

Women and Learning from Plato to Princeton



AN EXHIBITION CELEBRATING THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF UNDERGRADUATE COEDUCATION AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY



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Introduction

Over the centuries the debate was not, of course, about whether women should be educated together with men, but how much they should be educated at all. The classical world bequeathed to its Christian heirs some learned and inventive goddesses, accounts and fragments of Sappho, Plutarch's *Virtuous Women*, and Plato's description of the education of females in an ideal republic. To this scanty harvest, early Christianity added the advice of Church Fathers on the serious education of daughters intended for the religious life. Their program was more than fulfilled by those learned abbesses and nuns of the early Middle Ages, who wrote letters in Latin and exchanged manuscripts not only with each other but with abbots and bishops as well.

The educational event that probably did the most to change gender and social boundaries in regard to access to learning was the foundation of universities from the end of the twelfth century on, with their lectures, examinations and degrees. These institutions offered a new avenue of prestige and advancement for male religious and also expanded higher learning beyond "clergy" to men who would return to lay life as masters of art, doctors of law and doctors of medicine. In contrast, for female religious of a scholarly bent, a world of important disputation and manuscript collecting had been established from which they were excluded. And bookish women in royal and aristocratic families, who had started off with the same tutors as their brothers, could not follow those brothers into formal training and degrees. Thus, Christine de Pizan-poet, moralist, and historian-had to insist in her City of Ladies of 1405, "If it were the custom to send daughters to schools like sons and to teach them the sciences properly, they would learn as thoroughly and understand the subtleties of all the arts and sciences as well as sons." Indeed, with their delicate bodies and sharper minds, the women might even do better.

Christine's learning was acquired first from her father, who thought "women none the less for science," and then from her own reading of manuscripts in a courtly setting where she won patronage. In the changes set in motion by the invention of printing and the Protestant and Catholic Reformations, the schools Christine sought multiplied dramatically, but not quite with the results for which she had hoped. The secondary schools for boys— whether Jesuit colleges in France or grammar schools and private venture schools in England —much outnumbered the Ursuline schools and other convent schools in France and the girls' boarding schools in England. On the elementary level, too, where once in a while boys and girls crammed together in the same little day-school or charity school, there were still many more boys being taught to read, write, and pray than girls. And then there was the difference in curriculum: the Jesuit colleges and grammar schools taught their pupils Latin and the classics, while the girls read their moral philosophy, religious texts and histories in French or English, in between classes in needlework and dancing.

These differences fit well with the theories of education offered in the stream of published tracts that appeared from the early sixteenth century on. For both men and women, education was to form a good Christian and a moral person; but for men education also prepared for offices and duties in society and government, while for women it prepared only for marriage and motherhood. From Juan Luis Vives' *Instruction of a Christian Woman* of the 1520s to Erasmus Darwin's *Plan for the Conduct of Female Education* of the 1790s, this distinction remained in place. The band of early feminists who wanted to make stronger claims for women's learning, such as Anna Maria van Schurman and François Poullain de La Barre, did so by deepening the definition of what nourished the Christian life or by imagining the entrance of women formally into the professions.

As for scholarly practice, the bookish women found ways to acquire learning even without benefit of enrollment in universities. Lettered fathers often set them to work in the tradition of Thomas More, teaching them Latin, Greek, and Hebrew or hiring a tutor to do so. Sometimes mothers helped as well. Brothers could be useful, as with Elizabeth Elstob, who kept house for her brother William while he was at University College Oxford and became part of his circle studying Anglo-Saxon. Anna Maria van Schurman was allowed by Gisbertus Voetius to sit in a cubicle next to his lecture hall at the University of Utrecht and thus got her start in Greek and Hebrew. Catharine Macaulay read classical and English history on her own, disdainful of Oxford and Cambridge as mere "seminaries" where "the study of history is little cultivated." Excluded (except in Italy) from Royal Societies and Academies, the learned women sustained themselves intellectually by networks of friendship and scholarly correspondence with other women and with men, who often served as patrons. The fruits of their labor they published in editions that sometimes brought fame to themselves and profits to their printers.

As for their hopes for the future of female education, the learned women were not of one mind. As they differed in their political and religious attitudes, so they differed in the settings and even the studies that they thought most suitable for women's development. At the end of the seventeenth century, the Anglican Tory Mary Astell envisaged an aristocratic woman's college cut off from the world; at the end of the eighteenth century, the republican Deist Mary Wollstonecraft envisaged an advanced coeducational schooling for the middling and better sort. The nineteenth century was to try both paths, as women's colleges like Vassar, Wellesley and Smith were founded in the eastern United States and coeducational institutions like Oberlin and the Universities of Iowa, Wisconsin and Michigan developed in the Middle West. As for the older universities, women established colleges close to some of them—Girton in Cambridge, Somerville in Oxford, Radcliffe next to Harvard—and listened to the professors lecture and took the men's exams, but it would be a long time before they were admitted to full membership in these august bodies. About her graduate studies at Radcliffe in the early 1920s, Rutgers historian Margaret Judson recalls that most of her Harvard teachers were very supportive, but that when it came time to take her general exams, she had both to answer the questions and pour the gentlemen tea. [NZD]

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Traditional visions of Princeton's past would treat the long-term history just sketched as largely irrelevant to the experience of the College of New Jersey in its first two centuries of existence. True, Isaac Van Doren (1793) was perhaps the earliest strong advocate of women's education in America and Aaron Burr, Jr., Class of 1772, commissioned a portrait of Mary Wollstonecraft to be a proper model for his daughter, Theodosia. "If I could foresee," Aaron Burr wrote once to his wife, "that Theo would become a mere fashionable woman, with all the attendant frivolity and vacuity of mind, adorned with whatever grace and allurement, I would earnestly pray God to take her forthwith hence. But I yet hope by her to convince the world what neither sex appears to believe-that women have souls." And indeed she became her father's political link to America during his exile as well as the wife of the Governor of South Carolina. But the politically radical and intellectually fertile college of the eighteenth century became far less vital in the nineteenth. As an institution Princeton grew from the tiny, impoverished backwater of the early decades of the century to the prosperous rich men's college of the last ones. But the social vision of its leaders, from Ashbel Green to Woodrow Wilson himself, remained strongly limited so far as women were concerned. Early nineteenth-century Princeton students occasionally discussed women's rights and abilities-but in the sometimes comic context of their public oratorical contests. By the end of the century women were firmly relegated to their places-as a disturbance to men's studies, tolerated in certain limited ways but not encouraged.

To be sure, real women did exist, even in Princeton. But the young men encountered them in two defined settings, neither of them intellectual. Young women of suitable birth, breeding and fortune came by special train or Pierce Arrow motorcar to the rich Princeton of the Gilded Age and of the Twenties for proms and football games. Their time in Princeton, though intense, was hectic in character, short in duration, and designed as the occasion for choosing mates rather than exchanging ideas. Young women of low birth and fortune, by contrast, inhabited both Princeton and what was until recently the thriving industrial city of Trenton, easily accessible by traction or by car. They provided the young men with opportunities for sexual rather than social intercourse, opportunities which the social and biological ideas of the time treated as a necessary evil. Fitzgerald's stories and novels vividly describe both sorts of contact.

Otherwise, the college world was meant to be all-embracing. Sports, politics, extracurricular activities, club life and occasional study were meant to fill the student's time. College was a separate preparation for, not part of, adult life. And some of the learning about gender and society now gained by conversation and dating between the sexes was supplied-at Princeton as at the women's colleges of the time-by a sort of elaborate single-sex practice exercise, accompanied by comic cross-dressing. The chorus line of Princeton's Triangle Show is an isolated survival of a time when boys dressed as women took the female parts in drama, and when close emotional relations between boys prepared them for the longerlasting heterosexual relationships of adult life. In fact, the women's colleges of the same period had rituals similar in nature and purpose to Trianglelike the dances to which sophomores at some of the Seven Sisters, acting as male hosts and providing invitations, dance cards and corsages, took each year's freshmen. In this world the notion that students could marry and still study was almost inconceivable; it seemed inevitable that young men and women would simply distract one another from the labor of learning to be adult if allowed to inhabit the same classrooms and campus. And in any event, the raucous and alcoholic male social life of men's colleges like Princeton seemed no place for well-brought up young women -as Woodrow Wilson emphasized in an eloquent document printed below. So far as Princeton men were concerned, women were to be admired in photographs on bedroom walls (or at the safe distance of a Broadway theatre's stage), taken to parties and written to-but not to be treated as equals in potential or companions in learning.

This traditional story accurately describes what many experienced, as this exhibition shows. But it is one-sided. It suppresses, in the first place, the fact that Princeton—like Harvard, Columbia, and Brown—harbored one of the late nineteenth-century experiments in women's higher education. For a decade Evelyn College flourished in Jugtown, providing Princeton faculty with an opportunity to see that young women could learn languages, mathematics and natural sciences as well as young men, and Princeton students with evidence that young women could learn as much and create as rich a student culture as they could. Evelyn foundered in the end, the victim of Princeton's institutional poverty, New Jersey's lack of interest in higher education for women, the lack of a major benefactor or a powerful group of alumnae to endow it—and, above all, lack of a distinguished woman scholar like M. Carey Thomas or Alice Freeman Palmer to give the College a visibility and its curriculum depth and weight. But its lively mixture of academic and social, traditionally female and supposedly male pursuits should not be omitted from Princeton's story which would have been radically different if Evelyn had survived, as all contemporary women's annexes at other men's universities did.

The traditional story also omits many other women who form part of Princeton's history-and whose contact with young men helped to shape their experience of Princeton and their own sense of identity. Faculty wives cared for the sick, helped the lonely, and even taught young male babysitters the basic skills of diaper-changing and bottle-heating (which, as the exhibition shows, were perhaps more familiar to many boys in the 1950s hevday of the nuclear family than they are now in the age of dual parenting). Many of them were intellectuals and scholars, who found the university's indifference to their interests and attainments a perpetual frustration-and accordingly built their own social and intellectual worlds outside its borders. Young women studied map-reading in the 1940s and critical languages in the late 1960s. Others penetrated the graduate school well before the college decided on coeducation. Mature women scholars served on research staffs, offered formal and informal instruction, received awards and attended ceremonies, and gave examples of distinguished public and intellectual achievement that ran quite counter to Princeton's apparent assumptions. The history of gender at Princeton-as at other universities, American and European-has yet to be written. But we can be certain that it will be a far richer and more complex story than has been suspected in the past. [ATG]

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In the 1960s, of course, both Princeton and the outside world began to change, more and more rapidly. The old social ideal of a Protestant monastery, a retired grove where one could discuss great ideas and pressing problems with detachment, had inspired such diverse Princetonians as Woodrow Wilson, Edmund Wilson, and George Kennan. But it attracted fewer and fewer young men. Many of them found it archaic; some thought it mere camouflage for the custom of confining women to separate spheres and denying their intellectual capacity, which rested on obviously implausible assumptions. Like the administrations of many all-male boarding schools and all-male colleges from Yale to Caltech, Princeton's administrators began to fear that the base of able applicants was eroding. Like the faculties of most other universities, most Princeton professors believed that the presence of women could only improve Princeton's intellectual and social life. When President Goheen and the trustees authorized a committee to study the possibility of coeducation, it soon

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became clear that the old ways would have to change, and women were at last admitted, provisionally, for the fall of 1969. As President Goheen recalls: "One [salient development during the 1960s] was the dawning recognition that many of the best male prospects in both the public and private high schools that had been major feeders for Princeton were no longer seeking admission here; they preferred coeducational colleges. Second, by that time—albeit belatedly—the claims of American women to equal treatment and the ability of many of them to play active, shaping roles in education, business, the professions, and public affairs were at last gaining wide recognition and acceptance.

"Should Princeton try to stand against these tides? I became convinced that it would end up much lessened, if not floundering."

Controversy flared in the pages of the Princeton Alumni Weekly and elsewhere. The presence of women in the student body and teaching staff distressed some alumni and faculty. The increased size and diversity of the student body put new pressures on Princeton's staff and facilities. And some of Princeton's institutions, most notoriously the eating clubs, took a long time to adapt. But twenty years on, the correctness of the original decision is as clear as the fact that much remains to be done before full equality will be achieved. Princeton continues to harbor plenty of debate about its curriculum, discipline, and social life. It continues to harbor traditions, too-above all the tradition of liberal arts education, which is under threat elsewhere. But it recognizes that traditions, like species, must change to survive. Liberal arts education at Princeton is no longer the preserve of gentlemen. It is offered by women and to women. It takes into account the experience of women in past times and other cultures. And those innovations-like Princeton's women faculty and students-now belong solidly to the fabric of the place. [ATG]

The Ancients and the Humanists: Plato, Jerome, and companions

From Antiquity through the Renaissance, the liberal arts were normally considered to be a male province. In their classic origin they were the arts that a 'free man' needed to study to become an active citizen; in the Middle Ages they became the disciplines that a male-dominated clergy needed to explain the structure of the universe and the divine plan. In both cases women would seem to have no place, since they were excluded from the public political debates of the ancient world and the technical theological debates of traditional Christianity. Even in the Renaissance books of advice for women—like those by Vives exhibited here—emphasized the need for docility and decorum above all, and manuals for proper behavior treated women as the guides and leaders of cultivated social intercourse, but not as themselves potentially gifted intellectuals.

Yet the classical tradition in scholarship and education, for all its domination by male writers, did not speak with a single voice. The greatest of ancient philosophers, Plato, argued that women were as capable as men of serving as Guardians in his ideal state. The most learned Father of the Church, Jerome, corresponded with women about technical problems in theology. The learned German nun Hroswitha wrote classical texts of her own—Latin comedies meant to supplant the pagan ones of Terence in the schools. Even the classical tradition, then, offered varied models for the intellectual abilities of women, and provided small but significant niches where some of them could appropriate classical tools and texts to their own ends. Conrad Celtes was not expressing a unique or a bizarre sentiment when he wrote, in the preface to his edition of Hroswitha's works, that "There is no sex and no age in the world that is too weak and unteachable to attain virtue and learning." [ATG]

EXHIBITS

Plato. Opera Omnia. Venice, 1513. [Ex 2740.1513q]

Open to the discussion of women's ability to learn everything necessary to become Guardians in *Republic*, book v.

St. Jerome. Epistolae. Basle, 1489. [ExI 2863.321.005q]

Jerome tells his correspondent Marcella that she has worn him out with her demands for theological information.

Hroswitha, *Opera.* Nuremberg, 1501. [Ex 3460.5.1501q] Classical comedies by a tenth-century nun. More, Thomas. Utopia. Basel, 1518. [Ex 3865.5.392.125]

The greatest ideal society of the Renaissance—and one in which women, though clearly subjected to male rule, were to be afforded the same opportunities as men for study.

Vives, Juan Luis. *Von underweysung ayner Christlichen Frauwen*. Augsburg, 1544. [Loaned by the Scheide Library, Princeton]

Translation into German of his *De Institutione Foeminae Christianae*. A vivid pictorial depiction of the standard advice to women about the difference between virtuous and vicious (or docile and dominant?) behavior. Opened to the section: *Von der leernung der Töchtern*.

Vives, Juan Luis. *Von Gebirlichem Thun und Lassen aines Ehemanns* Augsburg, 1544. [Loaned by the Scheide Library, Princeton]

A splendid, graphic illustration of the ideal patriarchal family of the sixteenth century.

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Learned Ladies—Continental Europe

In early modern Europe the invention of printing, the rise of Protestantism and the reform of the Catholic church all promoted literacy and made texts of all sorts far more accessible. Many girls gained access to them thanks to the teaching of learned fathers (like Thomas More), devoted nuns or dedicated Protestant schoolmasters. Women proved that they could master and wield the most arcane skills of the early modern intellectual. They wrote poetry and prose in classical Latin and Greek, explored new sorts of intellectual and religious experience, did original research on the new scholarship which laid open the ancient and medieval worlds and the New Science that constructed a coherent clockwork universe. Gilles Ménage, whose history of learned ladies was dedicated to the pioneer classicist Anne Dacier, wrote on the page displayed here that "There are so many women writers that one could fill a big book with their names alone." The texts exhibited here confirm his statement—and make it all the sadder that it was forgotten by subsequent generations of scholars. [ATG]

EXHIBITS

Morata, Olympia Fulvia, Orationes, Basel, 1562. [(Ex Holden) PQ4630.M79.1562]

Latin and Greek works of a woman humanist from Ferrara; an original combination of classical form and Christian piety. Her epitaph describes her as "of womanly form but more than male intellect."

Schurman, Anna Maria van. *Question célèbre s'il est necessaire ou non, que les Filles soient sçavantes.* Paris, 1646. [(Ex Holden) LC1426.637.S314]

A remarkable linguist of Utrecht working in Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Arabic and Ethiopian, Schurman also debated in print the suitability of learning for the gifted woman. In this exchange with the Leiden theologian André Rivet—first published in Latin—Schurman defends high learning for the single woman of means as an avenue toward the knowledge of God and morality.

Lupis, Antonio. *L'eroina Veneta* . . . *la vita di Elena Lucretia Cornaro*. Venice, 1689. [(Ex Holden) PQ4621.C4828]

Life of a Venetian woman who obtained a doctorate—not quite the first one earned by a woman—at Padua on 25 June 1678, after sustaining disputations on two passages from Aristotle.

Dacier, Anne. Dictys Cretensis. Amsterdam, 1702. [Ex 2846.1702]

Mme Dacier, the daughter of the scholar Tanneguy Lefebvre, edited numerous Greek and Latin texts, including this one (an alternate version of the Trojan war).

Dacier, Anne. *Madame Dacier's Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Account of Homer.* London, 1724. [Robert H. Taylor Collection]

Mme Dacier's French translation of and notes on Homer were Pope's major single scholarly source; here she expostulates with him for failing to grasp her historical approach to Homer's world.

Ménage, Gilles (Menagius Aegidius). *Historia mulierum philosopharum* ... Lyon, 1690. [(Ex Holden) B105.W6M46]

A learned compilation on the learned women of antiquity (notably Hypatia); dedicated to Anne Dacier.

Fontenelle, Bernard Le Bovier de. *Entretiens sur la Pluralité des Mondes*. Amsterdam, 1719. [Ex 3253.2.332]

Fontenelle constructed his much reprinted exposition of the cosmology and science of René Descartes as a conversation between a learned philosopher and a marquise. If a person could follow the plot of Madame de Lafayette's *Princesse de Clèves*, then she could understand the movement of the planets and the laws of motion.

Fontenelle, Bernard Le Bovier de. A Discovery of New Worlds. From the French Made English by Mrs. A. Behn. London, 1688. [Ex 3252.2.332.57]

The dramatist Aphra Behn said she was drawn to do this translation in part because Fontenelle had cast a woman as one of his speakers. "And

for his Lady Marquise, he makes her say a great many silly things, tho' sometimes she makes observations so learned that the greatest Philosophers in Europe could make no better."

Emilie du Châtelet, Mme. *Institutions de Physique*. Londres, 1741. [Ex 3246.766.349]

The first rigorous account of Newtonian physics offered in a Continental language, by a learned lady whose grasp of mathematics far exceeded that of her lover, Voltaire.

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The Early English and French traditions

The seventeenth century was a period of innovation in thought about politics and society and of religious experimentation, and it also generated fresh and even radical thinking in regard to gender and education. While the traditional image of women's lore was being sustained in the publication of household manuals, François Poullain de la Barre used the philosophy of René Descartes to challenge existing traditions about women. If mind were independent of body, then all past claims about female mental inferiority based on the traditional view that the female body was weak and wet, fell to nothing. Remaking education by starting with the women was the way to remake all education by the standards of reason. Poullain's ideas set him in tension with the absolutism of Louis XIV's France, and after publishing the books included in this case, he converted to Protestantism and moved to Geneva.

Across the channel, John Locke's concept of the mind as a blank sheet of paper acted on by the experience of the senses also encouraged a conviction of the similarity between the mental capacity of men and women; his concept of the family as a contractual arrangement headed by the husband placed limits on how far he was willing to go in developing that similarity. Women's education should imitate that given to men, but not disturb family order. Mary Astell, Tory and Anglican, wrote against Locke's materialism and deism, linking these attitudes with the constraints placed on "Most Men" by their being "so Sensualized." Her vision of an allfemale scholarly community suited well her Platonic ideal of the reasoning mind moving toward God, while the remoteness of the community allowed it to be experimental without disturbing the political or social order. [NZD]

EXHIBITS

Accomplish'd Lady's Delight. In Preserving, Physick, Beautifying and Cookery. London, 1719. [(Ex Ki) TX151.xA18.1719s]

A characteristic example of the kinds of domestic learning passed on as recipes by mothers to daughters and disseminated to a wide public through the printing press. The anonymous edition here, culled from earlier collections probably by an editor in the printing shop, goes back in genre to the Renaissance book of "secrets."

Woolley, Hannah. *The Queen-like Closet* bound with *A Supplement to the Queen-like Closet, or A Little of Everything Presented to all Ingenious Ladies.* London, 1684. Fifth ed. Signature Mary Ibbosson. [Robert H. Taylor Collection]

Schoolteacher, governess, and writer, Hannah Woolley used the press to reshape the domestic arts according to her own expertise and to link them with a real female author. The *Little of Everything* ranges from her own cures to sample letters written by women to relatives and friends. The frontispiece showing women's chores was already used in the 1610 edition of *The good huswifes jewell* by Thomas Dawson.

[Poullain de la Barre, François]. *De l'égalité des deux sexes*. Paris, 1673. Handwritten dedication on title page "A La comtesse de Beauvais." [Ex HQ1201.P66]

A student of Catholic theology who converted to the new Cartesian philosophy, Poullain wrote one of the most radical defenses of gender equality of the Old Regime. "The mind has no sex," he argued, and any contrary view was the product of self-interested or ignorant prejudice. Women were not only capable of the same education as men, but were also able to fulfill all the offices to which male education led—in the courts, in the universities, in the church, and in government.

Poullain de la Barre, François. *De l'éducation des dames pour la conduite de l'esprit dans les sciences et dans les moeurs. Entretiens.* Amsterdam, 1679. [(Ex Holden) LC1422.P6s]

In conversations among the teacher Stasismaque, the young Eulalie, Sophia, and the good Timandre, Poullain develops a plan for Cartesian education that moves from doubt to the authority of reason alone. His *Education des dames* is in fact a model for the education of both sexes, especially at a time when the universities were dominated by Aristotelians; "there is only one method for instructing the one or the other."

Locke, John. *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. London, 1693. Copy with signatures of Mary Hunt and William Hunt, 1737. [Ex 6504.592.14]

This much reprinted book was drawn from Locke's letters to his friend Edward Clarke for the education of his son; his letter to Elizabeth Clarke on the education of her daughter remained unpublished. Locke's thoughts on marriage were conventional: the wife was subject to the husband in the little commonwealth of the household, where proper education would make her a better companion and mother. Nonetheless, in their early years, girls should be given the same training as their brothers in the development of their reason and moral faculties.

Astell, Mary. A Serious Proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement of their True and Greatest Interest. London, 1696. Vol. 1. [(Ex Holden) BV4527.A77 1696s]

Devout Christian and Neo-Platonist, poet and Tory pamphleteer, Mary Astell made an original proposal for the advanced education of upper-class women. She advocated a Seminary or Religious Retirement for women, who would develop their reason and their Christian understanding by serious philosophical study and also give a "Learned Education" to young women of their rank. This vision of a women's college remained a dream, but Astell did found a Charity School for girls in Chelsea.

[Drake, Judith]. *An Essay in Defense of the Female Sex.* London, 1696. [Ex 3611.48.334]

Long attributed to Mary Astell, the anonymous Essay in Defense of the Female Sex was written by Judith Drake, a practitioner of medicine. Men and women are alike in soul and reason, Drake argues, as can be seen when they are young, "for after Children can Talk, they are promiscuously taught to Read and Write by the same Persons, and at the same time both Boys and Girls." The difference between them starts only at age six or seven, when the boys are sent to Grammar Schools and the girls to Boarding Schools.

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The English tradition continued

Women's scholarly productions continued to grow in the eighteenth century, their authors creating different sets of gender relations around their work. The Anglo-Saxon specialist Elizabeth Elstob was part of a circle of male scholars headed by George Hickes, but she dedicated her books to women and stressed the appropriateness of women studying the old Mother-Tongue. Eliza Haywood's *Female Spectator* was part of the burgeoning of female periodical literature in the eighteenth century, and the image there created was of women writing, reading and talking

together about matters of the world. Catharine Sawbridge Macaulay, deeply immersed in the radical republican politics of the reign of George III, dedicated her historical work to Liberty and constructed one of her historical volumes as a series of letters to the Reverend Thomas Wilson, who was a friend of liberty. In her writing, she had harsh words for queens and praise for the women petitioners to the House of Commons in 1641. [NZD]

EXHIBITS

Elstob, Elizabeth. *An English-Saxon Homily on the Birthday of St. Gregory.* London, 1709. [(Ex Holden) PR1526.G8A2]

Outstanding scholar of Anglo-Saxon and member with her brother William of a circle of specialists in "Septentrional Studies," Elstob published as her first effort an annotated edition and translation of this *Homily on the Birthday of Saint Gregory*. Her preface addressed the question "what has a woman to do with Learning," and there were many women listed among the subscribers to this edition.

Elstob, Elizabeth. *The Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue, First given in English.* London, 1715. [(Ex Holden) PE135.E4]

In her preface to George Hickes, founder of the new scholarship in Anglo-Saxon studies, Elstob explains that she has written her *Grammar* in English so that women, who were rarely able to read Latin, could study their 'Mother-Tongue.'

Ballard, George. *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain who have been Celebrated for their Writings or Skill in the Learned Languages, Arts and Sciences.* Oxford, 1752. [(Ex Holden) CT3320.B3]

A ladies' tailor of Gloucestershire, Ballard was also a passionate antiquarian with connections at Oxford. Encouraged by the bluestocking Sarah Chapone and the Anglo-Saxon scholar Elizabeth Elstob, Ballard conducted years of research on the learned women of England. The resulting sixty-two portraits over four centuries attested both to the intellectual performance of the women and to the respect in which they were held by "great Persons" of their day.

The Female Spectator, Vol. I, London, 1747. [(Ex Holden) AP3.F45 v.I]

The Female Spectator initially appeared as a periodical in twenty-four monthly installments, composed by the novelist Eliza Haywood and her women friends. Republished in book form, these moral tales and reflections were introduced by a portrait of the women sitting beneath a painting of Mercury and busts of Madame Dacier and Sappho.

Carter, Elizabeth. Epictetus. London, 1758. [26495.2758]

Trained in classical languages by her father, Elizabeth Carter went on to learn several modern languages as well. Among her translations was an English version of Francesco Algarotti's *Il Newtonianismo per le dame*, but her masterpiece was her translation of Epictetus together with an Introduction on Stoic philosophy and its relation to Christianity.

Macaulay, Catharine Sawbridge. *The History of England from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line*. London, 1764. Vol. I. [(Ex Holden) DA375.M213 1764 vol. 1]

A radical Whig and republican, Macaulay did extensive research in the British Museum for her multi-volumed *History of England*. A publishing success, her *History* rivaled in reputation that of the Tory David Hume. In this frontispiece, she represents herself as Libertas, a replica of an ancient Roman coin in honor of the revolutionary Lucius Junius Brutus.

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Women and the Enlightenment

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Mary Wollstonecraft and Hannah More all sought educational reform in the last half of the eighteenth century and all had as their target the aristocratic styles and values of the Old Regime. But their ideals of the new woman and the new gender relations which would replace the old were quite different, showing the range of social imagination possible within the middle-class way of looking at the world,

For Rousseau, the appealing, natural, and observant Sophie would replace the artificial, stiff and snobbish aristocratic woman, but she would be the dependent companion of Emile. Men and women were different, and their education should be different. Wollstonecraft had nothing but contempt for the frivolous, lightweight education of the English boarding schools and for the weak and irrational values encouraged in women. Though motherhood placed distinctive obligations on women, the sexes had the same capacities and should be educated in similar ways toward social contribution and citizenship. More shared Wollstonecraft's distaste for aristocratic frivolity and sensuousness, but also disliked the intellectual pretensions of the salon women *and* of bluestockings like Wollstonecraft. Like Rousseau, she stressed the difference between men and women, but a woman properly educated by More's standards would not be passive and dependent. Rather she would be active in charitable work and Christian teaching. All three of these stances have their equivalents today. [NZD]

EXHIBITS

An Account of Charity Schools Lately Erected in England, Wales, and Ireland. London, 1707. [Ex 6803.112]

This description, emanating from an Anglican source, gives indication of the different numbers of poor boys and girls "clothed" and taught reading, writing, Christian piety, and manual or domestic crafts. Almost all the charity schools were founded either for boys or for girls, but in a few parishes the children were mixed, as in Kent, "A school for 27 Boys and Girls to Read."

Rousseau, J.J. Emile ou de l'éducation (1762). Vol 4. [Ex 3288.332.16]

The Fifth Book of Rousseau's best-selling *Emile* was on "Sophie, ou la Femme." The sexes contributed to the common end by their difference, the man strong and active, the woman weak and passive and made to please the man. Sophie's education was a natural one, with healthy ways and unconstricting garments and with her mind formed by reading, observation, and conversations. "When people talk to her they always find what she says attractive, though it may not be highly ornamental according to modern ideas of an educated woman."

Burton, John. *Lectures on Female Education and Manners*. Dublin, 1794 Third edition. A woman's signature dated 1794 on the Advertisement page. [LC1441.xB86 1794]

These lectures were given by Burton over twenty-eight Sundays at "a School for Female Tuition." He talked of Pride, Anger, Forgiveness, and "Modesty, a Female Virtue." One lecture encouraged serious reading in divinity, morality and history over the frivolity of novels. The last lecture ends on Marriage.

Murry, Ann. *Mentoria: or, the Young Ladies Instructor in Familiar Conversations on Moral and Entertaining Subjects.* London, 1778. [(Ex Holden) LC1441.M87 1778]

The author says she has written this book for her pupils. Her subjects have somewhat more intellectual substance than those of Burton's *Lectures* —one is on the Spartan form of Government—though there is also concern for Industry, Civility, and Duties of Life.

Darwin, Erasmus. *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education in Boarding Schools, Private Families, and Public Seminaries.* Philadelphia, 1798. Note the frontispiece. [Ex 6582.283]

Darwin argues that female character should possess the mild and retiring virtues rather than the bold and dazzling ones; states that great apparent

strength of character, however, excellent, is liable to alarm both her own and the other sex, and to create admiration rather than affection.

More, Hannah. *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*. London, 1799. Third edition. [6582.651.12. Vol 1]

Prolific author of uplifting novels and popular tracts and founder of rural Sunday schools for boys and girls, More put all her talent to work for the Evangelical Movement within the Church of England. Women's education should be Christian, pragmatic (a good knowledge of numbers was recommended), and should prefer works of judgment, like excerpts from Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, to those that stimulate the female imagination.

More, Hannah. *Essays on Various Subjects Principally Designed for Young Ladies*. Philadelphia, 1786. Signature of Anne Hunter. [Ex 3865.1.1786]

More's reputation spread across the Atlantic to America, where she had many readers and female admirers. This Philadelphia edition includes her essay "On the Importance of Religion in the Female Character," in which More insists that women have a greater aptitude for religion than men and that they should cultivate this higher sensibility.

Wollstonecraft, Mary. *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters*. London, 1787. [(Ex Holden) HQ1229.W85]

Informed by Wollstonecraft's experience as teacher and governess, her observations of mothering, and her rational political philosophy, *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* takes an unsentimental view of marriage and urges the development of reason and moral discipline. Women need fixed principles and should expand their sense of charity beyond the family.

Wollstonecraft, Mary. *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. London, 1792. [Ex HQ1596.W6 1792].

Written during the surge of optimism of the early phase of the French Revolution, this celebrated feminist tract calls for women with more "manly virtue" and for men with more peaceable qualities. To educate such citizens, she proposes a system of "national education" in free day-schools, where boys and girls of all social classes would be taught together from the ages of five to nine. After the age of nine, those "intended" for domestic or mechanical employ would be educated in other schools—the sexes together in the morning, and then separated for their vocational training while "the young people of superior abilities or fortune" would continue their intellectual studies in a coeducational setting.

The American Reaction

From the French Revolution on, American men and women avidly discussed the general question of women's social and civil rights and the specific one of what sort of education was appropriate for them. They reprinted the classic English and continental works in the area, like Hannah More's *Strictures*. They held lecture series on the proper education for girls, usually—as the examples displayed here show—laying heavy emphasis on docility and industry. But they also compiled textbooks and readers which used the work of women writers and offered multiple models for women's thought and conduct. And some of them—notably one iconoclastic Princetonian, Isaac Van Doren (1793)—began to argue that women deserved an education as rigorous and extended as that of men.

The materials shown here include treatises and textbooks owned and read by American women. They show that even at Princeton—where the library had only two books on co-education when it was catalogued in 1920 —professors read Hannah More. They illustrate the wide variety of cultural models and materials to which literate women had access and the wide variety of arguments that could be made on behalf of women's education. And some of them—like Higginson's splendid pamphlet "Ought Women to Learn the Alphabet?"—reveal that much of the early history of women's learning displayed in this exhibit was a living presence to the nineteenthcentury intellectuals who debated these questions in sermons and articles. [ATG]

EXHIBITS

Biddle, Owen. *Plan for a School.* Philadelphia, 1790. Quaker plan for school on model of Ackworth in Yorkshire. [Ex LC571.35]

The Boarding School, or, Lessons of a Preceptress to Her Pupils. Boston, 1798. Signed on front paste-down "Lucretia Hayden's." [Ex 6582.355.1798]

More, Hannah. *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*. Boston, 1802. Third American edition. Signature of Samuel Miller, Professor at the Seminary, on title-page. [6582.651]

Burton, John. *Lectures on Female Education and Manners*. Elizabethtown, 1799. Signed by Ann Hewson, dated 1804. [Ex 6803.699 and NJI 322.799.2]

Chapone, Hester. *Lectures on the Improvement of the Mind.* New York, 1819. [Hamilton 266]

Emerson, Joseph. *Female Education, A Discourse*. Boston, 1822. Promotional pamphlet for the Female Seminary at Saugus, Mass. [(Ex Holden) LC1421.E5]

Garnett, James M. Seven Lectures on Female Education inscribed to Mrs. Garnett's pupils...by their very sincere friend James M. Garnett. Richmond, 1824. Signed "Mary W. Steele." [6582.378]

Burroughs, Charles. *An Address on Female Education*. Portsmouth, 1827. Presented by the author to Lucretia F. May, who in 1842 became principal of the Normal School for Female Teachers at Lexington, Mass. [(Ex Holden) LC1421.B94]

The Collegian in Six Numbers. Cambridge, 1830. Description of women students at Round Hill on page 177. [Ex 6668.262]

Bailey, Ebenezar. *The Young Ladies' Class Book*, Twentieth-sixth edition, Boston, 1842. Lessons in prose and verse. [4021.142]

Beecher, Catherine. *The Duty of American Women to Their Country*. New York, 1845. Education has thus far saved America from post-revolutionary France's fate (esp. terror)—women must help to educate Americans. [6550.16]

Fraser, D. *The Mental Flower Garden: Or an Instructive and Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex.* New York, 1807. In two parts: one for girls, other for women. Princeton copy signed by Rebecca Dyckman; in the subscriber's list at end, one "---- Dyckman" is listed. [Ex 6336.361]

Willard, Emma. Advancement of Female Education.... Troy, 1833. One of the classic manifestoes that laid down the lines by which women's seminaries were planned in the nineteenth century. [(Ex Holden) LC1671.W58]

Higginson, Thomas Wentworth. *Ought Women to Learn the Alphabet?* Boston, 1869. Published by the New England Woman's Suffrage Association. [(Ex Holden) HQ1423.H6 1869]

Princeton University in 1920 recorded only two books in the Library classed under the subject "co-education." These were: Grant, Cecil and Norman Hodgson. *The Case for Co-education*. London, 1913, [6589.405] and Meylan, F. Th. *La coéducation des Sexes. Etude sur l'Education supérieure des femmes aux Etats-Unis.* Bonn, 1904. [6583.639]

Wheatley, Phyllis. *Memoir and Poems*. Boston, 1838. Raised as servant to the wife of a rich Boston tailor, she became the first published African American poet. [(Ex Holden) PS806.25.W5 1838]

Cooper, Anna J. *A Voice from the South, by a Black Woman of the South.* Xenia, Ohio, 1892. Works of an American learned woman, who gained a doctorate at the Sorbonne with a thesis on attitudes towards slavery during the French Revolution. [E185.86.C587 1988 reprint]

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Eighteenth-Century Women of Princeton

Women in eighteenth-century Princeton witnessed the Revolution and the creation of the new American republic and influenced the development of Princeton University, then known as the College of New Jersey. Annis Boudinot Stockton (1736-1801), an early Princeton poet, was the sister of a president of Congress and the wife of a signer of the Declaration of Independence. She was a friend of George and Martha Washington and wrote verses in Washington's honor. Her son, Richard, was a Princeton student and member of the Whig Society during the Revolution. When the Revolution came, Annis Stockton took charge of various items belonging to Whig Hall and for this service was posthumously made an honorary member of the Whig Society in 1869.

Esther Edwards Burr (1732-1757), daughter of the famous preacher Jonathan Edwards, was the wife of a president of the College of New Jersey and mother to the famous statesman, Aaron Burr. Her Journal (1754-1757), addressed to her friend Sarah Prince of Boston, gives us a vivid picture of what life was like for a woman in eighteenth-century Princeton.

Annis and Esther became friends, having a common interest in literary pursuits. In her Journal, Esther refers to Annis as "my Poetess," and includes a poem written by Annis Stockton praising Esther and their friendship. Both were frustrated by the lack of acknowledgement by men of their intellectual capacities and attempted to change this mentality. The relationship between Annis Stockton and Esther Burr, and that between Esther and Sarah Prince illustrate the importance of female friendship in eighteenth-century America and of female community—aspects of Princeton's history which have gone for the most part unrecognized. [LL]

- A. Portrait of Annis Stockton. [Loaned by the Princeton University Art Museum]
- B. Poem by Annis Stockton in her commonplace book, headed: "To Miss

Mary Stockton, an epistle upon some gentlemen refusing to admit the ladies of their circle into the parlour till supper where they met for conversation and business once a week lest the ladies should hinder by their chitchat the purpose of their meeting..." [Manuscript Division]

- c. Esther Burr Diary. Leaves from her Diary. [Loaned by the Beinecke Library, Yale University]
- 1) April 12, 1757 entry, begins: "I have had a smart combat with Mr. Ewing about our sex...—he is a man of good parts and learning but has mean thoughts of women..."
- 2) April 11, 1757 entry [second paragraph]: "P.M. and Eve. The company of Miss Boudanot..." —poem, "To My Burrissa," written by Annis Boudinot in praise of Esther Burr
- 3) Feb. 25, 1757 entry, begins: "Last evening was the following piece wrote within this house by my poetis ..."A poem on Princeton.

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Masculine College Culture

In the 1968 debate over coeducation, praise for the all-male environment of Princeton was a constant theme of the "anti's." As one alumnus put it, "I graduated with a stronger sense of my manliness, of the qualities and ideals of manliness and the pride of manly comradeship." Another stressed the importance of manly culture: "I believe the Princeton student...enjoys four years of developing manhood uncluttered by the trivia and fluff of those women who will later share in the rest of his life." Undergraduate traditions served to test and reaffirm the Princeton student's identity and sense of himself as a man. College rites like hazing were denounced in the nineteenth century by President James McCosh as "old and degrading college customs"-late 20th century critics thought these same traditions brought out a "juvenile muscularity" of little enduring value. The thrust of most Princeton all-male traditions was conformity and competitiveness. Typical were the fighting and wrestling of cane spree and initiations rites like the Freshman Flour Picture—a literal baptism of the new students by the upperclassmen.

Nineteenth-century "Senior Orations" were formal speaking contests and occasions for serious reflection on proper gender roles for men and women (among many other subjects). Undergraduates expounded on topics like voting rights for women and female education. Students spoofed this tradition in burlesque oration programs advertising talks on sexual inversion and pornographic themes. Cross dressing is one of the most enduring aspects of gender-role "playing" at Princeton. By the time the Report on Co-education was filed in 1968, the Triangle Club (founded in 1892) Board of Trustees approved a motion to include women in all facets of club activities if Princeton were to admit women. The Report stated: "this action reflected a growing concern among those interested in the Triangle that the creative possibilities within an all-male theatrical format have now been largely exhausted." [PS]

EXHIBITS

- A. Triangle Club Show (photograph, Class of 1890, Revolutionary War theme). [Archives]
- B. Freshman Football contest, "Proclamation..." (poster of the 1890s). [Archives]
- c. "A Victim of Coeducation," *Princeton Tiger*, May 15, 1883, pp. 72-73. [Archives]
- D. Bachelors' Club (1907?). Photograph of single male faculty. [Archives]
- E. Triangle Club Show (photograph showing cross-dressing). [Archives]

Senior Orations Programs (Serious) [Archives]

- A. Second Division, Sept. 21, 1851 ("The Bloomer Costume")
- B. Fourth Division, Nov. 13, 1886 ("Woman and the Ballot")
- c. Fifth Division, Nov. 25, 1871 ("The Education of Women")

Senior Orations Programs (Humorous) [Archives]

- A. Third Division, Nov. 29, 1856 ("Petticoat Government")
- B. "Syphilitic Division," Nov. 30, 1861 (Royal Hermaphrodite Van Pelt)
- c. "The Devil's Own," Dec. 5, 1863 (Fanny Hill...)

Male Rituals

- A. Three photographs showing Cane spree, circa 1935. [Archives] The cane spree was traditionally one in a series of contests between the sophomore and freshman classes held in the Fall of each year. Three night-time wrestling matches, each for possession of a hickory "cane," gathered students to defend "class honor." If the freshmen lost all three canes, custom allowed the sophomores to "crow over you for the rest of their course." The matches could be punctuated by "rushes"—struggles for turf between the competing classes. Rushes sometimes devolved into all-out fighting. As one tale had it: "After the first crash it was mixed fighting. In the moonlight one could not invariably distinguish friend from foe. So each man doubled up both fists and let drive at everyone he saw. It was glorious".—Jesse Lynch Williams in *Princeton Stories* (1895)
- B. Freshman Flour Picture (male ritual), n.d. [Archives]
- c. St. Patrick's Day Parade (photograph showing cross-dressing, 1905) [Archives]

D. *The Princeton Tiger*, a magazine published by Princeton University students. Issues for April 4, 1924; February 12, 1948; May, 1971. [Archives]

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Socializing between the Sexes

In the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, new arenas of sociability emerged in Princeton campus life. Class dances and "the big game" (usually baseball or football) became occasions for socializing between Princeton men and women from off-campus. The clubs on Prospect street also invited women for weekends of teas, concerts, and dancing. Reception programs with cards bearing the names of partners for each dance structured a visiting female's evening, as did assigned escorts and chaperons. Faculty wives and interested Princeton ladies were invited to "lend a tone" and to monitor these campus events. House parties in the clubs became a stock feature of undergraduate life and seem to have retained their formal air in the decades before co-education.

Princeton accommodated female visitors in boarding houses or in vacated dorm rooms in University Hall. Sisters of Princeton students and "society girls" from New York City and Philadelphia made up the earliest guests. Social exchanges between women's colleges and sororities and Princeton appear as a later twentieth-century development. In the 1940s, men and women participated in the University Orchestra which drew on Princeton residents. Campus musical events also involved neighboring female choirs in concert performances. Field Hockey was the chosen sport of the Princeton "Tigroons," an all-male undergraduate "team" who travelled in the growing post-war tradition of "road-trips" to female schools and colleges. During half time and game end periods at places like Sarah Lawrence, Douglass College, and the Shipley school, the competitors socialized over cups of tea and lemonade. [PS]

- A. Jesse L. Williams, Princeton Stories (1895). F. Scott Fitzgerald's copy, open to pp. 196-7. [Ex 3991.3.373]
- B. House Parties at Clubs: 1. Ivy Club house party, 1898 (large sepia photograph; note patronesses). [Archives] 2. Cottage Club, 1920s (large sepia photograph). [Archives] 3. Tower Club house party: photograph of dancing (1946). [Archives] 4. NROTC military ball, 1965 (photograph). [Archives]

Evelyn College — A Women's College in Princeton

Evelyn College (1887-1897), founded by the Reverend Joseph McIlvaine, was a coordinate college for women in Princeton. McIlvaine's status as a Princeton graduate and former Princeton professor likely opened the way in the community for his project to gain a foothold. But it was McIlvaine's mature, unmarried daughters, Elizabeth and Alice, who ran Evelyn and supervised the students day to day in a building still standing today on Evelyn Place. Evelyn's relationship with Princeton—the sharing of faculty, course curricula, and libraries, as well as the enthusiasm and commitment of a core of young faculty members such as Professor Allan Marquand and Charles A. Young as teachers and trustees—should have sealed a future for women's education at Princeton. Evelyn, which boasted "nothing of coeducation" in its philosophy, was chartered by the state of New Jersey in 1889. Unfortunately, the McIlvaines' need to support themselves with proceeds from Evelyn, together with Princeton's inability to offer monetary support and the depression of 1893 cut short Evelyn's life.

Supporting at its height fifty students per year, Evelyn women experienced a rigorous academic program—"A full Princeton college course for women" stated the catalogue—including Greek, General History, Literature, Physics and other sciences, plus art and music. Evelyn also ran a preparatory division, "Queenscourt," that waived the Greek requirement and allowed art and music as regular electives. Unfortunately, such "concessions" to academic standards less than those of Princeton men won only scorn for Evelyn from leading educators of women, such as Annie Meyer of Barnard. A lack of adequate supporters and a sagging enrollment finally closed Evelyn College in 1897. No one inside or outside Princeton made the commitment—economic or intellectual—to make Evelyn a permanent college.

One scholar of Evelyn College suggests that the college took the name of Sir John Evelyn of the seventeenth century, whose traits of "learning and modesty" were thought appropriate for college women. Its chosen colors were orange and white and the daisy was the school emblem. [PS]

- A. Catalogues, 1890 (p. 6 states that there will be "nothing of coeducation"); 1895-6 (cover and table showing curriculum). [Archives]
- B. Photographs (circa 1890): 1. Common room; 2. Exterior of main building; 3. Eight Evelyn tennis players (1890)—Florence P. Harris, Adriana M. Edgar, Katharine Gaston, Ruth Allen, Josephine Reade Curtis, Linda M. Peck; 4. Nine Evelyn College women with dogs; 5. Evelyn College dormitory room (1891); 6. Mixed Evelyn College group (Class

of '85?); 7. The Reverend McIlvaine (matted). [Archives] c. Evelyn College group (11 women). [Archives]

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Evelyn College Life: Josephine Reade Curtis

Josephine Reade Curtis was a unique student of Evelyn College. She was not a typical local New Jersey girl, but hailed from New York State and was a 1890 graduate of Troy Female Seminary. Josephine was also one of the only fifteen women who actually graduated with a bachelor's degree from Evelyn. Yet Josephine was typical of the growing numbers of elite women attending colleges in the Northeast during the 1880s and 1890s. Relishing her freedom at school-rising to the challenge of disciplined study and of managing her affairs away from family-Josephine's scrapbook opens with the exuberance of her new adventure at Evelyn. It closes, however, with several pages filled with her friends' wedding invitations, pointing to the expectation of marriage and family life even for educated women in this period. Josephine's occasional commentary in the scrap book-humorous photographs of Evelyn reclining girls with the pithy caption "Supposed to be usual Evelyn occupations-" and the painstaking record-keeping of each examination and academic report card-indicates her and her classmates' need to demonstrate their seriousness as students. The theme of her class "History of '92" is a breathless near-disbelief that she and the others had "made it through," and in this sense the pioneering aspect of her college career emerges.

Josephine and "her gang" doubtless bent school regulations as the scrawled note, "I want you all to come off the sidewalk—There are too many boys there" (from Elizabeth McIlvaine) shows. There was plenty of formal, supervised interaction of Evelyn women with Princeton men at sporting events, dances, and holiday parties. Josephine was a good student and gave the commencement address at her graduation in 1892. She married Edward Duffield, who eventually became acting president of Princeton (1932-33). [PS]

- A. Signed diploma with seal (1892). [Archives]
- B. Evelyn College commencement week program (1895). [Archives]
- c. Evelyn College Class Day songs program (1892) with picture of her mother inside. [Archives]
- D. Josephine's calling cards (2)—2 addresses, no date. [Archives]
- E. *History of the Class of '92 of Evelyn College*. 51 pages. JRC's autograph manuscript with embossed seal on cover. [Archives]

- F. Autographed silver fan with yellow flowers. [Archives]
- G. Scrapbook. [Archives]
- H. Photographs: 1. Portrait of Josephine Reade Curtis, April 1893 (wallet size). [Archives] 2. Leaf of photo album with print of Edward Duffield, Princeton Class of '92, JRC's future husband.

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Paths to Women's Education: Bryn Mawr and Douglass

The century which saw the establishment of Evelyn College was one of experiments and expansion in women's education in the United States. In 1833, Oberlin opened its doors to women, and Mount Holyoke, the first women's college, was founded in 1837. In the years that followed many schools began to admit women, and women's colleges such as Smith and Vassar sprang up. In the late nineteenth century the sister of a Princeton student might have attended Bryn Mawr in nearby Philadelphia, or, in the early twentieth century, Douglass College just up the road in New Brunswick.

Despite the increasing number of coed institutions, many chose women's colleges, not only because of a widely accepted idea that women's education should be separate and different, but also because coed institutions often excluded women from participation in social and intellectual activities outside the classroom. Women in single-sex institutions participated and took leadership roles in areas such as the student newspaper and government and were accorded an independence seldom experienced by women in the outside world. This caused problems for some women whose college training had little to do with expectations of them once they left college. A 1915 editorial in a Bryn Mawr publication described the dilemma of a typical graduate: "After these four years of strenuous effort, the prospect of folding her hands and sitting in idleness for the rest of her life is almost terrifying." This problem was compounded by the fact that the larger society often considered college women as strange, unfeminine, and sure to be spinsters. One student commented in 1895 that it was "a trifle irritating to the ordinary young woman who goes to college to find that she is still considered a factor in an experiment." [LL]

Bryn Mawr

Given two bridge-builders, a man and a woman, given a certain bridge to be built, and given as always the unchangeable laws of mechanics in accordance with which this special bridge and all other bridges must be built, it is simply inconceivable that the preliminary instruction given to the two bridge-builders should differ in quantity, quality, or method of presentation because while the bridge is building one will wear knickerbockers and the other a rainy-day skirt.—M. Carey Thomas

Founded in 1885 as a Quaker women's college, Bryn Mawr was shaped primarily by the vision of one forceful and brilliant woman, M. Carey Thomas (1857-1935), its first dean and second president. M. Carey Thomas was a pioneer in higher education for women, and a feminist who worked for women's suffrage. She challenged the prevalent idea that women should be educated differently from men, and worked to ensure that women could obtain an education equal to that offered in the best men's colleges.

M. Carey Thomas had entered Cornell in its first year of coeducation, and graduated in 1877. She was accepted as a graduate student at Johns Hopkins but was not allowed to attend the graduate seminar. Frustrated, she went to Europe to complete her graduate work and received her Ph.D from the University of Zurich *summa cum laude* in 1883. When she heard of the planning of the new college, with which members of her family were closely involved, she wrote letters promoting herself as first president of the new college and was made dean.

Although Bryn Mawr was to some extent modeled on other women's colleges, such as Vassar and Smith, its standards and curriculum more closely resembled a male college such as Johns Hopkins or Harvard, with rigorous exams required for entrance. M. Carey Thomas was dedicated to scholarship and research and wanted to provide the best university education for women in the United States. She believed that women's intellectual capacities were equal to men and that both sexes should follow the same courses of study. A scholarly community of women was integral to Thomas's plan for women's education, and it was at her insistence that Bryn Mawr included the first graduate school for women. The graduate school would attract the finest scholars and offered brilliant women such as herself a place to teach and work.

M. Carey Thomas's feminist vision was not only to educate women but also to encourage those women to use their education to remake the world and challenge assumptions about appropriate roles for women. At Bryn Mawr, women were taught that scholarship did not mean spinsterhood. Marriage was not to be an obstacle to an academic career —married women on the Bryn Mawr faculty were encouraged to stay on. Thomas's combination of scholarly achievement with involvement in social reform and the women's suffrage movement was a model for others to follow. Bryn Mawr graduates were encouraged to play an active role in the world, whether in the arenas of social reform, political action or scholarly achievement. [LL]

EXHIBITS

- A. Photograph of M. Carey Thomas. [Archives, Bryn Mawr College]
- B. Photograph of the first class of Bryn Mawr with the faculty, taken on the steps of Taylor Hall, the administrative building, in 1886—probably in the spring following the opening of the College in the fall of 1885. Standing, far upper right, is Woodrow Wilson, associate in history. Seated, upper right, Dean M. Carey Thomas (who became president in 1894) and center, James E. Rhoads, first president of Bryn Mawr. [Archives, Bryn Mawr College]
- c. Early catalogues from the College and Graduate School. [Archives, Bryn Mawr College]

Douglass

"Wisdom and Self-Control" was the motto of the "pioneer class" of 1923, the first graduates from the New Jersey College for Women. Their motto captures much of the founding spirit of what we now know as Douglass College, re-named for its first Dean, Mabel Smith Douglass (1877-1933). Responding to complaints by New Jersey club women of sex discrimination in the State university, Douglass used her persuasive powers, managerial skills, and social and political connections to establish the college in 1918.

A fluid historical moment allowed for the kind of innovation Douglass College represented. A reform spirit, which mustered the "civic minded" for support, coupled with the country's mobilization for World War I to create an opening for change. When Mabel Douglass noted that her project "was adopted as the child of the Federation," she recognized the financial contribution of women's clubs across New Jersey. On the war's home front, the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 channeled federal funds to State universities, which Douglass, on approval by Rutgers Trustees, drew on for its first year of operation costs.

Mabel Smith Douglass's guiding philosophy was pragmatic accommodation. She simply exploited Rutgers's preference for "coordinate" (rather than "co-") education for women, pledging "never to cause Rutgers College any worry as to our finances or our behavior." Serving as Dean from 1918 through 1931, she left a mature college in good financial standing, one that carried the imprint of her determined and charismatic personal style deep in its fiber. Neither a self-proclaimed feminist (she "remained feminine," explains one historian) nor an educational innovator, Douglass intended to fill two perceived academic gaps in New Jersey.

The first, obviously, was the state's "sad" lack of a native school for the higher education of women. Second was a need for an institution that was particularly suited to the "modern woman"—one to occupy a new "middle ground" of training between the classical studies of traditional male

colleges and the vocational training of the technical institutes. Douglass offered the B.A., Litt.B. and B.Sc. degrees with regular college requirements (including Latin and Greek), except that women pursuing the B.Sc. could study "female" disciplines like home economics. Despite the presence of outstanding scholars like historian Margaret Judson on the faculty, Douglass' practical philosophy of education was not substantially updated until the tenure of Mary Bunting as Dean (1955-1960). Before moving on to the presidency of Radcliffe, Bunting expanded and thoroughly modernized Douglass College. A new library, dormitory, and classroom building, as well as urging women on to graduate and professional study, are Bunting's chief legacies. [PS]

EXHIBITS

- A. *The Quair*, 1922. The yearbook compiled by the first graduating class of the New Jersey College for Women took its title from the Anglo-Saxon word for "leaf" or "book." The editors thought the language's "wholesome ruggedness and sound simplicity" was suggestive of their own collegiate ethos. [Library, Douglass College]
- B. "Rules, Customs, and Traditions," for the Freshmen of Douglass College from the class of 1926. Mainstream American college traditions quickly took root among the Douglass student body. Initiation for freshmen and class hierarchy shaped campus life. [Library, Douglass College]
- c. Publicity pamphlet for "Professional Training in Home Economics" at Douglass (n.d.). [Library, Douglass College]
- D. Photograph of Mother-Daughter day procession. Women promenaded and danced in homage to their parents on Mother's Day. Douglass College rituals tended to celebrate traditional family relationships, as events like "Mother-Daughter Day" and "Date with Dad Night" suggest. Proximity to Rutgers (and Princeton) afforded Douglass women with a ready-made modern social life. As Mabel Smith Douglass explained in her 1927 retrospective, "Dances we have always had." [Library, Douglass College]
- E. Photograph of portrait of Mabel Smith Douglass in academic robes. [Library, Douglass College]
- F. Graduation processional (photograph). [Library, Douglass College]

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Matrons and Patrons of Princeton

From Princeton's earliest years, women influenced the academic and cultural life of the University as Benefactresses and Patronesses. The wives and female relatives of faculty were among the most frequent activists.

These women donated land and buildings, endowed scholarships, and financed professorships. Women often interested themselves in scholastic standards and achievement. In 1778, Esther Richards became first woman to establish a scholarship at Princeton; her money was for young men intending to pursue the ministry. In 1854, Mrs. Susan Dod Brown, sister of a faculty member, financed a new professorship in mental science. Brown also built the dormitory Dod Hall (in honor of her brother) in 1889, and another dorm, David Brown Hall in 1892, named for her husband.

In 1875, Mrs. Josephine Thompson Swan was the moving force in establishing a new gymnastics program for Princeton men. She financed equipment and competitions, complete with gold Tiffany rings and badges for the winners. Mrs. Swan also took part in the founding of Ivy Club. Josephine's contemporary, Isabella McCosh, also tested the boundaries of social life at Princeton by organizing social events for students.

Some women raised money for specific projects to be completed in their lifetime. Others made bequests, such as Mrs. Ethel F. Jadwin, wife of Stanley P. Jadwin, who in 1965 left the University its (then) second largest gift ever. "The Music Committee," however, exemplifies collaborative work between local women and the University. Founded in 1895 by Mrs. Philena Fobes Fine, the Committee brought musical artists to campus and arranged concerts for the Princeton community. After three decades of activity, Fobes' "Ladies' Music Fund" turned its financial operations over to the University. From 1929-1956, the "University Concerts Committee" continued as a joint effort between seven women and three male faculty members to provide culture and entertainment on campus. [PS]

EXHIBITS

- A. Photograph of Mrs. Swan with Delta Theta group, ca. 1874. [Archives]
- B. *Music Fund* (Filena Fobes Fine): *Princeton Herald*, January 25, 1929 (article on the Music Fund). [Archives]
- c. Photograph of Mrs. Rollins. [Archives]
- D. New York Herald Tribune, 21 Feb. 1965, article on Mrs. Stanley P. Jadwin

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Isabella McCosh and the Ladies' Auxiliary

In 1892, the cornerstone of the new and first Princeton infirmary was laid. Finished and ready for students in 1893, the McCosh infirmary was named for Isabella McCosh, wife of Princeton President James McCosh (1868-88). At the repeated urging of Isabella, President McCosh finally succeeded in convincing Princeton Trustees to commit themselves to the infirmary project. Mrs. McCosh, daughter of a physician, stepped in early to fill the mid-nineteenth-century void in medical care felt in Princeton, which had no town hospital or trained nurses. As one 1888 alumnus recalled, "...it remained for Isabella McCosh to systematize the work of medical oversight and relief. Every morning she received from the proctor's office a list of the students confined to their rooms by serious malady or injury, and promptly she started on her rounds." Mrs. McCosh also took an active interest in student life at Princeton. She organized dinners at her home and even sponsored dances on campus—then thought an improper activity for the sober University environment. Isabella McCosh was a much loved member of the Princeton community long after her husband's tenure as President ended.

In 1902, at the suggestion of one of the Trustees, a committee of local women was formed to carry out the task, among others, of furnishing a ladies' dressing room for the use of visitors during Princeton dances in the new Dillon Gymnasium. This group of women eventually was asked to ply their caretaking skills in the running of the infirmary. With Mrs. McCosh's work as their inspiration, "The Ladies Auxiliary to the Isabella McCosh Infirmary" proceeded to remake totally Princeton medical facilities. Headed by Mrs. Beulah Rollins, the group raised funds and planned the new Infirmary as we know it today. The new McCosh infirmary was dedicated by Mrs. Rollins in 1924. The Ladies' Auxiliary, still active today, epitomizes the commitment of capable, socially engaged faculty wives and community women in shaping the nature of University institutions. [PS]

- A. Portrait of Isabella McCosh by John W. Alexander. [Loaned by the McCosh Health Center]
- B. Report of the Ladies' Auxiliary (1907 and 1962). [Archives]
- c. *Constitution and By-Laws of the Ladies' Auxiliary* (1916 and 1956). [Archives]
- D. Reminiscences of Mrs. McCosh, an address by Philip Ashton Rollins, Class of '89. June 1935. [Archives]
- E. Why Princeton Needs a New Infirmary, promotional leaflet (1919?) [Archives]
- F. McCosh informational pamphlet showing picture of Isabella McCosh (n.d.). [Archives]
- G. Report addressed to Mrs. Hibben, 1920—expenses and requisitions of infirmary. [Archives]
- H. *Real Values in Life as Seen By a Surgeon*, ...by Allen O. Whipple, M.D. (1936). Address at the annual meeting of the Ladies' Auxiliary. [Archives]
- I. Solicitation pamphlet for membership in the Auxiliary that was sent to every freshman—every incoming student invited to support it and become a member. [Archives]

- J. Piece of letterhead from New York Committee of the Princeton Endowment Fund, Women's Committee, with all the women's names— Chairman: Mrs. Philip Ashton Rollins (Beulah). [Archives]
- κ. Manuscript note June 7, 19-- from Isabella McCosh to Mrs. Josephine Morgan. [Archives]
- L. "A Record of the Gift of John W. Alexander, Artist, of the Portrait of Isabella McCosh, wife of President McCosh of Princeton College." Bound volume memorial to Isabella McCosh, signed by Josephine Morgan. [Archives]
- M. Photographs: Dedication of new infirmary, June 1924 (2 photos); Portrait of Mrs. Rollins; laying of cornerstone (see *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, June 18, 1924); McCosh Infirmary as it was 1892-1925; New wing, 1925 (mounted photo); circa 1950 photo of waiting room (4 men under portrait of Isabella McCosh). [Archives]

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Early Women of Learning: Theodate Pope and Beatrix Farrand

Theodate Pope Riddle (1868-1946)

Almost an archetypical "New Woman" of the late nineteenth century, Theodate Pope sought higher education and a professional career in architecture almost unheard of among her female contemporaries. A restless and dreamy adolescent, Theodate sought an alternative to the stifling gentility of her proper Cleveland, Ohio family life. After graduating from Miss Porter's School in Farmington, Connecticut in 1886, she found just that refuge in setting up housekeeping in Farmington and living alone.

Theodate was lucky in that family connections helped her arrange private tutoring with Princeton's Allan Marquand, Professor of Art and Archeology. For a one year course, Theodate studied a range of classical and contemporary subjects.

Working largely in the arts-and-crafts vein of restoration and architecture, her most noted works are several schools ranging from Westover in Middlebury, Connecticut to the Avon Old Farms School in Avon, Connecticut. Theodate designed several homes for herself and clients in the New England area and was commissioned by the Woman's Roosevelt Memorial Association in 1919 to reconstruct the Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace in New York City. [PS]

EXHIBIT

Pamphlet on Pope's life and work, open to illustrative page. [On loan from Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace, New York, New York]

Beatrix Farrand (1872-1959)

Beatrix Farrand was born in New York in 1872 and came of age at a time when the life choices for most women were limited to marriage and motherhood. Although she never went to college, Farrand studied independently. She learned horticulture from a famous landscape gardener, Charles Sprague Sargent, and expanded her knowledge of gardens by traveling in Europe for several years before starting her own business. Gardening, with its associations of home and hearth, was a socially acceptable pursuit for a woman and, in the late nineteenth century, was becoming a professional field. Although most landscape gardeners were men, women played an important role in the development the new profession. Courses in landscape gardening emerged at many universities and a professional organization, the American Society of Landscape Architects, was founded in 1899. Beatrix Farrand was the only woman among the group founding that society.

In 1912, Beatrix Farrand was hired to design the landscape for the new Graduate College at Princeton. She would go on to do similar work at Yale, the University of Chicago, Oberlin, and other university campuses, and eventually to design the White House Garden. At Princeton, prior to Beatrix Farrand, all design of the campus had been male-directed. Her work is a pioneering example of how women came to play a role in shaping the physical surroundings of the campus. [LL]

EXHIBITS

- A. Photograph of Farrand at her desk. [Archives]
- B. Photograph of one of her Princeton landscapes. [Archives]
- c. Letter [June 27, 1912] from B. Farrand to Mr. Wintringer, Superintendent of Business Administration at Princeton, re: planting of grounds adjacent to Graduate College; typed on her letterhead and signed. [Archives]
- D. Diana Balmori. *Beatrix Farrand's American Landscapes: Her Gardens & Campuses.* (Sagaponack, N.Y., 1985). [SB470.F37B35 1985]

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Professional Women in 20th Century Princeton

Although women did not gain even minimal access to the lecture halls at Princeton until the 1950s, there were some enclaves in which women professionals and scholars played crucial roles. Women were hired as librarians, in the art museum, and for their editorial capacities, and had great impact in these areas. Women were involved as scholars at the Index of Christian Art from the 1930s when Helen Woodruff was hired as its director. As assistant editor of the Jefferson papers (1944-56) and the Scheide librarian (1930-44; 1959-85), Mina Bryan hosted and corresponded with numerous scholars, contributed to scholarship, and shared her knowledge and devotion to learning with others. Despite their influence within the academy, the contributions of women such as these and their important role in the intellectual life of Princeton have gone for the most part unacknowledged. [LL]

Helen Woodruff of the Index of Christian Art

The Index of Christian Art was begun with an endowment in 1918 and gives descriptive data as well as photographs of monuments of Christian art. Women have been involved in it as scholars since the 1930s.

EXHIBITS

- A. *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, Oct. 30, 1936: Dr. Helen Woodruff of the Princeton Art Department, director of the Index of Christian Art, heads a staff of six. [Archives]
- B. *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, Dec. 8, 1939: "Helen Woodruff is the scholar charged with directing the great McCormick Hall project known as the Index of Christian Art." [Archives]
- c. Photograph of Helen Woodruff in WAVES uniform. Helen Woodruff served as a lieutenant in the WAVES during World War II. [Archives]
- D. Photograph of Helen Woodruff at Index of Christian Art. [Archives]
- E. Helen Woodruff. *The Index of Christian Art at Princeton University, A Handbook.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942. [Archives]

Mina Bryan (1908-1985)

Mina Bryan was an associate editor of the Princeton University Press's multi-volume edition of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* from 1944-56. In 1959 she resumed the librarianship of the Scheide Library, having first served in 1930 to 1942. When the Scheide Library moved to Princeton in 1961 she became Managing Editor of *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* from 1962-78. [Photographs and articles loaned by the Scheide Library, Princeton University]

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Faculty Wives in the 20th Century: Learning and Sociability

The life of a faculty wife at the turn of the century was one of endless teas and formal calls. She was expected to be a gracious hostess and to put up with the eccentricities of academic men. Henry Seidel Canby, writing of faculty wives in the early decades of the twentieth century, concluded that the stultifying atmosphere of academe was bad for women:

Women in the academy society grew salty, eccentric, many-angled in character; or prudish, dry, fussy, and selfindulgent; or, transcending the limitations of their sex, sublimated their difficulties into an amenity of real culture. They were never passionate—at least in public... I am sure that the monastic life she had to share was bad for her glands.

Some wives, indeed, found this atmosphere 'stultifying', although they spoke in less misogynistic terms. In 1924, Katherine Gerould remarked: "It is only in Princeton that one can re-capture any sense of those dead days when woman was but a chattel. Not only is collegiate Gothic more beautiful in Princeton than anywhere else in America; there is, in Princeton, more warrant for its monastic hint." Though she had been a professor at Bryn Mawr before her marriage, the University was closed to her as a teacher and scholar —she was not even allowed to attend lectures. Caroline Gordon complained of the constant teas for faculty wives she was expected to attend and was startled that these ladies made formal calls and left calling cards. She longed for a life of quiet retirement for her writing.

Women such as Katherine Gerould and Caroline Gordon refused to accept the narrow roles prescribed for women in the academic community and sought space for their own academic pursuits. Though formal access to the University was denied them, these women wrote and studied outside the hallowed halls of Princeton and were recognized for their accomplishments by the larger society. They acted as mentors for other intellectual women and fostered a sense of female community in a predominantly masculine academic environment. In the 1940s, writers such as Margaret Thorp, Caroline Gordon, and Raïssa Maritain befriended each other and supported each others' commitment to literary pursuits.

The needs of these academic wives did not, in the end, go unheard. The contribution of wives to their husband's research and academic projects has increasingly, though by no means always, received acknowledgement. The first woman graduate student at Princeton, Sabra Meservey, admitted in 1961, was the wife of a faculty member, and later went on to become a professor at Douglass College. Though this came quite late in the day, her way was paved by the truly 'academic wives' who came before her. [LL]

EXHIBITS

A. Photograph of Faculty and Trustees at Convocation, *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, January 19, 1945. B. Quote from Katherine Gerould, "A Woman in Princeton," *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, December 3, 1924, p. 8.

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Faculty Wives I: Katherine Gerould • Margaret Thorp

Katherine Fullerton Gerould (1879-1944)

After graduating from Radcliffe in 1900, Katherine Fullerton joined the faculty at Bryn Mawr College where she taught until her marriage to Princeton English Professor Gordon Hall Gerould in 1910. She wrote many stories and novels and was invited to give lecture series at Yale and the University of California at Berkeley. She was noted for her help of other female writers, thus providing an uncommon mentorship.

EXHIBITS

A. "Vain Oblations"

Katherine Gerould's story "Vain Oblations"—written in Princeton—was published in the March 1911 edition of Scribner's Magazine and brought her general notice as a writer.

- B. Letter of Jesse Lynch Williams about "Vain Oblations." [Manuscript Division]. In 1911, Jesse Lynch Williams, another Princeton writer, wrote to Mr. Scribner about the response to Katherine Gerould's story "Vain Oblations": "Tell them upstairs that Mrs. Gerould's story in the March number has created terrible excitement in Princeton. Every one talking about it. Tea-cups tingling over it..."
- c. Lost Valley. (New York, 1922). Open to inscription.
- D. Letter of K. Gerould to Scribner's (May 8, 1915) about the possible publication of the poems of her former student at Bryn Mawr. [Archives of Charles Scribner's Sons]
- E. Letter of K. Gerould to Miss Bailey at Chicago, Sept. 1907 giving advice about choosing garret or academe for a writer. [Manuscript Division]
- F. K. Gerould's provocative memoir, "A Woman in Princeton," *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, December 3, 1924.

Margaret Thorp (1891-1970)

Margaret Thorp was a writer and an advocate of women's education. She graduated from Smith College in 1914. From 1921-29 she was Assistant Professor of English at Smith, during which time she earned her master's degree. She left Smith to study for her doctorate at Yale and earned her Ph.D. in 1934. In 1930, she married Willard Thorp (1899-), a Professor of English at Princeton. While at Princeton, she published many books and articles and co-edited Modern Writing with her husband.

EXHIBITS

- A. *Female Persuasion, Six Strong-Minded Women* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1949).
- B. Photograph of Margaret Farrand Thorp. [Willard Thorp Papers]
- c. Delphian Quarterly
 1. "Strong-Minded Women" (July, 1941)
 2. "Strong-Minded Women, IV" (April, 1942)
 3. "Gray Ladies" (April, 1941)
- D. "Shakespeare and the Fine Arts," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* XLVI, 3 (September 1931).
- E. Scrapbook. [Willard Thorp Papers]
- F. "Going to College is Dangerous," *Delphian Quarterly* (April 1931), pp. 4-5.

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Faculty Wives II: Caroline Gordon • Raïssa MaritainEleanor Marquand

Caroline Gordon (1895-1981)

Caroline Gordon, an important figure in the "Southern Renaissance" of the early twentieth century, came to Princeton in 1939, when her husband Allen Tate was hired as Princeton's first Resident Fellow in Creative Writing. While living in Princeton, she wrote the novel *Green Centuries* and began work on *The Women on the Porch*. Their house was a great center of literary activity at Princeton, though she complained of the more formal entertaining and socializing that was required of her as a faculty wife. Although her husband did not remain permanently employed at the University, she set down roots in Princeton, where she lived off and on for the rest of her life.

EXHIBITS

- A. Photograph of Caroline Gordon typing. [Caroline Gordon Papers]
- B. Green Centuries (New York, 1941). [Ex PS3513.O7xG7]
- c. Copy of *The Sewanee Review*, inscribed to Margaret Thorp. Caroline Gordon was a close friend of Margaret Thorp. [Willard Thorp Papers]

Raïssa Maritain (1883-1960)

Raïssa Maritain came to Princeton in 1948 when her husband Jacques Maritain joined the Princeton Philosophy Department, and remained in Princeton until her death in 1960. She published many works of both poetry and prose, including some jointly with her husband, and was admired by such prominent intellectuals as Chagall, who painted her portrait.

EXHIBITS

- A. "Portrait of Raïssa Maritain, 1948" in Raïssa Maritain, *Chagall ou l'orage* enchanté (Geneva, 1948). [Ex ND689.C3M31]
- B. Patriarch Tree. Thirty Poems by Raïssa Maritain. (Worcester, 1965). [Ex 3268.29.1965]

Eleanor Marquand (1873-1950)

The wife of Allan Marquand, a Professor of Art History and an alumnus of Princeton, Eleanor Marquand was an authority in the field of botany. She studied the representation and symbolism of flowers and trees in art, and was consulted by scholars and museums. In 1948, she was awarded an honorary Master of Arts degree from Princeton in recognition of her scholarly achievements.

EXHIBITS

- A. Letter from The Grolier Club; Grolier Club Invitation; Notice in the *Bulletin of the Garden Club*; Information brochure about her *History of Plant Illustration*. [Manuscript Division]
- B. Her "Plant Notebook." [Manuscript Division]
- c. Exhibition catalogue and invitation for her "Flowers of Ten Centuries" (1947). [Manuscript Division]

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Faculty Wives III: University League

The University League was founded in 1920, at the suggestion of Mrs. Dana Munro, "to promote a friendly spirit among wives and families of men connected with the University." One of its main activities in its early days was sponsoring social activities and weekly teas. As well, the League advised new faculty wives on the protocol of "calling," including what to wear. But besides concerning itself with the social lives of faculty wives, the League provided support for their professional lives, a fact that is often overlooked. A Business Registry was started in 1927, so that members' skills might be matched with faculty needs, and in 1967 the League began a Job Roster for professional women seeking employment. The League also helped establish such community services as the University League Nursery School. [LL]

Coeds at Princeton, World War II, and 1940s Gender Culture

In June 1931 the *Princeton Alumni Weekly* published the following in a column written by a Princeton undergraduate:

Things familiar to any Princetonian who gets around at all: The fact that, though Princeton is supposedly non-coed, women have taken courses in art, French, etc., and carried on original experiments in the Physics labs.

And when celebrated writer Thomas Mann came to lecture at Princeton in May 1940, he remarked:

My lecture was given at a time when many young ladies were here for one of the annual Princeton parties. But not only the boys came to my lecture—the girls came too. A heartening victory for a man my age.

It is not known when the first female student sat in a Princeton classroom, but her appearance became increasingly common during the 1940s. During World War II, many career and educational opportunities were opened up to women, and these changes were seen even in the seemingly male bastion of Princeton. Women not only became increasingly visible in academic and research positions but could also be seen as students in the classroom. In the early 1940s, Princeton participated in a nationwide Engineering, Science and Management War Training Program, sponsored and financed by the US Office of Education. Princeton conducted 88 courses, having a total enrollment of 3619 students, including 482 women. Most of these students were engaged in war work or were taking courses to prepare for war jobs. Instruction was given by Princeton faculty members.

After the war, things seem to have returned to normal, with women reverting to their role as the social rather than academic partners of Princeton men. But there were some changes to be seen. After the war, many male students were older and brought their wives and children with them. This affected the nature of college life—men with families were more likely to be concerned with their studies and their families than with male rituals and hell-raising. [LL]

EXHIBITS

A. Women in War Training Program courses at Princeton. Newspaper articles and photographs: "Princeton Goes Co-Ed," *Newark Sunday News*, July 12, 1942 and *The Repository*, Canton, Ohio, December 9, 1942; "Princeton Places Girls on the Map," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, [1942]; "Princeton's Co-eds: Girls, Studying Map Making, First at Institution in Its 196 Years," *Newark Sunday Call–Picture Magazine*, December 6, 1942. Among the courses open to women at Princeton through the War Training Program was one on Photogrammetry (map making from aerial photographs) in the Civil Engineering Department. [Archives]

B. 1940s Student Life (photographs). Married Life for undergraduates. (*Princeton Alumni Weekly*, February 26, 1946). Tiny Tot Tending Agency (student run business), 5 photos (see *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, January 31, 1947). House parties, 1946, visiting woman bicycling. [Archives]

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First Women at Princeton

The first record we have of the official participation of a woman in academic life at Princeton is in 1877, when librarian Frederic Vinton employed a Miss Shaw to help him with his catalogue. Other office and library workers followed as the need for them became apparent, but it was not until the 1930s that Princeton began to hire women in research positions. Willa Cather was the first woman awarded an honorary degree (1931). The war opened academic positions to women at Princeton, and the 1940s saw the first women Visiting Research Associates and laboratory workers, with the sciences at the forefront in welcoming women into their ranks, although in small numbers and not in teaching positions. In the humanities, women came to Princeton as language instructors during World War II and some remained even after the War. In 1948 the Trustees accorded Helen Baker, Associate Director of the Industrial Relations Section, "Faculty status with the rank of Associate Professor," the first woman to be accorded such status. Gradually more women gained posts at Princeton, most notably in the campus worlds of library, art, and editorial projects, and Princeton began to invite women as Visiting Lecturers and Professors, including Hannah Arendt from 1953-59. In 1968, Suzanne Keller became the first woman full professor at Princeton. The first woman graduate student was admitted in 1961, and by the time Princeton approved undergraduate coeducation in 1968, there were 102 women graduate students. [LL and EEC]

PHOTOGRAPHS

A. Dr. Lise Meitner (Princeton Alumni Weekly, March 22, 1946)

In March 1946 Dr. Lise Meitner, Nobel Prize winner and pioneer in atomic fission, came to speak at Princeton. Public lectures were one avenue through which women participated in Princeton academic life before coeducation. [Archives]

- B. Helen Baker, Industrial Relations (1945?)
 Helen Baker, Associate Director of the Industrial Relations Section, was the first woman to be accorded faculty status at Princeton in 1948. [Archives]
- c. Industrial Relations Meeting (1944?), one woman present. [Archives]
- D. Willa Cather, First woman honorary degree, Doctor of Letters, 1931 [Archives]
- E. Suzanne Keller, first tenured female faculty member (1967?). [Archives]
- F. Irene Taueber (newspaper clipping). Dr. Irene Taueber (1906-1974), hired by the Office of Population Research at the time of its founding in 1936, was one of the first major research scholars employed by the University. She published extensively and was the editor of *Population Index*, a bibliographical quarterly published by Princeton. [Archives]

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The Coming of Coeducation

On January 13, 1969, the Board of Trustees of Princeton University approved "in principle" the education of women at the undergraduate A Special Trustees' Committee on the Education of Women level. concluded that the admission of women would strengthen the undergraduate educational process and thereby make Princeton a better university in the years ahead. The Committee based their conclusion primarily on the results of a sixteen-month "desirability and feasibility" study which included a financial analysis and a nation-wide survey of alumni discussion groups. The Report suggested that bringing women to Princeton would bolster humanities and art programs, whose enrollments dwindled in the 1950s and 1960s under the pressure of professionalism felt by male undergraduates. The Report emphasized that the most desirable high school senior boys for admission to Princeton simply expected to share their college years with females. In the historic debate on female capacities and education, the Report judged that "men and women do differ," but this conclusion was now considered evidence in favor of coeducation (over "co-ordinate" education). The Report also endorsed the notion that coeducation would make prevalent "biases based on sex differences...more guickly exposed and abandoned."

Princeton students responded to the Trustees' announcement with marked "chagrin." The Trustees, in student eyes, "did nothing more than endorse an inevitability of coeducation that most took for granted." Undergraduates chided Trustees for the lack of forthrightness in their mere "in principle" endorsement. On this limited approval of coeducation, however, President Goheen stated that the admissions office would "provisionally" accept applications for the class of 1973. Over 800 women applied and 130 women, forty freshman and ninety transfer students, entered Princeton in the Fall of 1969. The news of coeducation made the front page of *The New York Times*, testimony to this substantial, though not final, incursion by women into Princeton's historic terrain of male exclusivity. [PS]

EXHIBITS

A. In a letter to a friend in 1894, Woodrow Wilson confessed his horror at the idea of educating men and women together:

It distresses me very deeply that the University of Virginia should think, even through a minority of its faculty, of admitting women to its courses. I have had just enough experience of co-education to know that, even under the most favorable circumstances, it is most demoralizing. It seems to me that in the South it would be fatal to the standards of delicacy as between men and women that we most value...I do not mean that it leads to vice; though occasionally it does; but it vulgarizes the whole relationship of men and women. To say more than that would be only to give particular instances. The generalization is a fact itself, and of my own observation.

Besides where is the necessity? Women now have excellent colleges of their own; where life can be such as is fit for women. What an age this is for going out of its way to seek change!

I wish I could write all that my heart contains in this matter. As it is, I can only pray that the University may be lead away from such gratuitous folly!

The above statement, from a man who taught both at a women's college (Bryn Mawr) and a coeducational university (Wesleyan), points up the "double-vision" of those who knew of women's intellectual capabilities, yet insisted that corruption of the educational process as well as male-female relations would inevitably result from a sharing of the academic setting by both sexes. Two years later, at Princeton's sesquicentennial, Wilson described his ideal university. In language rich with gender meaning, Wilson painted a "perfect place for learning" as

the home of sagacious men, hard-headed and with a will to know, debaters of the world's questions every day and used to the rough ways of democracy: and yet a place removed,-calm Science seated there, recluse, ascetic, like a nun, not knowing that the world passes, not caring, if the truth but come in answer to her prayer; and Literature, walking within her open doors, in quiet chambers, with men of olden times, storied walls about her, and calm voices infinitely sweet; here "magic casements opening on the foam of perilous seas, in fairy lands forlorn," to which you may withdraw and use your youth for pleasure; there windows open straight upon the street, where many stand and talk, intent upon the world of men and affairs. A place for men and all that concerns them; but unlike the world in its self-possession, its thorough way of talk, its care to know more than the moment brings to light; slow to take excitement; its air pure and wholesome with a breath of faith; every eye within it bright in the clear day and quick to look toward heaven for the confirmation of its hope.

B. Director of Admissions to the Committee on Coeducation (in Report of 1968).

From an admission point of view, I think it is obvious that Princeton would be more attractive to able boys if it were in some way co-educational. Having visited large numbers of secondary schools and interviewed hundreds of boys, I simply state it as a fact that able, sensitive boys take it for granted that they will sit in class with girls. I found this to be true in both public schools and independent schools and all too often found myself falling back on ancient arguments to defend the monastic life at Princeton. The old arguments simply don't sell!

- c. Report on coeducation published in the *Princeton Alumni Weekly* of 24 June 1968.
- D. Copy of *Freshman Herald* for the Class of 1973, opened to a page of women freshmen, captioned with quotation from Dr. Goheen about 1973 being a "pioneering" class. [Archives]
- E. Photographs: 1. Announcement of coeducation "in principle" (*Princeton Alumni Weekly*, January 28, 1969). [Archives]; 2. Logistics meeting upon admitting women (*Princeton Alumni Weekly*, May 6, 1969). [Archives]; 3. Female graduate of 1973 with armband. [Archives]; 4. Black female student of science. [Archives]

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