence for only one year. Another thirty-six women taught at Lawrence for two years. Thus, 66% of the women who taught at Lawrence in the first seventy-five years only taught for two years or less. Eighty-three per cent of the women faculty

taught at Lawrence for four years or less. A tradition of continuity for women faculty members was not established, and, it could be argued, still does not exist today. The breakdown of years of service to Lawrence by women instructors is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years at Lawrence</th>
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<tr>
<td>1 year at Lawrence</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 years at Lawrence</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 years at Lawrence</td>
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<td>4 years at Lawrence</td>
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<td>5 years at Lawrence</td>
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<td>6 years at Lawrence</td>
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<td>7 years at Lawrence</td>
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<td>10 years at Lawrence</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 years at Lawrence</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15+ years at Lawrence</td>
<td>6</td>
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Six women devoted their entire lifetime careers to Lawrence University from 1847-1922. Five of these six remained unmarried throughout their life.
VIII. Woman's Separate Sphere

"But we deny that the present position of woman is her true 'sphere of usefulness'; nor will she attain to this sphere, until the disabilities and disadvantages, religious, civil and social, which impede her progress are removed. These restrictions have enervated her mind and paralysed her powers..."

-Lucretia Mott

It was not at all unusual in the nineteenth and early twentieth century for women to teach only until they were married. Like the women faculty, the female graduates of Lawrence in the first seventy-five years confined themselves to traditional occupations for women. It was not as much university policy (explicitly) that confined women, as their own perceptions of what they ought to do, based on society's view of the proper sphere for women.

The experience at Lawrence mirrored the larger national trend of women confining themselves to certain
activities; and decidedly few opportunities were available for educated women. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, only seven occupations were truly open to women: teaching, needlework, book-binding, keeping boarders, working in cotton mills, type-setting and housework. (216) The access to higher education for women was offered in vain without the accompanying freedom to enter any career. The idea of a separate sphere for women was the ideological framework within which nineteenth century women lived and worked. (217) The central task of married women was the rearing of children - a task which relegated women to a sphere separate from the one occupied by men.

The only activities outside of the home which appealed to women, or were considered acceptable, were those which were associated with the moral and domestic responsibilities of women (the constituents of the domestic sphere). In particular, women were considered the guardians of a home's morality. In order to protect the home and preserve its morality, women might need to be involved outside of the home. (218) Women could justify participation outside of the "kitchen and the nursery" if

(217) Carl Degler, At Odds, p.298.
(218) Ibid., p.298.
they were working to preserve or defend morality. A number of areas of involvement were acceptable and accessible to women because their nurturing function was involved.

Teaching attracted women because it was a socially acceptable job even at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Within the domestic sphere, mothers bore most of the responsibility for educating children. It was, thus, a logical extension for women to begin to teach other children and enter the profession. More women, by far, were teachers in the nineteenth century and first several decades of the twentieth century, than were in any other profession.

"In 1870, for example, teachers made up 90 per cent of all professional women... The principal reason women were concentrated so heavily in teaching was because it was so low paying. Women were able to replace men because they would accept lower wages, even for the same work. As in other kinds of work by women, the vast proportion of women teachers were single and young. In short, one of the first, if not the first, occupations in which the practice of paying women less than men for the same work got established was the profession of teaching."(219)

Women were also attracted to church-related work because it was a part of a woman's (moral) sphere. Religion and the churches were almost always a special sphere of activity for women. Women were not ministers or officers, but they often acted as leaders and

missionaries. Charitable work and nursing were also relatively accessible to women who chose to remain within the nurturing sphere. Often women worked outside the home as volunteers. Virtually the only women who worked for pay in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were those who were compelled to by economic necessity.

Women's involvement with the home and religious concerns combined to generate women's interest in the Temperance Movement. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was soon to become the largest women's organization in nineteenth century America. "By the 1890's there were ten times as many women in the New York WCTU groups as in suffrage organizations. In 1911, the WCTU counted 245,000 members; it was then the largest women's organization in the United States." Some few women entered careers in medicine, for medicine, like teaching, was believed to be connected with woman's traditional role in the home taking care of her family. Very few women entered the legal profession, however, because it seemed contrary to the separate sphere for women.

In the 1907 College Woman Graduate it was pointed out that of 3800 alumnae at two large colleges, only

(220) Ibid., p.295.
(221) Ibid., p.316.
(222) Ibid., p.317.
sixteen percent of the women students were doctors, lawyers, ministers, nurses, writers, philanthropic workers, librarians, actresses or architects. The other 84 percent were either homemakers or teachers. And most of the teachers were only teachers in passing. When they married, they became homemakers. (223) This example is analogous to the situation at Lawrence in 1907. The 1907 Ariel boasts that of Lawrence alumni 28% are clergymen and 23% are lawyers. "Of the alumnae, eighty-seven percent have given themselves to the noble duty of homemaking. Most of the rest have devoted themselves to educational and literary work, some to business, and the 'girls' no less than the 'boys' of Lawrence have won admiration and respect for their Alma Mater." (224)

In the first seventy-five years, Lawrence awarded 1798 bachelor's degrees, of which approximately 674 or 37.5% were earned by women. The statistics that record what women graduates did after obtaining their degrees tend to follow the generalization that women chose occupations within the domestic sphere. In the Lawrence College Alumni Record, 1857-1922 is a record of all the graduates and a brief synopsis of what they had done since graduating. 674 women were listed in the record.

(224) 1907 Ariel, p. 11.
Only twenty-two of these women either did not specify what they had done, or had not been located to respond to the quest for information. (225)

The majority of women graduates from Lawrence, at least until 1924, were teachers. 436 out of 674 entered the teaching profession, 65% of all the female graduates. Forty-four per cent of the teachers were not married, forty-two percent taught until they were married and only fourteen per cent of the teachers taught after marriage. Women at Lawrence, almost without exception, entered the domestic sphere—that separate sphere assigned to women—after they had received their degrees. Only 7% of the women graduates entered an occupation outside of those traditionally considered within women's realm (and this is a liberal figure). Counted as outside of the domestic sphere are four graduate students, five professional musicians, two lab technicians, four in publishing, fifteen writers, one orchardist, one Dean of Ripon College, fourteen university professors, one physician and two lawyers. Although graduate students and university professors are

(225) All of the information in the rest of this section has been gathered from the Lawrence College Alumni Record, 1857-1922. The women graduates were classified according to career choice. All information regarding individuals in this section, has been extracted from the same source and will not be cited again.
technically within the teaching profession, they were considered to be outside of the typical, traditional domestic sphere.

After teaching, homemaking was the second most popular profession. All other occupations pursued by women involved considerably fewer numbers of females. Twenty-nine women were in missionary work, several were engaged in civic philanthropy, temperance societies, YWCA work, nursing or library work (see table 1).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number of Women</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching</td>
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<td>Until Marriage</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
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(from the *Alumni Record, 1857-1922*)
A number of women graduates stood apart from their classmates by pursuing careers outside the home that were not related to the "domestic sphere." Phoebe D. Bullock, whom President Steele allowed to be the first woman to deliver a commencement address in 1866, distinguished herself in another way. She was the first woman from Lawrence to attend medical school and receive her M.D. degree. Bullock attended Michigan University Medical School and practiced in Appleton for two years before she established a permanent practice in Kansas. Only one other woman in the seventy-five years of this study pursued a career in medicine. Twelve years after Phoebe Bullock graduated, Isabella White left Lawrence and attended the Woman's Medical College in Chicago, where she receive her M.D. In 1909 White entered practice as a Christian Scientist.

Several women between 1857-1922 pursued advance studies in other academic disciplines. After graduation in 1869, Margaret Huntington pursued her master's degree at Lawrence, studied in Paris, Berlin, Hanover, Heidelberg, and Oxford. Huntington was appointed the first woman corporate member to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Huntington was the preceptress at Lawrence for four years before becoming Dean of Women and professor at Carleton College. Katherine Lummis and Elizabeth Wilson were classmates
Katherine, "Kate" Lummis had a long history of involvement with Lawrence. Both of her parents taught at Lawrence, her father for twenty years. She received her master's degree in Latin at Stanford University, and her Ph.D. at the American School of Classics in Rome.

Kate Lummis and Elizabeth Wilson were classmates in 1890. A male classmate of theirs, Dr. James Arneil, had this to recall about these two women:

“They (women) created the atmosphere, and developed the college spirit in their own individual way. Kate Lummis was the embodiment of femininity and intellectuality. Bess Wilson was the Viking, or Viqueen -- the Lydia Pankhurst -- possessing a mind teeming with ideas and wielding a Rooseveltian-Wislonian Big Stick with infinite tact and wonderful effect. Together they made an irresistible team.

Elizabeth Wilson graduated from Lawrence in 1890. Wilson was the first woman editor of the Lawrentian, the school newspaper. She received her master's degree at Lawrence and remained to teach English and Latin for six years. Wilson was extremely involved in the international operations of the YWCA. She wrote a number of books on religious subjects and missionary work.
(1890), and both pursued academic careers after graduation. "Kate" Lummis, the daughter of Henry Lummis, Greek and History Professor at Lawrence for twenty years, received her master's degree in Latin at Stanford University and her Ph.D. at the American School of Classic Studies in Rome. Elizabeth Wilson was the first woman editor of the Lawrentian. After graduation she taught English and Elocution at Lawrence for six years. Wilson devoted a great deal of her life to YWCA service, becoming the international secretary and doing YWCA work in India. She also wrote a number of books on religious subjects, one of which, Methodism in Eastern Wisconsin, 1832-1850, was used in this study.

Two women in seventy-five years entered the "masculine" profession of law. Lella Millar in 1888 was the first woman lawyer from Lawrence. She graduated from the woman's law class, University of the City of New York in 1903. It was twenty-nine years before another woman graduate of Lawrence entered the legal profession. In 1917 after Vivian McMullen graduated from Lawrence, she attended Marquette University's Law School and entered practice in Milwaukee.

These seven women did not let society dictate to them what they could do with their lives. Only approximately seven percent of the women graduates from 1857-1924 left the prescribed sphere of involvement for
their sex. This is not to say that these women rejected the "domestic sphere", for four of the seven also married and reared children. But these women were atypical, both at Lawrence and in society in general, for pursuing careers outside of woman's separate sphere.
CONCLUSION

"We deny the right of any portion of the species to decide for another portion, or any individual for another individual, what is or is not their proper sphere. The proper sphere for all human beings is the largest and highest which they are able to attain to. What this is cannot be ascertained without complete liberty of choice."

-Harriet Taylor Mill
"Enfranchisement of Women," 1851

Women have always been a significant part of Lawrence University - both statistically and otherwise. Of seventy of the first seventy-five years (there were no reports for five of the years in the course catalogues) women were always at least one-fourth of the college students at Lawrence. For twenty-one of the first seventy years, women made up over fifty per cent of the collegiate students. For fifty of the first seventy years, women comprised over forty per cent of the student population. Women, thus, were forty per cent of the college students over seventy per cent of the time. And
over ninety-seven percent of the time, women constituted at least thirty percent of collegiate students. In fact, in only two years out of seventy, were women less than thirty percent of the class. In 1853-54 women were only a quarter of the students and in 1871-72 women were only 28.3% of the college students (See Table 2).

Women were significantly present and significantly participating at Lawrence. By 1924, the close of this study, women were heading almost every organization on campus. Women had edited the Lawrentian, the Ariel, had been president of the oratorical society, philosophy club, were members of sororities, athletic squads, and musical groups. In short, women were involved in almost everything the men were doing. But almost all of these activities had not been accessible to women for very long. Seventy-five years earlier, women were instructed in different courses and restricted in a way the men were not; women were limited by university policy, but more emphatically, by their perception of what a woman ought to do -- and ought not to do. For the first twenty-one years of its history, Lawrence had no organizations for women. Women had limited access to the library and to certain classes (e.g., barred from engineering classes).

Women, it was believed, could not tolerate the same rigorous education in which men were engaged. Thus women were not encouraged to take Latin, Greek or Mathematics.
**TABLE 2**

Total Number of Students in Lawrence's Collegiate Department

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Instead, they took the ornamental courses of music, drawing and painting, which qualified them to receive the Lady Baccalaureate of Arts degree. If "coeducation" is taken to mean equal education then Lawrence University cannot claim to have been a coeducational institution until at least 1867 when the special course for "the ladies" was abolished. If "coeducation" carries the implication of equal opportunities, then Lawrence was not a coeducational college until even much later.

Women were required to live on campus so that the university could protect and preserve their morals. Women were the moral guardians of the United States, and Lawrence protected its women. Women were protected biologically, by various requirements of "Physical Culture" that sought to ensure that a woman's brain did not overdevelop at the expense of her ovaries. Women were protected emotionally, by having a preceptress supervise all interactions the young women had -- or did not have. Women (like men) were protected spiritually; as a Methodist institution, Lawrence wanted to instill spiritual values in all of its students. And the women were protected physically, through the university's commitment to house the women on campus, under the watchful eye of the preceptress and her assistants.

Women faculty were also restricted. For a long time, by virtue of their title - "instructor" instead of
"professor", the women were subjugated. And women were always paid less than men for the equivalent work. Female faculty members were required to reside and eat in Ormsby Hall with the undergraduates. This successfully limited women faculty members to either single women or wives of male professors.

Society's rather rigid doctrine of a separate sphere for women relegated most women to expectations of themselves that led them to the "nurturing" occupations - largely teaching and homemaking. Lawrence University policy did not explicitly dictate what Lawrence women graduates could do with their degrees. From the evidence, however, it would seem that a woman's attitude towards certain occupations was shaped at Lawrence; and most of the graduates were teachers and homemakers. In this respect, Lawrence was very similar to other colleges across the nation. Very few women anywhere chose to be employed outside of the home in occupations outside of the "domestic sphere."

Lawrence University originally became a coeducational school because of a combination of factors. The Methodist-Episcopal Church wanted both boys and girls to be educated; and Wisconsin, a frontier territory when the school was established in 1846, could not have supported separate schools for men and women. Amos A. Lawrence wanted no part of establishing a school for
women, but William Sampson and Reeder Smith fought for coeducation (as well as fighting each other!). Economic factors caused coeducation - not equal education, but joint education - of the sexes to be a certainty at Lawrence. Judged by the standards of 1983, many of the early policies of Lawrence University might seem discriminatory, if not ignorant. But evaluated by the norms of the 1850's, the coeducational experiment at Lawrence University was a radical departure from American tradition.
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