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A PRACTICAL VISIONARY:
MARY EMMA WOOLLEY AND THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

A Dissertation Presented

By

ANN KARUS MEEROPOL

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September 1992

School of Education

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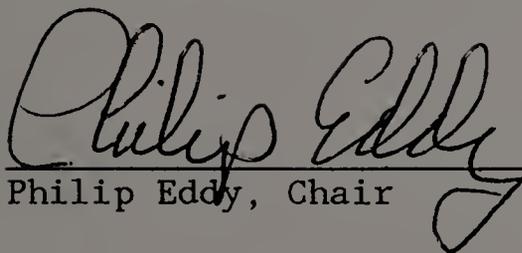
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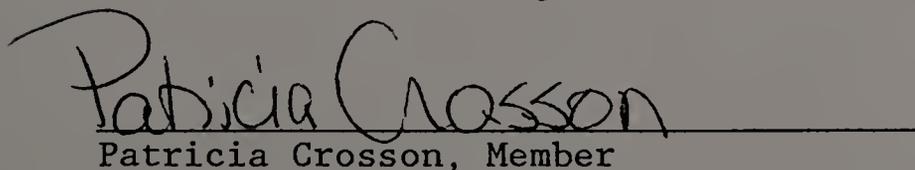
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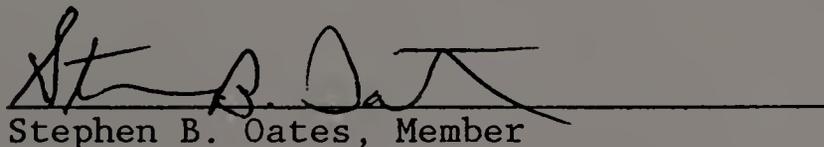
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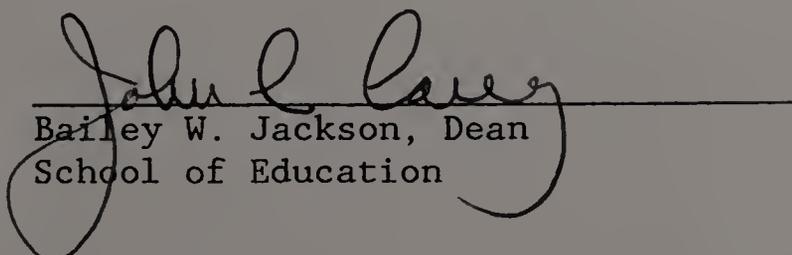
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ABSTRACT

A PRACTICAL VISIONARY:

MARY EMMA WOOLLEY AND THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

SEPTEMBER 1992

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This dissertation is a study of the professional life and, to a lesser extent, the personal life of Mary Emma Woolley (1863 - 1947), an American educator, feminist, social reformer, peace activist, and religious leader. As one of a handful of women presidents of elite women's colleges, Woolley created a unique style of leadership while she worked with others to establish unifying organizations to support the further development of women's opportunities.

This narrative biography focuses on Woolley's intellectual and professional roots, training, and achievements. After a theoretical introductory chapter, the next four chapters study the years during which Woolley developed skills, a philosophy, and personal style that reflected the ideas, mentors, opportunities, and challenges that she encountered. Chapters six through nine are organized around four major challenges that faced Woolley as President of Mount Holyoke College. These included the challenge to advocate successfully for the higher education of women, to bring Mount Holyoke to equal status with other

elite women's colleges, to inculcate students with a lasting sense of their social responsibility as educated women, and to create a fulfilling personal life for herself. Woolley's professional life paralleled significant gains made by women in education and the professions. However, by the end of her career, women experienced significant losses both in opportunity and status. The final chapter of the study documents the controversy over Woolley's presidential succession which ended in her replacement by a man.

The study concludes that Woolley's exemplary leadership demonstrated what it was possible to achieve in a single-sex institution. Woolley and women like her in positions of leadership were able to transform single-sex women's colleges into institutions where professional women could achieve and students could receive both high-quality education and full exposure to the world beyond the colleges. Woolley herself used the college as a platform from which she influenced a much wider audience through her speeches and articles. However, Mount Holyoke's loss of female leadership in 1937 was a casualty of a generalized loss of female leadership opportunities.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
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| AAUWA | Archives of the American Association of University Women |
| JM | Jeannette Marks |
| LAL | <u>Life and Letters of Mary Emma Woolley.</u> Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1955. |
| MEW | Mary Emma Woolley |
| MHA | Mount Holyoke Archives |
| MHTC | Elizabeth Green, <u>Mount Holyoke in the Twentieth Century</u> Oral History Interviews, 1971-2. MHA. |
| NONA | <u>Notes on 'Autobiography'</u> ms. MEW Papers. Autobiographical Materials. Box 1. MHA. |
| PCCA | Pawtucket Congregational Church Archives |
| RGH | Roswell G. Ham |
| SBC | Scrap Books Collections |
| TMH | <u>The Mount Holyoke</u> |
| WCA | Wellesley College Archives |
| WCSC | Wellesley College Special Collections |

C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

They talk about a "woman's sphere"
As though it had a limit.

--Kate Field¹

I am inclined to look with leniency upon
the women who yield to the temptation to
blaze a trail of their own.

--Mary Emma Woolley²

This dissertation is the study of one American woman's life and how that life influenced and was influenced by changes in the higher education of women in America. The subject of my study is Mary Emma Woolley (1863-1947), educator, feminist, social reformer, peace activist and religious leader. Woolley's professional and personal affiliations included several institutions of higher education, Wheaton Seminary, Brown University, Wellesley College and Mount Holyoke College, as well as numerous political, economic, religious and social organizations.

Through the study of Woolley's life, the dissertation will provide insights into both the issues of women's higher education and of the roles of educated women in social and political reform as well as the interconnections between them. During the Progressive Era, educated women played significant roles in most of the major areas of progressive reform. In the last two decades, scholars have focused their attention on many aspects of the history of women's higher

education, including in-depth research into the lives of women who dedicated themselves to a vision of a progressive society that included higher education for women but reached ultimately for comprehensive social, political, and economic equality. This study focuses on these themes in Woolley's life. What did it mean to her to be an educated woman in America? How did Woolley link both her advocacy of higher education for women and her goal for educated women's economic independence to the more general social and political issues of the Progressive Era? This study also identifies Woolley's commitment to peace activism, the suffrage struggle, and social reform including the settlement movement, child welfare, protective legislation, and civil rights. Woolley participated in many Progressive Era reform movements and was an exemplar of female leadership, primarily within female-dominated institutions, but also within the broader sphere of male-dominated political and religious activity.

The Use of Biography in the Study of History

Although much of Woolley's professional life is part of the public record, a great deal of unpublished public and personal material awaits scholarly interpretation. This material includes manuscripts, letters, diaries, scrapbooks, and lecture notes along with unpublished institutional histories that include records pertaining to college governance and curricular decisions. These documents give evidence of Woolley's systematic thinking on women's

education and her consistent, if not always original, thinking on the connection between women's education and women's roles in society.

Biographer/historians have often used the life of one individual as representative of an era or of a movement. In the essay, "Biography as a Prism of History," historian Barbara Tuchman describes her research on the fourteenth century which included her discovery of the knight Coucy whose life "was as if designed for the historian."³ Coucy's life touched on every significant medieval experience, providing for Tuchman, "leads to every subject - marriage and divorce, religion, insurrection, literature, Italy, England, war, politics, and a wonderful range of the most interesting people of his time."⁴

In the essay, Tuchman offers an eloquent rationale for her use of biography in historical scholarship:

As a prism of history, biography attracts and holds the reader's interest in the larger subject. People are interested in other people, in the fortunes of the individual. If I seem to stress the reader's interest rather more than the pure urge of the writer, it is because, for me, the reader is the essential other half of the writer. Between them is an indissoluble connection....I never feel my writing is born or has an independent existence until it is read. It is like a cake whose only *raison d'être* is to be eaten. Ergo, first catch your reader. Second, biography is useful because it encompasses the universal in the particular. It is a focus that allows both the writer to narrow his field to manageable dimensions and the reader to more easily comprehend the subject. Given too wide a scope, the central theme wanders, becomes diffuse, and loses shape... One does not try for the whole but for what is truthfully representative.⁵

This dissertation will not be the vast undertaking that Tuchman achieves in her study of one human life; nevertheless, Woolley's life suggests a similar comprehensive significance. Her

life, like that of the knight Coucy's, "was as if designed for the historian," encompassing virtually every significant experience of the educated woman in late 19th and early 20th century America.

Woolley was born in July of 1863, the month of the Confederate defeats at Vicksburg and Gettysburg. She died in 1947 after World War II. As Coucy's life provided 'leads' for historian Tuchman to 'every subject,' so Woolley's life provides leads to the subjects of higher education for women, economic and political independence for women, women's roles in the Progressive movement through reform activities, female community in the educated woman's life, singlehood and homosexuality, women and religion and, quoting Tuchman, "a wonderful range of the most interesting people" of her time. Woolley's long and varied professional and public life, as well as her personal life of female community and singlehood, provide a "prism of history" through which historians can gain significant insight into aspects of women's history, the history of education, and the history of the Progressive Era.

Biographer Nancy Milford writes, "... people are naturally curious about lives ... What we really want to know is, "How do I live?" So to read about other people's lives is a sort of guide."⁶ We search for insight and guidance in a public life that has somehow touched our own. Biographer Stephen B. Oates writes that by the end of the life story,

we have come to know the subject so intimately that his death may leave us with a profound sense of loss. Certainly, we have learned a great deal about the times, for biography humanizes history; it helps us live through the times ourselves. But we have also witnessed another's long

journey through the vicissitudes of life. We have seen how somebody in another age suffered personal dilemmas like our own -- identity crises, ambivalences, hurts, setbacks, even a loss of will -- which he anguished over and tried to work his way through. We have felt the subject's struggle, his failures, his triumphs and glories, as though they were our own.⁷

In the initial phases of my research, Woolley's public persona, embodied in her prestige as president of Mount Holyoke College, in her leadership and participation in nearly seventy national and international organizations, in her many hundreds of speeches and public appearances, allowed for little insight into her 'personal dilemmas.' Nearly eight years of study, however, have permitted closer acquaintance through the reading of her and others' personal correspondence and through interviews with several persons who knew her.⁸ I have also had the unforgettable experience of listening to a 1925 recording of a Mount Holyoke chapel talk entitled "The Strength of Goodness." Woolley's message and her voice were as wonderfully rich as I had imagined.⁹ The recording confirmed for me the truth of the many recollections I had read. Jennie Jerome's (class of 1911) are typical of students' responses to Woolley.

At college the great influence was Miss Woolley. She herself was rather remote, but she had an influence over every single one of us. She had the highest of standards in both scholarship and behavior. ... she had one of those very rich, full voices. ... I can close my eyes still and hear Miss Woolley's beautiful voice and the things that she told us that she wanted us to do ... And she told us just what she wanted us to be. She told us at the very beginning that our business in life was always to be of service.¹⁰

I believe that I have achieved some understanding of the satisfactions and difficulties of a woman part of whose life has been obscured by the conventions imposed on her as a woman of her times.

Progressive Women and Their Autobiographies

Historian Jill Conway studied the autobiographies of well-known women of the Progressive Era in America and found that the women explained away their eventful lives with stories of accidental good fortune and fated choices. In dramatic contrast, the personal letters and diaries of these women revealed the true pains and triumphs of ambition and success. Conway argues that "each woman set out to find her life's work, but the only script insisted that work discover and pursue her like the conventional romantic lover."¹¹ The autobiographies are flat and uninteresting because, according to historian Mary Mason, a woman's identity has been "grounded through relation to the chosen other. Without such relation, women do not feel able to write openly about themselves; even with it, they do not feel entitled to credit for their own accomplishment."¹²

In Woolley's lifetime, a woman's public and private life could not be interconnected as they were for a man. A man's professional life was not in conflict with his marriage or family life as they fundamentally were for a woman. An accomplished woman was an anomaly; she could not naturally take the role of mentor for younger women. Carolyn Heilbrun writes that these women (and I include Woolley in this category) were "unable to write exemplary lives: they do not dare to offer themselves as models, but only as exceptions chosen by destiny or chance."¹³

Woolley attempted exactly this kind of self-abnegating autobiography. At the age of seventy-seven, two years after her

retirement from Mount Holyoke, she began to write her life story at the insistent urging of her companion Jeannette Marks. Marks, a younger woman who had challenged conventionality believed that Woolley had an obligation to share her exemplary life with other women. Woolley began with an effusive description of her happy childhood:

If I dwell overlong upon the early part of my life, my excuse must be my pleasure in re-living those days, spent in the happiest of homes. There was never a happier one, I am convinced, than ours.¹⁴

She credited her father with the good fortune in her life, and she believed that he had made all the critical decisions for her, both in her education and in her career. She wrote, "I feel somewhat guilty as I look back. ...Opportunities seemed to come my way and I took advantage of them!"¹⁵ She did not discuss her ambitions or accomplishments, nor did she reveal the conflict she might have suffered over her choices. The true story of her childhood, which was marked by dramatic and painful events, became distorted in her telling of it. Her whole life, in fact, as far as she told it, had no conflict, passion, disappointment, or greatness. Historian Patricia Spacks identifies female autobiography as, "a female variant of the high tradition of spiritual autobiography." God's call to service becomes the rationale for otherwise inexplicable female behavior. Woolley's professional life of authoritative certainty and great accomplishment required this rationale.¹⁶ Woolley put her trust in the intentions both of her God and her minister-father as she lived her life as an exceptional woman.

For five years in the summer months between 1939 and 1943, Woolley dutifully retrieved from her desk the large brown envelopes filled with scrap paper that she used for her drafts, papers with letterheads identifying her as president or chairman of numerous organizations. She wrote in a bold, open script filling a page with a handful of words, and she worked in fits and starts, producing twenty pages or so by the end of each summer. When Woolley finally abandoned the task, her story ending in 1900 before she became president of Mount Holyoke, she had written seventy-five pages that she had little difficulty putting aside indefinitely. She never wrote about her thirty-six year tenure as president of Mount Holyoke, the culmination of her career as a leader in women's education. The manuscript that she titled in self-effacing good-humor "The History of My Life!" has remained unpublished. Woolley made no effort to continue the writing. Her age and ill-health were partial explanation, but it must also have been an arduous and upsetting task to stray so far from the truth in the telling of her life.

Woolley's Life of Accomplishment

The task of telling a fuller story has fallen upon her posterity, those who study the lives of women in history. A Mount Holyoke staff member described her first meeting with President Woolley as "devastating." The President, she wrote,

had a steady gaze as I fumbled for words - with no help from her, but patiently waiting for me to finish and find the words with which to express myself. She had a quick mind and long before any speaker finished, she had her

answer ready - having jumped ahead to perceive the point being made.¹⁷

In time, the same staff member would attest with great affection that, "Miss Woolley was always available to anyone who asked to talk with her."¹⁸

My work on this biography initially felt somewhat like the staff woman's experience. It was difficult to find the right questions to ask about Woolley's life. When I began to formulate some of these, "talking with" Woolley became a challenging and agreeable enterprise. The complex maze of institutions, organizations, commitments, causes, professional relationships and friendships in her life have led ultimately to an understanding of what I believe was the encompassing purpose of Woolley's life's work. Woolley's commitment to female institutions was simultaneous with her commitment to winning equal status for women within society as a whole. She described the movement for woman's higher education as one among many great movements dedicated to "the uplifting of humanity." The "recognition of the right of the individual, whether man or woman, to freedom and to opportunity," was the great, guiding principle that incorporated the feminist principle. In a speech she gave at the annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1906, Woolley paid a tribute of gratitude to Susan B. Anthony and other suffragists on behalf of women's higher education. Woolley said,

Some movements in history have been brought about by a stroke of the pen or a sudden uprising of the people, like a great tidal wave, sweeping everything before it; others have

come slowly as the result of the cumulative force of years of effort and represent the gradual growth of conviction.¹⁹

For Woolley, the struggle for economic and political independence was the struggle for women's higher education.

Woolley was President of Mount Holyoke College for thirty-six years from 1901-1937. A handful of women headed the elite women's colleges as presidents during the period in American history from the last quarter of the nineteenth century until the mid-1930s. While male presidents held long terms at Smith College and Vassar College, female presidents and deans²⁰ held office at Wellesley, Bryn Mawr, Mount Holyoke, Barnard, Pembroke and Radcliffe College. Within the institutions, they worked with male-dominated boards of trustees, with faculty, students, and alumnae to develop the strengths that characterize these colleges to this day. Beyond their individual institutions, these women worked toward the establishment of unifying organizations that would provide support and guidelines for the further development of women's higher education. The Association of Collegiate Alumnae formed in 1881 and later merged in 1921 with the Southern Association of College Women to form the American Association of University Women.²¹ The Seven College Conference followed in 1926, organized both to solidify the status of Radcliffe and Barnard as women's colleges and to unify the appeal for support of all seven colleges (Pembroke College at Brown University was not part of this group).²²

Individual college history archives are rich sources of information about the professional lives of the several women

presidents of the elite women's colleges. They contain President's Annual Reports, Minutes of Boards of Trustees meetings, reports of special faculty-administration committees, student publications, alumnae publications, and the sum of the professional papers of the individual presidents including the correspondence among them. The issues of conflict, agreement and compromise are on record here. College history records document Woolley's outstanding success in transforming Mount Holyoke College into one of the most competitive and respected colleges in the nation.

In her thirty-six year tenure as President of Mount Holyoke College, Woolley worked continuously to upgrade the standards of scholarship and teaching of her faculty, the vast majority of whom were women. She granted the faculty a great deal of academic freedom as well as a strong role in college governance. Many faculty members were elected to office or served on councils of their national professional organizations and editorial boards of professional journals and were appointed to government commissions and agencies. Woolley encouraged such activity. This flowering of faculty scholarship and independent academic leadership provided role models for the students, who themselves were given opportunities to exercise self-governance under President Woolley's leadership. Woolley's belief in female leadership formed a central theme of her professional life. This theme is a major focus of the dissertation's narrative.

Woolley's Vision of the Educated American Woman

Because Woolley believed that the struggle for women's rights, which included equal educational opportunity, was an essential part of social reform, she kept this issue alive at Mount Holyoke College throughout her tenure as president. Unlike many of her colleagues in academia, she consistently concerned herself with a great deal more than the single issue of higher education for women. In her roles as college president and as leader of women's educational organizations, Woolley articulated a vision of American women which held for them the potential of educational equity, economic and political independence, social responsibility, leadership in society, and personally-fulfilled lives with the freedom to choose or reject marriage.

At the turn of the century, the most radical among the men and women pioneers in women's education shared an ideological mission that connected education with women's rights.²³ These were individuals who sought to establish a tradition of female professional advancement and leadership within higher education that would eventually establish itself in society. They shared the guiding principle that men and women must be educated for similar reasons, that work and its satisfaction of personal achievement, along with family and friendship, were as essential in women's lives as they were in men's. Woolley shared a belief in this principle.

Educators were not, however, in agreement on the question of how women were to achieve equality. It was not sufficient to agree

that society suffered from the existence of separate and unequal spheres of public and domestic life for men and women. The elite male universities and colleges as well as the expanding state universities, all institutions presumably entrenched in society's commitment to this division of functions according to sex, were also (and, some thought, paradoxically) the hope of many educators for women's achieving equality in education. Other educators looked to the upgrading of female seminaries and to the newly-forming women's colleges, both inheritors of the separate sphere ideology, as the hope for educational equality. It is within these institutions, the separate women's colleges, that Woolley put her hopes and made her contributions.

She believed that separate women's colleges held the potential for developing the kind and quantity of leaders necessary to make the struggle for equal rights successful. She had personally experienced coeducation, through integrating Brown University as one of a handful of women among male students and faculty who were largely uninterested in or actively hostile toward female presence at the university. She was twenty-eight years old when she entered Brown, having spent a number of years at Wheaton Seminary as student and teacher. Her three-year experience at Brown, where she earned both Bachelor's and Master's Degrees in History, she found both strengthening and enriching. On the basis of her own experience, Woolley encouraged graduates of Mount Holyoke College to pursue graduate study at male-dominated coeducational universities.

Woolley believed that female leadership and largely female instruction were necessary to develop in undergraduate women the confidence and skills needed for full and equal participation in all aspects of society. This she believed could occur most successfully at a women's college. In her own experience at Brown and in her observation of other coeducational institutions, young women undergraduates almost invariably created or joined an already established all-female group that in effect duplicated the subordinate 'special' female world of the wider society.²⁴ During the four decades of Woolley's leadership in education, no coeducational institution would become a model of equality between the sexes with a balanced coeducational faculty that earned equal salaries for the same work. Nor did coeducational institutions acknowledge the rights of women as well as men faculty to be married. Meanwhile, during Woolley's tenure as President of Mount Holyoke College, the separate women's colleges graduated a higher percentage of women in science, mathematics and the social sciences than did the coeducational institutions. Furthermore, the women's colleges also became major employers of women academics.²⁵

Although this dissertation is a narrative, historical study of Woolley's life that conveys the centrality to her of women's higher education and social reform, Woolley's fifty-year relationship with Jeannette Marks is an essential sub-theme. This relationship is important in the context of social change around issues of sexuality and lesbianism. Studies of the significance of intimate female friendships among women at the turn of the century and of the

attitudes toward those friendships and partnerships within the separate women's colleges enhance understanding of the Woolley/Marks relationship. Marks was sufficiently younger than Woolley, by twelve years, so that the two women experienced different societal pressures. Woolley was more able to achieve the rewards and approval of a society in which she fundamentally felt at ease while Marks struggled with issues of identity and social ostracism.

A second sub-theme is the intense controversy over the succession to Woolley's presidency at Mount Holyoke College. Despite her strenuous opposition to a male appointment, the Board of Trustees elected a man to succeed Woolley. She believed that this decision was, in effect, a repudiation of female leadership. I have examined the succession struggle as a culmination of increasing tension between Woolley and some members of the college community and as a reflection of societal trends. Woolley always maintained a high public profile in her commitment to national and world issues while she also wholeheartedly and successfully fulfilled her responsibilities at Mount Holyoke. She was immensely popular within the college community as well as within the network of women's organizations. Nevertheless, she had detractors at the college who disapproved of her broad interests and criticized her for not devoting her energies exclusively to the well-being of the college. Her life as a single woman and her relationship with Marks also contributed to the controversy. In the final succession struggle, there were Board members and alumnae who openly expressed the view that Woolley's presidency had become an anachronism and an

embarrassment. Despite Mount Holyoke College's unbroken tradition of female leadership, the majority of the Board concluded in 1937 that a married, male president could best serve the interests of the modern college. When the decision became final, Woolley decided to never again attend an official function at Mount Holyoke. She continued to travel, speak, and lend her name to causes for eight of the remaining ten years of her life. Despite numerous efforts to persuade her to visit Mount Holyoke, Woolley refused on principle to compromise.

In 1931, President Hoover appointed Woolley a delegate to the Conference on Reduction and Limitation of Armaments in Geneva. He did so in response to strong pressure from women's organizations to include a woman among the delegates. Woolley became the first woman to represent the United States at an important international conference. That same year, in a national poll, she was voted "one of the twelve greatest American women."²⁶ In the years between 1900 and 1940, Woolley's name might well have been mentioned in any discussion of women's higher education, of peace and internationalism, of social reform issues including labor legislation, suffrage and civil liberties. It is remarkable how quickly and completely her life of accomplishment and high public profile slipped into obscurity. Woolley died on September 5, 1947 at the age of eighty-four. Not until the 1970s, with the awakening of interest in women's history, would Woolley's name bring some scholarly recognition.²⁷ Her place in and contribution to the history and philosophy of American education, however, has not yet been adequately addressed.

Educational Theory and Feminist Theory

Jane Roland Martin, a contemporary philosopher, argues that modern educational theorists generally ignore the topic of women while feminist theorists neglect educational philosophy. She cites Mary Wollstonecraft and Charlotte Perkins Gilman to suggest that this has not always been the case. Both women combined discussion of women's roles in society with discussion of educational goals for women.²⁸ Theorist Joan Kelly provides a framework within which we can examine the historical issues peculiar to Woolley's life and time.

Kelly gives women's history a two-fold goal: "to restore women to history and to restore our history to women."²⁹ The theoretical significance of women's history for traditional historical study is profound. The idea fundamental to feminist consciousness, that the relation between the sexes is socially, not naturally, determined, alters traditional historiography. Sex becomes a legitimate category of analysis and women become the "social opposite" of men, no longer solely of interest in their exceptionality. Women's social experience takes its place alongside that of men, with both men and women creating a social category of sex that joins categories of race and class in historical analysis.

One traditional technique, periodization, derives from an analysis that has identified historical eras from the vantage point of men. The assumption is that women's experience parallels that of men and that turning points in history have had the same impact on

both sexes. Women appear as exceptions to their sex in political, economic and cultural history, as sexual anomalies who behaved or thought or wrote like men. Feminist theory argues that women as a social group have been excluded from the making of history because history has been interpreted almost exclusively as the making of nations and governments.³⁰

Women's history incorporates the concept that the status of women in a society is a function of that particular society. Status is defined as the roles and positions that women hold in comparison to men during a particular historical period. Traditional historical thinking has associated certain periods in history with advancement in human activity (the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and the Progressive Era in America). However, research in women's history reveals "a fairly regular pattern of relative loss of status for women precisely in those periods of so-called progressive change." Further, research indicates that the increased restrictions on women are a direct consequence of the very developments for which the historical period is recognized.³¹ Kelly believes that historians must therefore look more closely at those economic, political and cultural "advances" that characterize a progressive period in history in order to find the reasons for women's increased exclusion from those advantages.

Women as a social group have been invisible in traditional history. A persistent, popular explanation among historians for the absence of achievement, leadership, and "genius" among women has been their presumed mental "averageness." Essentially, the theory

promoted by scholars, physicians, and educators in the 1870s argued that because there is less variability among women than men, there are inevitably fewer brilliant women. Lack of achievement becomes a function of women's instinctively maternal and domestic nature.³²

When historians do not study society's institutions for explanations for women's "invisibility", then "nature" adequately explains social roles. However, when the naturalness of the social order is questioned, sex, male or female, becomes a category requiring investigation. Relations between the sexes become part of the study of change in society. In summary, feminist theory, with its awareness of woman as 'other', maintains that women form a distinctive social group whose inferior position in the social order has never been naturally determined. Rather, the description of the social order as natural has been a cause of women's inferior status.

Theories of social change that incorporate sex as a category analyze the changing relations between the sexes and the connections between those changes and others in society. This makes awareness of scholarship in related disciplines essential education for the historian. Anthropological scholarship, for instance, has indicated that "woman's social position has not always, everywhere, or in most respects been subordinate to that of men."³³ Thorstein Veblen, scholar and teacher at the University of Chicago, theorized in the late nineteenth century that women were oppressed by the modern social order. Enthusiastic about the growing movements for women's higher education and equal rights, he viewed them as women's "reassertion of ancient habits of thought."³⁴ Veblen's view was that

modern society allowed the predatory side of human nature to dominate, with men overtaking this role since the invention of tools and hunting. Women became subordinate in status because of modern society's irrational dependence on this baser human instinct. His hope was that women's achievement of equality would bring about the economic transformation of society. Economist and philosopher Gilman shared this view, emphasizing both the necessity of women's economic independence as well as the problems inherent in both men's and women's historically-acquired weaknesses. Men, she believed, were lacking as human beings because they had not developed so-called female traits just as women suffered from lack of traits socially assigned to men.

Man, as master, has suffered from his position ... The lust for power and conquest ... has been fostered in him to an enormous degree ... His dominance ... is a sovereignty based on the accident of sex and holding over such helpless and inferior dependants as could not question or oppose. The easy superiority that needs no striving to maintain it; the temptation to cruelty always begotten by irresponsible power; ... When man's place was maintained by brute force, it made him more brutal: when his place was maintained by purchase, by the power of economic necessity, then he grew into the merciless use of such power ...³⁵

Meanwhile, "...the moral nature of woman ... is a continual check to the progress of the human soul." She suffers from

An intense self-consciousness, born of the ceaseless contact of close personal relation; an inordinate self-interest, bred by the constant personal attention and service of this relation; a feverish, torturing, moral sensitiveness, without the width and clarity of vision of a full-grown moral sense; a thwarted will, used to meek surrender, cunning evasion, or futile rebellion; a childish, wavering short-range judgment, handicapped by emotion; ... a maternal passion swollen with the full strength of the great social heart, but denied social expression, -- such psychic

qualities as these, born in us all, are the inevitable result of the sexuo-economic relation.³⁶

Historical scholarship has introduced the role of women into studies in psychology, sociology, science, and philosophy, including the philosophy of education, thereby making visible the issues of inequality that have been generally overlooked or denied.³⁷ Woolley articulated a philosophy of women's education that incorporated this understanding. On the basis of this, she acted on principle in the presidential succession fight.

Theories of Women's Education in Educational Philosophy

Martin is interested in recovering the history of theories of education for women. She argues that if Alfred North Whitehead was correct when he summed up the European philosophical tradition as "a series of footnotes to Plato," then modern philosophers and historians have been guilty of removing all footnotes pertaining to the debate over ideals of education for women. She observes that within the continual discussion of the nature and structure of liberal education, questions of gender have been excluded. There is a history of scholarly interest in sex differences in learning, and there is current scholarly interest in the history of women's education, sex bias in education, and the integration of women's studies into the liberal arts curriculum, but Martin believes that there is little interest among scholars in understanding theories of education for women. She believes that any vision of a good society must include a solution to the contradiction between woman's

education and her subsequent role in life. Otherwise, women will remain confused and immobilized by educational goals and methods that assume "sex is a difference that makes no difference and cultural expectations that assume sex is the difference that makes a difference."³⁸

The assumption that sex is the difference that makes the difference was central to much nineteenth century thinking. Psychologist William James, a principal spokesman for the new science of the mind in late nineteenth century America, analyzed the modern consciousness with the presumption of objectivity and neutrality that science granted him. James' observations of personal and social behavior have had substantial influence on the development of American social ideals.

James wrote about education and the healthy individual in a good society.

By the word 'happiness', every human being understands something different. It is a phantom pursued only by weaker minds. The wise man is satisfied with the more modest but much more definite term contentment. What education should chiefly aim at is to save us from a discontented life. ... Woman's heart and love are a shrewd device of Nature, a trap which she sets for the average man, to force him into working. But the wise man will always prefer work chosen by himself.³⁹

What work the wise woman would choose by herself is a question that James does not consider. Both Plato and Rousseau developed theories of education for women, but nineteenth century educational philosophers generally ignored this aspect of the history of educational thought.⁴⁰

Martin terms this neglect epistemological inequality. By excluding women from the field of inquiry, inequality in knowledge itself had occurred. Research beginning in the 1970's on sex bias in the intellectual disciplines has consistently revealed this inequality.⁴¹ In the history of education and of educational thought, the assumption has been that history reveals no systematic or significant theories of women's education. This has happened, in part, because philosophers like Wollstonecraft, Gilman and Catherine Beecher⁴² have been virtually forgotten. There has also been little recognition of the value of studying other philosophers' ideas on women's education.⁴³

In addition, the assumption that no theories exist persists because historians of educational thought are "accustomed to getting their philosophers and sources ready-made."⁴⁴ They have served as interpreters, rarely searching through primary sources. The study of women's education requires this kind of research. Historians must look beyond the published accomplishments of theorists for evidence elsewhere of systematic or original thinking about women's education. Among the promising historical sources are the schools founded for women and administered by women. Institutional records and publications, letters, diaries and journals, are all materials available for historians of education. The complex and compelling historical debate over how best to educate women is one of the issues revived by scholarly interest in a history of educational thought that pays attention to the role of women.

How and to What Purpose Should Society Educate its Women?

In late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century America, educational opportunities for women were rapidly expanding. The question arose of where to find education of quality, even equality, and the issue naturally provoked heated debate. Was the better choice coeducation through the integration of colleges and universities, or was it the support and further development of separate women's institutions? If the old seminaries and newer colleges for women were to achieve equality of education and opportunity for their students, most educators agreed that they had to free themselves of the inferior separate status imposed on them. Critics of women's schools, however, dismissed this as a wasteful, impossible task, arguing that the schools could never catch up. From either side of the debate, men and women committed to liberal higher education for women, which was conceived of as competitive with the "best" education that men were offered, (and clearly this was not the goal of all advocates of women's education) were entangled in the problem of how to blend woman's role in society with the goals of her higher education.

Every individual and institution committed to the goal of equality in education for women had to confront the complexities of changing definitions of woman's appropriate role in society. There was much talk of the evolution of a 'new woman,' one who combined intellectual and emotional power to create a "larger social end than the world has ever known."⁴⁵ Widely-read sociologist Lester Frank

Ward wrote in 1888 that, "Woman is the race and the race can be raised up only as she is raised up.... True science teaches that the elevation of woman is the only sure road to the evolution of man."⁴⁶ What sort of education for women would achieve this end? How was society going to accommodate its newly educated women? Educators committed to the equal education of women could not avoid the problems facing young women after their education. In nineteenth century America, in terms of both their symbolic and practical value to society, young women graduates were still daughters destined to become wives and mothers.

The truth was that the movement for higher education for women posed a serious threat to the established ideal of womanhood. In the mid-nineteenth century, men and women in America were functioning in separate social spheres. Historian Joan Burstyn writes,

What was new in this concept was not the segregation of labour by gender, since men and women had traditionally performed different tasks, but the establishment of an ideal that removed women from all productive labour but childbearing, that separated the men and women from a family during their working hours, and that channelled women's energies, and only women's, into arranging for the consumption of goods and services by themselves and their families, and into undertaking services for their families and for those less fortunate than themselves.⁴⁷

The private and public spheres had become clearly defined with women relegated to the home and men to the workplace. Middle class women had begun to lose power relative to men as men began to dominate the public sphere. Political reform won voting rights for men while denying women the same rights. Simultaneously, within the

increasingly industrialized world, the middle class looked to its homes and families for safe haven from the perceived dangers of changing society. Home became isolated from the contaminating outside world of ambition and greed. Respectability, refined language and comportment, moral training of children including an essential capacity to exert self-control, became the hallmarks of the ideal middle class family, and women took on the responsibility of instilling these values. A woman's personal status became synonymous with her family's status.

Women therefore arrived into the middle class not through their own efforts but by their lack of contribution to the economic needs of the family. Woman's increased leisure became a measure of her and her family's accomplishment. Because middle class families no longer had to rely on their children's labor, education became a way to improve status. The traditional curriculum in boys' education, which had been designed for the upper classes, did not suit families who wanted their sons to enter professions or business. Therefore, small reforms began in boys' schooling. When the middle class began to educate its young men, it did not intend to educate its young women for the same purpose. The history of the long struggle for equal education for women illuminates the changing roles of men and women. In the beginning of the struggle, in historian Rosalind Rosenberg's words, "restless women strained at the ideological bonds of domesticity, but until alternatives presented themselves, they could not break free."⁴⁸

At the turn of the century and into the first decade of the twentieth century, the separate spheres of influence for men and women shifted and changed. Professionalization dramatically changed the nature of men's sphere as hierarchies of occupations and jobs developed. In women's sphere, there was serious effort to professionalize women's work through education.⁴⁹ The goal was to give women authority and expertise within the home, thereby attempting to gain equal status for the tasks of managing a household and raising children. This attempt to enhance woman's status within the domestic sphere met with opposition, both from those who feared any change in women's status and from those who wanted more radical change.

The Progressive Era Promises Great Change

Between the 1890's and America's entry into World War I, the United States underwent dramatic societal change. From a country with a predominantly rural population, it became a nation in which the majority of people lived in cities and towns. From an economy based on small competitive firms, the United States moved through a frenzy of mergers into a system of competition among a few giants in most industries. With the rise of these great companies and the move to industrialization, American society began the systematic pursuit of scientific progress.⁵⁰ With this transformation came change for American women. One change that seriously undermined separate sphere ideology and its ideal of homebound womanhood was the increasing

participation of women in the labor force. The percentage of women working outside of the home rose from 18.9% in 1890 to 23.7% in 1920. Among single women, the percentages were 40.5% in 1890 and 46.4% in 1920. The percentage of married women in the labor force almost doubled over this period from 4.6% to 9.0%. Among white women, the women most often studied in higher education issues, the increases were even more rapid. In 1890, only 2.5% of white married women worked outside of the home. The percentage in 1890 was 38.4% for single white women. By 1920, those percentages rose to 6.5% and 45.0% respectively, a faster increase than for women in general.⁵¹

The years from 1900 through World War I were the energetic and optimistic years of the Progressive Era. With society in general undergoing great change, advocates for women's higher education saw opportunity for change and progress through education. Far from simplifying the matter of how best to achieve equal education for women, however, the goal of women's higher education as a shared part of a larger progressive vision of American society complicated the issues of why and how to educate America's women. Proponents of women's education did not agree on goals or methods to improve women's education, and as we have already noted, truly equal education and its concomitant goal of equal status in society challenged to the core the nineteenth century ideal of womanhood that would resist destruction during the lifetime of these advocates. Nevertheless, higher education would offer women their most important opportunity.⁵²

Powerful forces of resistance to equality in education were entrenched within the academic world. Some opponents of higher education for women still argued the evidence of women's mental deficiencies, and others pointed to the inevitable wastefulness of educating women who would find no useful purpose beyond graduation for their liberal education. The male principal of a female academy in Virginia expounded a popular attitude toward women's education with the rhetorical question,

Why give them a half or quarter proficiency in that of which a whole knowledge would be useless to them?...Metaphysics, Logic, Political Economy, belong to the masculine offices and pursuits only, and cannot be brought into female education without wasting the time and injuring the perception, which should be employed in the feminine things.⁵³

This was common sentiment in the 1870's so that advocates of co-education criticized separate education on the grounds that schools for girls were hopelessly and by nature inferior. The president of the University of Wisconsin declared that

separate female colleges proceed almost wholly on the idea that the same grade of intellectual discipline is not called for in the training of young women as of young men....The entire experience of the past, its association and prestige are gathered about colleges for the training of men.

He concluded that, "so long as men are educated in distinct colleges these will and must be superior to those devoted to women in all that pertains to thorough education and public enthusiasm."⁵⁴ His argument in support of coeducation was founded on a popular rationale for educating women based on a belief in woman's primary function as

mother and on the complementarity of woman's and man's nature. He spoke for many when he said,

As long as the germinal power of the race is with those who, as mothers, stand between us and the invisible intangible forces of creation, we shall do wisely if we look carefully to the copiousness of these physical and intellectual fountains of our strength...If we underfeed and dwarf the intellect of woman, we shall enfeeble her progeny, shall blast and wither the branch on which the fruit of coming years is to hang.

In what must be seen as an indication of the confusion felt by most nineteenth century men and women who sought to define the rights of all citizens, including women, he professed his belief in the pre-eminence of human rights.

God forbid also that we as an assembly of educated men discussing the interests of education should put any unnecessary restriction on any human being in gaining knowledge whereby the soul knows its own, and reclaims it; knows what is another's, and respects it."⁵⁵

The stated and unstated goals underlying the efforts of educational institutions and state governments committed to coeducation reveal an erratic route to an elusive concept of equality of education for women. Thomas Hill, the faculty member who in 1858 replaced Horace Mann as president of the experiment in coeducation at Antioch College, shared Mann's views on women's capacities. Hill believed that both men and women had appetites for learning but, since their minds were physiologically different, men and women did not crave the same mental foods. He acknowledged that women were capable of solving mathematics or science problems, but "it was much rarer to find among them the power of going on for themselves to construct new problems and make new discoveries."⁵⁶

Few educators glimpsed the seriousness of the issues that truly equal education for women posed for society. How should young women be prepared to take on this challenge to society's ideal of their womanhood? Most advocates of women's higher education stressed the societal advantages of young women becoming informed citizens, and hence, better wives and mothers. Some advocates understood that they had to skillfully manipulate a public unready for the idea of women as equal citizens. Most pioneers in women's education had to wrestle with the obvious contradictions within their own situations and desires.⁵⁷

Proponents of both coeducation and of separate education foresaw the possibility of women's inferior status reinforced through education. Admission standards and programs of study became controversial issues. There was plenty of evidence that the struggle for equality, whether through coeducation or separate education, would be long and difficult. When coeducation was first suggested at the University of Michigan, the faculty instantly and unanimously voted to reject it. When the trustees at the University of Georgia were similarly challenged, they voted to blot out all evidence of the suggestion from the minutes of their meeting.⁵⁸ Undaunted by setbacks, coeducationists declared that the battle for equal education had to be waged within the male colleges and universities. If the commitment and efforts toward coeducation at these powerful institutions were admittedly problematic, the overriding issue for coeducationists was their conviction that whatever was most valued in

society existed only within those male institutions. Coeducation was the logical, single route to equality in education, and, ultimately, in society. They argued that since separate schools for women historically offered inferior education, these schools could only perpetuate women's inferior status. They were now a passe function of society's requirement that women exist within a separate and restricted sphere apart from the public world of men.⁵⁹

The Case for Separate Education for Women

The educational separatists vigorously rejected this argument. They fought not only for support of the existing women's schools but for the establishment and support of new, elite women's institutions, 'daughter colleges' in Mount Holyoke's terminology. These educators believed that educational separation from a society that so globally restricted women's freedom held hope for equality of educational opportunity. For them, paramount goals were intellectual development and the development of young women's potential for leadership. They maintained that through separate education young women would receive the leadership training necessary to produce more than token numbers of women who had potential for significant power in society.

They foresaw insurmountable difficulties within the male-dominated colleges and universities. As educational opportunities expanded for young women, separatist advocates criticized newly-developing areas of specialization for female undergraduates taught by women faculty. They resisted the development of fields of study

that they believed guaranteed female inferiority and exclusion from the centers of influence in society. Young women, through programs of college study, would be systematically tracked into the professions of nursing, teaching, home economics, and secretarial studies. The talents and energies of scholars graduating from women's colleges were utilized in the design, administration and teaching of programs that guaranteed academic segregation and professional inequality for educated women. Equal education and the concomitant development of self-confident leadership in women seemed impossible goals in this developing context.

In 1907, University of Wisconsin President Charles Van Hise argued that

The young woman to be a success in a women's college must win her success by exactly the same qualities of leadership and of service in the college to the college community required by the young man to win a prominent position. In the coeducational institution there is a tendency for the men to fix the standards not only for themselves but for the women. With the increase in numbers of men and women in coeducational institutions with no very serious purpose, there is undoubtedly a tendency among the women to regard as successful the one who is attractive to the young men -- in other words, social availability rather than intellectual leadership is regarded by at least a considerable number of the young women as the basis of a successful college career.⁶⁰

Advocates for educational equality in women's institutions rejected the inclusion of coursework in newly-developing "feminine" professions in undergraduate education. They viewed these courses of study as both affirmation and confirmation of women's inferior educational and societal status. Within the women's colleges, educators resisted the inclusion in the curriculum of subjects such

as domestic science and household management, and kept to a minimum courses in hygiene and teacher training. This met opposition from other educators and much of the general public who welcomed these studies on both theoretical and practical grounds.

Proponents argued that training for female professions in undergraduate study solved the chronic, destructive effects of ambiguous goals in the education of women college students. Boards of trustees, financial supporters and alumnae also often favored this training for women. Advocates of educational, social, and economic equality for women opposed these "female" course, refusing to compromise. They would not be deceived by a new solution to the problem of "wasting" society's resources on the education of women. The concept of "female oriented" studies held clear echoes of the recent past. Lessons in etiquette, elocution and painting were replaced by lessons in household management, personal hygiene and child psychology⁶¹

Proponents of separate education were well aware that women's schools were capable of cultivating women's second-class status. Seminaries and colleges shared a history of usefulness in the training of young women for 'womanhood.' Separatists believed, however, that these institutions had the capacity for progressive change. The women's schools varied in their educational philosophies and goals, a variability that the separatists did not see among the coeducational institutions. They feared that the goals of the coeducationists for equality would be thwarted, and their fears were substantiated by the statements of administrators involved in the

integrating of the universities. Leland Stanford, the founder of Stanford University, described women's educational opportunities at Stanford as "equally full and complete," varying "only as nature dictates."⁶²

Historians have both criticized and praised the founders and leaders of the elite Eastern women's colleges (Mount Holyoke, Smith, Wellesley, Bryn Mawr and Vassar) for seeking to emulate the traditions of male colleges. Proponents of separate women's colleges were resistant to the popular idea that contact with men's minds was essential for superior female education. (The mental agility of men was generally believed to be natural and spontaneous. It followed for some that education of quality for women must include acquaintance with the male mind.) Some educators also argued that there was definite advantage for men in coeducation. They gained the opportunity to learn about female sensibilities. Resistance to coeducation was characterized by some as a failure in social responsibility,⁶³ and separatists were criticized for their unwillingness to integrate undergraduate education. A few openly professed the opinion that women students need not sacrifice for their male counterparts. Among the elite Eastern colleges for men, it was commonly understood that "the strongest colleges for men admit men only."⁶⁴ The elite women's colleges viewed themselves as the strongest colleges for women and seemed similarly committed to educating women only.

The founders of the various separate colleges for women had generally similar intentions, even though the evolving institutions

were sometimes at odds with those intentions. The physical design of the early campuses reflected late-nineteenth-century society's perception of women -- the limitations and expectations it sought to impose. The early colleges and seminaries typically housed young women in large multi-purpose buildings in which there was little privacy. The broader outlook that a young woman achieved through education was intended to bring a finer appreciation of the value of home. The seminaries and colleges nurtured home-loving instincts and attempted to broaden sympathies and interests in order to give educated women "buoyancy, vitality, the cheerful disposition, the power of inspiring others"⁶⁵ that characterized the best of wives and mothers. Metaphors of home and family described virtually every aspect of college life.

The founders intended to nurture femininity and domesticity as well as intellectuality. However, the women's colleges quickly proved capable of producing graduates who entered professions, achieved financial independence, and remained single. Outside the colleges, the possibility of 'too much' education for women became a topic of hot debate. Was it inevitable that the goals of the founders be subverted by experience within the colleges themselves? Was it impossible to produce well-educated women who were also accepting of marriage, family and subordinate status? Opponents of women's higher education propagandized against the overdevelopment of women's minds and the consequent underdevelopment of maternal instinct.

In spite of persistent vocal concern that the education of women might go 'too far', the early women's colleges were encouraged by other forces. The imposition of separate spheres of influence for men and women encouraged the existence of the women's colleges and also strengthened them. The independent culture that evolved within the colleges, created by faculty, administration and students, gave women experience in leadership and power. They engaged in intellectual, cultural and social pursuits unique to those institutions. A female world flourished where the male world was, at least temporarily, physically removed. Seminary/college life provided a surrogate family but a family of female relationships. In the institutions where students were required to do light domestic work, the goal was to "unite all in one family as helpers for the common good," the discipline of the housework was considered "invaluable in its influence upon the moral nature ..."⁶⁶ In fact, leaders in women's education articulated the view that college life was far more attractive for girls than their family lives. Emily Davies, a fighter in the parallel struggle for women's higher education in Great Britain and the founder of Girton College at Cambridge University expressed this view among friends and supporters. However, she was careful in her fund-raising and promotional speeches not to reveal to parents of prospective students how much healthier and more attractive an alternative to family life she believed college life to be.⁶⁷ If the four years of college were simply preparation for a more successful marriage and family life to follow, there should have been little concern about educating girls

away from their homes. However, the women's colleges reinforced the separate spheres by decreasing the already minimal communication between the sexes.

At the seminaries and colleges, intimate friendships and deep attachments among female faculty and students became acceptable forms of emotional expression both during and after the college years. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the issue of whether the separate colleges for women created too much contact with women was one of relatively little concern to the college community or the general public. Segregation of the sexes had become institutionalized. It was not an undesirable consequence of separate education if women pursued their ways of friendship and amusement within the confines of the women's schools. Administrators and parents expected that the young women would outgrow school "smashes." These attachments were tolerated and openly discussed by some while a concern to others. In 1907, Jerome wrote home to her mother,

I am beginning to think that I am being "rushed" by the faculty, instead of "rushing" them ... My beautiful history teacher, Miss Morris, is the last. She is marvelously superb to look at, on the Roman plan. Indeed the class of 1911 is so crazy over her, that we hadn't known her for more than 3 weeks, when we made her an honorary member of our class. She has for some reason taken quite a fancy to me, and as I sit in the front row, I get all the benefit of her attention in class. I feel we almost wink, and mind you, I hadn't exchanged more than a dozen words with her.⁶⁸

Women were expected to outgrow their intimate female friendships when the opportunity for marriage presented itself. However, as the women's colleges grew in size and influence, the

question of the probability or even the desirability of marriage for their graduates was one that the schools did not ignore. M. Carey Thomas, the President of Bryn Mawr, a college committed to the most superior education for women, asserted that an educated woman was presented with a clear and single choice between two options, a life committed to celibacy or to suffocating marriage. "No one can estimate the number of women who remain unmarried in revolt before such a horrible alternative,"⁶⁹ she told her audiences. When George Herbert Palmer, philosophy professor at Harvard University, fell in love with Alice Freeman, the president of nearby Wellesley College, he simultaneously asked for her hand in marriage and for her resignation from the presidency of the women's college. He told her, "I worship a glorious woman in you...you think they are sacrifices which you are justified in making to a great institution. To me they look like suicide."⁷⁰ For those who agreed with Thomas, Freeman's choice presented just "such a horrible alternative."

Four brief years at college did not radically change the prospects of the vast majority of girls who passed through the schools, but for those whose family encouragement and individual talents combined to make for unusual aspirations, the women's colleges were the foundation. They also provided those women who became faculty with a surrogate family life that was intellectually satisfying and socially acceptable. If educated women gave up the idea of marrying and bearing children, they were still able to pursue their life's work in the female world of the college. In the early years of her presidency at Mount Holyoke, Woolley had to continually

respond to the nagging question of whether college education "unfit women for the home." (She would answer by describing the diversity possible within the definition of "home."⁷¹)

At the same time, the laissez faire attitudes towards college female friendships began to change in the beginning of the twentieth century as part of a transformation in American society. Scholars began to reject the abstract theorizing of the nineteenth century and applied a scientific, skeptical approach to their search for solutions to the disturbing and complicated problems of industrializing America. They engaged in "the study of human nature and social structure in empirical investigations of the social conditions of the time."⁷² Researchers in psychology and sexuality were among the pioneers and the ideas of Freud began to filter into society.

Public discourse replaced the relative silence and tolerance around sexual issues that characterized the mid-to-late nineteenth century.⁷³ Experts offered formulations of what constituted normal and abnormal sexual behavior. Some hinted at the idea that a sexually repressive society might lay at the heart of sexual dysfunction. There was some speculation that the homosexual impulse was not entirely abnormal. Nevertheless, for women who chose not to marry, the opportunity for emotional or sexual satisfaction in a homo-erotic relationship was viewed by the most tolerant observers as artificially induced and unhealthy. One scientist wrote,

Our present social arrangements, founded as they are on the repression and degradation of the normal erotic impulse, artificially stimulate inversion and have thus forfeited all

right to condemn it. There is a huge, persistent, indirect pressure on women of strong passions and fine brains to find an emotional outlet with other women.⁷⁴

The women's colleges in the early twentieth century continued to afford students opportunities to shed stereotypical behavior and to engage in intellectual, social and sexual behavior generally unscrutinized by the larger society. Historian Peter Gay, writing about the homosocial and homoerotic atmosphere within separate educational institutions in the nineteenth century, suggests that

. . . the power of denial was not to be underestimated; it did impressive work in the face of disagreeable evidence. The homoerotic aura . . . its pretensions to discipline, purity, and decorum periodically tainted by scandal, became something of an open secret, the subject of gossip, inquiries.

The "self-protective ideology" that asserted the "innocence of friendship, no matter how heated, remained largely intact for decades."⁷⁵ Gay believes that the bourgeois style, "a mixture of delicate euphemisms and wide-eyed candor," allowed for surprisingly wide latitude in sexual behavior.

After all, behind the sheltering facade of discretion, many nineteenth-century male and female homosexuals, defining their own forbidden ways of living, enjoyed a privileged space of impunity for their unorthodox amorous arrangements.⁷⁶

As attitudes toward sexuality became increasingly narrow and intolerant in the larger society, the women's colleges in America, like the private English schools that Gay was describing, provided for a while a "privileged space of impunity."⁷⁷

The colleges did not remain protected enclaves for long. Intolerance toward intimacies among women faculty and women students increased. Homosexuality was feared and overt homosexuals were viewed as predators.⁷⁸ At Mount Holyoke, members of the college expressed discomfort over intense friendships between students and between faculty and students. Woolley's relationship with Marks became an increasingly troublesome issue for a vocal minority.⁷⁸ The abandonment of female leadership at Mount Holyoke by its Board of Trustees in 1937 may well have been a partial result of these concerns.

Chapter Outline

Chapter two will discuss Woolley's childhood emphasizing the early experiences that were crucial to the formation of her character and her world view. Woolley's father passed on to her his social idealism, his dedication to a life of useful service, his love of learning and respect for intellect, and his feminist and anti-war sentiments. Her mother, a teacher before her marriage, encouraged Woolley, her eldest child, to excel in school. Neither parent expected Woolley to devote herself to domestic duties and both enjoyed her bright, active nature. Woolley's father planned and directed her education, eventually encouraging her to leave home in pursuit of educational and professional opportunity. Her extraordinary abilities as a leader were unambivalently nurtured at home, and she repaid her parents with great devotion and gratitude for the freedom they granted her. Early in life, Woolley was

expected to share in the lives of her parents. The church controversy in which her father was embroiled taught her essential lessons that she applied throughout her life. Commitment to strong convictions required an imperviousness to personal attack and insult. Collective effort was effective for positive change. Good leadership required the cultivation of support and also demanded patience, good humor, and humility. She emulated her father's liberal theology and "practical" religion of non-sectarian, socially-conscious activity. When Woolley reached adulthood, father and daughter often shared a pulpit or lectern at each other's invitation. She and her mother shared an intimate friendship in which she provided her mother with strong emotional support.

The third, fourth and fifth chapters focus on Woolley's experiences at Wheaton Seminary, Brown University and Wellesley College between 1882 and 1899. I have identified four themes in Woolley's life -- female leadership and the nurturing of it, social responsibility as a requirement for the educated woman, educational, economic and political equality of opportunity for women, (with collective association as a valuable strategy for achieving that end) and personal fulfillment in a relationship of choice.

The sixth, seventh and eighth chapters focus on Woolley's years of presidency of Mount Holyoke College. The combination of her mature philosophy and character permitted her to provide exceptional leadership. She used the presidency to project her vision that united in common cause the advancement of women and reform throughout society. Among her achievements at Mount Holyoke College were the

dramatic upgrading of faculty and the education provided to students, the exposure of Mount Holyoke College students to the major reform movements of the times, the support for academic experimentation and faculty self-government in curricular issues, and the encouragement of student government which prepared young women for leadership roles in the larger society.

Chapter nine begins with a discussion of Woolley's relationship with Marks at Mount Holyoke and continues with an investigation of Woolley's contributions in the larger society. Through her participation and leadership in organizations outside the college, Woolley demonstrated that an educated woman could play significant roles in male-dominated organizations rather than remaining insulated in single-sex institutions. For Woolley, this culminated in her appointment by President Hoover as the sole female delegate to the 1932 Disarmament Conference in Geneva. Contemporaneously, she was a leader in the collective activities of the elite women's colleges which she believed were working toward a common goal. Her presidency of the American Association of University Women for three terms from 1927-1933 and her leadership in other women's organizations provides further evidence of her commitment to broadly-based cooperation among groups of educated women. A brief discussion of the nature of the relationship between Woolley and Marks is in Appendix A. Appendix B reproduces a comprehensive list compiled by Brown University in 1940 of Woolley's distinctions and organizational affiliations.

Chapter ten tells the story of the decision of the Board of Trustees to replace Woolley with a male president. Woolley and others argued that the tradition of female leadership at Mount Holyoke College be maintained, but a sentiment prevailed that female leadership was anachronistic and harmful. The arguments raised by both sides of the controversy are detailed in the chapter. The celebration of Mount Holyoke's Centenary, which Woolley organized just before leaving her post, provided a fitting opportunity for Woolley and other leading academic and political women to both celebrate the achievements of the previous generations and view with alarm the trend exemplified by the downfall of female leadership at Mount Holyoke. Woolley's continued involvement in world affairs during the last eight years of her life is surveyed to demonstrate that what she viewed as a serious failure at Mount Holyoke in no sense modified her continued desire to serve, a desire she learned from her parents in her youth and never lost. Woolley's exemplary life illuminates many of the questions and issues raised about women's higher education and women's equality in the early twentieth century.

C H A P T E R I I

WOOLLEY'S EARLY YEARS

"Despite The Glamour Of Home"

-- Mary E. Woolley¹

On a Sunday afternoon in the summer of 1867, in the town of Meriden, Connecticut, the Reverend and Mrs. Woolley said goodbye to their dinner guests and soon realized that their four-year-old daughter, who had been left to occupy herself after dinner, was nowhere to be found. They searched the house and barn until the Reverend, becoming alarmed, mounted his horse and rode out of Meriden in the direction of South Norwalk. He spotted her immediately. The sunbonneted child in white, resolutely walking down the road was unmistakably his daughter. When he asked where she was going, she told him simply that she was "going to Grandma's."²

Young Mary Emma Woolley was on her way to the home of her maternal grandparents, Stephen and Mary Ann Ferris, in Norwalk, Connecticut, a coastal town on the Long Island Sound fifty miles south of Meriden. She had been born there on July 13, 1863, her parents' first child. Over a period of fifteen years, her mother, Mary Augusta, would return to the Norwalk family home to give birth to three more children. In the tumultuous life that lay ahead for the Woolley family, the grandparents' home became a refuge in which Mary Augusta Woolley's sense of stability was continually restored and where her daughter Mary experienced the family life that made

home, in her words, "a heaven on earth, a place where strife was shut out - and love was shut in."³

Mary Augusta's father, Stephen Ferris, was a popular deacon and treasurer of one of the two Congregational churches in Norwalk. In harmony with the belief that a town can never have too many churches, Norwalk boasted two Congregational, one Baptist, one Methodist and one Episcopal church, seating 100, 500, 600, 600 and 800 persons respectively. Norwalk's port connection with New York City gave the town some sophistication. Ships arrived regularly from southern coastal cities and the West Indies. Horse trolleys transported townspeople, Woolley and her grandparents among them, through the town's narrow streets and into the commercial district near the wharves where oyster selling, ship-building, shoe and hat manufacturing prospered. By 1870, this section had grown large enough to separate from the genteel Norwalk where the Ferris's lived to form an independent port town of South Norwalk.⁴

Ferris was a hatter by trade, employed in a factory owned by two of his affluent neighbors. Skilled hatters were few and in demand, so that by the 1860s, Ferris had become financially comfortable and able to care for his growing family. The family home that Ferris built was a large, handsome structure with hand-carved doors and beams, tall twelve-panelled windows and numerous sunny rooms. A long, sloping lawn terraced with apple trees and lilacs stretched down to a line of American elms along the broad street that led to the commercial town. The deep blue water of Long Island Sound, where Ferris and Mary's father pursued their love of sailing,

was visible from the front porch.⁵ A letter written by the Reverend Woolley captures his pleasure,

Today Father [Ferris] and I had a fine sail down the harbor in a sail boat. You would have been amused to have seen me, sitting in the stern of a sail boat, with the brim of my hat turned down all around, my feet on the seat opposite, guiding the little craft as she was driven by the winds through dancing, sparkling water ...⁶

The Reverend Woolley's future wife, Mary Augusta, was the only Ferris child to venture from Norwalk. She left for the first time when she was in her late teens to live with cousins in Danbury, Connecticut, where she taught in a local school. In her journal, she recorded days of pleasant entertaining and romantic daydreams and flirtations. She was back at home in Norwalk in March of 1858 when she entered an ambiguous wish in her diary. "I hope Mr. W (oolley) will not stay to our house all night. True love is founded on esteem, and esteem is the result of intimate acquaintance and confidential intercourse." The entry concluded with a little poem. "At ten a child, at twenty wild, At thirty strong, if ever; At forty wise, at fifty rich, at sixty good, or never."⁷ She was nineteen at the time.

Joseph Judah Woolley was a familiar figure in Norwalk since he had become assistant to the pastor of the Ferris' church. Woolley was married, but his wife, Mary Emma Brisco, became ill and died in 1860 at the age of twenty-eight.⁸ The following year, twenty-one year old Mary Augusta Ferris and the Reverend Woolley became engaged. In April of 1861, when the Confederates captured Fort Sumter and President Lincoln called for volunteers, Woolley enlisted. On the morning of December 11, 1861, several hours before he was to leave

for Annapolis to join the Eighth Connecticut regiment, Woolley was visiting with the Ferris family when he and Mary Augusta decided to marry immediately, half an hour before his departure. Her mother wrote to her own father later that day, "You see there was no time to invite any one or make any wedding. I hope it may all be for the best."⁹

Her intuition was correct if she sensed that her daughter's life with her new husband would be out of the ordinary. Woolley was a restless man driven by convictions and enthusiasms that took over his life and the lives of his family. He was born on September 17, 1832, one of eight children. His father was a skilled carriage maker and shipbuilder and his mother came from an old Bridgeport family of shipbuilders.¹⁰ Woolley family lore had a touch of the exotic. Woolley's grandfather and great uncle had emigrated from England to Jamaica in the West Indies where they became wealthy plantation owners, but when a cholera epidemic swept the island, the entire Woolley family succumbed. Woolley's grandmother lived long enough to safely send her young son, Woolley's future father, to live with friends in Bridgeport, Connecticut.¹¹

He became a skilled craftsman and raised his children in Bridgeport, a city that changed rapidly and dramatically from an agricultural town into an industrial center. Woolley's experience there would crucially shape his view of society. The mansions on Main Street and the elegant churches on Broad Street, symbols of the Yankee past, were forced into uneasy co-existence with mushrooming neighborhoods of culturally diverse immigrants. The Irish came

escaping the potato famine and, by 1850, they numbered more than 1000 of the 7500 Bridgeport residents. While craftsmen continued to build wooden sailing ships in the harbor shipyards, new, noisy, sprawling factories spewed smoke into the city air.¹² At sixteen, Woolley left school, restless and eager for more freedom and less drudgery. He worked at odd jobs for a few years and, in his late teens, experienced a religious conversion. Too impatient for formal study at a theological seminary, he prepared for a preaching license under the tutelage of a minister. Within two years, he became an elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church of Ridgefield, Connecticut, and in 1858, was ordained in the Methodist Episcopal faith.¹³ Woolley was well-suited to the preaching style of the early Methodist itinerants who "went everywhere preaching the Word." He felt a profound identification with the needs of the poor and uneducated, believing that compassion and good works were the true evidence of Christian faith. Methodism in its origins challenged conservative religion and promoted the social action gospel that Woolley embraced. A Ridgefielder who returned home after many years away was struck by changes in Methodism that aptly described the Reverend Woolley.

Though, in its origin, [Methodism] seemed to thrive upon the outcasts of society - its people are now as respectable as those of any other religious society in the town. No longer do they choose to worship in barns ...; no longer do they affect leanness, long faces, and loose, uncombed hair; no longer do they cherish bad grammar, low idioms ... in preaching. Their place of worship is in good taste ... their dress is comely, and in the fashion of the day. The preacher is a man of education, refinement, and dignity ...Has not the good time come?¹⁴

The Civil War further shaped Woolley's ministerial life. His direct experience in the war was brief but it instilled in him a deep enmity against the senseless waste of war. In his daily letters home, he described life in the camp at Annapolis where he served as chaplain, postmaster and assistant surgeon. He spent his days sorting several hundred daily letters for the 1000 soldiers in his regiment. He comforted the wounded in the camp hospital and composed letters to the families of dead soldiers. In March, the regiment moved south to Newbern, North Carolina, where he experienced battle for the first time. A story of his rash courage would become part of the lore recounted at his Regiment's reunions. Mary attended these meetings as an adult, an honorary "Daughter of the Regiment," where she often heard the story of a courier rushing into Woolley's tent to tell him that the enemy was drawing close. When a shell hit the ground a few feet away from the tent, fellow soldiers reported that Woolley shouted, "Let 'em shoot! I'm finishing breakfast." Several months later, he contracted a serious infection and the army sent him home. He recuperated at the Ferris home in Norwalk until he was well enough to look for a ministerial post.¹⁵

The Center Congregational Church in Meriden, Connecticut was in need of a pastor and Woolley's experience as a Civil War chaplain added to his attractiveness as a candidate. The church had long been involved in political activity as the venue of town meetings in the 1830s and anti-slavery meetings in the 1850s; the church covenant required members to oppose slavery.¹⁶ Recently, the church suffered from a physical isolation caused by the town's economic growth. Like

Norwalk and Bridgeport, Meriden experienced rapid and dramatic change. The population in Meriden had doubled to 7500 since 1850. In 1862, the year Woolley arrived, most of Meriden's twelve churches were in the newer part of town. The railroad had sliced through Meriden, and Center Church lost three-quarters of its members who broke away to form a church on the expanding side of town.¹⁷ The church leaders were looking for a minister who would revive the church with his energy and commitment. Woolley was their first choice. In October of 1862, when an Ecclesiastical Council of several churches approved his certificate of ordination and his doctrinal views, he accepted the Church's invitation, delighted, as he said, to be a "permanent or settled pastor watching over and feeding the flock of Christ continually."¹⁸ Woolley appeared to experience no conflict over switching denominations. He, in fact, rejected narrow allegiance to sectarian religion, espousing, instead, a belief in broad Christian faith that encompassed all sects.¹⁹ One attractive aspect of the job for his wife was the church's proximity to her family home in Norwalk. Meriden was only fifty miles north of Norwalk. The congregation built a comfortable house for the growing Woolley family. During the years in Meriden, Mary Augusta returned to Norwalk first to give birth to Mary Emma in 1863 and later, to a son, Erving Yale, on November 17, 1866.

These were uneventful and nurturing years for the family, a period most accurately fits Mary Woolley's glowing reminiscences of her childhood.

There was never a happier [home], I am convinced, than ours. ... We went home not away from it, in order to have a good time. When we were children it was a sort of general playground. ...²⁰

When Mary reached five years of age, her father persuaded a young widow to teach a group of young children in the basement of Center Church. Mary liked school and especially liked the ride on horseback with her father to and from the church.²¹ She was a sturdily-built child, and enjoyed rough and tumble games with her younger brother. A young girlfriend admonished her years later, "I used to try and train your hats and you used to pull them to bits."²² Mary was fortunate to inherit the good features of both parents. She had her mother's large brown eyes and dark hair and her father's strong facial features and clear dark complexion. She was taller than average and long-legged, spared the inheritance of her father's shortish legs. Woolley's legs, however, did not diminish his stature. Mary remembered with pride how he strode down the streets of Meriden stopping to bow and smile at the people he passed. He cut an imposing figure in his long, double-breasted Prince Albert coat, a trimmed, full beard framing his expressive face. In her adult life, when Mary appeared in public with her father on a speaker's platform or pulpit, people commented on how alike they were in appearance and manner.

Her father's sense of godliness did not preclude enjoying himself. He challenged anyone to a friendly, enthusiastic game of tennis, croquet, or checkers on a quiet evening. One of his wealthy parishoners in Meriden kept a small stock farm as a hobby and

indulged Woolley in one of his favorite pastimes. He loved the thrill of cart racing and would race down the main street of town with a colt in harness for the first time. Mary observed her mother's fears for his safety, telling her daughter, "Your father does not know what fear is."²³ Mary described his seeming recklessness as a form of courage, a sign of his liberality. She said that he always seemed to give "out of proportion to his means, as we see it, perhaps not as God sees it."²⁴

Religion infused daily home life, but prayers and grace at the dinner table were not somber or sanctimonious times. Meals, especially on Sundays, were opportunities for animated and friendly discussion among the family and guests. Mary recalled that, "[t]here was good table-talk, ... spiced by amusing stories and by animated argument, for, never by any chance, did we all hold the same point of view on a political question."²⁵ Her mother was a religious woman whose faith gave her comfort. Mary recalled that when her mother was distressed, she would retire to her bedroom, returning to the family "with her face shining as if she 'had been with God' -- so indeed she had!"²⁶ She read aloud from the Bible, entertaining her children with stories of Daniel in the Lion's Den, Lot and his Family, Abraham Offering up Isaac, the Good Samaritan and David and Goliath. About her father, Mary wrote, "I never knew a man of greater courage, physical and moral ..." Of her mother, she said, "on moral courage ... It might even be said that her courage in this field was more remarkable than my father's."²⁷

The Pawtucket Years

September, 1871 marked the passing of the Reverend Woolley's thirty-ninth birthday, but the years had not dampened his enthusiasms or restlessness. He was a popular and respected pastor in Meriden but it was a quiet place and Center Church offered few challenges. Pawtucket Congregational Church in Rhode Island was looking for a new pastor, a man capable of adjusting to unusual circumstances. The retiring Reverend C. Blodgett, 1826 graduate of Dartmouth College and pastor since 1836, was a popular, outspoken man²⁸ who led the church for almost its entire history. His health was failing and it was his wish to bring in a new pastor with full pastoral powers as if he, Blodgett, "were in his grave." However in a most unusual arrangement, the Congregation was to be given the choice of either Blodgett or the new pastor to perform marriages and burials. Furthermore, the "Retired Pastor" and his family were to remain in the pastorate and receive a yearly salary in retirement; the new pastor and his family would have to make living arrangements elsewhere.

The Reverend Blodgett had "well-settled opinions." He believed, as did many conservative Christians, that the low state of religion in America was proof that people had forsaken the Lord, and he advocated traditional "fasting, humiliation and prayer" for recovery of faith. He disapproved of what he called the modern habit of acting in large groups, of forming societies that preached temperance, anti-slavery, anti-war, and women's rights. He believed

that the spirituality of religion was lost in reformist excitement and that personal responsibility disappeared in the zeal of public movements. He attacked "isms and antis" and "the agitated and fearful state of the public mind." He blamed men in government for giving license to break the Sabbath (through the development of railroads and steamship travel) and for licentiousness by bringing women into Washington to service Congress. He also blamed government for the "perfidious treatment of Indians," the fostering of slavery, and the "unchristian extravagance in living style and haste to be rich."²⁹ The Reverend Blodgett, "thinks not of change," his biographer wrote,

[T]he special allure of larger fields does not affect him, nor does he call in others who have been used to "fold their tents and seek new encampments," that they may interpret for him the indications of Providence.³⁰

By unanimously recommending Woolley as Blodgett's successor, the congregation of Pawtucket Congregational Church, the committee, and Blodgett himself, had "called in" just such a man who had folded his tent to seek new encampment. Woolley was a man who preferred to interpret the indications of Providence.

The challenges and uncertainties that lay ahead in Pawtucket excited rather than discouraged Woolley and they fueled his desire for change. He abruptly ended negotiations with a church in Natick, Massachusetts saying that he "cared nothing for them," and accepted the Pawtucket post the day after it was offered to him.

I know of no reason why (God willing) I may not become your pastor . . . with a heart full of love for you, I am truly and affectionately yours . . . I have also counseled with my

wife (as a husband should) and find her views and feelings correspond with my own.³¹

He negotiated a monthly salary schedule, rather than the typical quarterly because, as he wrote, "I love to obey the injunction -- 'Owe no man'." His salary of \$2500 annually with a month's vacation in August was reasonable, but there was no provision for house rent.

The journey from Meriden across Connecticut into Rhode Island was a long one for Mary Augusta who had agreed to move her family as far from South Norwalk as she had ever been. The Woolleys took up residence in the Pawtucket Hotel where they would live for three years. The hotel was a boarding house located near the bottom of Quality Hill, while Pawtucket Congregational Church on Quality Hill, stood near the top. The homes of many of the church's wealthy and influential parishioners were also on Quality Hill. Boarding house life was quite different, but although it posed hardships for the parents, the Woolley children thrived. Several of the older, permanent boarders grew fond of them and an extended family formed, one that celebrated special occasions together and exchanged Christmas and birthday gifts. The children were free to visit these adult friends and this unique living arrangement afforded Mary much independence and nurtured her natural curiosity about people. When she was ten years old, Mary wrote to a friend in Meriden about a Pawtucket Christmas.

I had a splendid Christmas. We had a Christmas tree here in the Hotel for the children. There are six children in the Hotel. We had our tree on Christmas eve, on Christmas night we went over to Mr. Goffs to another tree. Mama gave me a photograph album. Papa gave three handkerchiefs. Grandma gave me a writing desk, Ervie [her brother] gave me a

handkerchief and a pair of cuffs. Mr Shippie [one of the boarders] gave me a bottle of cologne. Mr. Crawford [another boarder] gave me a work box. Mr. Ingraham gave me a bottle of cologne. Mrs. Leonard gave me a roman necktie. The next night at Mrs. Goff's Christmas tree Aunt Saidie Goff gave me a handkerchiefe [sic]. Uncle Jack gave me a book. Bessie Goff gave me a box of paper, and Mrs. Goff gave me five dollars. Don't you think Santa Claus treated me well? I had lots of candy and mottoes. When we get in our new house you must come and see us. ...³²

The town of Pawtucket, similar to Norwalk, Brideport and Meriden, was a rapidly growing industrial center. There were 15,000 residents in 1871, twice the population of Meriden. The first wave of immigrants who had come to work in the textile mills were from England and Scotland and were already integrated into the life of the city. The more recently-arrived Irish, French-Canadians, and Germans were treated less hospitably. Industrial leaders needed the labor that these immigrants provided, but they also feared "foreign" tendencies -- socialist and anarchist leanings among the Germans, dangerous superstitions of the Catholic Church among the "Romanish" Irish and French-Canadians, and the legendary whiskey-drinking of the Irish.

Woolley shared none of these fears. He had not forgotten the humble life his father led and he was intensely interested in easing the lives of working people. He had great sympathy for their hardships and soon began to spend much of his time visiting in the immigrant neighborhoods, often taking his children along. He invited the poor, including the Catholics, to attend his church and became such a familiar figure among the workers and their families that he was affectionately called "Father Woolley." He helped organize the

Pawtucket Dispensary, a much-needed charity that offered medical care to the poor and indigent sick. He would respond to any emergency no matter where or when he was called, never avoiding the "troubled" parts of town. He liked to accompany workers on their way to and from the factories helping in small ways by carrying the women's dinner pails and listening to their concerns.³³

The Sabbath School Society was especially important to Woolley because of its potential for reaching large numbers of people. The school that he inherited at the Church was controlled by the conservative leaders and, before long, the organization was beset by a struggle for power. In 1872, because he was pastor of the church, Woolley was elected president of the school and, by an unsurprising unanimous vote, Darius L. Goff, the wealthiest and most powerful textile manufacturer in Pawtucket, was voted Superintendent. Goff had had a religious experience in 1856 under the guidance of Reverend Blodgett in which he decided for the first time in his life to accept his "duty to pray to God for help, and to thank him for the many blessings on me and my family."³⁴ Thomas Barnefield, a lawyer, Civil War veteran, and well-respected member of the church, was elected assistant to Goff. Barnefield strongly disliked Goff's concept of religious "conversion" and recognized a kindred spirit in Woolley. As the Sunday School grew in popularity and influence, the balance of power began to shift, and in 1879, Barnefield was elected to the Superintendency. He declined and, on a revote, Goff was once again elected, but several members requested a special meeting which

led to Goff's resignation and Barnefield's election to the Superintendency by thirty-six of thirty-eight votes.³⁵

Some of Woolley's worker acquaintances ventured to attend the Sunday School as well as his sermons on Sundays, and they sat in the available unoccupied pews traditionally rented by the church families. During Woolley's first year as pastor, a Church Committee had unanimously voted to make the requirements for church membership more restrictive. Letters of request for admission to membership and rental of whole or part of a pew had to include evidence of employment security and permanent living conditions.³⁶ Woolley's open invitations to nonmembers was seen by many as an effort to merely aggravate an identified problem. From the committee's point of view, Woolley was intent on creating a congregation of undesirables who did not belong in a respectable Congregational Church. They believed that a minister had a single goal in preaching to laborers and that was to continuously impress upon them their duty to accept the lot that God had given them. If laborers understood this, and pastors assisted men of influence and wealth to make spiritual peace with God, then no conflicts need ever arise between workers and owners of the great industries who employed them.³⁷ Woolley's Christianity was too encompassing for them; he blurred boundaries in a dangerous way. He was constantly interpreting "the indications of Providence" in a way that offended the church conservatives. Woolley preached the Biblical story of the dying King Hezekiah who prayed to God to spare his life. God gave him fifteen more years and deliverance from the Assyrians, but the prophet Isaiah

told Hezekiah that with his deliverance "all that is in thine house, and that which thy fathers have laid up in store unto this day, shall be carried unto Babylon: nothing shall be left." Hezekiah spent the remainder of his life improving the lives of the people of his city. Woolley also preached the story of the apostle Peter who raised Dorcas from the dead. A woman "full of good works and alms deeds," she was sorely missed by the widows of the town who wept to Peter about their loss. He performed the miracle so that Dorcas could resume her life of usefulness and service.³⁸ Woolley's sermons stressed personal accountability and social responsibility. Mary described her father as "a sort of father confessor for many people ... He was the friend of more people, of all sorts and conditions, than any one I have ever known."³⁹ A number of influential members of the congregation became his enemies and began to campaign for his dismissal as pastor.

Woolley further antagonized the conservatives on the issue of women's rights within the Church. He encouraged women on church committees to openly express their views and to assume leadership roles as much as possible.⁴⁰ Mary Woolley recalled her first experience in Meriden when one vocal woman in Woolley's church ventured to speak.

[She] made [the young girls] all shiver with apprehension when she began and with relief when she had finished; not that she said anything extraordinary, only, being a woman, there was no telling what she might say!⁴¹

Powerful church members opposed equal representation for women in church policy decisions, and they became increasingly angry about the erosion of their influence.⁴²

Missionary work was the traditionally accepted forum for female leadership. In January of 1873, Mary Augusta Woolley was voted Life Member of the Woman's Board of Missions, "ready to join the great army of American women in carrying life and light to women in heathen lands."⁴³ At the end of the year, she went home to South Norwalk to give birth to her third child, a daughter named Grace, who was born sickly and in need of constant care.⁴⁴ She returned to Pawtucket with the child and resumed her activities in the church. Elected Treasurer of the Pawtucket Auxiliary of the Woman's Board, she traveled to Boston as delegate to the annual meeting in January of 1875.⁴⁵ In the same year, twelve year old Mary became a Life Member of the Woman's Board and joined the newly-formed Youth's Mission Circle along with fifty-two other young girls. The Circle's function was fundraising for the support of a woman missionary in a foreign country. The highlight of the meetings was a group reading of long, detailed letters from the missionary. The girls were sponsoring a remarkable Mrs. Tyler who had left her own daughters behind in America to do Christian work among the Zulu in Africa. Mrs. Tyler wrote that the Zulu were becoming "happy Christians" because Bible teaching put them "in their right mind." This "journeying" in imagination, as the girls described the reading of the letters, fascinated them. They exclaimed and giggled in embarrassment over Mrs. Tyler's descriptions of nudity, painted faces

and ritual dancing. The young girls concluded after one such letter-reading session that "the same petty annoyances for the housekeeper the world over were caused by the universally 'lazy, sloppy, stupid, slow, sneaky' nature of all servants, whether they be African, Turkish or Indian."⁴⁶ Searching for commonalities in their small experience, the girls succeeded in deepening their racial and class prejudices.

On August, 1, 1874, Mary's baby sister, "Little Gracie," died and was eulogized in the church records:

... safe in the Upper fold though her life was so short she had cast her one gift into the Treasury, and may it not be that some heathen Mother in far off India or Africa now to the love of Christ through the means of that one offering, may be even more comforted and sustained in the dark hour when she sees her darling one 'pass over' to the same Master who said when on Earth -- 'Suffer the little ones to come unto me for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven'.⁴⁷

Mary Augusta sank into a depression that did not lift until the birth in 1878 of her fourth and last child, Frank, named after her beloved brother.⁴⁸ When her mother was absent from church affairs, Mary took on her responsibilities, submitting the Treasurer's Reports and continuing the work of the Mission Circle.⁴⁹ In the meantime, Woolley's ailing father had come to live with the family. In 1879, after her son's birth, Mary Augusta resumed her church duties,⁵⁰ maintaining her position on the Mission Board through the conflict and upheaval that lay ahead.

Conflict Over the Reverend Woolley's Pastorate

In December of 1979, Reverend Blodgett died after forty-four years of service to the church. Two months later, at a meeting of the Standing Committee to review applicants for admission to the church, a member raised the question of whether any but the male members could vote. Woolley, as chairman, responded that all members of the church both males and females could vote. A second committee member immediately took exception and, after considerable discussion, Woolley's ruling was sustained by a vote of 17 to 10.⁵¹ Following the meeting, a committee member submitted an angry letter of protest.

whereas said ruling (although sustained by a number of votes cast by those who had never before exercised the power or been recognized by the Church as voters, under and by its rules) was in such direct and positive violation of the previous action and custom of the Church during all the previous years of its existence, and which ruling and action to me appears, and am advised by those competent to give an opinion in violation thereto, is so subversive of good order, so destructive of the best interests of the Church and so dangerous a precedent to establish, without a color of justification, that I here and now, as I then did, protest against such ruling and proceeding.⁵²

In extending the vote to church women, Woolley was accused of sanctioning 'dangerous precedent,' of subverting 'good order' and destroying the 'best interests of the church.' All semblance of unity or cooperation within the church vanished quickly with the loss of the Reverend Blodgett's authoritative presence. Woolley's enemies were no longer timid as they openly suggested that he was guilty of subversive and destructive actions. Suppressed grievances quickly multiplied. Woolley was criticized for not meeting the spiritual needs of some members of the church. He was consistently on the

wrong side of issues, opposed to the excommunication of a man accused of 'Romish' ways and of a woman accused of intemperate, immoral behavior.⁵³

Conflict increased and Woolley requested a meeting in which all who had grievances against him would come forward, giving him an opportunity to answer their charges. The meeting was granted, but it became a forum for his antagonists to attack and insult him. One man charged that in a church with a tradition of temperance, Reverend Woolley's introduction of wine at communion was a dangerous and subversive act. Another produced a sheet of paper, claiming that it contained the names of persons who wanted the pastor dismissed. The man declined to read the names or to hand over the paper despite Woolley's repeated requests that he do so. A third man charged that four of the church's five deacons had grievances against the Reverend. Two came forward to state that the pastor failed to meet their spiritual needs; they felt unable to seek consolation and advice from him. They charged that he had violated confidentiality by sharing their personal correspondence with others. Woolley's defenders responded with proof that the church had enjoyed undeniable prosperity in the nine years of Woolley's pastorate. They passed a resolution that "cheerfully places upon record our warm appreciation and recognize gratefully marked success of all spiritual and material interests of the church."⁵⁴

In July and again in September of 1881, Woolley composed and delivered letters of resignation which the congregation rejected.⁵⁵ Torn apart by the loyalty he felt toward his supporters and anger

toward his detractors, Woolley wrote in his journal, "I have borne insults and slights. . . . the dagger has been put to the handle into my breast and for more than two years I have buttoned my coat over it."⁵⁶ In January of 1882, in a last attempt at reconciliation, he read aloud at the annual meeting from a letter he had written to his antagonists.

Dear Brethren and Sisters, . . . we urge and entreat you to take your places with us again in the active work and fellowship of this church. Let us unitedly endeavor in the spirit of our Divine Master to harmonize all differences, seeking with prayer and patience the path of duty. Let us sink out of sight those things that seem to hinder the work of the Holy Spirit among us, and show to the world that Christians can bear and forbear with one another.⁵⁷

The effort was fruitless; within a month, Woolley was angered enough to prefer charges against his attackers for "violation of their covenant vows and other unchristian and unwarranted conduct."⁵⁸ The trial was set for March, but Woolley soon changed his mind and submitted his third and final letter of resignation. He requested release from the prosecution of charges he had preferred against the three church members. This time, the church membership as a whole accepted his resignation and passed a resolution recommending critical self-examination on the church's part.

. . . we desire to record our hearty confidence in the Christian integrity and the pastoral fidelity of the retiring pastor . . . The pastor has endeared himself to many within as well as outside of his own church . . . We pray and hope that the church now left without a leader may study the things that make for peace and prosperity.⁵⁹

Woolley's father died in the midst of this conflict, and soon after, worn out by the years of conflict and in a state of nervous exhaustion, Woolley left for Europe where he traveled for

several months.⁶⁰ Mary Augusta took the three children home to South Norwalk. (Mary was nineteen years old, Erving Yale sixteen and Frank four.) She had suffered severely over the church conflict, writing in her diary, "We have to endure a good deal from those we love." For two years, the Woolley household had been in a state of chronic crisis. Helpless and caught in a situation not of her own making, Mary Augusta prayed openly that neither of her sons would ever be called to the ministry. Woolley had become insomniac, pacing during the night for months, agitated by his own indecision as much as by the rancor directed at him. His upset distracted and upset her, to such an extent that, in a rush to answer the doorbell one morning, she picked up her young son, tripped and fell down the whole flight of stairs. The child was not hurt but she seriously injured her hip, sustaining a fracture that remained undetected for years and left her with a permanent limp.⁶¹

Mary Woolley's Schooling

Through the turmoil of these years, Mary managed to attend four different schools, all at her father's direction.

My academic career began in the basement of the Center Congregational church in Meriden, Connecticut, where Mrs. Fannie Augur, at my father's suggestion had opened a little school ... I was in Mrs. Augur's school somewhere between the ages of five and eight ...⁶²

The next two, Miss Bliss' and Mrs. Lord's, were small schools run by women who were self-supporting. (Mrs. Lord was a widow with two daughters.) Miss Bliss's school was located in the Methodist Episcopal Church and Mrs. Lord's was above a store owned by one of

Woolley's church supporters. The store was just a block from the Woolley home, and its small classes suited Woolley's preference for "personal influence"⁶³ in education and the opportunity for informal exchange of ideas. The fourth school was quite different. Mary Woolley described Mrs. Davis' Private School for Young Ladies as "a long step forward not only socially into young ladyhood," but also educationally.⁶⁴

Mrs. Davis' was "a worthy fore-runner of the headmistress of today and of the combined careerist and homemaker." Established in 1875, the school was housed in its own new building next to Mrs. Davis' home. One hundred young girls studied in two departments, a preparatory department for academic studies and a young ladies' department for social training. There was a small but growing supply of textbooks and a gymnasium. Mrs. Davis' goal was to establish her school as the leading private school for girls in the state outside of the city of Providence. Therefore, she emphasized to her students that the school's reputation rested on their shoulders. This was Mary's first encounter with an idea that she would carry through all her experience in education. The success of women's education became a personal responsibility. Her attitudes and behavior, along with those of every other young woman, were crucial to the struggle. For Mrs. Davis, the three "M's" -- manners, morals and mentality -- were as essential as the three "R's".⁶⁵

Mary's imagination was caught not by the prospect of becoming a "young lady" but by the presence of a young woman teacher whose "steady black eyes could look right through one." Lois Green

was her Latin teacher, a graduate of Vassar College and Mary's first college graduate teacher. Her earlier teachers had by force of circumstance tried to overcome inadequate training, but their lives were difficult and they taught out of necessity. Miss Green was a stylish, pretty young woman, serious and confident about her work, friendly and good-humored with her students.⁶⁶ Mary Woolley would assert that during these years and long after she had "not the slightest idea of teaching" as a career for herself. However, she was sufficiently influenced by Green to continue Latin, mathematics, and Greek studies in the Classical Department of Providence High School in the fall of 1881.⁶⁷ At Providence High School, she was taught by men for the first time, one of a handful of girls, isolated, as she described it, in a classroom full of boys. "The contrast was a sharp one and probably just what was needed. Co-educational ... no social life, and no informal 'give and take' in the classroom." Lectures and answer-on-demand techniques replaced the discussions to which she was accustomed. She recalled that "it was good discipline for the girl who had always known the sympathetic atmosphere of the informal classroom."⁶⁸

During this period, she produced a nineteen-page essay entitled "Respect" in which she articulated her developing system of values. About self-respect, she wrote that "the greatest men are the most modest." President Garfield epitomized for her the best example of a man with self-respect. "A boy who did not possess self-respect could not work his way up from the position of mule-driver" to the

presidency of the United States. Women scholars, and she included herself,

should have sufficient self-respect to learn our lessons well, to be perfectly fair and upright in our school-relations, and to help make our school successful. If as schoolgirls we possess sufficient self-respect to fulfill all these duties, as women we shall lead good and useful lives, since what we sow in youth, springs up and bears fruit in ripe age.⁶⁹

Mary, at nineteen, accepted the collective responsibility of young women in education. People ought to "develop external graces," she wrote, not for selfish reasons, but out of "a desire to increase our power for good."⁷⁰ She rejected "respect" for wealth and social status.

In an inferior mind, when dazzled by the gilded trappings of wealth and position, a feeling is excited which is often called respect, but it is too contemptible ever to be experienced by any save inferior minds.⁷¹

Including herself in the ranks of reformers, she advised that,

no matter how degraded a person is, he can never be won to a nobler life by being treated as a brute, and every experienced reformer knows, that, if he wishes to be successful, he must be respectful in his manner and words, toward all whom he aims to elevate.⁷²

Unique among her peers in the young women's Mission Circle at church, Mary understood through the bitter experience of her father that "inferior" people, those who were "deficient in moral faculties,"⁷³ were as easily found in the upper reaches of religious society as they were in the poorest mill housing or the most heathen countries. She was demonstrating an ability and willingness to meet challenges by studying hard and performing well at the high school when her father's abrupt departure for Europe brought her school year

to a premature end. She had to accompany her mother and brothers to South Norwalk where she settled into the slow existence of a middle class girl anticipating "pleasant social events at home ... with a desultory program of language study and music lessons."⁷⁴ For the family, the months in the Norwalk home were a reprieve from the strife of the past two years. With her mother in the fortifying environment of her family, Mary was free to drift through the spring and summer days with her Norwalk cousins and friends. She had learned not to chafe against a situation over which she had no control. In the meantime, there were mildly entertaining distractions in Norwalk. She and her friends dressed in stylish outfits and strolled the tree-lined streets. Her young cousin Belle, whose family was also staying with the grandparents that summer, wrote admiringly that the young women were "quite a sight."⁷⁵

"Despite the Glamour of Home" -

Mary Woolley Leaves for Wheaton Seminary

In August of 1882, Woolley returned from Europe and brought his family back to Pawtucket. A letter awaited him, inviting him to assume the pastorate of a newly-forming second Congregational Church on the other side of the river.⁷⁶ During Woolley's absence, 123 members of the Pawtucket Congregational Church had voted themselves dismissal from church membership in a meeting at which they represented a majority. They comprised nearly half the church's total membership and the remaining leadership had made a last desperate effort to prevent the breakaway. They argued that the

breakaway action was "in violation of all precedent as well as of Congregational polity and custom,"⁷⁷ but their protest was ineffectual.

Woolley accepted the offer, aware of the planning that preceded his return, but happily uninvolved in the actual events. The new congregation had no church building and no significant amount of money available to build one. An intense period of fundraising began that would last for several years until March of 1885 when the new Church was completed. In June of 1882, the membership held a fundraising Grand Fair at which a life-size portrait of the Reverend Woolley was sold and photographs of him sold out as fast as they could be printed.⁷⁸

In September, Woolley preached his first sermon from a makeshift pulpit in the center of the Pawtucket Music Hall Theater. He was surrounded by 700 people in these temporary quarters of the new church.⁷⁹ His friend Barnefield, who had stood by him through the years of struggle, described his own feelings. "It seemed a strange Providence that sent us out from so good a home and into a struggle for separate life with all its problems and trials."⁸⁰ Meanwhile, in March of 1883 at the Pawtucket Congregational Church, one of the deacons who had been accused by Woolley put forward a resolution to remove all pages of charges from the church records. He charged that,

The late pastor, [Woolley] did very injudiciously and without justification, present the names of a number of members of this Church for discipline and suspension; and after filing his charges and specifications of complaint and the issuing of summons to appear and answer, and without

even attempting to prosecute his complaints did afterward ask to be relieved from so doing, and in violation of Christian courtesy and manly courage, did leave said charges to be disposed of by the church the full text of said charges and specifications is spread upon the records of the Church, thus leaving a second stain upon the Christian character and standing of said members.⁸¹

The committee voted in favor of removal and the record was expunged. The same committee suggested two reasons for current church problems. The first was "the peculiarity of our church and society experience," a vague reference to the Woolley episode, and the second, "the unsettled state of the modes of presenting religious thought through the churches of our order in the New England of today."⁸² These men and women must have observed with some discomfort the life of the new church across the river, born out of protest and with a clear mission to include and help people in need. When the church building was finally completed in 1885, Woolley was especially pleased with its location at the center of the growing, industrial section of Pawtucket. The entrance to the church was flush with the edge of the sidewalk, a symbolic gesture suggesting easy access to the Lord's house.⁸³

Mary, at nineteen, could easily have remained at home and joined in Woolley's extensive church campaign work. After months of pleasant diversion in South Norwalk, she had begun to imagine having "a good time" rather than continuing her studies. In Pawtucket, she thought about asking her father for a trip abroad and did venture to suggest this to him. She described summoning "all [her] argumentative powers, knowing perfectly well from the outset, that I might as well save energy for my destiny was sealed as soon as my

father presented his plan."⁸⁴ His plan was for her to leave home, but not for Europe. She would resume her academic studies at an institution committed to women's higher education. Woolley had selected Wheaton Seminary, a short distance away in Norton, Massachusetts. Mary offered her father no resistance. Father and daughter were in apparent agreement that "a secluded spot for serious study" was the best plan for the next few years.⁸⁵ In the last years of her life, Mary Woolley recalled this critical decision.

"You are going to Wheaton" -- That ultimatum I recalled more than once in my office at Mount Holyoke when a mother or father was urging a daughter to stay in college, despite the glamour of home. "I wish that you would", of the later day, over against the "You are going", of the earlier one! We have travelled far in child psychology, have learned much in the bringing up of children but the change has not been altogether on the side of gain.⁸⁶

C H A P T E R I I I

THE YEARS AT WHEATON SEMINARY, 1882-1891

"A Rushlight flickering and small
Is better than no light at all"

-- Lucy Larcom¹

In September of 1882, two weeks following Reverend Woolley's decision, his daughter made the twenty-mile trip from Pawtucket to Norton, a town that the Wheaton Seminary circular assured parents was "healthful...and free from temptations and excitements."² Woolley's trunks were packed with an ample wardrobe, bedsheets, towels, table napkins, curtains, safety-lamp, overshoes, in short, everything needed to create a home away from home. She labelled every article of clothing to avoid a stiff five-cent fine for any unmarked item that passed through the laundry, a reminder that Woolley was entering an institutional version of home.

Wheaton may have been Woolley's first experience living away from her family, but life in Pawtucket prepared her well for institutional life. She easily accepted the daily routines and rules that many students found unbearable, and she was at ease in the crowded, intrusive dormitory life that drove some young women quickly back home. Her room was furnished like all the others in black walnut, not the fine mahogany of founder Eliza Wheaton's stately home across the road from the seminary building. Woolley soon entertained in her room and became a frequent visitor of other students' rooms, much as she had lived as a girl in the Pawtucket boardinghouse. The

creation at Wheaton of a homelike atmosphere in which students and teachers developed close relationships was deliberate, a self-conscious goal of the seminary. Lucy Larcom, a teacher of literature, history and writing at the seminary from 1854-62, wrote in her semi-centennial sketch of the school (in 1885) that,

It would be undesirable for a young girl to leave her mother's care, even for superior educational privileges, if she could not find, in her new associations, something corresponding to that maternal oversight.

When students graduated from Wheaton Seminary, Larcom said they would always remember

... the home-freedom, under mutually approved restrictions for the general good, the freedom of self-control based upon warm sympathies and high motives, which alone can make the art of living with others easy and pleasant.³

Woolley was one of ninety-three students who enrolled at Wheaton in the fall of 1882. Fifty-two were from Massachusetts, twelve from Rhode Island, eight from New Hampshire, four from China and Turkey, the daughters of missionaries. The remaining few were from other northeastern states. There were thirteen teachers, two of them male, the "monsieur" who taught French, and the piano and vocal music teacher. Woolley entered as a senior because of her relatively advanced education at Miss Davis' school and Providence High School. Six young women entered in her class that fall, but by the following year, only four remained. One was a Baptist, one an Episcopalian, and two were "true blue puritan Congregationalists, descended from a long line of ministers, deacons and deaconesses." Woolley was one of the Congregationalists, "harmonious in birth and association," and "sound on the fine points of Calvinism -- predestination, original

sin. Irresistible Grace, Particular Redemption and Final Perseverance of the people of God."⁴

During the 1880's, Wheaton enjoyed a healthy increase in both enrollment and institutional morale. The opening of three women's colleges, two of them in Massachusetts which drew from the same New England population, did not deplete Wheaton's share of students. In fact, Wheaton's enrollment grew steadily through the 1890's, in part because the colleges did not guarantee the intimate, spiritually-focused life of the seminary and many parents still preferred this for their daughters. Colleges for women held the undesirable potential of educating students into "mannish" thinking and behavior. Of significance, too, was Wheaton's successful effort to build modern facilities and to strengthen its academic offerings.⁵

In 1882, the year that Woolley entered, the seminary was almost fifty years old. A religious but non-sectarian influence naturally prevailed over school life. The students continued to attend the Congregational Church in Norton because the Wheaton family were charter members. That year, Eliza Wheaton had overseen the completion of a new church almost entirely funded by her contributions. At seventy-three years of age, Wheaton was the sole surviving family member of the founders of the seminary. Childless, she had persuaded her father-in-law, Laban Wheaton, to found a school for women in memory of his only daughter. An admiring alumna described Mrs. Wheaton,

When the calm, self-contained, typical New England woman feels a great passion, she says little of it. No noisy

ardor shows in her speech or manner. You know it is there only by the unbending, never-varying course of the life.⁶

Wheaton devoted her long life to the seminary that was born of this great passion.

Wheaton's Beginnings

The Wheatons began plans for the seminary in 1834. There were only a handful of academies, private schools and district schools for girls throughout the nation, and churches that supported schools for boys showed no interest in assuming responsibility for female seminaries.⁷ The Wheatons had the necessary financial resources to open a school, but they needed assistance in organization and in planning both the curriculum and staff development. Fortunately, they were acquainted with Mary Lyon who was teaching at Ipswich Academy, a private school for girls from wealthy families in Massachusetts. Lyon was discontented at Ipswich and had begun campaigning for a seminary for young women from poor and middle-class families. "My heart has yearned," she said, "over the young women in the common walks of life till it has sometimes seemed as though a fire were shut up in my bones."⁸ Lyon believed that God had made it her mission to found a school for young women who could not afford to attend academies like Ipswich. When the Wheatons requested her help, she agreed because she believed that the raising of "woman's low estate" should be accomplished by more than one effort. She also had time on her hands while she dealt with the

seemingly endless obstacles and delays involved in establishing South Hadley, Massachusetts as the site of her seminary.

Although Wheaton was never intended to be a fashionable school, Lyon expected that the students would come from relatively affluent families similar to those at Ipswich Academy. She, therefore, submitted a plan to the Wheaton Seminary Trustees, patterning the proposed school after Ipswich. The entering age would be fourteen, and the girls were to temporarily board at the Wheaton family home. There would be no "industrial element" at Wheaton, something that Lyon would value highly at Mount Holyoke. The "element" comprised a domestic system in which all students engaged in light housekeeping chores both to reduce the cost of hired service and therefore tuition and to nurture the desire to work for the common good.⁹ There was no need to reduce tuition cost at Wheaton because most students came from professional and manufacturing families in New England and the South.¹⁰ The Wheaton family also believed that housekeeping chores were something to be relegated to servants; their value in terms of improving self-help skills was questionable.

When Wheaton first opened, Lyon brought along several Ipswich students to help set high academic and moral standards for the new school. She also brought her friend and fellow teacher, Eunice Caldwell, a young, gifted graduate of Ipswich who had already promised to accompany Lyon to South Hadley when Mount Holyoke Seminary opened. Anticipating that her seminary would not be ready for a year or more, Lyon contracted with the Wheatons for Eunice

Caldwell to assume the principalship and take control of the course of study following the Ipswich plan. Lyon herself would take on the many administrative and teaching duties that remained. The curricula of Wheaton and Mount Holyoke Seminaries would remain similar for many decades. When the two schools shifted from the three-year seminary course to a four-year plan, they continued to offer similar coursework.¹¹

While Caldwell and Lyon were at Wheaton, Lyon never ceased planning for her own seminary. About Wheaton she wrote, "I can find no better place than this. Here, no one inquires what I am doing, or how I spend my time."¹² In her fundraising circulars, she expressed with intensity the purpose of her mission.

Had I a thousand lives I could sacrifice them all in suffering and hardship for the sake of Mount Holyoke Seminary. Did I possess the greatest fortune, I could readily relinquish it all, and become poor, and more than poor, if its prosperity should demand it.¹³

She encouraged Wheaton students to raise funds, too, so that by October of 1837, they had raised the impressive sum of \$235 for the furnishing of a student parlor at Mount Holyoke. Wheaton itself could certainly have used the money, but for the seminary community, the goal for women's education reached beyond the needs of one institution. When Lyon and Caldwell left for Mount Holyoke Seminary as planned, Wheaton was off to a good beginning. Lyon set to her work of training the young women at Mount Holyoke to become teachers, not the cultured wives of successful men, Wheaton's more modest goal. She felt an urgent need to wake up Protestants to their responsibility for converting the nation. The Catholics, she

believed, were adept in training their young women "to lend their aid in converting this nation to the church of rome." Protestant men and women must "venture as pioneers in the great work of renovating the world."¹⁴ By the following year, Lyon's able colleague Caldwell left Mount Holyoke because of ill health. She married and returned to Ipswich Academy where she remained for 33 years.¹⁵ In the late 1880s, during Woolley's years at Wheaton, Mrs. Wheaton continued to rely on the advice of Eunice Caldwell Cowles on important matters concerning the seminary. When alumnae began to gain influence and demand admission to the Board of Trustees, Wheaton sought Cowles' views.¹⁶ Her response demonstrates how early in their development women's educational institutions debated the disadvantages and advantages of alumnae involvement in policy decisions.

So long as they have good times, bless and cheer one another, carry forward their own culture, and laud the old, dear old, school, they are a joy. When they take in hand the oversight and care of the Institution and pass resolves as to what Alma Mater should do they are an unmitigated nuisance. I think they have proved a plague to one college, and I am awfully afraid they will be nothing less to Mt. Holyoke Seminary. As the Wheaton [Seminary], God be thanked, asks for none of their money, they may never feel it incumbent on them to dictate who shall be added to the trustees, who to the faculty, and what to the course of study or system of discipline.¹⁷

Two women were elected to the Board of Trustees in 1896, the same year that Woolley, was offered the principalship of Wheaton.¹⁸

Woolley's Student Years

Lyon's brief time at Wheaton Seminary had become legend by the time Woolley arrived. Faculty, alumnae and Wheaton herself, who was only twenty-five when Lyon came to the seminary at the age of

thirty-seven, kept alive the stories of the school's beginnings and Lyon's lasting influence. Students imagined Lyon's short muscular body in forward motion, her eyes focused on some point in the distance as she hurried along, the strings of her bonnet flying behind her. "Hasten on, young ladies," she would say, "you are not aware of the habit of lagging you are forming." Her friend Caldwell, also full of admonitions, would say in more moderation, "Always in haste, but never in a hurry."¹⁹

Lyon left Wheaton Seminary in the hands of the wealthy and financially adept Wheaton family. While Wheaton had established with Lyon a pattern of not interfering in internal school affairs, she had made it her business to manage the finances. In fact, Wheaton devoted her long life "chiefly [to] the spending of her large income so that it might do the most good."²⁰ Over the years, the Wheaton life-style would come to overwhelm remnants of Lyon's fierce impatience with wealth and privilege. The comfortable seats that Wheaton installed in a new church were designed to put the congregation "at ease in Zion."²¹ Woolley was not averse to the small luxuries and comforts at Wheaton. Years later, she wrote that the seminary "provided to the nth degree the beautiful seclusion in which female loveliness should live and move and have its being and reward."²² She appreciated the popular metaphor of Wheaton as "Queen Mother" who cultivated her "rosebud garden of girls," in this "lovely and beloved wild-flower garden of girls."²³ Woolley repeated the maxims that Wheaton found useful for daily living and admonished the students to follow. "Never expose your disappointments to the world;

never complain of being ill-used;' always speak well of your friends, of your enemies say nothing."²⁴

In 1884, Wheaton commissioned a statue to be built in the seminary gardens. The white stone figure of Hebe, goddess of youth and cup bearer for the gods, held out a cup from which a stream of water flowed into a basin at her feet, a symbol of the seminary motto, "who drinks will thirst for more." "This Hebe offers no intoxicating cup," one observer wrote, referring perhaps to the goddess's association with hebephrenia, a form of dementia among adolescent girls whose symptoms included intellectual deterioration, delusions, and melancholia. This Hebe was, in the words of a faculty member, a symbol of "graceful and loving service," a "being overflowing with faithful and gracious helpfulness," "a glimpse of the perfect creations of art, simply for the sake of the "vital feelings of delight which they awaken."²⁵ This effusive language served a larger purpose than aesthetic appreciation.

Wheaton was similar to all institutions of higher learning for women in that it was continuously engaged in the defense and justification of the education that it offered students. The seminary disclosed its health record to dispel fears that the overuse of girls' mental faculties produced physical and mental illness. During the years that Woolley attended, the seminary publicized the fact that there had not been "one case of fatal illness among students gathered [there] in 50 years." The school credited the physical training program of calisthenics, walking, and hygiene lessons for the elimination of "headaches, dyspepsia, melancholy and

dismay"²⁶ among the students. These were issues addressed by all proponents of women's education in response to attacks by influential medical doctors, educators and psychologists who emphasized the ill effects of too much learning. Even Wheaton Seminary, a school that openly acknowledged its mission to offer young women a less ambitious, less intellectual education than a college with a vigorous four-year liberal arts curriculum, found it necessary to defend and justify its existence. Women's institutions promised an environment in which young women would learn to live healthful, useful lives. Some educators openly criticized homelife, arguing that a school designed for young women freed them from the "bondage to hindering circumstances,"²⁷ a characteristic of many homes. About life at Wheaton, Larcom wrote,

character, rounded and ripened by knowledge, and fragrant with womanly sweetness, was felt everywhere a living presence. Pupils unconsciously took the 'idea of the place,' -- that they were here to grow, even more than to learn.²⁸

Cowles and Wheaton were in agreement about how the young women should develop. In a letter to Wheaton, Cowles wrote that schools should train "companionable, reasonable, unpretentious and unassuming women." Wasn't this a better school, Cowles asked rhetorically, "for the race than the one that talks about careers. The career of wife and mother is surely ample for most of us; is it not?"²⁹

Wheaton was, however, at least partially committed to scholarly training and Woolley came to Wheaton expecting to be academically challenged. The seminary suffered, of course, from the many shortcomings that were inevitable with limited resources. When

she arrived in 1882, the curriculum and staff were woefully inadequate in many academic areas. Most young women who came to the seminary had little prior education and most had little inclination to study for the four years necessary to earn a certificate. Many students still preferred a course that emphasized drawing, music, French, and etiquette. Woolley was among the talented few who came to Wheaton ready for college-level work. At nineteen, she was one of the oldest students and her varied educational experiences gave her additional advantage over the typical young girl who had studied in the public schools. Large classes, routine memorization, and recitation techniques allowed for little intellectual growth. Even high school graduates, according to a Wheaton instructor, were "perplexed and discouraged" in an advanced seminary class because they were not in the habit of thinking about issues. Wheaton's educational goal was "to develop in the girl-student her own mental strength, to cultivate in her self-reliance, and habits of thoughtful study."³⁰ Woolley entered the seminary already a self-reliant young woman of some scholarly accomplishment. Wheaton would provide her with new opportunities for leadership. Good-natured and enthusiastic about her new experiences at the seminary, and willing to work hard, Woolley quickly became a popular leader among students and a prized student of the faculty.

Daily seminary life that others found intolerably monotonous, a life in which, as one student said, "a deathly quiet always reigns,"³¹ Woolley found bearable. Life in this large and supportive community of women was both purposeful and stimulating for

her -- the routine days punctuated by bells that scheduled Bible classes, recitations, study hours, silent half-hours, devotions, prayer-meetings, obligatory outdoor activity, and meals, the required walks through the woods in all seasons, hygiene lessons, and calisthenics. She was an enthusiastic participant in dramatics and in parlor games and eagerly joined groups on infrequent trips into nearby towns for lectures or concerts.

Woolley completed the seminary course in two years rather than the more typical four. The Wheaton degree certified that a student had completed two years of academic work beyond high school. The seminary offered several college-level courses in the 1880s, but it was not until 1894, a decade after Woolley's time, that the curriculum was sufficiently expanded to create a college preparatory department. For Wheaton, along with other similar girls' schools, this advancement was essential for survival. Enrollment had reached 100 in 1891-92, but by 1896 there were only thirty-eight students during the first term and twenty-five during the second.³² The growth of academically rigorous colleges for women had begun to seriously threaten the survival of schools like Wheaton which could not compete on the colleges' terms. By this time, Wheaton was unique in offering a four-year seminary course because Mount Holyoke, the larger and better known of the two schools, had become a college in 1893.³³

In the 1880s, during a period of seminary growth, better-educated young women were, nevertheless, finding the seminary too limited. One student wrote home that "the girls here do not seem

very advanced ... the old girls of course are the life of the place but the life doesn't amount to much."³⁴ Woolley was one of those "old girls." Good teachers were difficult to recruit and keep. The buildings and facilities in general were inadequate. Books were scarce and had to be shared by students. Wheaton and similar schools were handicapped by assumptions about women's education that had served them in the past. Development of character and gracious manners under the guidance of cultivated women had once been as critical in education as academic study. Larcom wrote about Wheaton's educational goals as if the limitations were an advantage. "Most young women educated at Wheaton learned one important lesson -- adapting themselves to circumstances, not what they would have chosen but using their skills for service anyway."³⁵ Few seminary teachers were college educated themselves, and students seldom graduated from the seminary to continue their education at college. Those young women who attended college were, with increasing frequency, graduates of large urban high schools or specialized preparatory or "fitting schools" located in college towns.

When Woolley enrolled at Wheaton, Harvard Annex for women had just opened. Vassar College, Smith College and Wellesley College, all single-sex women's schools, were several years old (Vassar was founded in 1865, Smith and Wellesley in 1875). The women's colleges were aware that most of their prospective students were deficient in academic preparation. The initial solution was to offer remedial coursework. Woolley would certainly have thrived at any of these institutions. Her father's decision to send her to

Wheaton rather than to one of the new colleges was consistent with his interest in education with a religious emphasis. Finances were probably an issue too. Daughters of clergy and missionaries had fees waived or adjusted downward. Wheaton's proximity to the Woolley Pawtucket home was a third reason.

Wheaton was also engaged in a serious effort to upgrade its academic offerings and standards. The science facilities had steadily improved since 1878. The chemistry and physics laboratories were adequate, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology had given the seminary a gift of 1500 specimens for botanical studies, and Mrs. Wheaton purchased a refracting telescope for the study of astronomy in 1875. Lucy Larcom felt compelled to defend the costly acquisition. "[T]he enlargement of mind which comes from seeing the starry wildernesses" was sufficient justification for such a purchase.³⁶ Most women were destined to "petty, unsatisfactory occupations" she wrote, and "must assume annoying cares" but "their meanest toil can be ennobled by the inflowing atmosphere of eternal, surrounding realities."³⁷ This kind of rhetoric at Wheaton about the goals of women's education was ambiguous in its message. Vague descriptions of "enlarged minds," "vital feelings of delight," and "free access to great, inspiring truth" described an expanding consciousness among some of the young women, one that challenged acceptance of a life sentence of "petty, unsatisfactory occupations."

The seminary principal, A. Ellen Stanton, was a living example of this ambiguity. Educated at Mount Holyoke Seminary and in London and Paris before she came to teach French at Wheaton in 1871,

her appointment to the principalship in 1880 was a controversial one. She was a favorite among the faculty and Mrs. Wheaton's first choice as well, but Stanton was not a Congregationalist nor was religion central to her life or teaching. Conservative religious thinking still dominated the Board and its president expressed his personal feelings about Stanton. "She fails especially in that religious interest for the piety of our pupils which I consider a sine-qua-non in the head of the Seminary."³⁸ More progressive forces held sway and Stanton was selected. The Board president died in 1884, and a more progressive minister took his place. Stanton's nontraditional leadership and the growth and scholarly accomplishment that characterized the 1880's during her leadership, provided Woolley with an exemplary model. Stanton "was always the dignified and grand, although gracious lady," wrote one observer. The students "took great pride in her, but ... did not exactly love her."³⁹

Stanton intrigued the students with her worldly and refined manners and taste. Students described the "literary and spiritual feast" that she offered those who spent time with her. She enjoyed students' company and sought them out to accompany her on walks or boat rides on the lake. One student described with great pleasure an afternoon spent with Stanton. The principal "let her hands, very white and delicate always, just drag in the water ... Diamonds flashed in the water to meet the one she always wore on her hand." She recited "Sir Launfal's Vision" and the "words were shed softer than leaves from the pine."⁴⁰ Stanton proudly described Wheaton Seminary as "the Minerva that sprang from Eliza Wheaton's active

brain,"⁴⁰ yet she used her influence to modify the intensity of the students' studies at the seminary.

A young student wrote home to her parents, "I have decided not to take up Algebra for as Miss Stanton [the principal] says one likes to study that which can be given out and enjoyed with others - are you displeased?"⁴¹ While Woolley was influenced by Stanton's authority and personal style, she was not moved by any suggestion to study less seriously. She took as many advanced courses as were offered. Stanton's administrative assistant and lifelong companion, Clara Pike, was also a science teacher committed to academic excellence. One of the most popular teachers among the serious students, Pike taught Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, and Geology. She dedicated her life to Wheaton, determined to match the school's unarguably high moral tone with an equally high intellectual standard. She was well aware of Wheaton's academic shortcomings and was not above asking for help from scholars at other institutions. She was responsible for bringing to Wheaton lecturers in science who were in the forefront of their fields.⁴³ Woolley recalled other important intellectual activities years later.

Every week there was a "mental arithmetic hour" conducted by Miss Bruce. Her mind worked rapidly, an achievement which she expected her pupils to emulate and I have often recalled gratefully the preparation of that hour for problems not limited to the field of mathematics.⁴⁴

Stimulated by the challenges inherent in activities of this kind, Woolley used her wit and writing skills to advantage on the topic of women's education. As editor of The Rushlight, she argued a humorous

rationale for reading Kant, Hegel and Voltaire as well as for studying astronomy.

We are very sure that we shall continue our astronomical observations after graduation. The experience of former classes has assured us that moonlight drives and sails often prove a more valuable incentive to the study of science than the observatory and the telescope.⁴⁵

In defense of the metaphysician Bishop Berkeley who argued that matter had no real existence, Woolley wrote, "We trust him implicitly, scorning those lower natures who say, 'If Bishop Berkeley says it is no matter, it is no matter what Bishop Berkeley says.'" She concluded with a humorous lesson from Berkeley's metaphysics.

When we are next afflicted with a toothache we are going to remember that Bishop Berkeley says there is no matter, but only ideas, consequently we have no teeth, and have no toothache.⁴⁶

There were few opportunities to engage with the world outside of Wheaton. When Matthew Arnold spoke in the town of Taunton, four miles from Norton, as part of a lecture tour in the United States, Woolley received a lesson in oratorical skills. "I do not remember at all what he said but I do remember how he said it," she recalled.⁴⁷ Several lecturers, as many as ten in one year and most of them male, came to Wheaton to speak on various topics such as Church Architecture, How to Make the Most of Ourselves, Women in Journalism, the Ministry as a Profession for Women.⁴⁸ The Reverend Woolley came several times and preached on religious and social issues.⁴⁹ His daughter avidly read the newspapers. There were reports of workers across the country organizing and demanding radical change. Close to home, Boston longshoremen went on strike in

August of 1882 and the strike continued into September. 130 extra policemen were deployed but withdrawn on September 6 with the newspapers reporting that the strike was virtually over.⁵⁰ The president of the union wrote to a Boston newspaper,

denying emphatically that the body of the strikers had yielded or have any intention of doing so. They are supplied ... with all the sinews of war and the public may rest assured that the fight between American labor and British capital is not yet at an end.⁵¹

That same week, newspapers reported that 20,000 workers representing 150 organizations gathered in Union Square in New York City for a celebratory picnic. Red banners flew, and signs carried many slogans, among them, "Pay no rent," "All men are born alike and equal," "Labor built this republic," "Labor shall rule it."⁵²

The Reverend Washington Gladden, by the 1880s one of the most influential Congregational ministers in America, had published a series of sermons on the widening gulf between workers and industrialists in 1876. He argued

... that the tendency of the large system of industry is to render capital impersonal, and thus unmoral, if not immoral, in its relations to labor. It is a tendency that may be ... resisted by a resolute determination on the part of individual capitalists to rule their business by the Christian law.⁵³

He called for a system of Christian cooperation between laborers and capitalists, the kind of cooperation that the Reverend Woolley was striving for at Park Place Congregational Church.⁵⁴ Mary Woolley was not alarmed by the angry rhetoric, the predictions of anarchy, or the assertiveness of workers. On the contrary, she, also, had faith that united effort for common cause would achieve positive change.

Social and political issues influenced some people at the seminary. It was not surprising, then, to find Larcom, Wheaton's former literature teacher, attending the eighteenth meeting of the Social Science Convention in Saratoga, N.Y. in 1882. She published "American Factory Life - Past, Present and Future," in which she advocated a ten-hour work day and higher wages for workers.⁵⁵ Political activity did not have the benefit of direct experience. In the fall of 1883, Woolley became involved in the seminary's version of politics, a mock election campaign and elections. Massachusetts was readying for gubernatorial elections and Woolley, along with the other two editors of The Rushlight, exhorted the students to inform themselves so that they could cast intelligent votes, not to simply vote like their fathers without thinking for themselves. "I want you all to remember that at some future time, you may have an influence over those whose expressions of choice shall have to do with our country's welfare," the editorial advised.⁵⁶ The young editors, Woolley included, made no mention of the wholesale disenfranchisement of women nor of the history of state suffrage amendment campaigns that had met continual defeat. Instead, they reminded the students of their potential for indirect influence and the responsibility that this influence carried.

In the week before the election, Woolley went to the reading-room in Seminary Hall every day and read long campaign speeches, editorials, and news reports in both the Boston newspapers and in The Congregationalist and The Christian Union. She was scandalized that a man accused of buying votes for \$3000 might become

governor of Massachusetts. She and her friends agreed that an honest man had to be elected. On mock election day, a long line of young women cast their ballots into a letter-box in the front hall of the seminary building. The Democratic candidate won a virtual landslide victory with seventy-five votes, Woolley's vote included. The Republican who had been accused of bribery got three votes. At breakfast the next morning, there was a general feeling of satisfaction that in the actual election, Massachusetts had voted with Wheaton Seminary. The Democrat had won by a substantial majority, and The Rushlight editors rejoiced that the state would not be "in the power of a man" who had proven himself corruptible. Massachusetts' citizens were too astute to tolerate what was happening in New York with the Tammany scandal and the Republican Party's crude bargaining for votes.⁵⁷ That June, an editorial appeared in The Rushlight, written by Woolley's friend and co-editor, Annie L. Cutler. The young woman envisioned a future wide open with opportunities for women.

When that long expected day shall come in which woman shall be pushed to the front in politics, literature, and art it will not be at all surprising if she also occupy a prominent place in theology, and if in such a transposition of affairs it be necessary to form a new and universal creed, we see before us an opening for the class of '84 to distinguish themselves in the special field for which they have been by birth and education most fitted.⁵⁸

In her two years as a student at Wheaton, Woolley tried her hand at most activities. She attended the missionary meetings as she had in Pawtucket and the young women say just as spellbound as they listened to missionaries' first-hand accounts of deprivation and

misery -- Mrs. Steele's story of the "... negroes, among three thousand of whom she is the only missionary,"⁵⁹ Miss Sybil Carter's account of young Mormon girls in the West who risked disinheritance because they attended the missionary school,⁶⁰ and Miss Emily Huntington's description of a program for the children of the poor in New York City in which songs, plays, and exercises trained them to do household work in the Kitchen-Garden system and to grow up and become "excellent servants."⁶¹

In her second year, Woolley wrote an essay for The Rushlight entitled, "Portraits of our Grandmothers," a series of sketches of anonymous women that emphasized the value of their contributions to domestic life. She began the essay, "Our Grandmothers! What were they like and what part did they play in the drama of life!" The achievements of women were lost to history, but to the great women of the past, grandmothers to all women, Woolley wrote, "we owe no less, if not more, than to the forefathers of history."⁶² Larcom expressed a similar sentiment in her semi-centennial sketch of Wheaton. The multitude of anonymous women who had worked throughout history to improve society should never be forgotten. Larcom wrote,

Those whose names have never been before the public have often been the public's best benefactors, -- the teachers, mothers, sisters, wives, friends, who have wrought nobly upon human character by that unobserved method we call influence.⁶³

The "woman question" was on Woolley's mind during her years at Wheaton. She was a member of the select Psyche Society originally founded by Larcom in 1855 "to concentrate the talent of the school ... for the sake of mutual stimulus and free development of special

abilities."⁶⁴ The society had several rituals, one of which was the imposing on each new group of girls 'conditions' or tasks such as carrying older girls' books. There were various consequences when the new girls failed to perform their duties, and in 1884, the new members were "arrested" and put on "trial" in Seminary Hall. Woolley wrote a five-page closing plea for the plaintiffs and play-acted the lawyer for the prosecution with style and good comedic timing. She opened her remarks,

Your Honor and Ladies of the Jury. At last the auspicious day has dawned, to which we have looked forward for years. At last the hope of our hearts is realized and as we gather in this venerable hall around which cluster innumerable tender associations, as we look around upon this august assemblage, we find that to woman has been granted at length her proper sphere. If we look at the audience before us we see that our Commonwealth of Wheaton is represented not to a man but to a woman. The voice that called us hither was the voice of woman. It was her voice that rang out in the sonorous measures of the indictment; it is her voice that rings out now. We look upon this august and formidable body of jurors, and we see woman; and alas we look in the criminal dock and we see woman.⁶⁵

She concluded her plea to the jury

to impress upon your minds that after woman has striven for years to attain the lofty and honorable position in which we now see her she should set the iron heel of the law upon these weaker sisters of immature minds and infirm bodies who are able to imitate man only in his vices and prevarications.⁶⁶

In a humorous way, Woolley articulated a belief that women, were capable of improving the state of public affairs.

Her last submission to The Rushlight, was an essay she entitled "Our Legendary Patrimony," in which she rescued Teutonic literature from an undeserved obscurity. "For five hundred years we have forsaken our Teutonic mother for the Grecian muse," she wrote,

"... If we turn to modern times, we hear Byron singing of 'The isles of Greece,/Where burning Sappho loved and sung,'..."⁶⁷ She argued that the long, uninterrupted history of the true Teutonic patrimony had been forgotten, a history that included Beowulf, King Arthur, the Holy Grail, Wagner, 1620, 1776 and the English Kings' descent from William the Conqueror.⁶⁸ The Greeks had "no claim on our filial love and honor."⁶⁹ The Teutonic Odin was the superior God because he was the inventor of both war and poetry; he was obeyed by all gods and men and was never reduced to the treacherous strategies of Zeus. Odin, with his modest and beautiful wife Frigg, ruled gods and mortals⁷⁰ in a world where "the virtuous 'Shall always dwell/And evermore/Delights enjoy,'..." and "in Nastrand, formed of wreathed serpents, are punished the sinful." This vision Woolley wrote, paralleled "our own ideas of a Supreme God, a final judgment, and a future state of reward and punishment."⁷¹

The North lays bare the loathsomeness of sin, the Greeks cover it with beauty till it is robbed of half its horror. The south, with her passionate love for the gay, the unclouded present, and willful disregard of the uncertain future, has left us a mythology true to her nature ... The Teutons looking into nature and into their own hearts, saw there a terrible warfare, realized the perishableness of all earthly things,...⁷²

Teaching at Wheaton, 1885-1891

On a Sunday morning in June of 1884, Woolley graduated from Wheaton along with her three classmates. Dr. Lyman Abbot of New York City delivered the Baccalaureate Sermon in which he assured the young women that "notwithstanding the attacks made against religion, 'the

foundation of God standeth ever.' " Christian belief, he preached, did not rely on the authority of the church or of the Bible, but, "in our consciousness of God as felt in Christian experience."⁷³ Abbot, like Gladden, was an important exponent of social gospel Christianity. Since 1881, he had been editor in chief of The Christian Union, a voice of that movement within Protestantism.⁷⁴

At graduation, Woolley was one month shy of her twenty-second birthday. She had no definite plans for the future and had, as she said, not the "slightest idea of teaching."⁷⁵ Back in Pawtucket, she was swept up in the activities of her father's new church. In the fall of 1884, her brother Erving Yale entered Brown University, and Woolley remained at home with her six-year-old brother Frank. On September 10, 1884, an intensely hot day, almost two thousand people attended the laying of the cornerstone of the new church building. The Reverend Woolley celebrated the success of the new church and anticipated its mission in his address.

... the purpose of a church is to provide means for the moral, religious and spiritual needs of the people. If these are not met, all other provisions for their welfare become deranged and imperfect. Even wealth and knowledge are not advantages when they are not wisely and rightly gained and used.

... It is to awaken the people to a sense of their dependence on God. In the prosecution of this work here, it is not our desire to draw them to worship in this church only, but to arouse their religious feelings, and incite them to worship somewhere.

... It is to give the people a claim upon religious rites and privileges by leading them to provide a place of worship which they may call their own. In the largest sense a church should be free to all.

... It should be so located as to meet the tides of society that for any cause flow near its doors. In all places men are affected by their surroundings, and the things of God would be forgotten and neglected if they were not kept continually before them.⁷⁶

After three years in temporary quarters at the Music Hall, the first service in the new church marked a great occasion and drew hundreds of people.⁷⁷ For a year and a half, Woolley helped her father and mother with the work of the church. The ladies' circle and the Women's Missionary Society were engaged in continual fundraising events, the women of the Church raising almost \$13,000.

In September, Wheaton Seminary offered Woolley a temporary position teaching mathematics. She accepted, saying it felt akin to "being thrown into deep water and told to swim." It also "meant burning the midnight oil" in order to stay ahead of the students. Mathematics had not been her subject of choice.⁷⁸ She enjoyed returning to the Wheaton community and was sorry to be left with no position the following year when Wheaton hired a college graduate to replace her. Woolley returned home again in 1886, and in September of 1887, when the Latin teacher left Wheaton, Woolley gladly accepted the offer to replace her. She had been an excellent student of Latin; now she had to teach Caesar, Cicero, Virgil, Horace and Livy, once again "burning the midnight oil." A student remembered Woolley as a "very pretty and attractively dressed young woman ... the girls at Wheaton were all crazy about [her] and paid her as much attention as we could. She was of course very busy."⁷⁹ The next year, for the second time, she was replaced by a college graduate, Elizabeth Palmer who had just earned a bachelor's degree from Wellesley College. She

accepted a dual position at Wheaton, Latin teacher and Librarian. Woolley was fortunate to have another temporary position in History and Rhetoric.

Several excellent lecturers came to the seminary in 1888. Heloise Hersey, a popular educator, spoke about the modern novel and its relation to the modern woman. Hersey earned a bachelor's degree from Vassar College in 1876, the first woman from Maine to attend college. She settled in Boston in the 1880s to open Miss Hersey's School for Girls following a five-year tenure as professor of English at Smith College. Pike had asked for her help in the academic upgrading of Wheaton, and as Hersey said, she couldn't refuse to help someone whom she "greatly liked" "over a hard bit of road." She had taken temporary charge of the English department, and, as Lyon had done years before, brought two young women from her Boston school to do their "very best" with students who "did not have much intellectual background." She traveled to Wheaton by train every other Friday, arriving at 5 P.M. to conduct the evening chapel service and to lecture to the whole seminary on a subject connected with the literature courses. She ended each Friday night with a teachers' meeting or interviews with students before she caught the midnight train back to Boston.⁸⁰ Hersey spoke to the students on subjects that touched them directly as women. She admonished, "Do not be ashamed of your intuitions. Use them as an aid to your thinking power." One of her favorite stories was of a young woman student who got lost on the Boston streets she had grown up on because she carried a map to find her way.⁸¹ Hersey was a single,

self-supporting woman who was engaged in work that she relished, work that included lectures on contemporary fiction among them a lecture on George Eliot.⁸²

Woolley was a young teenager when she read her first Eliot novel, Daniel Deronda, and her fascination for Eliot and her fiction lasted for her lifetime. In a speech about Eliot, an unusual topic for Woolley given her lack of academic or literary credentials, she said

... for many years [Eliot] has been for me chief among novelists. I remember distinctly my first reading of George Eliot. ... Like most girl readers, who are fascinated by the first first book, I plunged into a course in George Eliot -- read or rather "devoured" in a way that was a direct tempting of Providence in the live of mental indigestion. Yet I have not regretted the "overindulgence," if that is what it was, for while I read mainly, if not entirely, for the story and skipped everything intervening in the line of history or political discussion, -- I can recall now the wholesale elimination of much of, -- I was yet gaining a love for good fiction that was worth more than any conscious appreciation of style or thought. The influence of good reading, even if the reader is too immature fully to appreciate it, cannot be underestimated. It is like accustoming the ear of the child to good music, rather than to ragtime, a taste for good music is being cultivated even if the principles are not understood.⁸³

J.W. Cross's biography of Eliot was published in 1885. In the daily narrative created with hundreds of selected letters, Cross' intention was to trace "the development of [Eliot's] intellect and character."⁸⁴ Woolley read the biography as part of her preparation for the speech, but she also studied the text as if it provided insight into her own life. She identified passages that revealed the close ties between Eliot and her father, passages about Eliot's views on woman's ability to survive independently outside the family, about

women not losing innate virtues of nurturing and sympathy simply because they had no husband or children. She noted Eliot's thoughts about the intellectual power and moral superiority of women, highlighting Eliot's quotation from Comte that a women "can never do more than modify the harshness with which men exercise their authority."⁸⁵

She also noted a passage about "melancholy moods" as well as one about the true experience of early childhood.

I am anxious that you should not imagine me unhappy even in my most melancholy moods, for I hold all indulgence of sadness that has the slightest tincture of discontent to be a grave delinquency.

I never will believe that our youngest days are our happiest ... Childhood is only the beautiful and happy time in contemplation and retrospect: to the child it is full of deep sorrows, the meaning of which is unknown ... the sorrows of older persons, which children see but cannot understand, are worse than all.⁸⁶

Eliot's description of her own unwillingness to admit discontent and of the sorrows of childhood must have struck Woolley as painful truths. She was never able to express the pain of her own childhood nor to freely acknowledge her "melancholy moods."⁸⁷

Woolley read extensively, searching for knowledge and inspiration in many directions. Fiction like Eliot's with its "direct moral and spiritual teaching," was significant and influential. Woolley noted that "George Eliot's social conscience was most acute."⁸⁸ She also read the works of social critic Henry George and utopian visionary Edward Bellamy.⁸⁹ Drawing on these works, she began to develop what Gladden called "Applied Christianity," a generalized application of the basic tenets of

Christianity to the solutions of social problems.⁹⁰ Whereas Gladden explicitly rejected socialism,⁹¹ Woolley was willing to embrace Christian Socialism. In a paper delivered in 1890, she suggested that socialist theory had its origins in Greek Philosophy, Hebrew theology and the Gospel.⁹²

Woolley delivered the paper before the New England Wheaton Seminary Club, of which she was the Treasurer. The guests included her mother as well as delegates from women's clubs in the Boston area.⁹³ The general topic for the day was "The Labor Problem and Some Solutions," and Woolley's paper was entitled "Socialistic Schemes." She began her speech with self-deprecatory good humor.

When our programme committee suggested "Socialistic Schemes" as my topic for the afternoon, I hardly knew of which I stood the more in awe, my subject or my audience. I have found some consolation however in the words of an authority no less eminent than Monsieur de Lavelaye, who says that he has never met with a clear description of Socialism; and that everybody is a Socialist in somebody's eyes. Hence, however conservative you may flatter yourselves to be, we are all socialists together, and I am assured of your sympathy; and again, since no one knows exactly what socialism is, I am relieved of the necessity of having a very clear idea myself.⁹⁴

She then offered a working definition of socialism which included two aspects, the introduction of "greater equality into social conditions," and the utilization of "the act of the law or the state."⁹⁵ She chose to focus her paper on George's and Bellamy's theories and the aims of the Society of Christian Socialists.

What is the aim of Christian Socialism, and how does it differ from other socialistic schemes? Beginning with the inner and working towards the outer, the Christian Socialist believes that "National life must be educated, and character developed, before any system can bear good fruit." As Christianity does not concern the individual alone, he

believes in founding business upon social law, in substituting combinations for competition, and in inaugurating a system by which business may be carried on for public good rather than for private profit. He endorses Mr. George's land system or some plan by which land shall be held as a gift to all equally; and advocates the holding of capital and means of industry by the community, all these changes to be brought about by a gradual reform. The message is then "The Application of Christianity to the Social problem, and an appeal to the Christian Church to apply Christianity to practical Social order." Some of the more advanced Christian Socialists believe that the rich should distribute all that they possess beyond their "due share" among the poor, comparing this indiscriminate charity to the sun which shines alike upon the evil and the good.⁹⁶

She closed the presentation with a description of Bellamy's vision of Boston in the year 2000.⁹⁷ Despite the descriptive nature of the paper, Woolley clearly demonstrated support for Christian Socialism. Although she would never again address the topic so directly, these basic beliefs continued to inform her thought and actions throughout her life. In her discussion of Bellamy she chose to modify his vision of the role of women in the year 2000.

Let us add to this "world of her own, with its emulations, ambitions and careers," painted by Mr. Bellamy, one of wider and more ready usefulness and remember that upon her grandmother of today rests the responsibility of leaving a record of noble womanhood, which shall be an inspiration to grander efforts in the future.⁹⁸

Wheaton Seminary's philosophy adhered to the idea that educated women were part of a long continuous tradition, an "undying existence." "Watchers in the heavens above her [Wheaton],"⁹⁹ These were the women of the past who were in "God's great school of Destiny." There was "no going back."¹⁰⁰ The responsibility of the educated woman to further the education of all women became one of the principal elements of Woolley's educational philosophy and of her

hopes for the future. These were instilled in her during her years as student and teacher at Wheaton Seminary.

C H A P T E R I V

WOOLLEY AND COEDUCATION AT BROWN UNIVERSITY

"Who Was the First woman? Miss Woolley!"¹

In the summer of 1890, Woolley was one of four Wheaton teachers, including Pike and Palmer, who joined a group of Smith College faculty for a two-month trip abroad. She loved her first taste of the adventure of an Atlantic crossing and long train rides through the countries of Europe. The combination of direct contact with British culture and the high-spirited, intellectual companionship of the group created in Woolley a desire to pursue a degree at Oxford University. She turned twenty-seven during that summer and returned home eager for a world larger than Wheaton Seminary or Pawtucket, Rhode Island. She proposed her idea of studying at Oxford, but her father already had a plan of his own. The Reverend Woolley was a friend of the Reverend Elisha Benjamin Andrews, newly-appointed President of Brown University, and the two men were part of an organized effort to introduce coeducation into the university. Woolley's brother Erving Yale had graduated from Brown in 1888 at the age of twenty-two, and the Reverend Woolley wanted the same opportunity for his daughter. One evening at dinner, he suggested to Andrews that his daughter would make an excellent candidate for admission in the first class of women.²

The Struggle for Coeducation at Brown

By 1890, Brown University was an institution with long-established tradition. Founded in 1764 for the purpose of educating the Baptist ministry and preventing the conversion of Baptist sons to the faiths practiced in other colleges, Brown had never intended to educate women students.³ However, the university was the only institution of higher education in Rhode Island and women began to petition for admission as early as 1800. When Andrews assumed the presidency in 1889, Brown remained closed to women despite a decade of greatly increased pressure from both within the university and from the outside community. Quaker members of the Corporation (the Board of Trustees) along with members of Rhode Island women's organizations were allied in the struggle. They had gained their first victory in 1885 when an appointed committee recommended that "the Faculty allow the attendance of women at the regular entrance and term examinations of the University, and that certificates of standing in each examination be issued to the applicants."⁴ The recommendation was ignored, however, because the opposition to coeducation remained strong and vocal. A primary objection was the added cost of physically providing for women on campus when funds for the needs of the men were already limited. A second objection centered in the persistent argument that men and women differed too drastically in both intellectual ability and morality to benefit from the same education.

In 1886, under continued pressure from advocates for women, the Corporation initially approved and then postponed a plan to admit women. The plan provided for a volunteer faculty from the University that would teach the women separately and be compensated with fees charged to the women students. The administration envisioned in the long term a

distinct but appended college, some of whose professors should be women of the highest culture, and members of whose higher classes should be admitted to the higher elective classes of the University.⁵

The proposal of a separate college was still too radical an idea for immediate implementation. However, as greater numbers of young women graduated from high school and searched for colleges whose fees their families could afford, Brown's refusal to admit women became increasingly indefensible. In 1887, four women applied for admission. Once again a committee was formed to investigate possibilities and again advised against coeducation primarily on grounds of the cost of adapting the institution to the presence of women. The argument was that the small number of women interested in higher education did not warrant making the adjustment. Faculty and student sentiment also remained generally opposed to teaching women and attending classes with them. The committee did suggest that the faculty find a way to admit women to university examinations and to offer them "certificates of proficiency."⁶ It was a compromise policy that opened the way to coeducation.

Subsequently, when the Brown Corporation unanimously elected Andrews to the presidency, it put in leadership of the university a

man of great courage and vision who would take up the cause of women's education in his efforts to create a democratic university. Andrews was a popular professor of political economy at Brown and more recently at Cornell University.

He was not only a powerful personality -- strong of body, intellect, and will, racy in speech, of large outlook, great of heart, -- but the avenues of influence between him and other men, particularly young men, were always open. Vitality streamed from him into them, invigorating and ennobling. The range and robustness of his thinking, his absolute fearlessness, the impression he gave of having wrestled with the toughest problems in the spiritual world and come off conqueror, inspired admiration; while his mental hospitality, which was only the intellectual phase of his broad humanity, caused the feeblest mind to feel at home in his presence and begot self-confidence. He made his pupils wish mightily to be bigger men and believe that they could be. In short, he was a great natural leader and inspirer of young men, arousing both their intellectual interests and their personal loyalty in remarkable degree, and hence he was a great teacher and a great college president.⁷

The author of this laudatory description failed to mention that Andrews was also a natural leader and inspirer of young women, "arousing" in them too, "both their intellectual interests and their personal loyalty in remarkable degree." Soon after his appointment in 1889, an organized group of Rhode Island women approached him for support and advice on how to gain admission for women at Brown. He encouraged them to raise money for an endowment fund for a woman's annex while he took on as a personal project a campaign to convince the university Corporation, the faculty and students that the addition of women to Brown was in their interest. To those who argued "the futility of admitting a half dozen young women or less, with each college class ... as is the case with some of our so-called

co-educational colleges," he responded with the fact that, in 1888, there were thirty Rhode Island "exiles" enrolled in out-of-state colleges who might well have preferred to study in their home state. He rejected the argument made by some that "a modest young woman would prefer attending a woman's college like Wellesley or Smith, and he refocused attention on the increase in the number of "exiles" (forty-three in 1891) and the "over one hundred young women [who] were studying with a more or less clear purpose to enter college."⁸ For many of these young women, the cost of out-of-state schools was prohibitive. Those who could afford the expense would have to join the growing group of "exiles."

Woolley Attends the University

Woolley was among those whose families could not afford the expense and who wanted quality of education in their home state. In 1890, the Reverend Woolley and twenty other parents signed a petition for the admission of their daughters to the university. It included a demand for a guarantee that the women "pursue the same course of study in Brown University on the same conditions as the young men."⁹ President Andrews persuaded the faculty to formulate a plan for the admission of women to entrance examinations as well as university examinations. These would be identical to the men's. The women would also receive certificates of proficiency for individual courses completed, and the faculty promised to carry out the plan "cordially ... [and] to the best of their ability." They made plain, however, their view that the proposal "gave undue prominence to examinations

in the system of college education."¹⁰ Since the faculty were in large measure responsible for the barring of women from the classroom, this complaint, while objectively reasonable, lacked legitimacy. Doomsayers among the faculty condemned the university to mediocrity after 150 years of academic excellence. Women's inferior mental capacities and their tendency to undermine the high-minded tone of masculine society would certainly overtake the institution.¹¹

In September of 1891, the University accepted women as candidates for all degrees, and women graduate students were admitted to classrooms. No provision was made for undergraduate instruction nor could a female student earn a university degree. Nonetheless, President Andrews had succeeded in creating a class of seven young women including Woolley. He carefully selected this first undergraduate group whose task was to prove that women students were capable of competing on equal terms with men. He invited two young high school valedictorians to join the class, one a fifteen-year-old from Bristol High School where he gave the commencement address that year and the other from Pawtucket High School. Woolley, at twenty-eight, was the oldest member of the group.

Andrews sent each of the seven women handwritten notes inviting them to report for classes on the first of October, 1891. Woolley joined the others that afternoon in a second-floor makeshift classroom in an elementary school building across the street from President Andrews' house. They met in the afternoon because the school children had vacated the building for the day. French, Greek, Latin, and Mathematics were the first course offerings, and Andrews

made it a practice to sit in a corner of the classroom ostensibly reading a book. From the outset, Woolley's young classmates looked to her for leadership. In addition to her maturity, Woolley had already attended university classes at the invitation of faculty.

During the previous academic year, 1890-91, while parents and other advocates laid the groundwork for the entering class of women, John F. Jameson, a Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University and newly hired at Brown as a professor of history, had invited Woolley to attend his lectures. She gladly accepted while she continued to teach history twice each week at Wheaton. After his first encounter with Woolley, Jameson said that "no young woman could have been found better for the purpose."¹² That purpose, for Jameson, was to convince skeptics who questioned women's intellectual capacity. He also recognized that Woolley was a mentor and role model for the young female students. Woolley's classmates were the ages of her Wheaton students, and she assumed a similar supportive and 'big sisterly' role toward them. At Brown, she reminded the young women that they were under constant and close scrutiny. She told them, "It depends on us in a very large measure whether there is ever a woman's college in Brown."¹³ Jameson remembered Woolley's first day in his history class when she entered "without bashfulness and without forwardness, quite as if it had been her daily habit, ... as if she were unconscious of traditions to the contrary." Several classes later, he asked her to answer a question and he recalled that she answered

with so much fullness and exactness and skill that I could see the young fellows on the front seat glancing at each other with a smile, as much as to say, 'Who but a girl would get a thing up to so fine a point as that?'¹⁴

Jameson was delighted with Woolley's "excellent good sense, right feeling and perfect manners," along with her "careful, exact, intelligent, judicious work." She admirably demonstrated for young college men what women students were capable of accomplishing. Woolley worked with Jameson on several research projects, three of which were published.¹⁵

Although she was sometimes the only woman in a class, Woolley was generally able to avoid the discomfort of classes taught by unsympathetic faculty. She entered Brown with advanced standing in Latin and pursued her interests in Greek, Hebrew and History. In classes where women students were made to feel unwelcome by the professors as well as by the undergraduates, the women typically avoided confrontation and participated minimally. Woolley commented that, both on the university campus and in classes, the young women "permitted themselves to be noticed as little as possible."¹⁶ She advised her younger women classmates not to seem to notice the men students, to look straight ahead as they walked across campus.¹⁷ When they took their examinations, they worked hard to make themselves "oblivious to the presence of men" to avoid any damaging effect on their performance.¹⁸ One evening on a train ride home to Pawtucket, Woolley told a classmate friend that she had decided to attend Brown rather than finish her degree at a woman's college because she "wanted to come in contact with men's minds."¹⁹ Beyond

intellectual work, she maintained an emotional aloofness toward the many men, most of whom were eight to ten years younger, with whom she came in contact. When she was asked about the attitudes of the men toward the women students, she simply said, "I do not know how they felt. I can tell you how they acted. During the four years I received nothing but the utmost courtesy."²⁰

The women had no social life within the university except for an occasional invitation to the President's or a professor's house for tea. Andrews invited the "young ladies" to the yearly President's reception for seniors where he would station the women around the room. He brought the young men to meet them throughout the evening, "introducing them [the men] sometimes by their right names but just as often by others," recalled one of Woolley's classmates.²¹ Male students and faculty who "resented intrusion into their sacred halls"²² made the university a chilly and sometimes hostile place. The women had to create their own social and intellectual activities while the braver among them made forays into the men's institutions on campus. Woolley did both.

The women's classroom building had no lighting and during the short winter days class time became so reduced that the university was forced to find a more suitable location. The women were given a building of their own and a dean to advocate for their needs. Andrews appointed as both dean and treasurer, a young male English teacher who had been at Brown for two years. The small, wooden building on Benefit Street was inadequate in terms of space, but it did provide the women with a meeting place. There were three

classrooms, a kitchen where they gathered for lunch, a study hall, and a tiny office for the dean. President Andrews noted the improved and "certainly well lighted" quarters, but continued to advocate for larger and better facilities.²³ In 1892, the group of women had grown to fourteen freshman, nine sophomores and twenty-two special students. Of this last group, whose numbers were increasing rapidly, Andrews said in his Annual Report that the special students were "in nearly all cases a source of inspiration to the other students ... women of maturity and culture, teachers and others who worked to supplement their knowledge."²⁴ There were also nine graduate students who were attending classes at the university.

In June of 1892, the Corporation recognized women as eligible for all University degrees, but their advocates had to find ways for women to take the courses required for those degrees. The women's classes held in the Benefit Street building had no official connection with the University. The Brown faculty who taught the women were technically tutoring them in preparation for course examinations, and financial compensation came from fees independent of university tuition. The women students who ventured up College Hill to attend classes with the university men did so primarily because there were insufficient numbers of them to justify the duplication of courses in all-female classes. A young woman who had spent a year at Smith College entered Brown in 1892 described a class taught by a professor who made two women "objects of his unpleasant witticisms and the boys embarrassed us by enjoying it."²⁵ The growing women's college was also a source of occasional humor. A

write for the Brunonian joked about the "strong smell of brimstone in the vicinity" and "initiation tortures."²⁶

Humor aside, the character of the developing women's college and the nature of women's participation in the larger university were controversial issues that touched everyone involved in the uncertain experiment. The problems of establishing and maintaining high standards of instruction and scholarship for the women were of immediate and constant concern. The women's section grew rapidly as the whole university expanded and improved under Andrews' competent leadership. For thirty-five years prior to Andrews' succession to the presidency in 1889, enrollment at Brown settled around 250 students, sometimes dropping below. In the eight years of Andrews' presidency, male enrollment increased from 176 to 641 students, and the number of male graduate students increased from three in 1888 to 117 by 1895. The number of women undergraduates increased from seven to 157 between 1891-1896. Thirty-one women graduate students were enrolled in 1896. Between 1888 and 1896, Andrews was responsible for a remarkable expansion of faculty, departments, and curriculum. The faculty increased from twenty-six to eighty-eight and the number of departments increased from seventeen to twenty-five.²⁷ Andrews was an avid supporter of the university extension movement in which courses and lectures made self-sustaining through admission fees were made available to the general public. In the academic year 1892-3, Brown offered thirty-eight of these courses servicing a population of some two thousand students. Jameson, the teacher who had initially invited Woolley to attend his classes, organized the popular Brown

University Lecture Association in 1892, through which scholars from various disciplines were invited to lecture to audiences of university seniors, graduate students, and the general public.²⁸

Andrews' new faculty was all-male, and for the most part, carefully selected, highly-skilled, progressive scholars. Andrews also hand-picked the faculty to teach the all-female classes. The women's first mathematics teacher was a young Brown graduate with a Ph. D. from Johns Hopkins University who had been on the faculty less than one week when Andrews proposed that he teach the women.²⁹

Woolley and two other young Pawtucket women were in his first class.

His initial worries were quickly dispelled when the women

demonstrated knowledge and ability in mathematics, taking

examinations with second and third year students after four months.

The instructor wrote in his journal, "I think it will be a bright class and very pleasant to teach and will add quite a little to my

income."³⁰ As a student with advanced standing, Woolley was

privileged to study with some of the best faculty. She studied

Greek, Latin, and Mathematics in the women's classes,³¹ where rote

practice mixed with informal discussion.³² In most classes, teachers

and students quickly established what one professor called "a feeling

of comradeship."³³ One student recalled a favorite history of

religion course in which the professor engaged the students in lively

discussion. She was pleased to report that the young women "were not

asked to believe ... only to consider."³⁴

Woolley studied with Jameson, attending his lectures in

American and English History in university classes. She also studied

Hebrew with Professor James Jewett who had earned his Ph.D. at the University of Strasbourg. One of her favorite courses was Andrews' popular one in moral philosophy with an emphasis on practical ethics in which he cultivated in students both a rationale and a desire to live by a code of high ideals and personal self-restraint. Woolley would eventually compile a list of great professors at Brown University, and Andrews was a leader among them, a great man in her eyes.³⁵ Andrews lived by his ideals as her father did, and Woolley, along with many students, took his abundant advice to heart. A male student who sat next to Woolley in Andrews' class remembered that on the first day she "popped right onto a settee" with "her little notebook and pencil,"³⁶ ready to take the copious, detailed notes that Andrews expected. A woman student described the effect he had on his students.

He discussed all possible human relations; ... if narrow-minded traditions of preconceived views stood in his way, they were shattered mercilessly. We came out of this course with broader minds and a higher concept of living.³⁷

He required students to memorize vast amounts of material and instructed them to caution themselves. "Don't be afraid to stand alone -- to be the only one." "In seeking a job don't be afraid to speak well of yourself ... If you disparage yourself people will believe you." "Trials make a man of you." "Consistency is a jewel of paste."³⁸

During the spring semester of 1893, no doubt encouraged by Andrews' exhortations, Woolley submitted a major research essay to the Brown Magazine, a university publication under determinedly male

control. The essay was accepted,³⁹ and once Woolley secured an opening for women writers, the magazine was inundated with submissions from other women students. In the academic year, 1893-4, she joined the editorial board, responsible for her own department, entitled "Etchings." She submitted lively, graceful prose portraits, -- one a character sketch of Mrs. Poyser in George Eliot's Adam Bede, another a series of sketches of Mary Wilkins Freeman's short story characters.⁴⁰ Woolley's election to the board prompted the good-natured joke among the magazine staff, "Who was the first woman? Miss Woolley!"⁴¹ Still, the university yearbook, Liber Brunensis excluded Woolley from the group photograph of the editorial staff, and subsequent volumes excluded her successors, all female, until 1898.⁴²

Through these early, difficult years of the Women's College at Brown, Woolley credited President Andrews for "unerring judgement," for "the courage to shoulder the responsibility" and to inspire faculty and students.⁴³ She would witness his courage and integrity very directly when the university Corporation attempted to censor Andrews' exercise of free speech. As early as 1893, as Brown University suffered the effects of a national, financial depression, influential members of the Corporation argued that Andrews' political views were interfering with their ability to raise funds. In 1891, Andrews' had begun a long-range campaign to raise three million dollars. When the goal to raise one million during the first year was not met, rather than blaming the general economy or the lack of a developed resource of patrons, powerful members of the Corporation

complained about Andrews' politics. Andrews, trained as an economist, held the maverick view that free trade and international bi-metallism, the utilization of both gold and silver to "back" paper money, were good economic policies. In the East, the self-interest of the establishment prohibited support for the repeal of the silver bill which would have allowed for the free coinage of silver. Andrews emphatically stated that he "had been reticent [about free trade] since his election to the presidency,"⁴⁴ no doubt to avoid a partisan stance. In 1892, however, he had been a delegate to an international monetary conference in Brussels, openly expressing his support of bi-metallism.

Although Democrats and Republicans had traditionally both opposed bi-metallism,⁴⁵ the Democrats were concerned about the increasing popularity of the Populist Party and, therefore, adopted the free coinage of silver as part of the Democratic platform in 1896.

Early in the summer of 1896 the public learned, by two or three letters of [Andrews'] which were published, that he had taken a new position ... holding that the United States should begin the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one ounce of gold, without waiting for the cooperation of other nations ... [he] was in Europe, but his views as expressed in these letters were widely quoted. ⁴⁶

A committee of the Corporation, displaying a surprising candor, urged the President to stop making his views on the silver question public because the University had already lost "gifts and legacies that would otherwise have come" because Andrews' views "were so contrary to the views generally held by the friends of the University."

Andrews declined and submitted his resignation stating that he could not acquiesce in the request "without surrendering that reasonable liberty of utterance ... in the absence of which the most ample endowment for an educational institution would have but little worth."

Andrews' resignation in 1897, two years after Woolley's graduation, provoked a national dialogue about whether it was essential for leaders of public institutions to limit their freedom of expression. Andrews' supporters held "that the action of the Corporation had struck a blow at academic freedom, and that freedom, not money, is the life-blood of a university."⁴⁷ Twenty-four Brown professors, 600 alumni, forty-four of the forty-nine alumnae (Woolley included), more than a hundred college presidents, professors, authors and other public figures protested the Corporation's actions. The professors argued in an open letter that if the Corporation accepted Andrews' resignation, the action

would stamp this institution in the eyes of the country as one in which freedom of thought and expression is not permitted when it runs counter to the views generally accepted in the community or held by those from whom the university hopes to obtain financial support.

The Corporation and Andrews held a conciliatory meeting at which the Corporation requested the withdrawal of his resignation. Andrews agreed and prepared a statement which read,

The studied effort visible during the summer to produce estrangement between the Corporation and myself I deeply deplore. On my side it has had no effect . . . I have sought only peace, feeling that if the Corporation and myself could no longer cooperate amicably, we could at least separate amicably.

The Corporation unanimously adopted a conciliatory, appreciative stance.

It was not in our minds to prescribe the path in which you should tread, or to administer to you an official rebuke, or to restrain your freedom of opinion, or "reasonable liberty of utterance," but simply to intimate that it would be the part of wisdom for you to take a less active part in exciting partisan discussions and apply your energies more exclusively to the affairs of the college.

Having, as it believes, removed the misapprehension that your individual views on this question represent those of the Corporation and the University, for which misapprehension you are not responsible and which it knows you too would seek to dispel, the Corporation ... cannot feel that the divergence of views between you and the members of the Corporation upon the "silver question" and its effect upon the University is an adequate cause of separation between us, ... and expresses the confident hope that you will withdraw your resignation.⁴⁸

The short-term outcome of the Andrews affair was a happier one than the outcome of the Reverend Woolley's conflict in the Pawtucket Congregational Church. The lessons, however, were similar. Andrews had been chastised for going beyond the narrow self-interests of the university, the Reverend Woolley for challenging those of his affluent, conservative congregation. Both men refused to compromise their rights, and both dealt with their adversaries with remarkable willingness to reach reconciliation. Mary Woolley's appreciation of Andrews' character influenced her own development as a principled leader in education. Woolley, too, would be criticized for not applying her "energies more exclusively to the affairs of the college." Controversy involving matters of principle and public relations, of broad commitments and parochial restraints would define the end of Woolley's career at Mount Holyoke College.

In 1893, Woolley was elected the first president of the Alpha Beta Fraternity, the first and only organization for women for a time. The Fraternity (the term "sorority" was not yet used) was reminiscent of Wheaton Seminary's Psyche Society, -- an opportunity for the young women to enrich their academic and social experience. Extemporaneous speaking was the fraternity's first activity, and Woolley, who excelled at this, addressed the group on "the Repeal of the Silver bill." She advocated the same regionally unpopular political view that would soon sweep Andrews into the controversy at the university. The goals of Alpha Beta were "to promote the mental and moral development of its members and to further social intercourse,"⁴⁹ and activities included productions of Shakespeare and guest lectures. Vida Scudder, an English professor and social activist at Wellesley College, came to speak about college settlements, a part of the social reform movement that brought together college women and poor women and children living in urban poverty. The women at Brown established a chapter of the American Association of College Settlements soon after Scudder's visit.⁵⁰

Awards for academic excellence were a subject of controversy as soon as women arrived at Brown. Intellectual competition between men and women did not occur within the coordinate colleges and Brown was not inclined to establish a precedent. In 1894, one of Woolley's classmates won a second-place award in Latin, a single exception to a university rule that dictated that "the best men received first, second and third premium awards in a given subject, whereas to the women only a single prize was given." In 1898, Mrs. Andrews, the

President's wife and an advocate of equality in education for women, informed the Rhode Island Society for the Collegiate Education of Women -- the advisory and fundraising group that had been working for years to establish a women's coordinate college at Brown and to gain equality in education for women -- that the University, responding to pressure, was "considering what legal steps [could] be taken to throw the competitions for prizes open to women."⁵¹ Admission to Phi Beta Kappa was another issue of controversy during Woolley's years at Brown. Woolley, herself, proposed a resolution that was passed by the Rhode Island Society in which she petitioned the Rhode Island chapter of Phi Beta Kappa to admit women on the same terms as men. No other co-ordinate colleges allowed for this. Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes suggested that it was not evident "that the founders of the Fraternity contemplated the admission of women as members."⁵²

Woolley Excels at Scholarship

At Brown, Woolley developed a strong commitment to equality for women in education as she applied her natural talent for leadership wherever there was an opening. Alpha Beta activities and editorial work on the Brown magazine occupied some of her time, but Woolley's life at the University, especially in her last year, when she researched and wrote her Master's thesis, The Early History of the Colonial Post Office was circumscribed by her studies. She said that she "almost literally lived in the libraries."⁵³ She produced two other scholarly essays, both remarkable in the thoroughness of

research, the skillful organization and use of language. Woolley researched beyond traditional published sources. Under Jameson's expert supervision, she sought out original source material, utilizing diaries, journals and other unpublished work, employing the techniques of the modern historian.

Her essay, "The Passover Scandal," appeared in two parts in the April and May 1893 editions of The Brown Magazine. The essay was the result of extensive research into the persecution of the Jews in Europe, beginning in the early Middle Ages, traced through the centuries and ending with a description of an incident in 1888. Woolley examined the legend of the "Santo Nino," a child who was sanctified following his alleged abduction, torture and murder by Jews in a religious ritual that required Christian blood. In a masterful interweaving of historical evidence and cultural and literary references, Woolley argued several motives for the perpetuation of the myth of Jewish ritual sacrifice and also asserted that "race prejudice" continued to induce violence against Jews in the late 19th century. She described in vivid detail the imagined incidents of crucifixion and actual incidents of revenge and persecution. In thoughtful analysis, Woolley suggested several reasons for not only the perpetuation of the myth of ritual sacrifice but its periodic revival throughout history.

[T]he history of the time was almost exclusively in the hands of the church, written in her interest; and there were many reasons why it was to her advantage to encourage this belief ... the possession of a martyr was very profitable from a pecuniary point of view. In many cases the main revenue of a church was from the votive offerings brought to a miracle working shrine, ... there was the moral influence

exerted upon the community, especially useful at the time of the reformation in maintaining the ascendance of the church over the popular mind. ... the belief in this outrage gave the Inquisitors the best of excuses for the use of extreme measures toward Jews and heretics. ... the times in which some of the most atrocious charges originated ... [were] all periods in which there was especial need of money. Whatever the measures taken against the Jews, a large part of their property always came into the hands of the crown, whether the victims were imprisoned and put to death or simply forced into exile.

She concluded that,

The spirit working in Russia of to-day finds a prototype in the Spain of the fifteenth century and the France of the twelfth. Massacres, prompted by race-prejudice and intensified by superstitious dread and greed of wealth, welcomed so good an excuse as that offered by these charges.⁵⁴

Woolley tackled a very different topic in a second major essay, also thoroughly researched and well-argued. In "The Development of the Love of Romantic Scenery in America," she made use of travellers' journals in America between the late 17th and late 18th centuries to demonstrate the shift in attitude toward wild, natural settings from one of indifference, dislike or fear to "admiration and affection." Historians had already studied a similar shift in attitudes in European cultures. As they had done, Woolley also examined the poetry of the period. The essay is illustrative of Woolley's skillful writing -- her selectivity, attention to detail, vivid descriptions and recognizable voice. In "The Passover Scandal" Woolley's choice of words reveals her personal sense of outrage. In "The Development of the Love of Romantic Scenery in America," her deft pen is evident.

Indifference to wild and mountainous scenery, abhorrence even, continued to be almost universal throughout the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and indeed until after the middle of the eighteenth. Montaigne and Addison passed over the Alps without recorded sign of pleasure. Goldsmith, after visiting the Highlands of Scotland, wrote in disgust that "every part of the country presents the same dismal landscape."⁵⁵

"The Early History of the Colonial Post Office" is Woolley's most ambitious scholarly effort. She researched in published and unpublished records, collections, documents, journals of legislative bodies, and correspondence to construct the chronological story of the colonial post office from 1652 to 1710. Woolley's research appears impeccable and exhaustive, her prose fluid and clear.

If she had elected to pursue doctoral studies, there is no doubt that she would have produced outstanding scholarship. Jameson said of her that she was as good as the best history graduates in the country. Woolley felt a stronger pull toward contact with people, toward ministering to the overall needs of young college women and of the world in which she was living. Andrews astutely predicted that one day she would become president of one of the great women's colleges.⁵⁶

Wellesley Hires Woolley

In 1894 Woolley received her Bachelor's with honors in history and Latin and returned to Brown for her Master's work. That winter she became a member of the Rhode Island Society. In the years ahead, Woolley would never abandon her commitment to this group. When she received her Masters in 1895, Jameson offered to help her secure a fellowship for doctoral studies. Andrews, however, created

an alternative when he invited Woolley to his home to meet Mrs. Julia Irvine, the president of Wellesley College. Intrigued, Woolley pursued the possibility of teaching at Wellesley by attending a reception in Cambridge, Massachusetts where she was scrutinized by several trustees including the remarkable Alice Freeman Palmer, ex-president of Wellesley.⁵⁷ Woolley had the benefit of the broad vision and intellectual power of her father and President Andrews, but no women in Woolley's life had approached the level of accomplishment and breadth of vision of Palmer. She was forty years old when they met in 1895 and had already significantly influenced the direction of women's education at four elite institutions, the University of Michigan, Wellesley College, the University of Chicago, and Harvard University.

Alice Freeman graduated from the University of Michigan in 1876, one of eleven women in a class of seventy-nine students. She was twenty-four years old when she accepted Wellesley College's offer of a position to teach history and twenty-six when the Board of Trustees appointed her to the presidency of the college. She held office for six years, a dynamic and popular leader who worked continuously to upgrade the quality of education at Wellesley. Freeman resigned in 1888 at the age of thirty-three to marry, and her decision sparked controversy and drew personal criticism. She agreed to remain on the Wellesley Board of Trustees and also accepted a long-distance deanship of the new women's college at the University of Chicago.⁵⁸

When she interviewed Woolley in the spring of 1895, Freeman-Palmer had just resigned from the deanship at Chicago and had won the fight for formal acceptance of Radcliffe College by Harvard University. She was preparing to sail to Europe for a much needed rest. Woolley impressed Palmer with her accomplishments at Brown. She, like Palmer, had large ambitions for women's education. In the previous year, Woolley had written an eloquent rationale for the support of women's equal education at Brown.

Surely, the Women's College is very much alive; all that it needs and asks is room in which to expand and develop to its fullest capacity. That it has the elements of power, no one who has watched its progress can doubt. It has already established its reputation for scholarship, a reputation which the coming years of opportunity cannot but see increased rather than diminished. That there is a demand for it, the very numbers alone prove. . . . The Women's College, in its fourth year, already numbers one hundred, and that without any inducements in the way of accommodations. The prime consideration, the opportunity to study under scholars of national reputation, it has; but the secondary consideration, that of a suitable building and equipment for dormitory and recitation purposes, is no less essential, if the movement, so grandly begun, is to go on.⁵⁹

Palmer endorsed Woolley's appointment as instructor of Biblical Literature at Wellesley for the fall of 1895, confident that Woolley's experience at Brown had instilled in her high standards of scholarship and teaching.

Wellesley College was committed to excellence in scholastic achievement and was influenced by advanced social thinking of a faculty of outstanding women. When Woolley assumed her duties in the fall of 1895, she entered an institution with an unbroken twenty-year tradition of hiring women faculty only. Woolley discovered within the material comforts and physical beauty of Wellesley a vitality and

intellectual power among the faculty women. The entire class of 243 freshmen were her responsibility in the year-long required Bible course. This was a professional challenge and a potential for influence much greater than the work she had done at either Wheaton Seminary or Brown University.

C H A P T E R V

AMONG THE ACADEMIC WOMEN AT WELLESLEY COLLEGE

"A pleasurable excitement"¹

Woolley was one of a large number of teachers replacing faculty at Wellesley who were dismissed or had succumbed to pressure to retire. In the two years between 1894 and 1896, forty-seven teachers left Wellesley including Sara Anna Emerson, the person Woolley replaced. Emerson was head of the Biblical History Department when she was let go after twenty-two years of teaching at the college. Eliza Kendrick, an instructor in the Department, was offered Emerson's position but she refused out of loyalty to her. Kendrick was subsequently let go, although she would return in 1900 after President Julia Irvine left the college.²

Irvine had been Palmer's first choice for the presidency in 1894. A member of the Board of Trustees since her retirement in 1887, Palmer had continued to exert a great deal of influence. During what was characterized as a "crisis of succession" while the college searched for her replacement, Palmer was able to reconstitute the Board of Trustees, both by agreeing to serve on the Board and by appointing two liberal members who supported her policies. She was then able to influence the selection of three presidents who succeeded her.³ She also carefully recommended faculty who she believed would contribute to progress at Wellesley. Woolley, Palmer

expected, would give scholarly respectability to the neglected Biblical History Department.

There was much about the female community at Wellesley that Woolley found familiar. She was in full sympathy with Palmer's directive to students that each of them must at all times exemplify the new college woman: "Remember, girls, that You are Wellesley College."⁴ Woolley had continually reminded the young women at Brown to comport themselves well. She agreed with Palmer that favorable public sentiment was a critical component in the struggle for women's higher education and that the development of group loyalty among women college students was essential. Palmer had learned this at the University of Michigan as an undergraduate where the women experienced their education within a separate enclave. At Michigan, she began to develop her philosophy of a "women-centered educational ideal"⁵ in which, as a natural leader of the women students, she would be "a friend to them all."⁶ Woolley's experience at Brown was similar. Her leadership had evolved naturally as she assumed increasing responsibility for the well-being of the women students.

At Wellesley, Palmer developed her idea of "heart culture" which she demonstrated by her personal and sympathetic interest in each of the students. She knew the names of all the students and kept a book in which she jotted down notes to familiarize herself with every new student.⁷ She also emphasized the "cooperative method," her expectation for group loyalty in the administration of all college affairs. This, she believed, was how Wellesley could achieve the goals of true scholarship, love of learning, and a full

life of work and leisure among people who had a familial feeling for one another. For this to occur, students as well as faculty had to participate in governance and accept responsibility for the success of the institution.

Although no longer president when Woolley arrived, Palmer continued to make frequent visits to the campus and consulted regularly with President Irvine. Woolley's experiences at Wheaton and Brown had taught her both the value of female academic leadership and the necessity of collective activity, but it was her contact with Palmer's ideal for Wellesley, of a college shed of all the inferior influences of female seminaries, that would affect the direction of her professional and personal life. For almost five years at Wellesley, Woolley shared in the life of a large, all-female intellectual community committed to high standards of scholarship, teaching, leadership, and social commitment independent of traditional religious limitations. Much of this had begun with Palmer's inspired leadership. She was described by her admirers as "completely under control and never ... perplexed."⁸ As Woolley's leadership responsibilities increased at Wellesley, she would refine these same qualities.

The Beginnings of Wellesley College

Just as Mount Holyoke Seminary was linked in its beginnings to Wheaton Seminary, so Wellesley College owed its existence in part to the success of Mount Holyoke. The founder of Wellesley College was a wealthy Boston lawyer named Henry Durant. He became a lay

preacher after a religious conversion and began to travel through the Northeast preaching of Christian duty and the need for sacrifice. Durant was inspired by his visits to Mount Holyoke Seminary, and he came to believe that educated Christian women were of great use to a society in danger of losing its Christian values. In 1867, he became a trustee of Mount Holyoke, and his wife Pauline, who had wanted to attend the seminary but had been unable to, gave Mount Holyoke a gift of \$10,000 for its first library. The Durants were distressed that Mount Holyoke refused admission to hundreds of young women each year because the seminary did not have the room to accommodate them. During the Civil War years, women filled teaching positions vacated by men who became soldiers, but there were virtually no schools for advanced study for women, and these new teachers were seriously lacking in education.⁹

Durant decided that there had to be more schools modelled after Mount Holyoke Seminary. He travelled to wherever "the Evangelical Christians of the place united in an invitation and the ministers were ready to cooperate," but not everyone appreciated his zealous campaigning on behalf of women's education. Many found "[t]he whole affair ... intensely distasteful...; the very fact that a man could be converted argued his instability."¹⁰ Durant initially considered endowing Wheaton Seminary. Wheaton trustee Kate Upson Clark (1869 graduate) recalled that Durant was often at the seminary,

...to talk to us on Friday nights and was always paying the tuition of one or more girls here. But he finally concluded to leave Wheaton to the Wheaton family and to found Wellesley himself.¹¹

By 1870, the Durants had sufficient funds to open Wellesley Female Seminary. Durant defined "five great essentials for education: God, Health, Usefulness, Thoroughness, and "the supreme development and unfolding of every power and faculty,"¹² a promising philosophy for women. He required that all faculty, trustees, and staff be members of Evangelical Churches and that Bible study be an integral part of student work, but he did not strictly define religious requirements. Durant wanted a Board of Trustees composed of men and women of diverse Christian denominations so that no one group would monopolize. He also hired an all-female faculty, an unusual and not especially popular policy among advocates of women's education. Durant went further in appointing a woman as president.

In 1873, before the school officially opened, the Durants changed the name from Wellesley Female Seminary to Wellesley College, probably prompted by visits to Vassar College founded in 1865¹³ and in response to the publication of Edward Clarke's attention-getting book on the health risks of too much education for women.¹⁴ Durant's motto for his college was "non ministrari sed ministrare" (not to be ministered to but to minister) and he envisioned a family-like community of women that was loyal both to him and to the institution. "Loyalty, or locked doors, must be our motto. United we stand, divided we fall."¹⁵ The daily lives of the young women would be regulated by strict controls on behavior in the tradition of boarding schools and regimented by a schedule of daily Bible classes, prayers, and devotional "silent times." Unlike the coursework at a boarding school or female seminary, however, Wellesley's curriculum would be

modelled on the classical curriculum of the elite men's liberal arts colleges. To insure a religious emphasis, Durant appointed Ada Howard as Wellesley's first president. Howard was a graduate of Mount Holyoke Seminary and a conservative, mild-tempered woman who did not challenge Durant's authority. He also hired instructors from Mount Holyoke, but, to achieve his academic goals, he hired only college-trained women to the senior faculty.¹⁶

The Durants believed that spiritual and bodily comforts should live in harmony and, to that end, Durant designed a campus that surpassed most of its contemporaries in architectural grandeur and luxury and built the college on his own 300-acre estate of wooded hills and meadows. He built a single multi-purpose building on the bank of Lake Waban, but unlike Seminary Hall at Mount Holyoke, College Hall was designed for beauty and comfort. When the college opened in September of 1875, there were three hundred and fourteen entering students (and two hundred rejected applicants because of lack of space). The troubling reality, however, was that only thirty of the entering students had passed the college's entrance examinations.¹⁷

Durant insisted on strong religious influence and extensive control of the students' lives as well as serious scholarship. He offered a teaching position to Palmer (then Alice E. Freeman), a graduate of the University of Michigan. As an undergraduate, she had rejected both Mount Holyoke Seminary and Vassar College because of their academic weaknesses and their intrusive social control, choosing instead to attend the newly coeducational University of

Michigan.¹⁸ Freeman only accepted after several offers from Durant, no doubt fearing that these weaknesses were inherent to women's institutions.¹⁹ Once at Wellesley, Freeman began the work of upgrading academic standards. She was able to do this despite Durant's autocratic control which included the arbitrary dismissals of teachers who challenged his authority.

Freeman's Presidency and Years of Influence

When Durant died in 1881, Freeman became Acting President despite talk of appointing a male president.²⁰ She began institutional reform by establishing an Academic Council composed of the heads of twelve departments and setting up standing committees of faculty members to address pressing issues.²¹ One critical issue was the need for development of college preparatory schools. Girls were routinely excluded from college preparatory courses in high schools and were therefore unable to pass college entrance examinations or perform competently in college courses. Freeman established committees to upgrade entrance examinations and, in the five years of her tenure, was responsible for the establishment of sixteen preparatory schools throughout the country. The majority of these were run by Wellesley graduates. At Wellesley, Freeman eliminated the Preparatory Department as soon as she could. Dana Hall, a girls' preparatory school in the town of Wellesley took its place. The founder was Sara Eastman, an alumna trustee of Mount Holyoke and the former director of domestic work at Wellesley College.²²

Freeman was immensely popular at Wellesley both as a leader and colleague. She hired young, secular faculty, several from the University of Michigan, and they were all enthusiastic about curriculum reform. The new faculty were also, for the most part, opposed to required participation in organized religion, an attitude that rankled the diminishing numbers of Durant's appointees. Freeman warned the Board of Trustees that Wellesley was in danger of losing its best faculty if the religious requirements, including a religious oath, were not modified. The Board, with the exception of Pauline Durant, ultimately accepted her view and the oath was dropped from the statutes.²³ Freeman also sympathized with the students as they became increasingly unhappy and outspoken about repressive conditions which included the closing of the library on Sundays, the use of chaperones, and required Bible classes and she would eventually see all of these regulations modified.

Freeman decided to leave Wellesley in 1887 in order to marry. The Wellesley community was upset, both over losing their excellent president and losing her to the problematic institution of marriage. From its beginnings, the Wellesley community tried to avoid the domination of the institution by its own graduates.²⁴ The faculty and administration, therefore, developed into a diverse group of scholars who had been educated at a variety of institutions. Freeman's choice for her successor as President was Helen Shafer from Oberlin College who came to Wellesley as Chair of the Mathematics Department. She served as President for seven years continuing Freeman's efforts. Shafer replaced the traditional two-course system

of classics and science with a single new curriculum that led to a bachelor's degree. She achieved this by hiring many new faculty, seventeen women in all, from prestigious institutions with graduate programs engaged in the most up-to-date methods of study.²⁵ This group of scholars combined the resources of their various disciplines to create "...a course broad and strong, containing, as we believe, all the elements, educational and disciplinary, which should pertain to a course in liberal arts."²⁶ These teachers introduced new methods of instruction that included inquiry and discussion, a change that pressured those who relied on recitation and rote practice to re-examine their methods.

After Shafer's death, Wellesley trustees found a leader within the faculty who would complete the task of modernizing and upgrading the curriculum and instruction. Julia Irvine was a respected member of the Greek department, a scholar who was not interested in administration but who shared Palmer's vision of Wellesley and was persuaded by her to accept the presidency. She agreed on condition that the trustees continue to search for her replacement. Educated at Antioch College and Cornell University where she earned bachelor's and master's degrees, Irvine was a Quaker, a challenge to tolerance at an institution still sufficiently influenced by evangelical religion. Irvine had established her reputation as a hard-working teacher with high standards for intellectual performance and as an unflinching critic of mediocre teaching. The Board enabled Irvine to devote all of her attention to academic issues by creating a deanship to handle other duties.

The division of specific responsibilities was to be determined by the two women. In 1895, Irvine reported that, "For the present the Dean remains in charge of all that relates to the public devotional exercises of the college, and is chairman of the committee of stated religious services."²⁷ As President, Irvine had to conduct some religious services and she did so in her simple, straightforward style. A student recalled, "That commanding figure behind the reading-desk of the old chapel in College Hall made every one, in those days, rejoice when she was to lead the morning service."²⁸ Irvine's presidency marked the end of evangelical conservatism at the college. The library opened on Sundays, the number of Bible, Greek, and Latin classes was reduced, and faculty were no longer required to teach the Bible. Sixty-seven new required and elective courses were introduced into the curriculum, and faculty who could or would not accept new standards for instruction were either not reappointed or pressured to resign. The Board even ousted Pauline Durant from her position as treasurer of the college. She was replaced by a professional who would make less arbitrary decisions about money matters.²⁹ Wellesley had become an unfriendly place for those who held religion and the two-course classical curriculum at the heart of education. Irvine was criticized by some for her single-minded focus. A faculty member described her "handling of situations and individuals [as]...masculine; it had, as the French say, the defects of its qualities."³⁰ Woolley described her first meeting with Irvine as an experience akin to "electric shock."³¹

Woolley Begins her Work at Wellesley

When the college lost two members of the Biblical History Department, one through dismissal after twenty-two years of service and the other because of personal loyalty to the first, Palmer recommended Woolley for the position of head of the department.³² When Woolley arrived at Wellesley that fall, she moved into spacious rooms in College Hall, "a college in miniature," she said, a complex of classrooms, laboratories, library, chapel and living quarters.³³ The Hall was newly equipped with electricity, a wonderful, modern convenience. Woolley was entering into the life of an institution whose rapid changes embittered some and challenged others. Those who supported Irvine shared her single-focused aim to make Wellesley into a liberal, secular women's university dedicated to scholarship of the highest caliber.

Woolley came with excellent credentials stemming from her scholarship in American History and her extensive knowledge of the Bible and of classical languages. However, she had never studied in a theological seminary. As she had done at Wheaton, she would have to engage in intensive study and course preparation while she taught her classes. She put aside her scholarly interests and immersed herself in her new role as teacher and administrator. Woolley recalled a naive, unworried attitude toward her new responsibilities as she remembered her interviews for the faculty position and her ready acceptance.

As I look back upon my blithe acceptance of that post, I am reminded of a remark of General Howard, a guest in our

Pawtucket home during my childhood. "I have often wondered," said the General, "how I dared assume such grave responsibilities during the Civil War. I never would have dared had I not been so young." Blessed be the confidence of youth!³⁴

She was thirty-two years old when she accepted the task of modernizing and invigorating the Department of Bible Study. Progressive change had been uneven among the various departments of the college, and while elective courses, laboratory teaching methods, and original research were already integral parts of the curriculum of some,³⁵ the Bible Department had not modernized. In the first decade of the college's existence, Bible study had permeated college life. The early Bible Department had been, in fact, a constantly changing mix of untrained instructors because the entire Wellesley faculty was expected to add two hours per week to instructional duties to teach the Bible regardless of knowledge or interest. As Wellesley attracted an increasing number of women faculty whose primary goal was the achievement of academic excellence, resistance to religious concerns grew. Some influential and popular faculty members devoted their energies to political and social organizations beyond academic life. Some of the faculty were openly hostile to the requirement that faculty be active members of evangelical churches.

In the early 1890's, religious conservatives had succeeded in persuading the trustees to add the phrase "member of good standing" to the language of the statutes that required all trustees and faculty to belong to evangelical churches. During Woolley's tenure at Wellesley, the statutes read more liberally that "every teacher shall be of decided Christian character and influence, and in

manifest sympathy with the religious spirit and aim with which the College was founded." The Department of Bible Study was renamed the Department of Biblical History and the statutes later required "the study of the Sacred Scriptures by every student ... over the first three years, with opportunities for elective studies in the same during the fourth year."³⁶

Palmer was astute in her selection of Woolley for the task of ending, or at least lessening, the tug-of-war over religious issues. Woolley was philosophically committed to substantive study of the Bible in undergraduate education and she had the knowledge and skills to organize the department. She was critical of the tendency at many colleges and universities engaged in modernization to relegate the study of religion and the Bible to a curricular minimum. In an article about modern trends in the college curriculum, she emphasized the need for a formalized department, citing the success at Chicago University. "A department of collegiate instruction which has been not only developed, but in many instances introduced within a short time, is that of Bible Study." Woolley suggested that the formation of departments like Chicago's and Wellesley's were in response to "the realization that ignorance of the English Bible was increasing and threatening the very foundations of sound learning."³⁷

At Wellesley, Woolley immediately introduced new courses as she eliminated old-fashioned ones like the Apostolic Age. The Bible, which included the New Testament, remained at the heart of the new curriculum. Woolley wanted the young and impressionable undergraduates to begin their religious studies by learning the

history and literature of the Old and New Testaments. Her intention was not to focus on the philosophy and history of religion nor on biblical criticism. Unchallenged Christian faith was fundamental to Woolley's educational ideal.

Within one year, by 1896, the department expanded into the Department of Biblical History, Literature and Interpretation and Woolley was promoted to associate professor. In 1897, Woolley taught a course in Hebrew, two Old Testament courses and two New Testament courses. She introduced new courses in the study of church history. The first was History of Christianity and the Christian Church during the first three centuries of the Christian Era, an elective course open to juniors and seniors. The second was the History of Christianity and the Christian Church from the 4th century A.D. to the 16th century A.D., an elective open to seniors.³⁸ She hired male religious scholars to teach part time. Edward Drown, whom she called her "guide, counselor and friend," taught at the Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge. He and Rush Rhees from the Baptist Theological Seminary in Newton taught the elective courses to juniors and seniors, remaining at Wellesley beyond Woolley's tenure.³⁹ Woolley hired Adelaide Locke, a Mount Holyoke alumna, who became acting head of the department in 1900 when Woolley left.⁴⁰

While head of the department, Woolley had the responsibility of inviting ministers and religious scholars to campus. Knowing the appeal and benefit to students of brief courses and single lectures, Woolley selected visitors who were guaranteed to generate interest. Her "good friends" Frank Saunders and Charles Foster Kent came from

Yale and Brown. Woolley described a visit and three speeches by the Scottish biblical scholar and Hebraist, George Adams Smith as "the crowning experience."⁴¹ She encouraged diversity and discussion by inviting lecturers like her Wheaton baccalaureate the progressive minister Lyman Abbott, who valued modern science and authored Christianity and Social Problems⁴² and Dwight L. Moody, the evangelist leader and founder of the Bible Institute in Chicago. Moody advocated the formation on college campuses of YMCAs and volunteer groups for the sponsorship of missionaries.⁴³ Woolley also invited her father who spoke on 'Christian Citizenship,' and people who attended the lecture were struck by how alike father and daughter were.⁴⁴

Her father's influence was evident in Woolley's activities beyond the Wellesley campus. She was committed to creating an effective Christian Association both at the college and in the local community. The Association's mission was to arouse interest in Bible study and to discover the best methods for spreading interest in the Bible. On Thursday evenings, Woolley led prayer meetings for local young women in a village meeting room that the Christian Association had worked to make "the brightest, cheeriest place in town."⁴⁵ The room became one of seventeen sites for Bible circles held in college buildings and in the village. Woolley practiced a kind of lay ministry in these voluntary groups.

In the classroom, where teaching replaced ministering, Woolley was able to maintain distance from issues of religious faith. One of her students commented that she could find "no trace of

personal bias"⁴⁶ in Woolley's teaching. In a New Testament class, out of concern for the feelings of a Jewish student, Woolley asked her if "the situation ever made [her] uncomfortable." She was worried that the student might feel isolated in the class, but the young woman responded that everything "was quite all right." Years later, the student recalled that,

What she [Woolley] said was interesting to me, as my attitude toward the New Testament course was entirely impersonal. It was just a nice little job, and one was out for any information on pretty much anything.⁴⁷

Woolley maintained a level of objectivity in her classes by avoiding secular interpretation and criticism of the Bible. Her pedagogical philosophy, when it came to religious studies, was inconsistent. She defined the university's mission as one "to inspire young men and women with the love of truth and knowledge, and with freedom and openness of mind to teach how these are to be attained," and quoted from the Areopagitica,

And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to undoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worst in a free and open encounter?⁴⁸

"Free and open encounter" did not encompass current religious controversy brought into the classroom. She wanted the students to absorb the lessons of the Bible and of church history, untroubled by discussions of societal challenges to faith. Personally, Woolley rejected the style and message of Bible-thumping evangelists, preferring the company of the "time-serving, tea-drinking, societified, smirking ministers"⁴⁹ that the evangelists warned were

the downfall of Christianity. In the classroom, however, she avoided both discussion of the significance of religions in history and of issues of faith. In her article on curricular reform in the universities and colleges, she quoted the philosopher Josiah Royce of Harvard, agreeing with him that "the road to light leads through discussion, and even mischievous opinion must often be tolerated," and she didn't explicitly exempt Bible study.⁵⁰ She enthusiastically praised and utilized the research methods of the modern college curriculum. New scholarship had,

invaded almost all branches of collegiate instruction....The college student of today is no longer content to limit himself to the storing of facts accumulated by the investigations of others. In history, original investigation or work from the sources has resulted in... a real contribution to knowledge.⁵¹

She appeared not to have recognized the conflict inherent in her wholehearted support of scholarship alongside her uncritical approach to teaching Christianity.

Beyond her teaching, Woolley excelled in her administrative responsibilities and assumed a leadership role in college affairs. Her reputation grew beyond Wellesley and in 1897, she was offered the principalship of Wheaton Seminary which she turned down.⁵² After her experience at Brown and her growing responsibility at Wellesley, the challenges at Wheaton were perhaps not great enough. She was also offered a teaching position at Smith College which she turned down.⁵³ In the same year, Irvine tendered her expected resignation but was persuaded to stay until June of 1899. The trustees formed a Search Committee, the first in Wellesley's history, and for two years, the

question of Irvine's successor was debated. Woolley must have been a possible choice, but a major factor worked against her candidacy. The last three presidents, Palmer, Shafer and Irvine, were all selected from within the college. This time, however, Wellesley was near bankruptcy and no potential candidates within the faculty were in financial or social positions powerful enough to solve the college's economic problems. The Board of Trustees believed that the new president had to be an outsider with new and extensive connections.⁵⁴ On a personal level, Woolley was perhaps unready for the leadership of an institution whose increasingly secular, progressive faculty pushed the limits of female involvement in scholarly and political affairs. Woolley's later understanding of these issues can in large measure, be attributed to her experiences at Wellesley. The college provided her with a rich opportunity to learn from some of the most outstanding women scholars in the nation, many of whom combined intellectual work with social and political activism. Through their activities, they were redefining the role of women in society.

The Women at Wellesley

Woolley joined a fascinating and diverse faculty committed to expanding the lives of women in every respect. These progressive women were conscientious teachers who believed in the superiority of the young women they were educating. Their task, as many of them saw it, was to teach an ethic of responsibility, to awaken in the students, who represented less than one per cent of the American

female population, the desire and the ability to improve society.⁵⁵ Among Woolley's new colleagues were Mary Whiton Calkins, Vida Scudder, Katherine Coman, Emily Green Balch, Katherine Lee Bates and Ellen Hayes. Calkins, described by a colleague as "the most perfectly integrated personality I have known," was a Smith College graduate who earned an unofficial doctorate from Harvard University (although she had fulfilled all doctoral requirements, Harvard did not yet grant Ph.D.s to women). She taught Greek, philosophy, and psychology at Wellesley. She was also a socialist and pacifist.⁵⁶ Vida Scudder was another Smith College graduate who, after attending John Ruskin's lectures at Oxford University, left with a painful awareness of the "plethora of privilege" in her own life. She accepted a position teaching English Literature at Wellesley, but the desire to work toward the improvement of society became paramount in her life. She could never forget "the debt that had to be paid back, the debt owed by the privileged to the dispossessed."⁵⁷

Uneasy about the elite status of America's colleges, Scudder organized the College Settlement Association at Wellesley because she believed that the settlement movement in England and America represented true democracy. Her hope was that the CSA would grow to become the unique contribution of women's colleges to the solution of society's problems. She was also a member of the Society of Christian Socialists, the group that Woolley had supported in her 1890 presentation to the New England Wheaton Seminary Club. Two years before Woolley's arrival, she took a year's leave from the college to open Denison House, a settlement in Boston. Scudder was

in open conflict with the Wellesley trustees over her political activities and Irvine, whose goal for Wellesley was its production of scholarship, called her "a thorn in the side of the institution."⁵⁸ Scudder was, however, one of the most popular teachers at the college. One of her students described her teaching.

Sometimes when I left Miss Scudder's class I was breathless for my mind had been carried to far places....It made the whole world of the past come alive for me as nothing else ever did and awakened a feeling of responsibility to play my part in this ongoing world.⁵⁹

In 1900, the year that Woolley left Wellesley, Scudder openly opposed a Rockefeller gift to the college and her conflict with the trustees intensified. After she spoke in Lawrence, Massachusetts at the 1912 textile strike, Wellesley demanded her resignation along with the resignation of a second faculty member, Ellen Hayes. Scudder wrote a persuasive letter expressing her views on academic freedom and Wellesley College and the trustees backed down.⁶⁰

Katherine Coman had earned a B.A. and a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan before she followed her friend Alice Freeman to Wellesley to teach political economy and history. She, along with Scudder, was a founder of the CSA and a principal fundraiser for the association. When Denison House opened, she became the chair of the Boston Settlement Committee and served on the executive committee of the Consumer's League, one of the first political organizations that Woolley joined.⁶¹ As chair of the committee on grievances of the Women's Trade Union League, Coman publicized a seamstresses' strike and helped them to win union recognition. She was trained in the

best of graduate programs and published several books on U.S. industrial history, conducting her research directly in the field.⁶²

Emily Green Balch, "the plainest of gaunt New Englanders, ... possessed of an inner radiance," graduated from Bryn Mawr in economics and studied at the Sorbonne. In 1892, she attended Felix Adler's Summer School of Applied Ethics where she met Jane Addams, Scudder and Coman, and joined Coman at Wellesley in 1896 as her assistant. Balch was convinced that economics had a "direct relation to the social question," and wanted to teach in order to awaken "the desire of women to work for social betterment."⁶³ The settlement movement provided a unique opportunity for the college woman to be thrown "into the midst of life with the veils (or some of them) off, and enable[d] one to learn by taking part in the game." She could gain a political education through experiencing

the interaction of the various forces that tend to raise and depress conditions.... The residents see the strong and weak sides of the public ideals, the roots and fruits of political corruption, bad housing and poor sanitation, the interrelation of all these factors and wages.⁶⁴

Katherine Lee Bates had earned her B.A. from Wellesley in 1880, spent a year at Oxford and returned to earn an M.A. at Wellesley where she joined the Department of English Literature. Bates' mother was a graduate of Mount Holyoke Seminary and her father a Congregationalist minister. She and Woolley had much in common and became good friends in spite of Bates' spirited rejection of organized religion. When the Board offered her the chairmanship of the English Department, she refused the position as long as she was required to take the religious oath.⁶⁵ Palmer had warned that the

college was in danger of losing some of its best faculty because of the strict oath obligation; the Board dropped the oath requirement from the statutes, and Bates accepted the position.

Teaching had not been Bates' first choice of profession. She had initially to be a writer⁶⁶ but felt it too indulgent a choice. An academic life also gave her more opportunity for influence and less economic uncertainty. At Wellesley, she epitomized academic excellence. She wrote prolifically and supported the social reform activities of her colleagues. She and Coman lived together in affectionate companionship and both lavished attention on a collie named Sigurd, whose son, Lord Wellesley, Bates would give to Woolley. Lord Wellesley was the first of many collies to become Woolley's beloved pets.⁶⁷ Coman and Bates co-edited a major book on English History and when Coman retired because of illness in 1913, Bates assisted her in volunteer work for the Progressive Party on a comprehensive study of European social insurance programs.⁶⁸

Ellen Hayes came to Wellesley from Oberlin in 1879. Durant, recognizing her extraordinary talents, favored her for leadership along with Freeman, but her views soon became too radical for the administration of the college. She remained in the mathematics department and kept the Wellesley community aware of feminist activity in the "outside world." She was active in both the National Woman's Suffrage Association and the American Woman's Suffrage Association, continuously investigating and reporting on the professional and occupational status of women. She believed that women need not be trapped into the roles that society had given them;

socialization was responsible for the attitudes of both men and women. Hayes objected to the discomfort of women's clothing, and she challenged the sensibilities of her colleagues and students by dressing in hand made outfits of loose-fitting pants and jackets that resembled men's clothing.⁶⁹

Hayes appeared to cope with the small world of college life by defining her own terms. Others like Scudder found the campus too stifling. She described Wellesley as a life "in a garden enclosed...an enclosure of gracious manners, regular meals, comfort, security, good taste,"⁷⁰ The epitome of class privilege. Scudder eventually suffered a nervous breakdown in 1901, but she remained at the college. Wellesley offered a secure life that could be found virtually nowhere else. Women were able to live independently and companionably with other women, rather than as dependent wives or single, aging daughters in family homes.

Woolley and Jeannette Marks

Until she accepted the position at Wellesley, Woolley had not considered living anywhere but with her parents. Although she lived in College Hall while Wellesley was in session, she still lived bedroom in the Woolley Pawtucket home during the five years. Marriage appeared to hold no interest for her. Perhaps she approached marriage with the same equanimity that Scudder did when she wrote, "as I had always serenely suspected without regrets, [it] was not for me."⁷¹ The focus of Woolley's emotional attachments had always been her family and her experiences at Brown and Wheaton did

not change this. At Wellesley, however, she entered a female community in which close relationships between women were common. Scudder called the affection that she felt toward many of her students a "spiritual maternity." She estimated that thirty to forty students had entered her "inner mansions." As the young women matured, the intimacies "ripen[ed] into equal fellowship."⁷² Scudder found an intimate, special friend in one of her students Florence Converse who was ten years younger than Scudder, and whose talents in creative writing complemented Scudder's. After graduation, Converse became an editor for the Atlantic Monthly, and she and Scudder lived together, sharing in Scudder's words, "both jokes and prayers"⁷³ for the rest of their long lives.

Woolley had many friends because she was a sympathetic and friendly woman, but she shared intimacies with no one. Her devotion to her mother was, by her own description, the most deeply felt love she had known. She was sensitive and attentive to her mother's smallest needs, calling her 'Blessed Little Mother' and sparing her difficulties and worries as much as possible.⁷⁴ Woolley had learned to "keep [the] nerves under."⁷⁵ While her father released his emotions in crises and her mother suffered silently, Woolley had worked to contain and submerge her feelings. She lectured herself, "Mary Woolley, your father was a soldier and he never faltered under fire. Now pull yourself together."⁷⁶ Her father had also advised her to never turn back once she had begun on a definite course. When, for the first time in her life, she felt drawn to a young woman whose feelings seemed mutual, she found herself on such a course.

Jeannette Marks was a twenty-year-old freshman, one of the 243 students that Woolley taught in the required Bible classes. The articulate and high-strung young woman quickly made herself known in class. She was tall with a slim build, and she wore her reddish-gold hair swept into a bun. Her eyebrows arched in a thin line over light blue eyes that were serious one moment, mocking the next. At thirty-two, Woolley herself was youthful and trim, her dark hair and eyes enhanced by a sense of style that made one student comment, "In the day when the Tailored Woman was just emerging, she was Par Excellence It."⁷⁷ Woolley's tweed suits and shirtwaists, immaculate with ascots pinned perfectly in place, prompted another student to observe that "she might have stepped out of a bandbox."⁷⁸

Woolley was at ease in the classroom. She never sat down and strode back and forth with a pointer in hand, tapping sections of the outlines that she routinely put on the blackboard. She had, according to one student, "a superb collection of stories" which she used to instill in her students an appreciation of the Bible. Another remembered that "[s]he told us of the stupid blunders we made in the geography and spelling of names and places in Palestine; and yet with such a sparkle in her eyes and with humor."⁷⁹ One wrote that she

felt [Woolley's] warmth and kindness...and responded to her power to make the individual feel that she counted. [She had a] teacher-instinct which did not assume a very great intelligence or training on our side of the desk in the lecture room.⁸⁰

Marks responded to Woolley's kind manner, but Woolley was not the only faculty member that she sought out. Marks was in great

need of emotional support. Her mother had died one month earlier in a sanitarium, her father was threatening to withdraw financial support, and her only sibling, a sister, had rushed into marriage. Marks wanted to attend college to study literature and then pursue a writing career. At Wellesley, she immediately threw herself into academic and creative work, finding a source of support in Bates who was always interested in students with literary talents. Marks submitted poems and stories to college and outside publications and quickly began to see her work published. Her stories were often tales of the needless deaths of pathetic victims, her poems about the search for love and the beauty of nature. Marks studied literature with Bates and Scudder in seminars that inspired her, and she enthusiastically accompanied Coman and other faculty members to meetings on labor and reform issues. She joined the College Settlement Association and gave monthly readings at Wellesley of her own and other writers' works. In her first publication in a national magazine, she wrote about Wellesley College with great affection. Buried in the glowing descriptions of the college is a revealing sentence. "Since man is as rare and as hard to find as a needle in a haystack, nothing is present to revile."⁸¹

During Marks' years at Wellesley, her father was living in Philadelphia, absorbed in his own affairs and periodically in financial straits that threatened his ability to support her. There was little reason to go home and Marks was accustomed to lonely weekends at boarding school. She had learned to make herself a welcome guest in other people's homes and Woolley was one of the

first faculty at Wellesley to invite her for the weekend. The affectionate, good-humored atmosphere of the Woolley household was both tonic for Marks and a reminder of her own situation. Over the course of the next three years, Woolley invited her frequently and came to think of Marks as a special friend. During her senior year, in November of 1898, Marks contracted typhoid fever and left school to spend the winter recuperating at Thoreau House, a convalescent home in Concord. Woolley apparently respected a doctor's request that she not visit, but Marks did travel to New York City to visit Scudder and then to Philadelphia to see her father. She was unable to graduate with her class, and her father refused to pay another year's expenses. Marks had to rely on faculty, friends and small jobs at school for financial support in order to graduate. After this first long separation, Woolley realized that she had missed Marks very much. She wrote on a narrow strip of ribbon, "Jeannette has been back a week. There's nothing like a good friend."⁸²

Woolley's Leadership Experiences at Wellesley

In Woolley's second year at Wellesley, the search committee began to look outside of the institution for the new president. Palmer used her influence on the Board to lobby for the appointment of a male president. She felt it was time to break the tradition of female dominance that made Wellesley unique among the elite women's colleges. She believed that the college's advancement was hampered by exclusively female leadership. Pauline Durant was still alive, however, and determined to fight for her husband's vision. "If we

get a man now," she said, "we will never again have the place for a woman."⁸³

Her opinion held sway, and the trustees searched instead for a well-to-do cultured woman with good social connections. Wellesley was in financial straits and desperately needed to build an endowment. For the third time, Palmer assisted the Board in appointing a president (in this case a compromise). Caroline Hazard was a woman who met most requirements. She came from an established Rhode Island family that counted among its members, abolitionists, suffragists, and fighters for women's education. Her grandfather was a founder of Brown University, and her father was a member of the Brown Corporation. Hazard was in her mid-forties, a large, vigorous woman who despite a lack of formal education had become a published expert in Rhode Island history as well as an accomplished poet.⁸⁴

She had travelled extensively, was an effective public speaker and spent much of her time administering the affairs of Peace Dale, the town based on progressive principles of social welfare that her father had created for the workers in his factories. Hazard accepted Wellesley's offer of the presidency "only with great reluctance and after much hesitation"⁸⁵ both because she doubted how successful she would be in fundraising and because she believed that her lack of academic training would be a handicap. She was persuaded by a promise of help with fundraising, by the appointment of a dean for administrative assistance and by the appointment of her brother, an astute businessman, to the Board of Trustees. She accepted in

March, 1899 with the comment, "A man's reach should exceed his grasp."⁸⁶

Hazard and Woolley were both board members of the Rhode Island Society for the Collegiate Education of Women and their two families were long-acquainted. If Woolley felt bypassed in the presidential search, there was no hint of ill feeling in her welcome to Hazard. She wrote to her,

May I send you a word of warm welcome to Wellesley? It is very pleasant to me to feel that I may look upon our new president as a personal friend,....I am glad for Wellesley and proud of my own state, that from her comes the right woman for so honorable and useful a service.⁸⁷

Woolley had requested and been granted a year's leave of absence to pursue doctoral work, but after discussion with Palmer, she changed her plans and wrote to Hazard.

I have felt increasingly sorry to be away from the college during your first year. I am not sure that the department is old enough to run without assistance, and it would be a pleasure to me too, to be at my post, if I could in any way serve you.

It was Palmer's expressed preference that Woolley stay to help President Hazard in her first year of leadership. In a spirit of cooperation, Woolley was "entirely willing to defer [her] absence from Wellesley for a year,"⁸⁸ and Hazard was delighted to have her support. In deference to the knowledge and skill of the college faculty, Hazard gave them full autonomy in administering departments and in making educational policy decisions. In return, she gained their trust and respect. Woolley was appointed to a new key administrative position as head of College Hall, the residence of between 200-300 students, and she was also made full professor,

remaining head of a department which had grown to include four full-time teachers and eight course offerings that year. 496 students were enrolled in classes. Woolley may also have been willing to stay at Wellesley for the year because Marks was taking a fifth year to finish her degree.⁸⁹

At College Hall, Woolley began an experiment in student government under her supervision. Selected members of a House Council met with her once a week, while the whole council met once a month, to begin a student initiative in governing the "Home Organization" of College Hall. In an article she wrote for the Wellesley Magazine, Woolley suggested that the women's colleges were in a unique situation.

The friends of student government at Wellesley feel that there is a wide field for it here, but they do not ask for a belief in its efficacy as a panacea for all ills; they wish only for the cordial support of faculty and students, that the plan of organization now being tried may have every opportunity to prove itself a source of real strength to the college.⁹⁰

The students were enthusiastic about the system and College Hall functioned better than it ever had. Woolley continued to live there and take her meals with the students. Personally, she had no strong objection to this arrangement, but an increasing number of faculty were unhappy with a tradition that virtually directed faculty to live among students for the purpose of close supervision. In response to persistent faculty protest, the trustees voted a \$300 increase in salary for those faculty who preferred to make off-campus arrangements for housing. A serious housing shortage on campus was part of the motivation, so that when twenty-seven faculty members

chose to move off campus, the trustees were not unhappy. Thirty-nine faculty, including Woolley, continued to live among the students, providing a "strong nucleus for elevating influence."⁹¹ Judging by student reaction to Woolley, this was successful. "I admired and loved her as we all did, and used to think wistfully that I wished I could ever hope to be lovely and charming as she seemed to me."⁹²

Another student remembered,

... I had an enormous admiration for her dynamic forthgoing personality and her deep human sympathy ... it was easy for most of us to love Miss Woolley quite spontaneously for her rare qualities of mind and heart.⁹³

A third recalled,

To me she always seemed the ideal of what a real lady shall be - her quiet way of speaking, her soft, friendly eyes as she looked into yours. I always felt I could go to her and discuss my troubles or joy, and get interested and earnest answers.⁹⁴

A senior whose room was next to Woolley's often visited with her and remembered how ardently Woolley spoke about the importance of women's involvement in national and international affairs.⁹⁵

A controversial issue in curriculum development was the possible introduction of Domestic Science as a field of academic study. Courses would include household management, sanitation, hygiene and childcare. The college held a series of lectures on Domestic Science, responding to the sentiment among some faculty that "something ought to be done in that direction." There were no plans to create a department or to invest money in equipment, but advocates of domestic studies hoped that the lectures might "awaken an interest in the subject, ... that something may grow out of it."⁹⁶ Opponents

vocally and insistently objected to the addition of any courses that diluted the academic focus of the college.

The issue would become a permanent part of the debate over goals in women's higher education. Converse observed in 1915 that,

The unwillingness of college faculties to admit vocational courses to the curriculum is not due to academic conservatism and inability to march with the times, but to an unclouded and accurate conception of the meaning of the term "higher education."⁹⁷

Wellesley had abolished the domestic work that Durant had considered an essential part of women's education.⁹⁸ The majority of faculty agreed that Wellesley should be dedicated to enriching the life of the mind and producing women whose intellectual development and academic skills prepared them for lives of inquiry and full participation in any societal role that she might choose. Woolley shared this view, recognizing the value of vocational and professional schools while insisting on maintaining the integrity of liberal arts colleges.

Woolley is Offered the Presidency of Mount Holyoke College

Woolley's own professional plans for the immediate future were to take the postponed leave of absence to pursue a doctorate. In December, she was presented with two almost simultaneous offers that set her life on a new course. Brown University offered her the position of Dean of the Women's College while Mount Holyoke College offered her its Presidency. "The December of 1899," she wrote, "was a critical month, the most critical, probably, in my life....That I decided as I did I have never regretted."⁹⁹ Despite her real ties to

Brown University and to its new Women's College, she chose the greater challenge, the Presidency of Mount Holyoke. Despite her many attachments in the Wellesley community, she was ready to break away from the familiar world. She seemed to feel little ambivalence about the challenge and opportunity that the Mount Holyoke offer represented. In a sense, to become President of Mount Holyoke meant to complete the circle of influence in her educational and professional life. The early Wellesley had been modelled on Mount Holyoke Seminary. Mount Holyoke was nurtured in its beginnings by Wheaton Seminary, and now Woolley would attempt to model Mount Holyoke College, still so much influenced by its seminary past, on the academic excellence of her Brown and Wellesley experiences. Woolley had never been to Mount Holyoke. She was "a woman without Mount Holyoke traditions" in the eyes of some who objected to appointing an outsider to the presidency.¹⁰⁰ However, the majority of the trustees and "the frisky new teachers from Wellesley, Oberlin, Smith and the Harvard Annex"¹⁰¹ were eager for Woolley to assume leadership of Mount Holyoke.

The Mount Holyoke trustees made their formal offer on January 4, 1900, and Woolley accepted eleven days later. When the Wellesley students were told the news in chapel, they assembled outside College Hall and called Woolley from her rooms in choruses of cheers. Hazard joined them and when the students called for speeches, she said,

We of Wellesley feel that we are very generous in letting Professor Woolley go from us to Mount Holyoke, but the tie

thus formed between the two sister colleges will draw Wellesley still nearer to Mount Holyoke.

Woolley told the students that "Wellesley and Mount Holyoke, together with her own alma mater, Brown, would always have a place together in her heart."¹⁰² Hazard declared in her next report that in Woolley's new role as president of Mount Holyoke, "all her abilities will have free play."¹⁰³

In contrast, Marks' future after graduation was problematic. She had no family home to return to and no plans for graduate study or employment. Bates took special interest and tried to find a high school teaching position for her and Marks considered graduate work at Radcliffe College. She spent her fifth year at Wellesley in an increasingly agitated state.¹⁰⁴ Marks had come to rely on Woolley's steady, compassionate friendship. After Woolley accepted the Mount Holyoke offer, more activities were added to her already busy schedule. In addition to teaching and administrative responsibilities at Wellesley, Woolley travelled throughout the country visiting Mount Holyoke alumnae groups to establish the connections essential for the work ahead. One evening in March when the two women were together at Wellesley, Marks cried in desperation about her uncertain future, and told Woolley that she depended entirely on her love. Woolley later wrote to Marks,

Do you remember that I was almost frightened when you said that you had entrusted your life to me, that your faith, your courage, your everything, depended upon me? I was frightened - I felt almost like saying that you must not, that I could not, dared not, take the awful responsibility. I do not feel so now -- God is first, both of us are in His hands - but as far as human trust can go, I joy in the realization that you have given yourself to me in this way.

I have put my life into your hands, dearest, for the great overpowering love of which I had never dreamed before, has come to me and nothing can ever separate us, my other and better half.¹⁰⁵

Woolley and Marks formalized their love with an exchange of a ring and a pearl pin, and a few weeks later, Woolley wrote to Marks about the revelation of their love for each other.

Your coming is my rest and refreshment and delight after my hours of work or "Sassiety"...Oh! my dear little girl, do you not know, can you not understand, that you do just as much for me as I can possibly do for you? I want to be what you think that I am, Jeannette --the fact that I love you makes me wish to be more in the world...you are an inspiration to me, dear, as well as my greatest comfort... Does it seem possible that it is only a few short weeks since we have felt that we could say all that we feel without restraint or constraint? Two such proud ladies, too, each one afraid that she felt more that the other and determined to keep her own self respect!...I am so glad that it is not a sudden "possessing," Jeannette, that for five years it has been coming surely to pass and that for almost three years I have realized that you were very dear to me, never as dear, however, as you are today.¹⁰⁶

That spring, Hazard traveled 4000 miles in twenty-one days, delivering twenty-four speeches about the importance of women's higher education and the Wellesley experience, an indicator of the work that lay ahead for Woolley. In May, Woolley and Hazard went to a reception at Mount Holyoke where Woolley thanked the outgoing President, Mrs. Mead, for her generous willingness to delay leaving until January of 1901.¹⁰⁷ Woolley planned a trip to England in the fall to visit the women's colleges in Oxford, Cambridge and London. June marked the celebration of Wellesley's twenty-fifth birthday and Pauline Durant gave the opening address. Five hundred alumnae attended the dinner, convincing evidence for the college women of the growing strength in numbers of educated women.¹⁰⁸

Woolley spent the summer at home in Pawtucket while Marks lived in Philadelphia. They exchanged almost daily letters and Woolley began to investigate the possibility of a teaching position for Marks at Mount Holyoke. She wrote to her,

If only the separation need not come! It will be so hard this coming year - first the ocean between me and all that I love, and then the new work among strangers!...Besides, we cannot afford to be separated! We should be bankrupt in the stationery and postage line! ... I cannot grow reconciled to the thought of being away from you. God in his Providence has given me this love when I most need it, when I am about to take up crushing responsibilities...Do you realize what it means to have you, the heart of my life, to talk with you as I would with my own soul, to have nothing hid, to feel that we are one?¹⁰⁹

In September, Woolley sailed for England with her cousin Helen Ferris while Marks headed back to Wellesley to begin graduate study with Scudder and Bates. Ten years had passed since Woolley's first trip to Britain when she had returned home wanting to study at Oxford. This time, she was the honored guest of the colleges she visited: Somerville, Lady Margaret, St. Hugh's, Newnham, Girton, Bedford in London, and Royal Holloway in Surrey. For three months, she visited schools and studied the methods and problems of women's education. At the University of Edinburgh, she visited a professor who had been one of her teachers at Brown, and they discussed the state of women's education. She stayed at a Temperance Hotel and attended a woman's political meeting, impressed both that women had gained suffrage in municipal affairs and that they felt empowered to hope for a "chance of a clean sweep" to eradicate the slums in Edinburgh and liquor, their two major concerns.¹¹⁰

At Surrey, she attended a formal reception and joked in a letter to Marks about the luxury and pomp of the affair. "You would have screamed could you have seen me - parading arm in arm with the principal between 2 lines of students - on dress-parade" She joked about imagining Wellesley's faculty "in décollete gowns," about the many servants and told Marks that she could acquire a taste for an English college president's life.¹¹¹ She made the rounds of concerts, museums and churches, concluding that she "adored" England.¹¹² After visiting one English friend, she wrote that the woman had a "beautiful home, a very fine husband (notice the order!)"¹¹³ Woolley's friend Lida Shaw King, who would become the Dean of the Women's College at Brown in 1905¹¹⁴, was travelling with the group, and Woolley confided in her about her love for Marks. "Dear old Lida ... she knows of my great love for my Dearest and yet seems to understand my love for her is just the same as it was before this supreme love came into my life." Marks was jealous of Woolley's affection for King, but Woolley consoled her with the information that another woman had "come to have the first place [in King's heart] as you have in my heart."¹¹⁵

A winter storm made the return crossing a harrowing experience, and the ship ultimately ran aground in New York Harbor. Woolley was a tireless traveller, a quality that would serve her well in the years ahead as responsibilities demanded constant national and world travel. Within a couple of weeks of her return, she accepted an invitation from her uncle, Frank Ferris, to speak at the annual dinner of the Presbyterian Union. She spoke on "Glimpses of

University Life for Women in England and Scotland," and the Reverend Charles Dickey spoke about the need for advanced Christian thinking. The Church must be practical and "reach the masses," he said.

"Swallow your contentions about creeds ... combination is the great necessity, stand together!"¹¹⁶ Progressive Christianity, with the commitment to unity in struggle had become a motivating in Woolley's life. Wellesley had given her the opportunity to recognize women's vast potential for personal growth and contributions to society.

Ahead lay the challenge of Mount Holyoke where Woolley would have the freedom to effect change that reflected her philosophy of educational goals for women students.

C H A P T E R VI

WOOLLEY'S INAUGURATION AND HER FOUR MAJOR CHALLENGES

"God in His Providence has given me this ... "

-- Mary Emma Woolley¹

Woolley stayed at home in Pawtucket between Thanksgiving and Christmas, and Marks joined her there for the holidays. On the morning of December 31, 1900, Woolley dressed in a stylish suit and white gloves to board a train for South Hadley, Massachusetts and Mount Holyoke College. When she left home, she placed a note on the dresser in her bedroom for Marks to read that evening.

You can help me to be brave as no other human love can...Pray for me that I may be strong and wise and brave - God will help me in our work, I know, and I feel that He will soon open the way for us to be together. How happy we should be, beginning the New Year and the new Century together.²

Woolley was optimistic about creating a position for Marks in the small English department at Mount Holyoke. She had agreed to follow Woolley to South Hadley, but Marks was not as sanguine about the prospect of a happy life together there. She liked Wellesley College where the faculty, especially in the English Literature Department, had become a surrogate family, and although she wanted the financial security that teaching offered, Marks really wanted to pursue a writing career. At twenty-five, she had earned a college degree and published a few stories and articles. Woolley was thirty-seven and had reached the height of success in the academic world through her appointment to a college presidency. Woolley's and

Marks' life together at Mount Holyoke would begin on these unbalanced terms. In addition, Marks was worried about the Mount Holyoke community's reactions to her special status as Woolley's friend. Unlike Wellesley, Mount Holyoke had not yet encouraged faculty to live off campus by providing living allowances. The faculty typically lived in dormitories among students. The gracious homes maintained by faculty women that were a part of Wellesley life were not typical at Mount Holyoke.

The women of Mount Holyoke were eager to meet their new president whom the women's college community praised for her academic accomplishments, her leadership skills, intelligence and gracious good humor, and in spite of limited opportunities for public speaking, her oratorical skills. For those who wanted the college to modernize and upgrade its academic standards, Woolley was a welcome leader. For those who cherished ties with the seminary tradition and feared their loss, Woolley was an acceptable compromise. She was a modern woman who wanted equality of opportunity for women, but she had no desire to break tradition with the religious and moral principles that were Mary Lyon's legacy. Neither did she share the view of the leadership at other women's colleges who believed that advanced education was primarily for women of the affluent classes. Woolley wanted Mount Holyoke to continue in its tradition of commitment to the education of qualified young women regardless of the economic status of their families. (Mount Holyoke's student body would inevitably become as homogeneous and affluent as that of Smith and the other colleges, but in 1901, it was somewhat more diverse.)

Faculty and administration continued to live among the students for cost efficiency as well as for the edifying influence on students. In keeping with this, Woolley moved into a sunny, spacious set of rooms on the first floor of Mary Brigham Hall. On the first night, following a day of welcoming activities, Woolley sat at her desk and wrote to Marks, "Darling, I think that you will like it here and I shall be so happy when we are working together...The year has brought me no gift as great as your love."³ A week later, feeling homesick and lonesome, she wrote to Marks, "and yet I must smile and keep a brave front to the world, this little world, which, I can feel, is watching every mood!"⁴ Mount Holyoke was indeed "a little world" that warmed slowly to newcomers. Woolley would do all that she could to ease Mark's acceptance there in the years ahead, but she would never completely succeed.

Marks arrived at Mount Holyoke at the beginning of the spring semester after Woolley negotiated for a new teaching position in the English Literature department. She moved onto the fourth floor in Mary Brigham Hall, three floors above Woolley's rooms, and the two women soon established a nightly routine that drew the attention of students and other faculty. Each night, Woolley climbed the stairs to Marks' rooms for a visit before retiring. The students observed this with varying reactions of surprise, embarrassment or amusement. One student mockingly nicknamed a doll 'Jamew', combining the initials of the names Jeannette Augustus Marks and Mary Emma Woolley.⁵ Privately, to Marks, Woolley shared Marks' desire for "no shadow of concealment in their relationship," but publicly, she

behaved cordially and formally toward Marks, a posture that disturbed both of them, but Marks particularly. Woolley described a "perfunctory How do you do?" and "Good-bye in the company of so many," telling Marks that what she really wanted was "to take you into my arms and kiss you, ... What shall I say to you, Dearest, when the room is full of people?"⁶

I knew that such love existed - but no friend had ever before come into my life as you have come into it...Few people ...are so rich as to have such a love, such a lover - David said of Jonathan - 'Thy love for me was wonderful, passing the love of women' - Dear Heart - Thy love for me is wonderful, passing the love of men.⁷

Public profession of their love was out of the question, and the boundary between their public and private lives would always be unclear and troubling. Disguising the intensity of her feelings for Marks would become a major challenge for Woolley. She and Marks continually sabotaged the secrecy of their relationship. One afternoon during her first week at the college, Woolley returned to her rooms to find a letter from Marks standing "in a prominent position" on her dressing table. She wrote to Marks, "I put it under my pillow when I went to sleep last night! I wonder what the student who takes care of my rooms, thinks of her president!"⁸ On another occasion, Woolley wrote a note to Marks,

Do not leave my letters around! A whole package of them was found by one of the girls tonight, behind your bookcase and brought to me by Mrs. Fairbanks!! I will keep them for you but advise you to lock them up as fast as received. I write too much as I would talk, for public circulation.⁹

For privacy, Woolley rented a hotel room in Springfield and Marks joined her there when Woolley returned from work-related

trips.¹⁰ Both women expressed the desire for a 'home' of their own, either in separate housing on campus or in a house in South Hadley.¹¹ Marks was self-conscious and sensitive to criticism about her 'favored' status with the president. She disliked what she called Woolley's 'pedestal' status, and, as she did with many issues, indulged in mildly sarcastic humor. One of her pet names for Woolley became "my darling Peddie." Her ambivalent feelings over Woolley's public persona probably explained her absence from the inauguration on May 15.¹²

The Inauguration

For the Mount Holyoke community and for Woolley's family and friends, the day was an occasion for great celebration. The warm May day, according to a reporter for the Springfield Republican, was one of

almost feminine beauty, a moist blue sky, with white piles of cloud on the horizon, and the yellow greens of the spring trees unfolding over the soft, smiling prosperity of the South Hadley farming lands.¹³

The official inauguration was the most ceremonial affair in the history of the college, purposely postponed until May in the hope of good weather and a large turnout of guests. A tradition of simple, modest ceremony was broken for the first time at Mount Holyoke as the college succumbed to what Woolley would jokingly refer to years later as the epidemic of the "new president bacillus." Colleges and universities had given birth to the 'academic function.' Between 1899 and 1900, Yale, Brown, Amherst and Wellesley held ceremonial

inaugurations.¹⁴ Wellesley College's fifth president, Hazard, was the first president of that school to be inaugurated with such ceremony.¹⁵ Mount Holyoke was doing the same two years later, no longer wedded to a standard of self-effacing public activity. With Woolley's inauguration, Mount Holyoke was ready to establish itself among the elite liberal arts colleges. The Board of Trustees had searched for a president who could convey this to the public. Those board members who believed that a man could do this best had been defeated. Mary Lyon's vision included female leadership at Mount Holyoke and Woolley was an almost ideal successor.

Unlike the outstanding scholars at Wellesley who preferred the rewards of research and the collective support of a college faculty, Woolley wanted the challenges of leadership.¹⁶ At thirty-seven, she was the youngest president currently in office at one of the oldest women's colleges. An admiring reporter described her as tall with "a good figure, a thin intelligent face, a bright manner and a firm but sympathetic mouth," assuredly "an earnest Christian woman."¹⁷ Woolley was an outsider to Mount Holyoke in the strict sense, but her empathy for Mary Lyon's educational ideals was genuine. Just as her father had agreed to lead the new congregation in Pawtucket, Woolley accepted the leadership of Mount Holyoke "after earnest and prayerful consideration, because it seems to me this is the work which God calls me to do."¹⁸

On Inauguration day, perfect spring weather attracted crowds of people, hundreds arriving in the town of South Hadley by electric car. A new, modern campus greeted them, the result of four years of

rebuilding after a catastrophic fire in 1896 that destroyed Mary Lyon's famous Seminary Hall. The quiet town and Mount Holyoke were transformed for a day. The college gymnasium became a genteel drawing room, filled with pale pink divans, palm trees, rugs, and easy chairs. Apple blossoms covered the basketball baskets and a floral pyramid of pine and laurel filled the center of the gym floor. Broadly-striped drapes of pale blue and white, the college's colors, cascaded down the walls. When the ceremonies began, hundreds of students, faculty, alumnae, trustees and guests walked in procession across campus past Mary Lyon's tomb and into the chapel of Mary Lyon Hall. Woolley walked with Hazard of Wellesley and the two women were followed by a cluster of men, Mount Holyoke's board of trustees and guest speakers, in an otherwise entirely female procession. Woolley shared the platform with her parents and fifty other guests including her first teacher, Mrs. Fanny Augur of Meriden, Connecticut.

Judson Smith, president of the Board and formerly the Chair of ecclesiastical history at the Oberlin Theological Seminary, spoke first, assuring the audience that the elaborate ceremony surrounding this inauguration entirely befitted Mount Holyoke. The college had entered the ranks of the elite New England schools. In his official capacity, he declared Woolley to be

President of Mount Holyoke College...We pledge to you anew our unquestioning confidence and hearty support; and upon you in this office which we trust you may long be spared to fill, and upon the dear college committed to your care, we invoke the blessing of Almighty God.¹⁹

Confidence and support had been hard won. In the initial stages of the board's search for a successor to Mrs. Mead, a vocal

faction had argued for the appointment of a man to the presidency so that the inferior tradition of female leadership would be finally ended.²⁰ On Inauguration day, those committed to female leadership at Mount Holyoke were elated. The audience of one thousand students and guests burst into jubilant applause as Woolley accepted the keys, charter and seal of the college. When the chapel was quiet again, she began to speak in a clear voice, the rhythmic cadence of her words revealing her father's ministerial influence.

It is with deep feeling that I stand here today and receive the insignia of the office to which you have called me. I can almost hear a voice saying, "The place whereon thou standest is holy ground." The past is with us, and we would not escape the associations and memories clustered here, if we could. I should like to turn back the pages of this history, to follow these streams of influence as they have flowed from their source among these grand old hills and spread into the world-ocean, carrying refreshment and life-giving with them. They would lead us into all lands and among all sorts and conditions of people, into the desolate places of the earth, into the slums of our cities and to the far-off districts of the East, into school-houses and colleges and homes, into the regions where it may be said, 'Thou hast set my feet in a large room,' and into the obscure corners of service. But this is not a time for looking backward, neither has it been the spirit of the school founded by Mary Lyon to dwell on the past, save as the 'has been' serves as an inspiration for the 'shall be.'²¹

Mary Lyon had predicted that as the demand for female education grew, "many good men will fear the effect on society of so much female influence, and what they will call female greatness."²² Sixty years later, Woolley knew that in this audience where Lyon's spirit was so evidently alive, some were still uneasy about the effects of higher education on women. She told her audience that the propriety of college education for women was no longer an issue. The

numbers of women enrolled in colleges and universities were increasing each year. The days were over, she said, when girls in Massachusetts "were forced to satisfy their intellectual cravings by sitting on the door-steps of the school-house to hear their brothers recite," and when the first public geometry examination of a young woman in New York "called forth a storm of ridicule." The change was so great that now one looked down the coming century "without daring to predict what it may bring forth."²³

She said that the purpose of education was preparation for life, for service in its broadest sense, and there were no boundaries limiting what a woman with a trained mind might do. She posed a rhetorical question. Why is it that women had not distinguished themselves in scholarship? The answer was simply that their education had not taken them into those fields. However, generations of training in the home had not been wasted. Women had become especially fit for scientific and historical research because they had acquired a "genius for detail, accuracy, and perseverance." These abilities, however, did not thwart women's capacity for "broad generalizations or the wide outlook of the scholar." Women were interested in mathematics, philosophy, literature, art, in short, in every discipline, "and the time seems not far distant when it will be conceded that the ability to master certain lines of thought is a question of the individual and not of sex." This was Woolley's first opportunity in such a large forum to articulate the lessons of her experiences at Brown and Wellesley.

Woolley asked if anyone in the audience wondered why she hadn't addressed the issue of a woman's preparation for the home.

It is not often asked whether college fits a man for home or not. It is taken for granted that his education equips him better for all aspects of life... including the possibility of home. Perhaps ability in leadership and organization has been more peculiarly the heritage of men, but now the colleges will instruct girls in subjects like mathematics and logic so that they too will develop the power of controlling circumstances rather than of being controlled by them.²⁴

Then she spoke to the young women in the audience. We must not forget, she said, nor fail to cultivate the more feminine characteristics like intuition and insight, skills uniquely learned by women and worthy of attention in education.

Women have been so often criticized for their habit of 'jumping at conclusions' that they are disposed to cut adrift altogether from such feminine procedure, forgetting that the quick intuition as well as the reasoning faculty is a gift...The insight into human nature, the sensitiveness to conditions, the ability to feel what one cannot explain by logical processes may be entirely freed from the obloquy which now rests upon it and receive recognition as an important factor in education.²⁵

She spoke to the educators in the audience. "Is it true that in the widespread diffusion of knowledge, we have a smaller number of virile, vigorous thinkers, men and women who create as well as absorb?"²⁶ She warned that for the sake of a progressive, democratic society, education must not occur in an intellectual vacuum. Social, moral, and spiritual factors must be part of higher education and college must stand for culture. The ideal college woman should be "a gentlewoman." "I have a fancy," she said,

for the old word. . . It carries with it a suggestion of the courtliness which springs from a royal heart, of courtesy which is based on unselfishness and consideration of others.

A synonym for "College woman" should be "gentlewoman"; the sacrifice of gracious womanhood is too high a price to pay for knowledge, a price which is not asked.²⁷

Few could have failed to notice that the new president of Mount Holyoke College embodied her own ideal. She ended as she began, with reference to the spiritual. "Education in its highest. . . is the building of the house upon a rock, and that rock is Christ."²⁸ In a moment, the applause from the audience was so insistent that she had to return to the podium and bow, raising her eyes, in the words of a reporter, with "an expression of happy ownership at the gallery full of enthusiastic girls."²⁹

Her friend Hazard spoke next, emphasizing the "maternal" connection between Wellesley and Mount Holyoke.

One sometimes sees a very beautiful reversal of the relations of mother and daughter. The mother, who has bestowed so much love and care, becomes herself the object of the daughter's solicitude. . . . In a very true sense the college where we are gathered today may be said to be the mother of us all.³⁰

She welcomed Woolley "with joy" to the small world of women presidents in which each woman "must literally work out her own salvation, along the line of her own highest powers."³¹

Today in seeing an honored and beloved professor of Wellesley made the president of Mount Holyoke, Wellesley crushes back a sigh for her own loss, and can only rejoice with Mount Holyoke in her gain. For she knows what it is she is giving you. . . She [Woolley] has the gifts of mind to awaken [the students'] enthusiasm, and the gifts of heart to call forth their love. . . . You may safely commit the affairs of this college to these wise and womanly hands.³²

The next three speakers were men with whom Woolley had been acquainted since her childhood. Reverend James Monroe Taylor, at one time a minister in South Norwalk, Connecticut and Providence, Rhode

Island, was currently the president of Vassar College in New York. In 1899, Taylor had rejected an offer of the presidency of Brown University, and his decision to remain at Vassar was generally applauded by the women's college community. Wellesley published his letter to the Brown University trustees because Taylor's desire to influence women's education seemed to acknowledge the progress women were making.³³ In the years ahead, Taylor would prove conservative when women's rights issues came to the Vassar campus.³⁴ At Woolley's inauguration, Taylor focused his speech on the importance of religion in education. He decried the existence of too much theory and system "until it seems as if we had all become Pharisees, tithing the mint and anise and cummin, and forgetting the greater needs of the spirit."³⁵ He said nothing about the implications for women and society in expanded educational opportunity.

The Reverend George Harris who had once been pastor of the Congregational Church in Providence and a friend of Woolley's father, followed President Taylor. In 1886, he was tried for heterodoxy while a professor and editor of the Andover Review at Andover Theological Seminary and, after six years of litigation, was acquitted. He became staff minister at Dartmouth College and Harvard College and in 1899 assumed the presidency of Amherst College, Mount Holyoke's neighbor in the Connecticut Valley.³⁶ President Harris was pleased to mention in his opening remarks that Amherst College had recently conferred on Woolley its first honorary degree ever on a woman, an L.H.D. He told the audience that he had watched Woolley's career with admiration, and that Mount Holyoke was fortunate in

having a president so "eminent in scholarship, practiced in institutional administration, noble in character, modern in breadth of culture and sympathy."³⁷ Like Taylor, Harris had cautionary sentiments to share with his audience, but they were not admonitions for spiritual seriousness. Harris told his audience

[I am] old-fashioned enough to believe that graces and accomplishments should be cultivated by women and that emphasis should be laid upon them in education. Literature, modern languages, music, and art should have the right of way rather than mathematics, sciences, economics, and - may I say it? - the ancient languages. . . . For women that are looking forward to homes of their own and to society, their two principal spheres, emphasis should be placed on the culture that comes from music, art, English, and modern languages.

He conceded that for young women who planned to teach,

mathematics, Greek, and even sciences, must be provided by the college, I suppose, so long as females teach young males, but such occupation of women may not continue very long, and nearly all women who teach regard that occupation as temporary, to be followed by activity in home and society.³⁸

Harris also cautioned the women's colleges to keep their enrollments small.

It is to be hoped that this college will not become larger but will maintain the high standards that are now upheld, so that the women of Mount Holyoke College will be an educated elite.³⁹

Woolley appeared unmoved by Harris' comments as she sat listening behind him on the platform. Afterward, observers called his warnings and prescriptions "unusual," "facetious," and "semi-humorous."⁴⁰

President William Faunce of Brown University was the final speaker. Faunce relieved the tension created by Harris' comments "with some merriment," according to one observer. He good-humoredly

challenged Harris to a debate on the subject of women's education when they both had more time.⁴¹ At forty-one, Faunce was closer in age to Woolley than the other men, was also a graduate of Brown University, a minister and a Woolley family friend. He became president of Brown in 1899 after Taylor turned down the offer. A large, affable man, he laughed along with the audience over his challenge to what one woman called Harris's "unusual views on education for women."⁴²

Faunce quoted George Eliot in his speech revealing in his selection a sensitivity to the contradictions and prejudices confronting educated women. Eliot had written about her fictional character, "You never thought of asking what she could do, secure in the blissful consciousness of what she was."⁴³ Faunce was confident that, unlike Eliot's heroine, Woolley would show what she could do. How fitting, he said, that she had moved from the land of Roger Williams to the home of Mary Lyon. They were kindred spirits in their rejection of conventional opinion.

We [Brown University] cannot claim to have produced her [Woolley], for she owes more to a sturdy New England parentage than to any schools whatever. We cannot claim to have discovered her, since at Wellesley she first showed her teaching power. But we may rightly claim to have equipped her for service, and her loyalty and our pride constitute a double bond henceforth between Mount Holyoke and Brown.⁴⁴

He went on to say that women might soon outnumber men in colleges, that the number of women graduating from college was constantly increasing. In contrast to Harris' concerns, Faunce expressed faith in the ability of women's colleges to "face the perils of growth and success undaunted." Mount Holyoke had developed

an ideal that he believed was "frankly feminine" in its commitment to train women for service in society.

Here we are entering ground where angels would fear to tread. We rejoice in the emancipation of woman from the shackles of conventionality, from the serfdom assigned to her in the Miltonic cosmogony, and from the conception of the fashionable finishing school, where embroidery, piano playing and French exercises were the main equipment for life.⁴⁵

Faunce asserted that he would not promote men's or women's education that "would fain destroy the fundamental antithesis of society" so that "all manly men and womanly women" would merge into "a mass of sexless human beings." In illustration, he suggested that while men needed only a reading knowledge of foreign language for access to science, history, and economics, women needed both "reading and speaking mastery" to gain the literature and language of other cultures. No one, he stressed in closing, wanted to weaken the "distinctively virile spirit in men's colleges. ... Equality we must ever seek; identity we must ever shun."⁴⁶ Faunce seemed to share Harris' pride in the "distinctively virile spirit" of men's colleges.

When the speeches ended, the Reverend Woolley came forward to give the benediction, and as father and daughter stood together, they glanced at each other with pride. Woolley chose a selection from Paul to the Romans, and he delivered the verse with great feeling. "O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past tracing out!"⁴⁷ A reporter observed that,

... it was a most touching incident ... As he stood there by the side of his beautiful daughter, he evidently felt that

the benediction had already fallen on himself beyond all measure.⁴⁸

The recessional, "The Son of God Goes Forth to War," began and the audience slowly left the chapel as Woolley quickly headed for the gymnasium where, for an hour and a half, she received a stream of wellwishers. Festivities were scheduled for the next several days, including the college's first May Day celebration, but Woolley's official day would soon end with a small dinner party. That night, her mother wrote in her diary, "May's Inauguration day - bright and beautiful in every way."⁴⁹ A freshman wrote to her mother in great detail about the day. She described "dear Miss Woolley on Mr. Judson Smith's arm. ... Miss Woolley's speech was just like herself and was applauded very heartily indeed." Of the speakers she liked Faunce "best of all." He was "just fine," the "embodiment of culture, ease and brains." The Inauguration day's events did have an impact as one young student's reaction demonstrated.

None of the speeches was without the reference to Christian character, service, etc., and it all sounded so good! I had almost to pinch myself to be sure I was not dreaming, --to think that a year ago I was reading extracts from Miss Hazard's Inaugural address -- a little country girl, and now here I was, at a real Inauguration, listening to all the helpful and uplifting speeches myself! I could have gone on listening to addresses like those the rest of the afternoon
...⁵⁰

Mount Holyoke's Uncertain Status Among the Women's Colleges

Board of Trustees President Smith had asserted in his speech that Mount Holyoke's standards of admission and graduation equalled those of the other New England Colleges. He emphasized the college's

\$500,000 endowment, the value of the physical plant estimated at \$500,000, the twelve buildings on campus, ten of which were built in the past five years, the growing student body currently at 550, and the growing faculty, already at forty full-time members.⁵¹

Smith's praise of Mount Holyoke was motivated by pride in the college's growth, but Smith was also challenging the critics who persistently held that Mount Holyoke was not in league with the best women's colleges. Specifically, the Board had recently responded to criticism by President M. Carey Thomas at the opening of Bryn Mawr College in the fall of 1900. In her remarks, Thomas praised independent women's colleges as the best choice for young women, superior to coeducational and affiliated colleges, and she cited Vassar, Wellesley, Smith and Bryn Mawr as the four great colleges among a larger group of eleven. She cited Mount Holyoke as one of three that were "very good, that are not quite as high in standard nor as rigid in their courses." Mount Holyoke trustees read Thomas' comments in a lengthy article appearing in the Springfield Daily Republican and A.L. Williston, the college's treasurer, was provoked to write Thomas a terse note asking her to "state the definite facts" upon which she based her assertions. Thomas quickly responded, claiming first that she had never expected her informal comments to make the newspapers, "above all the New England papers," and then went on to enumerate the weaknesses that she observed in Mount Holyoke College. She included the college's small endowment, the granting of credit for technical work in music and art, the small number of faculty, the recent separation of the preparatory

department from the rest of the college (1893) and the lesser and inferior quality of academic work done by Mount Holyoke students because of the perpetuation of the tradition of obligatory domestic work. "All this is confirmed," Thomas wrote, "I think by the fact that a degree from Mount Holyoke does not yet rank as equal to a degree from any other one of the four Colleges."⁵² Three months later, Williston had compiled the information necessary for a reply. He wrote a second terse but lengthy note to Thomas on December 17, 1900, a month after Woolley's return from England and Woolley may well have assisted him with the Wellesley College comparisons.

... I trust the statement herewith will help to qualify and remove some of the misconceptions under which, I fear, you in common with others may have labored ... The question of endowment, if judged on the same basis as that of other Colleges, i.e., by the latest figures and taking into consideration buildings and equipment, can no longer be raised against Mt. Holyoke College since its productive funds are now over \$500,000. While taking into account land and buildings, its total property valuation is now over one million dollars. It must also be remembered that this is country property, not City, and Mt. Holyoke has always been kept at slow valuation for reasons pertaining to local and state taxation.

The total cost of its buildings, the larger part of which have been built within four years, is now nearly or quite equal to two of the four colleges, i.e., to Bryn Mawr and Smith, and its Laboratory equipment is equal to, or in excess of Vassar and Smith. See Monographs of Education by M. Carey Thomas, 1900, and World's Almanac, 1901. ...

Credit in art and music is now limited to 8 semester, or 4 yearly hours, counted as at Bryn Mawr or Wellesley. If in music 1/4 of this must be harmony. No art courses which are purely technical are given. In all, formal theoretical work forms a good proportion of the work. Wellesley gives credit for three hours (yearly) in Art provided a three hours theoretical course has been previously taken.

... It seems hardly possible that the number of Faculty of Mt. Holyoke should be considered small when it is in the

ratio of 1 to 11 students, while Vassar has only 1 to 13 and Smith 1 to 22. Moreover Bryn Mawr with 1 to 8 gives three years of graduate work and has nearly 1/5 her whole number of students in that work. A fact which of necessity greatly increases the number of those giving instruction in proportion to the students. (See World's Almanac 1900.) ...

The question of domestic service is, of course, a matter of private living unless the standard of educational work is thereby lowered. The facts do not bear this out. They are as follows: --

a. The very small amount of time (30 minutes daily) given to this work is taken from recreation and rest time, not from the hours of work.

b. If time were lost in domestic service, it would be more than compensated by the longer school year, 36 weeks, Bryn Mawr, 32, thus bringing Mt. Holyoke into line with Universities rather than the Colleges.

c. The domestic service is a form of co-operative work, not to be lightly set aside on account of a theory not based on facts. There are two Colleges where a part of the women aid themselves in this way, (while the others do nothing of the sort) e.g., Northwestern and Wellesley College. Thus the two classes are brought into direct comparison in the class room. The testimony from both Colleges is in favor of the students who do some work to aid themselves.

Prof. Whiting who is at the head of Fisk Cottage in Wellesley speaks warmly of their success socially and educationally evidenced by the offices in the gift of the whole body of students which are held by members of this small body, prizes won and general high standing as students.

Prof. Atwell after consultation with Dean Bonbright asserts confidently that in a comparison of those who do and do not do domestic work, the advantage educationally certainly is not with the latter. If any difference, the former excel. This work engenders self-helpfulness, self-reliance and a command of resources which help the student in her mental grasp.

Viewed from any other than a scholastic standpoint, it is a purely private matter, a manner of living which each College and each student decide individually.

... Wellesley catalogues do not show change in the amount of scholastic work required since the abolishment (partially)

of domestic service. Entrance requirements and College hours of work have not been raised. If there has been increase in the amount accomplished in the hours, it has still been successfully done by girls who do domestic work.

... The facts do not warrant the assertion that domestic service lowers the amount or quality of the educational work of a College

Finally, in response to Thomas' claim that "a degree from Mt. Holyoke does not yet rank as equal to a degree from any one of the four colleges", Williston asserted that

Chicago, Yale, Michigan, Cornell, all consider the Mt. Holyoke degree on a par with their own and express perfect willingness to admit holders of our degree to the graduate school on the same terms as their own graduates. Many of our students are doing graduate work with marked success.⁵³

True or not, Thomas' criticisms rankled the members of Mount Holyoke's Board of Trustees. The Board would work hard and cooperatively with Woolley to upgrade the college's standards. Williston's assertions about Mount Holyoke's achievements and status involved some posturing. Woolley knew that her success as president carried a set of challenges that had to be met if the college was to join the ranks of the elite women's colleges. As recently as 1896, President Mead had lamented the lack of faculty ranking because it discouraged the best scholars and teachers from coming to Mount Holyoke.

Shall not the Mother of all colleges for women recognize the dignity of the work, and the high position she has been instrumental in securing for woman by giving her the title of professor?...Our success as a college ... seems now to be absolutely dependent upon our ability to call teachers properly qualified for the position of heads of departments. The inability to do this makes the situation embarrassing.⁵⁴

Mead was correct. The trustees were in agreement and voted to implement a ranking system "to end the longstanding policy of inbreeding" and "[S]everal frisky new teachers," graduates of prestigious colleges, were hired.⁵⁵ Until 1887, only three members of the staff had not been educated at Mount Holyoke. In 1889-1890, when these graduates of Wellesley, Harvard Annex, Oberlin and Smith arrived, the faculty began a slow expansion over the next few years that would bring to Mount Holyoke graduates of the Universities of Chicago, Michigan, and Syracuse and scholars who had pursued graduate studies in Berlin, Zurich, Oxford and London.

In her criticism of Mount Holyoke, Thomas focused on the small number of faculty at the college. In 1901, Woolley faced the difficult challenge of attracting faculty with excellent credentials to a college where salaries remained significantly below those of the other women's colleges. Salaries had been kept low deliberately in order to keep tuition costs low, and tradition stood in the way of raising salaries since Christian work involved willing sacrifice. Woolley had a mandate to preserve the uniqueness of Mount Holyoke embodied in Mary Lyon's educational ideal, "an ardent desire to do the greatest possible good," while simultaneously shifting the college's focus onto the achievement of academic excellence.

Woolley Faces Four Major Challenges

President Hazard had said that Woolley, as a member of the very small family of women college presidents, would have to work out her own salvation along the line of her own highest powers. With

the knowledge and experience gained from eighteen years of student and faculty life at Wheaton, Brown, and Wellesley, and two visits to Britain's universities, Woolley began her work at Mount Holyoke with skill and determination. She faced four major challenges. The first was to advocate publicly for the higher education of women. She had to promote the value of college training against persistent, destructive prejudice that too much education damaged women's health and compromised their nature. Among those already committed to women's education, Woolley worked to develop intercollegiate cooperation, believing that unity was essential to strengthen the movement for higher education.

Her second challenge was to bring Mount Holyoke to undeniably equal status with the other elite women's colleges. In order to accomplish this, she would have to significantly increase the college's endowment, upgrade both the faculty and the student body, improve the curriculum, and remove the domestic work system that was a hallmark of Mount Holyoke's education. She would achieve all of these, in part, through effectively promoting Mount Holyoke and Mary Lyon's ideal in the world outside the college. Her third challenge was Woolley's own desire to follow her father's social gospel imperative, broadened by Wellesley's atmosphere of progressive social thought and action. Woolley believed fervently that, in addition to academic training, a college should inculcate in its students a lifelong commitment to social responsibility. As she worked toward this goal at Mount Holyoke, Woolley also succeeded in enhancing the prestige of the college. She attracted reknowned

visitors and affiliated herself with a constantly increasing number of moderate reform groups. Her fourth major challenge was to create a place for Marks in her life at Mount Holyoke. Marks would soon become Woolley's "family" and Woolley became determined to share her life with Marks at the college.

Woolley - Heir to Mary Lyon's Ideals

In 1904, as part of the celebration of the 107th anniversary of Mary Lyon's birth, the college presented Woolley with a hand-bound journal of Lyon's containing parts of her speeches from her earliest years of teaching, a symbolic gift for Lyon's heir.⁵⁶ Woolley was well-acquainted with the history of Lyon's activities at Ipswich Academy and Wheaton Seminary and with Lyon's passion to pursue a dream of educating masses of women for the good of the world. Woolley said, "Education for service is the keynote in academic conceptions today, it was fundamental in the thought of Mary Lyon."⁵⁷ Mount Holyoke had been slow to adopt the classical curricula of male colleges, in part because the community saw its mission as distinctive. Those members of the Mount Holyoke community who might have feared rapid change from an outsider discovered in Woolley a leader who was able to articulate solutions to current problems in the language of Lyon's ideals.

Woolley referred to Lyon frequently in her speeches. She emphasized Lyon's democratic vision of education for poor women who could not afford to attend seminaries like Ipswich and Wheaton. Woolley, as Lyon had, relied on the wisdom of Saint Paul in the

Epistles for guidance. Woolley also acknowledged Paul's views on women, "For I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence," and, like Lyon, respectfully dismissed his directive.⁵⁸ Woolley held that Paul was a man of his times and therefore could not have anticipated the great changes of the future. One of the trustees had suggested naming Lyon's school Pangynaskean Seminary, the word 'pangynaskean' ambitiously denoting "whole-woman making scheme." The name was ridiculed into oblivion at the time,⁵⁹ but Woolley in good-humored sympathy, deliberately reminded her audiences of the lost name,

Grateful as we are that the new enterprise escaped that christening, there is a sense in which every college worthy of the name is a whole woman, or a whole man, making institution.⁶⁰

Beginning with her inaugural speech, Woolley connected Lyon's ideal with the possibilities of progressive change in college policies, and it was a strategy that served her well.

One important reason for Woolley's immediate popularity was her lack of defensiveness about the school's idiosyncracies and limitations. In 1901, Mount Holyoke life still had a monastic quality. Discipline was enforced through a self-monitoring system of public confession of transgressions. Missionary influence remained strong and, unlike Wellesley, there was virtually no expression of social or political ideas. Bible study permeated the thinking of the community but there were few discussions of biblical controversies. Rather than dwelling on the conservative impulses that worked to keep Mount Holyoke at a standstill, Woolley emphasized the progressive

aspects, linking Mary Lyon's ideals and the school's accomplishments in an historical chain whose end as she said in her inaugural address, one couldn't "dare to predict."⁶¹ In 1901, Woolley began right away to introduce activities into Mount Holyoke that were consistent with its seminary traditions but which also brought new elements. She instituted annual patriotic services on both Washington's birthday and Memorial Day, opportunities, as she said, for "the preaching of present-day patriotism."⁶² She instituted vesper services on the first and third Sunday evenings of the month and incorporated a vested choir led by the young professor William Churchill Hammond.⁶³ May Day, a day of pageants and plays, was a purely secular annual event, held for the first time on the day following Woolley's inauguration.

Student obligation to perform domestic duties was one tradition that left Mount Holyoke open to criticism from those who voiced concern about academic standards and viewed the work as demeaning or dangerous to female students' health. Lyon's intention when she introduced domestic chores in the seminary was not to teach housekeeping skills but to develop a cooperative spirit among the young women as well as a homelike environment in the school. "Might not this simple feature do away with much of the prejudice against female education among common people?" she had asked.⁶⁴ Among the general public, perhaps, but in the world of higher education, it became one of the most publicized criticisms of the seminary. Although the domestic work typically involved tasks like baking bread and polishing silver, it was labelled "servile labor." In the

1870's, newspapers referred to the seminary as a "Puritan convent."⁶⁵ Woolley dealt slowly and judiciously with the sensitive issue of domestic work, not achieving her goal of eliminating the practice until 1914. In the 1880's, the conservative faculty still remained opposed to attempts made by the more progressive Board of Trustees' to change equally established traditions like the students' self-reporting system of discipline. The Board was, in fact, responding to increasing discontent among students.

Woolley was cognizant of Mount Holyoke's history of struggle and isolation. The challenge to bring Mount Holyoke into the elite community of higher education as an equal member and as a major contributor to unified efforts toward excellence was paramount for her in the first half of her presidency. The persistent popular conception of Mount Holyoke students was that they were "all embryo missionaries in shawls, woolen gloves and hymn books."⁶⁶ Woolley exhorted the Mount Holyoke students to be proud of the aspects of the college that set it apart from other colleges. "U. T. H." became a code for "uphold the honor" of the college, to not allow anyone to ridicule domestic work, quiet hours or missionary service because these traditions made Mount Holyoke an honorable and democratic institution dedicated to service to the world.⁶⁷

The college's struggles were not entirely explained by the past and present influence of religion and tradition. Mount Holyoke's near neighbor in Northampton, Smith College, was founded in 1875 to provide young women with a rigorous, classical education that paralleled that of college men, specifically those attending Amherst

College. Coeducation was successfully avoided in this way, a primary concern at Amherst College. L. Clarke Seelye was persuaded to take the presidency of Smith College by fellow board members of Amherst College. Edwards A. Park of Andover Theological Seminary told Seelye,

... you would be a means of preventing well-established colleges from introducing women into their existing course of study and would thus save the community from a great amount of evil.⁶⁸

The creation of Smith College was a happy result for many, but Mount Holyoke, viewed by some as an unwelcome competitor, had to fight for its right to co-exist as an equal institution. Two members of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, one a graduate of Boston University and one of Vassar, opposed Mount Holyoke's efforts to gain a college charter in 1888 because they feared that their schools' enrollments would suffer from the competition.⁶⁹ Woolley's goal was to enhance women's education through cooperation, not rivalry, and she made every effort to encourage that cooperation through contact and familiarity. President Seelye was one of her invited speakers at Founder's Day in 1903. His address focused on why the women's colleges were founded but made no mention of the avoidance of a "great amount of evil" as a primary reason for Smith's founding. Rather, he told the Mount Holyoke audience that

a woman's college lessens greatly the risks in health, in manners, and in morals. It secures greater freedom both for work and for play, and a more refined and agreeable social atmosphere.

The success of the woman's college prevented men from "justly" saying that "[t]he so-called woman movement gives to woman

every possible freedom except one, - that of being woman." For Seelye, women's colleges guaranteed that "natural sexual differences" were not diminished and he quoted from Shakespeare, "A woman impudent and mannish grown/Is not more loathed than an effeminate man/In time of action."⁷⁰ Woolley tolerated these presumptuous remarks in the interest of her larger goal, contact between the two sister colleges. Seelye was, after all, only a visitor to Mount Holyoke. Woolley would have to wait until 1913 for the appointment of William A. Neilson to the presidency to find a compatible male spirit in educational leadership at Smith College.

In 1905, at another Founder's Day celebration, a proponent of radical differentiation of educational goals for women and men expressed his views. William DeWitt Hyde, President of Bowdoin College, told the Mount Holyoke audience that the educational ideal for women was to

make toil tolerable, leisure enjoyable, home habitable, and life livable by the beneficent ordering of consumption and gentle ministry to individuals, either in the home or some not too impersonal vocation. In scholarship, women ... should ... be kept up to a reasonable standard of attainment, but they should be subjected to no artificial stimulus; incited by the offer of no prizes; never told their rank in comparison with the rank of others; relieved of all competitive considerations; judged by regular work from day to day rather than by high pressure examination periods on which their intellectual fate is supposed to hang.⁷¹

Further, Hyde said that women had won the right to equality. "Women's rights are practically won. Except that she is excused from a few formal political duties, she can have anything she wants."⁷² It was essential now, he asserted, that there be a "radical

differentiation"⁷³ of educational goals for men and women. Women should be educated to consume and transmit knowledge through "intelligent conversation, ... the discussion of social questions and especially teaching." Very few women had the capacity for "productive scholarship" which was "almost exclusively man's sphere."⁷⁴ Even if a woman demonstrated the ability, sacrifice of the "womanly ideal," was too dear a price. Men, as producers in society of scholarship, industry and politics, had to control "effective direction of production." Women as consumers of education and economic life and as determiners of public sentiment in political life had to control the "beneficient ordering of consumption."⁷⁵

One can imagine Woolley's internal reaction to Hyde's comments. By 1905, she was actively developing and increasing opportunities for "artificial stimuli" in scholarship, ranking, examinations, debating and other forms of competition with the goal of educational equality for men and women in productive scholarship. In regard to economic issues, Hyde focused on personal consumption for women. If a woman were forced by circumstance to work for a salary, her work should involve only "immediate personal consumption" as in nursing, teaching or "retailing in small communities."⁷⁶ Woolley took the concept of ordering consumption and expanded it to include a major role for women in the social ordering of consumption. Settlement work, the Consumer's League and protective legislation all became part of women's social responsibilities. As to Hyde's reference to "a few formal political duties" withheld from women, suffrage became an issue at Mount Holyoke that same year.⁷⁷

The College that Woolley Encountered

Mount Holyoke opened in the fall of 1901 with 550 students. The majority were from the Northeast and belonged to the Congregationalist faith. As recently as the mid 1880's, the student body had been more diverse with many students from New England farming families and from other regions, but by the first decade of the twentieth century, Mount Holyoke's student profile was looking increasingly homogeneous. The college attracted increasing numbers of young women whose fathers were businessmen or professionals. (between 1901-08, 56% were from large cities and over 60% were from professional families)⁷⁸ However, students continued to choose Mount Holyoke over other women's colleges for reasons similar to those given by students who attended the seminary ten to twenty years earlier. Financial reasons were still at the top of the list because Mount Holyoke had the lowest fees of the women's colleges. Other major reasons for selecting Mount Holyoke included following in the footsteps of other family members, the school's "fame and discipline," "its moral tone," and the "cheapness, thoroughness and closeness to Amherst."⁷⁹

Discipline and moral tone were evident everywhere. A 10 o'clock rule sent the students to bed with proctors patrolling for enforcement. Every student had her domestic work assignment (labeled "dom work" officially but recalled as "dumb work" by at least one alumna.)⁸⁰ The entire college went to the village Congregational Church every Sunday following chapel service on campus. Faculty

prayer meetings and class prayer meetings were held every Saturday night after dinner. Students and faculty ate dinner together at tables of fourteen with a senior seated at one end and a faculty member at the other, a guarantee of "enlivening conversation" at each meal. As she had at Wellesley, Woolley enjoyed this contact with students. Exercise was prescribed for everyone, "vigorous outdoor exercise" in the form of walks around the countryside in addition to more formal activities. Competition was downplayed, and a minority of student dissidents complained of the prejudice that disallowed the benefits of competition for women.

We are told that woman is incapable of detaching herself from the personal point of view and of maintaining an argument for the sake of an abstract principle. Hence any form of competition arouses personal feelings - usually of resentment and antagonism.... the hearty handclasp between victor and defeated on the battle grounds of men" is rarely to be found in rivalry of women.⁸¹

In 1902, at the direction of the instructor, an English class wrote essays discussing the new president's responsibilities.

One student said,

To conserve the traditions of other days so far as they were fundamental but to so graft upon them that while the original vigor was unimpaired the fruits should be ever more abundant and increasingly desirable, was the problem confronting the incoming President, Miss Mary Emma Woolley.⁸²

For Woolley, female leadership and community founded in religion and social responsibility were fundamental to tradition at Mount Holyoke.

Her first talk was at chapel exercises on January 4, 1901, and her message was "We are laborers together with God,"⁸³ a sentiment that promised to both conserve and to invigorate.

Within the first months of her presidency, Woolley was involved in professional responsibilities that would challenge the stamina of the strongest person. Faculty, trustee, alumnae, student league and missionary meetings, inaugurations, tributes, conferences, receptions, lectures, women's clubs, YWCA meetings, vespers, chapel talks, concerts and commencements began to fill her calendar. Woolley kept a big black leather-bound memorandum book on her desk and filled the pages with her daily obligations. She accepted all invitations to speak and soon subscribed to several newsclipping services so that she could stay abreast of current events. She took full charge of her office, assuming the responsibilities of inviting speakers, of managing an increasingly extensive correspondence, and of planning her many trips. Religious activities on campus, especially Sunday evening Vespers, were among her favorite duties. Woolley developed a friendship with the music professor and organist, Hammond. She shared his enthusiasm for the 100-member vested choir about whom he had said, "I've found so many people who wanted to sing - they flock here... and I say to them, come on, if you're interested and can sing, come on."⁸⁴ Woolley spoke at morning chapel, and if she missed one day, "a slight wave of disappointment" passed over the chapel.⁸⁵ She used chapel time for "food for thought" and "quiet reprimands." One student said, "I have only to think of Miss Woolley to feel a strengthening of my backbone."⁸⁶ This was a reference to Woolley's superb posture, but it was also a measure of the effectiveness of her advice. In the spirit of Wheaton, Stanton, and

Lyon, Woolley told the young women of Mount Holyoke to "do a kind deed, never criticize, never complain, and never abuse."⁸⁷

Woolley was the guest speaker at a seemingly endless round of annual luncheons and dinners of college alumnae. She stayed at good hotels and ate rich, costly meals. She talked about the value of college training for women to Smith alumnae over sweetbreads and squab on toast and about women in the professions at the Wellesley Club over caviar and lobster. She seemed tireless in her ability to revitalize a speech she had given many times before. She joked that "few arts [were] more difficult than the attempt to speak a graceful word when there is nothing to say!"⁸⁸ A refined and genuinely kind woman, Woolley successfully added the gracious style of Wellesley's academic culture to the hard work ethic of Mount Holyoke. The Mount Holyoke alumnae found her informative and persuasive about both the accomplishments and urgent needs of the college. Following the sixth annual meeting of the Michigan Alumnae Association in 1902, the association stated that,

it is our firm belief that, not the least among the many duties of our president is that of visiting the various alumnae associations, carrying inspiration and courage and strength and help to the organizations so remote from the college.⁸⁹

That year, there were twenty-six alumnae associations and the general feeling among them was exemplified by that of the Chicago Alumnae, "Mount Holyoke has reason to be proud of her president."⁹⁰ By 1908, the major event of the year for each alumnae association was a visit from Woolley.⁹¹ The alumnae were a challenge for her because the college relied on their increased financial support. She had to

cultivate their loyalty. Woolley suggested to the trustees that in their talks to the alumnae, they focus on the importance of their relationship to the college.⁹² Woolley herself characterized the relationship as "just what loyal, loving daughters mean to the mother." She gave the alumnae three points of advice, "to give kindly judgment," to bring any weaknesses to the "attention of those who can correct them" rather than discuss among themselves or even more harmful, discuss with outsiders, and "to keep in touch and so in sympathy" with the college.⁹³

As college President, Woolley had to continuously fundraise, and it was a task she disliked. She wrote to Marks about a fundraising event in Albany. "Tomorrow at luncheon I expect to feel like Wellesley when he goes through his "stunts" to get something to eat." On the same trip, at the Chicago College Club, she wrote to Marks that there was "no promise of help yet. If only the financial side would go as swimmingly as the social! People seem so much more eager to entertain than to give."⁹⁴ Woolley's visit to Rochester was cancelled because the "Kodakman" sailed to Europe before she could get there.

The college needed large gifts to build its endowment and Woolley knew that women were not in control of wealth, including their own, in the way men were. To the alumnae, she emphasized the importance of many small gifts and how each person should give commensurate with ability, but she firmly believed that without a strong and successful appeal to individuals and organizations outside of the college, Mount Holyoke would not grow. She joked with the

alumnae groups that in academic circles everyone knew that a good policy for a college to establish for itself was to befriend the lawyers of the rich.⁹⁵ Woolley was frustrated by the lack of giving to women's colleges. In her 1907 Report, she wrote

While the last five years have been marked by munificent gifts to education, the colleges for women have had little share in them ... [T]hey can not begin to accomodate those who apply for admission ... in no case does the entire endowment equal the single gifts frequently made to men's colleges and universities."⁹⁶

Woolley's First Challenge - Establishing Herself as a Spokesperson for Women's Higher Education

In September of 1901, 4000 people crowded into the Holyoke Opera House to hear Woolley eulogize President McKinley.⁹⁷ Almost 300 prominent people of the city were crushed together on the stage. The mayor introduced her, and Woolley began by quoting from the Bible, "How have the mighty fallen, the mighty fallen in battle." Her address was eloquently emotional and naive. She likened McKinley's death to Lincoln's and Garfield's assassinations thirty-six and twenty years earlier, "Before the destroyer has stalked in our midst, and our hearts have been stricken with sorrow." But,

never before like this - truly one people all creeds, all parties, all sections - grief has melted - we unite to say we loved him and to honor his memory. Our mighty one has fallen in our midst. Why is it that our grief is so great? Never was there a man who was more truly a friend of the people... I believe that history will write high his name as a statesman. ..always tactful, always considerate, tender to the last, as gentle as a woman. Oh, I think sometimes that I would like to have a voice to say to all the nation that the greatest strength is in the gentle man.

McKinley, Lincoln and Garfield were martyrs, she said, because they were all "great hearts for the common people."⁹⁸

The newspapers praised Woolley's speech and Woolley was on her way to building the reputation of Mount Holyoke through her high public profile. In 1903, a lengthy article appeared in The Booklovers Magazine entitled "Women's Colleges and their Women Executives" which referred to Thomas' 1898 report on the education of women, the one to which Mount Holyoke Board member Williston had objected. Four independent colleges for women still qualified as "true college grade," but, this time, the schools were not identified. Nor was Mount Holyoke identified as one of a group described as "other women's colleges which are deserving of the name, but which ... cannot offer the full advantages of the stronger colleges."⁹⁹ In two years, Woolley's leadership had apparently strengthened the reputation of Mount Holyoke. This article described Mount Holyoke as "the best exemplar of the conservative tradition" among the women's colleges "of the highest grade." As the "foremost representative of the so-called Christian colleges," the strength of conservative tradition was evident at Mount Holyoke in the survival of domestic work done by the students. The article mentioned that Wellesley had abandoned the practice in 1896 because it interfered with academic work, but that Mount Holyoke "values this survival of the old Seminary days" because it maintains the college's purpose to make costs "as inexpensive as possible."¹⁰⁰

Woolley was described in newspaper stories as "the youngest of women presidents of women's colleges" and as a forceful leader.

She has already won for herself a place of preeminence in the educational world....She is of the distinctly magnetic type, and inspires her college community with an unusual degree of enthusiasm for its work. She is taking a prominent part in educational discussions of the day, and her clear and forceful public addresses are genuine contributions to current educational thought.¹⁰¹

In 1902, unbeknownst to Woolley herself, the Phrenological Society of America sent a representative to observe and write an analysis of her head while she spoke at the commencement of the women's class in the Law School of New York University. In spite of the ceremonial cap she was wearing, apparently enough of Woolley's head was visible to detect "energy and force of character," that she was "seldom taken unawares," and that her "sympathies are broad and far-reaching."¹⁰²

As a spokesperson for women's higher education, Woolley publicly supported all three types of education, the independent women's colleges, coeducational, and affiliated institutions. She believed she had her own best opportunity for success in leadership within an independent women's college. She also believed that a true liberal education was more likely to occur in independent women's colleges because, as she noted, the coeducational universities tended towards more utilitarian programs and early specialization.¹⁰³ The women's colleges, in Woolley's view, provided opportunities for "initiative and a wholesome freedom, quite impossible in the co-educational institutions." In her observation, the coeducational institutions also neglected the physical education of their women students.¹⁰⁴

However, Woolley followed and supported the progress of all three institutional forms. In 1905, she spoke at her good friend

King's inauguration as Dean of the Women's College at Brown University. Fourteen years had passed since she had been one of the handful of young women who first attended Brown. With affection and pride for both King and the college, Woolley acknowledged that Rhode Island "has simply made a beginning to show what she can do for the education of women." She predicted that the four years ahead would more than match the progress of fourteen years. She praised Massachusetts for establishing all three types of women's education and making them "among the most successful institutions in the country and consequently in the world," while she urged her Rhode Island audience, citizens of a small state with fewer resources, to concentrate all its energies on making the Women's College at Brown one of the best in the country.

The days of selfish, envious rivalry in education are past, but there is a frank, generous, honest spirit of emulation in good works which makes for the best interests, not only of the individual institution, but of the great cause itself.¹⁰⁵

The great cause, Woolley knew, was under constant attack. As leader of a well-known women's institution, Woolley had to continually answer the question that was of greatest concern to many people. What really was the effect of college training on women? Woolley repeatedly responded to this and related questions in speeches and articles that she addressed to both female and male audiences. Of concern was education's potential to challenge and redefine social roles for women. Did college 'unfit' women for the home? Were educated women fitted only for careers? Did college women lose their desire to marry and raise children? Did they

permanently injure their health, including their reproductive capacity, because of the over-strenuousness of college life? Wasn't it true that "women have a peculiar power of taking out of themselves more than they can bear" and, therefore, wasn't college the worst environment for young women?¹⁰⁶ In the early years of her presidency, Woolley developed long and thoughtful speeches that she delivered over and over again. She published articles about the same issues in Harper's Bazaar, the Ladies Home Journal and other publications.¹⁰⁷

Woolley asked her audiences to think rationally on the issues. Did college unfit women for the home? Woolley asked why the question was not

urged upon the faculty of a men's college?...The man's work for the home is different from the woman's, but is it not quite as definite in its own way and as important that his training shall fit him for it?... It is illogical to think that the contrary result is to be expected from the education of a woman, and experience always proves that logic is right.

Did college women marry and produce children? Unlike her colleague Thomas who asserted that the college woman was faced with a clear and unfair choice between celibacy and a life of servitude, Woolley was mild in her assurances that college women did marry. The difference, she said, was that they married by choice, not out of necessity.

The college girl does not look upon marriage as the only possibility, and consequently is not likely to marry simply for home or position. She generally does not marry as early, but the marriage is likely to be a wise and happy one.

Again, Woolley appealed to reason: "no careful thinker can deprecate a condition [that of an educated wife] which leads to a saner, purer

family life,"¹⁰⁸ particularly in light of the increasing divorce rate in American marriages. Woolley knew, as did Thomas, that college women married less frequently and had fewer children than women in the general population. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the numbers of educated women remaining single was on the rise.¹⁰⁹

When critics of women's education voiced concerns about fitness for the 'home,' Woolley noted that they generally meant the home managed by wife and mother. In her earliest speeches, she emphasized the narrowness of this focus. "A great many women must make their own home life, if they are to have it at all." The issue for them was not the choice between a professional or non-professional life,

but rather skilled labor, or hand or mind, versus unskilled....It is not the necessity of depending upon their own resources, which is new, but the sense of resourcefulness which has come with the widening opportunities."

In her speeches, she recalled visiting Pawtucket thread-mills as a child with her father, watching girls her age "stamp, sort and pack the spools with marvelous swiftness."¹¹⁰ She said opportunity, not any innate specialness, was what distinguished her and other college women from the factory workers. Married college women who were supported by their husbands were fortunate, but Woolley said that the ability to earn one's living was essential whether or not one had to put that ability into practice.

She expanded the definition of home to include the many "cheery, charming homes" of unmarried, professional women who became

cultured and efficient at college.¹¹¹ Because college training developed both resources and resourcefulness, young educated women were not desperate to marry. "Every woman lives her life in relation to herself as well as in relation to others, and what she is in herself determines to a large extent what she will be to others."¹¹² Woolley softened the impact of these feminist challenges with assurances that the educated wife created a well-ordered home, and that she gladly applied her mastery of intellectual activities to the management of family and home. She became an "intelligent sharer" in the lives of her husband and children.¹¹³

The College woman idealizes marriage. Her 'bread and butter' does not depend upon it, - she can by her own efforts provide the staff of life and even add an occasional piece of cake. And this takes from the thought of marriage its utilitarian character and emphasizes the ideal relationship. It may be a heterodox position to take, but it seems to the speaker that for the common welfare the question of quality of marriages is far more important than that of quantity.¹¹⁴

Woolley's joking reference to 'cake' suggests a little of her impatience with the repeated need for these arguments. She seldom selected the topics for her speeches; these were the issues her hosts asked her to address. Occasionally, she was less guarded. In a speech in which she referred to a current theory of "biological psychology" that

dreams of a new philosophy of sex, which places the wife and mother at the heart of a new world... that will give her reverent exemption from sex competition... where the blind worship of mere mental illumination has no place,

Woolley quipped,

it may not be amiss to call attention to the fact that in the case of many a woman "her real superiority to man" seems

not to "have free course and be glorified" to the extent of providing for her a home-life unless she gains it by her own exertions.¹¹⁵

Throughout the first fifteen years of her presidency, Woolley developed an increasingly direct voice. In consideration of the results of higher education for women, she identified the greatest change as the development of self-determination in women and the inability of society to ignore the issues that this change in women provoked. In relation to work, women had to be counted as individuals; they could no longer be defined as exclusively female.

A man would more naturally be a carpenter or a machinist or a merchant than a cook or a dressmaker or a milliner, but the fact remains that many of our cooks and some of our dressmakers and milliners are men, and we are not greatly shocked thereby! In other words, we consider that the man has a right to determine the career, the manner of life, for which he is best fitted and which circumstances make most feasible for him....The opponents of higher education are right in their fear that it means something more than the opportunity to study Calculus or to read the Greek dramatists in the original. It has introduced into many a household the startling and novel question, "If John Jones has a right to become a dressmaker because he prefers it, why should not Jane Jones become a doctor, if she prefers that?"¹¹⁶

Influential opponents of women's higher education claimed to expose the dangers of the "ideals that have found lodgment in the minds of the heads of girls' colleges." Psychologist and educator G. Stanley Hall, student of William James at Harvard, was appointed the first president of Clark University in 1888. He wrote and spoke extensively on the effects of education on young women and, in 1908, wrote a long article entitled "The Kind of Women Colleges Produce." In emotional and sometimes lurid prose, Hall accused the women's colleges of imposing a "denatured intellectual regimen" on young

women who were forced to take "refuge in mentality" and in career planning, the only consolations left after belief in marriage, family, home, and religion were stripped away. "These splendid spinster presidents," Woolley among them, flagrantly disregarded the "grave dangers of psycho-physic deterioration." They glorified their own spinsterhood and promoted self-sufficiency above all. These "maidenly preceptresses" did not know and were not concerned about how large a share of finite energy a woman's sexuality required. "[E]rudition, if bought at the cost of ever so little pelvic and pectoral development, comes too high," Hall asserted.

Hall attacked the women's colleges for failing to develop a women's curriculum that emphasized religion and teaching, "the oldest, the most dignified, and the most populous of all the occupations of educated, unmarried women." He was upset that the colleges did not acknowledge this failure and suggested that

... if men of broad sympathies and real initiative were placed at their head [of the women's colleges], they would admit it [teacher preparation] instead of following too abjectly the fashions taken over from men's colleges.

Hall praised the male presidents of women's colleges because, unlike the women, they "lay most stress upon purely womanly qualities and those of the heart, sentiment and general culture, social influence and position." The results of the narrow focus of the women presidents was nothing less than catastrophic in the long run. Years after college, whenever women realized how "bankrupt, and soul hungry, and starving" they were, they would likely be

prompted to throw themselves into some lush, rank, crude, and highly saturated orthodoxy, swinging over perhaps from

extreme radicalism to catholicism, ...or coquetting with dangerous theories of social and even family reform, in order to escape from the creeping palsy of the heart....¹¹⁷

For several years, Woolley would draw material from commentary like Hall's and incorporate it into several versions of speeches about the consequences of higher education for women and the college woman's place in the world.

In careful argument, she dismantled the logic of the critics. She filled her speeches with personal anecdotes and used dialect for comic effect. She attacked specious arguments and took critics' comments out of context, turning the ideas into nonsense. She used some of Hall's comments in a speech she gave both at a woman's club and a teacher's club.

The vigor, clearness and certainty of her intuitions are the glory of young womanhood and why should they be sicklied o'er with thought or their pristine purity tarnished by reflection?

Woolley said that these fears were groundless in light of some information she had recently gathered from freshman papers at a woman's college. One student noted in her essay that "Amos was the only book in the Bible contemporary with its author," and a second student described Cranmer as "the author of the prayer-book, a charming and dignified piece of Literature."¹¹⁸ More seriously, she challenged that 'woman's sphere' constituted anything that a woman could do well, a view she had heard for the first time as a student at Wheaton when Kate Upson Clark spoke at the seminary. The college woman did not look upon her profession as "a temporary expedient" until marriage, although she was not averse to marriage. If a

professional woman remained unmarried, Woolley said that she might be fortunate enough to still have her childhood home or she could join the groups of women who were "forming homes for themselves." On the question of economic independence, Woolley argued that every woman was entitled to remuneration because

her part in building up and providing for the home has as distinctive a value as any other work in the world...What she receives for personal use is not a donation, a charity; she is truly a wage earner....

In answer to the charge that women's colleges sacrificed the physical well-being of students to promote the intellectual, Woolley argued that an entirely opposite situation prevailed. The leadership of the woman's colleges believed, she said, that "there is an interrelation, that physical vitality helps the development of mental strength, and that a "level head" promotes a strong body."¹¹⁹ In any case, she said that good health had become an issue of national concern, an opportunity that was not limited to the work of the women's colleges. In this way, she made the suggestion that those critics who were preoccupied with life within the women's colleges had a peculiarly misguided focus on a larger societal concern. Nevertheless, in an early report, she made a point of stating,

In the light of the frequent discussions concerning the influence of college life upon the physical condition, the following extract from the report of the Resident Physician is of interest: "... The following is a summary comparing the general condition of one hundred and fifty students at entrance and at end of Senior year:--

Beginning of Freshman year.

End of Senior year.

General condition:
120 good.

34 better than at entrance.
76 same as at entrance.
5 worse.

| | |
|----------|--|
| | 5 slightly better. |
| 27 Fair. | 12 better than at entrance. 6 same as at entrance. 9 worse than at entrance. |
| 4 Poor. | 3 better than at entrance. 1 worse than at entrance. |

Of one hundred and fifty-one students examined, one hundred and thirty-one, or eighty-eight per cent are in the same or better condition ..."¹²⁰

Woolley, along with many of her colleagues in education, was also an advocate of alternatives to traditional health care. "The physician no longer has the field entirely to himself," she said, "[H]e must share it with the physical culturist, the Fletcherite, the advocate of health foods, the psycho-therapist."¹²¹ She herself incorporated some of these habits into her daily life. She argued that every college woman should practice deep breathing in fresh air, take cold water baths, and drink pure water throughout the day.¹²² Woolley valiantly tried to avoid meat and rich foods and took brisk walks when she had time. Marks became her conscience in these healthful habits because she was more committed to regimens than Woolley.

Woolley was frequently asked by women's groups to discuss the 'phases' or aims of girls' education. She divided the aims into two categories, the development of power and the development of grace. She then divided the development of power into three categories, the physical, "to develop the body into a perfect instrument," the mental, and the moral. The development of grace, "courtesy and graciousness," depended on "early and constant

training" in the home. The old attitude in education that boys required attention while girls could look after themselves was dying out, Woolley said. She used the example of a Brown professor who had given her advice when she began teaching at Wellesley. "Do not be too much concerned about the general welfare of your students. Girls are good enough as they are." To her all-female audiences, Woolley said, "perhaps we may consider this the gallant, masculine attitude, but, as women, we may be allowed both to establish an ideal for our girls and consider how we measure up."¹²³ In January 1909, the debating society at Mount Holyoke debated the question: "Resolved. That a college education does not tend to produce the highest type of womanhood." The two teams argued from physical, intellectual, social and moral standpoints and a lively discussion ensued. The negative won; college education did produce the highest type of womanhood. Woolley must have been gratified that Mount Holyoke students were reaching an appropriate conclusion.¹²⁴

C H A P T E R VII

WOOLLEY BUILDS MOUNT HOLYOKE, 1901 - 1917

Looking back over the first decade of her presidency from the vantage point of the seminary/college's 75th anniversary in 1912, Woolley was able to see that she had accomplished her primary goals for Mount Holyoke. She had upgraded the faculty through both an aggressive hiring policy and a liberal leave policy that permitted faculty to engage in advanced study, research, and teaching at other institutions. Her greatest dissatisfaction was that she had not been able to adequately increase faculty salaries,¹ which remained significantly below those of other elite colleges. Her efforts in the first critical decade of leadership had been focused on the building of Mount Holyoke into a college of equal or superior standing among the elite women's and men's colleges. Her commitment was founded on a hope for the creation of a better world that would draw its leadership from well-educated women and men. She shared this hope with other progressives committed to social reform who also believed that Mount Holyoke, along with other colleges and universities, had a responsibility to produce progressive leaders who would work for cooperation among diverse groups in society.

In 1910, Woolley argued that the

real welfare [of society] demands that there should be no hard and fast division, no real separation between any two lines of progress....their [the colleges'] real function is to furnish leaders, the "thinking" men and women" in every sector of society - social, educational, political, industrial, and religious.

Woolley believed that college women were especially fortunate among women, but she also believed that responsibility came with privilege, not only for the student but also for the educational institution. If the colleges failed to provide leaders for society, then "they fail to render the service which the country has a right to demand of them."²

The 75th Anniversary Celebration in 1912

The 75th anniversary was both a celebration of seventy-five years of women's education at Mount Holyoke and a celebration of the successes of Mary Lyon's "gallant successor," to whom President Thomas of Bryn Mawr paid tribute.

To you, President Woolley, has been given the great and enduring glory of transforming Mount Holyoke Seminary into Mount Holyoke College. You have gathered about you here a band of young women scholars such as few colleges are so happy as to possess. In Mount Holyoke, under your leadership, as under Mary Lyon's, true learning is revered and advanced.³

Thomas' criticisms of Mount Holyoke gave way to respect for Woolley and her achievements. In 1910, Thomas had invited Woolley to speak at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary celebration of Bryn Mawr. Woolley felt sufficiently at ease to tell an amusing anecdote of mistaken identity.

One can hardly think of the College without its President, or of its President without a vision of the College. I should like to except one person from this generalization and to tell a story which I have never had the temerity to repeat to Miss Thomas but to which, on this auspicious occasion, it seems safe to refer. At the time of my own inauguration, several years ago, a note of regret was received from a distinguished professor in Oxford University, who evidently suffered from absentmindedness,

and, quite as evidently, had not consulted his invitation before declining it, for the note ran thus,-
Dear Miss Thomas:

I am so sorry that I cannot be present at your inauguration as President of Mount Holyoke College. And so you are going to leave dear Bryn Mawr? Well, I suppose it is to enter upon a wider field of usefulness!⁴

At Mount Holyoke's 75th Anniversary, Woolley asked Thomas to speak about the future of women's education. Thomas addressed the obstacles that prevented the advancement of women. Women had almost won equal educational opportunity but "have not yet won the rewards of study. They are still shut out from the incentives to scholarship." More than half of all women college graduates taught, yet only in the women's colleges did they compete with men for full professor status. In other colleges and universities, "the number of women holding even subordinate teaching positions is jealously limited." Thomas described an even "more cruel handicap." After spending "half a lifetime in fitting themselves for their chosen work," women then were asked to choose between marriage and vocation. Women's colleges were so 'poorly endowed," and yet have accomplished so much,

I often wonder how wealthy men and women can resist the temptation of endowing them liberally....A few million dollars apiece, or even one million dollars apiece, given to Mount Holyoke and her sister women's colleges, would bear fruit an hundredfold in human welfare and human happiness.⁵

Thomas expressed great hope for the coming "transformation of society," "the great social revolution which is now upon us." Universal suffrage would empower women and there would be equal opportunity in "every field of human effort." Empowered women would never "deprive other women of a livelihood or of a dearly loved

profession because they wish to marry." Her rationale was that men failed to understand that women, like themselves, found "their greatest happiness in congenial work."⁶ Woolley shared Thomas' faith in women's growing desire to influence society. The 75th Anniversary was an occasion to share hopes and celebrate accomplishments. Setbacks and disappointments were taken in stride.

The college selected thirteen women and one man to receive honorary degrees. Among the academics were King, Dean of the Women's College at Brown, Ellen Fitz Pendleton, President of Wellesley, Florence Purington and Ada Comstock, Deans of Mount Holyoke and Smith respectively, and two presidents of Mount Holyoke's 'Daughter Colleges', Vivian Blanche Small of Lake Erie and Abbie Park Ferguson of Huguenot College in South Africa.⁷ Social activists included Lillian Wald, founder and president of the Henry Street Settlement, Julia Clifford Lathrop, head of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and Katherine Bement Davis, Superintendent of the State Reformatory for Women. The longtime college registrar and seminary graduate, Caroline Boardman Greene, was recognized with an honorary master of arts. The sole male recipient was the newly-appointed President Alexander Meiklejohn of Amherst College⁸ whose personal relationship with Woolley began in their undergraduate studies at Brown. He remembered in his speech,

When President Woolley received her first degree from Brown University, the affair was so unusual that no gown was provided for a woman on such an occasion and I well remember that an usher came dashing down the aisle of the First Baptist Meetinghouse and saying, "Who's got a gown for Miss Woolley?" I took my gown off and she put it on, and this morning she was trying to pay me back by giving me a hood.

On a more serious note, Meiklejohn noted

I have observed...willingness to take a venture, willingness to try a policy, ...willingness if you have an idea to put it to the test and to live by it, to see what it is worth. If ever an institution in this country showed that, this college has shown it... I pledge President Woolley the fellowship of the other colleges as we with her carry on these experiments.⁹

How Woolley Met Her Second Challenge

While upgrading the academic training and scholarship of the faculty, Woolley began to create an environment for leadership training. In 1889, in an effort to end the policy of hiring exclusively from within the institution, President Mead hired graduates of Wellesley, Harvard Annex, Oberlin and Smith. Mead continued to slowly build the faculty during her tenure (1890-1900), and when the college dropped its seminary charter in 1893, it became somewhat easier for the school to attract better-qualified teachers. Woolley, therefore, entered an environment receptive to the comprehensive effort she would make toward modernizing and upgrading the college. She began by dealing with academic departments selectively, building those that challenged young women to pursue scholarship and neglecting those that did not. She improved student performance by raising entrance standards and degree requirements and by creating honor scholarships in recognition of excellent student work. She created a Phi Beta Kappa chapter and concentrated on student government reform, encouraging student initiative and independence in the classroom and in extra-curricular activities that were designed to broaden the student experience.

Her most time-consuming and least attractive task was the fundraising that had to be done. Woolley gave herself to the work that she disliked because improvement in faculty salaries depended on building the college's endowment. Improvement and expansion of facilities also depended on endless fundraising because donations came in such small amounts. There was much talk about the "'unwisdom' of the President raising money at the expense of time and energy,"¹⁰ but there seemed to be no other recourse. In 1901, the college needed to raise at least \$1,000,000 to make any significant advances. A catastrophic fire in 1896 had necessitated the rebuilding and consequent improvement of the campus, but college facilities were still woefully inadequate for the growing number of students. The old library had been spared in the fire but it was built in 1870 to accommodate 250 students, less than half the 1901 enrollment of 550. (This was the building that the Durants had pledged to fill with \$10,000 worth of books, a generous endowment at the time.) Woolley made the library one of her first priorities. In 1903, she won a \$50,000 matching grant from the Carnegie Foundation in addition to a \$15,000 gift from the city of Holyoke, and began the slow and arduous work of soliciting the remainder primarily from alumnae groups.¹¹ Indicative of her efficient leadership, Woolley won the Carnegie grant two years before Radcliffe College was granted \$75,000 of matching funds for its library and Smith College was granted half the cost of its biology laboratory.¹²

The new library opened in the fall of 1905, and although Woolley thanked all the contributors in careful detail, the college

community gave her chief credit for the accomplishment. The style of the building was Tudor Gothic and much to Woolley's taste. She wanted the library to convey greatness and permanence in a blend of the scholarly and religious. The ground windows contained the seals of Mount Holyoke, Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe, Barnard, Brown, Wheaton Seminary and the three American "daughter colleges" of Mount Holyoke - Western, Lake Erie and Mills Colleges,¹³ a symbolic unifying of Woolley's educational experience and of her cooperative vision of the future of women's higher education. She believed in the positive influence of an aesthetic environment. Through contact with buildings like the new library, students might become "unconscious platonists." Woolley quoted, " 'Abide,' says the Platonist, 'in these places, and the like of them, and mechanically, irresistibly, the soul of them will impregnate yours.' "

Quoting Emerson, she told the audience, "Even a high dome and the expressive interior of a cathedral have a sensible effect upon manners," and added in jest, "I have heard that stiff people lose some of their awkwardness under high ceilings and in spacious halls."¹⁴ She proudly called the library, "a temple of learning, as well as a court of letters and a home of books. A court, a home, a temple, may it be all three to this college."¹⁵ Her father gave the benediction at the dedication as he had done at Woolley's inauguration. Acquisitions for the library became a major goal for Woolley. By 1911, the library contained 46,350 volumes, a 122% gain since 1901.¹⁶ By 1911, the college endowment reached \$672,000 and a goal of \$2,000,000 was set to guarantee major improvements in

salaries.¹⁷ It was not until 1916, however, that Woolley's efforts resulted in some substantial bequests for scholarships and in the endowment of a second department chair when a graduate (class of 1870) gave \$50,000 to the Zoology Department.¹⁸

In her earliest presidential reports, Woolley consistently addressed the same concerns. She reported on changes in faculty status, appointments of new faculty, honor scholarships, Phi Beta Kappa news, college entrance standards, invited lecturers, religious life, College Settlement Association news, new buildings and improvements in the physical plant. As student enrollment increased each year, she worked to keep the size of classes small so that students would have the benefit of individual work. She always promoted the preceptorial system that her father had advocated all her life. She admired the tutorial and small group instruction at Princeton University and wanted something similar for Mount Holyoke. A student must learn "to stand on her own feet, and to give a reason for the opinion that is within her!"¹⁹

Woolley Upgrades the Faculty

In 1900 - 1901, there were 550 students enrolled at Mount Holyoke. By 1910-1911, the number reached 754. The staff increased from sixty-nine to one hundred and thirty between 1900 - 1911.²⁰ Ninety of the one hundred and thirty staff at Mount Holyoke were members of the faculty, and thirty-four of the ninety had earned PhDs from fourteen different institutions.²¹ Woolley had granted leaves freely and twelve faculty members were able to complete their degrees

in this fashion by 1911. In her 1911 report, Woolley said, "Although not making a fetish of a doctorate, the College encourages the taking of a degree as a recognition of scholarly work accomplished in some one field of knowledge."²² Her goal in granting leaves to teachers was more comprehensive than the earning of advanced degrees. Consistent with her desire to increase their knowledge and experience as well as to renew their energies, she encouraged faculty to pursue interests that would increase their influence over students when they returned to Mount Holyoke.

She clearly stated this position in the 1905 annual report.

The importance of these "Sabbatical years," so-called, is very great. The profession of teaching is exhausting, mentally as well as physically, and an instructor, in order to do her best work, must stop and be re-created. She needs to become again a student, not only that she may come into touch with the progress made in her own line of work, but also to gain a broader outlook, that education which is to be found in studying under the men and women who are making history in the literary and educational world; in seeing new places and hearing new things; in taking in, instead of always giving out. The instructor who has this new lease of life, brings quite as much back to the college in the way of buoyancy and a broader outlook as in the increase of knowledge. There has been no definite policy at Mount Holyoke, but leaves of absence have been granted to those who have asked for the privilege. It is for the interest of the College, as well as for that individual, and there should be a fund of which the income could be used for the continuance of part salary to members of the Faculty who have been granted leave of absence for study.²³

In 1902, five faculty members requested and were granted either semester or full-year leaves to pursue Masters' degrees or doctorates.²⁴ In 1904, faculty ranking along with a salary scale, went into effect for the first time. The new ranking of professors, a system that President Mead had argued for to modernize and improve

the reputation of the college, replaced the traditional two-category system of instructors and assistant instructors.²⁵ By 1915, the faculty consisted of sixteen Professors, twenty-nine Associate Professors, four Lecturers and thirty-eight Instructors. Salaries ranged from \$3000 for a male full Professor to \$600 for a female Instructor. The average of salaries for full professors were \$2500 for the (three) men and \$1900 for the (fourteen) women. For Associate Professors, the averages were \$1866 for (four) men and \$1361 for (twenty-five) women. The averages for Lecturers showed the women receiving higher salaries, \$1425 as opposed to \$1150 for the men. Instructor's salaries were on average very close, \$1100 for the (five) men and \$1016 for the (thirty-three) women.²⁶

By 1912, Woolley had succeeded in substantially upgrading the faculty. The fifty new faculty members that she had hired since 1901 and that had remained at Mount Holyoke contained a higher percentage of PhDs than the eighty-three faculty hired during this period who left the college before 1912. Within the group that stayed on, there was a higher percentage of Masters' over Bachelors' degrees. The ratio was four to one as compared to less than two to one for the group that left the college. Of the 133 faculty members hired during this period from 1901-1911, only twenty-four were Mount Holyoke graduates. Recent graduates continued to fill the position of assistant, especially in the sciences and typically for one year.²⁷

During Irvine's administration at Wellesley, there had been dismissals and mass exodus of faculty. In contrast, during Woolley's

first decade at Mount Holyoke, there were only six resignations of longtime faculty members. A few of these women moved into Alvord House, a faculty residence established in 1903, or into Peterson Lodge, built in 1909 to provide apartments for both retired and active faculty. Woolley herself raised from alumnae \$20,000 of the total cost of \$27,500 for the building of Peterson Lodge.²⁹ Reasons for leaving Mount Holyoke after a stay of several years or less varied among the increasingly diverse faculty. One chemistry teacher pursued a doctorate at the University of Chicago and then took a position at Teacher's College, Columbia University rather than return to Mount Holyoke. In her case, she was most likely looking for a more hospitable environment for her teaching and expertise. At Columbia, she taught the science of household research, a field she could not have pursued at Mount Holyoke.²⁹

Woolley Builds Academic Departments

Household research or domestic science was a field of study that Woolley actively discouraged for undergraduates. Just as at Wellesley, there was interest in this field at Mount Holyoke among some students, faculty, and Board members, but Woolley was firm in her resistance to efforts to develop courses.³⁰ By the end of the decade, Woolley would be in conflict with at least one Board member who felt strongly about the need for domestic studies.³¹ Woolley stated her view that

domestic work in Mount Holyoke was never a form of domestic teaching. We have no courses in domestic science; we do not

try to train our students in the practical details of "keeping house."³²

In a speech she entitled "the Vocational Power of Women's Colleges," Woolley articulated her position on the purpose of women's education and the inappropriateness of domestic studies in higher education.

The field for the educated woman is practically unlimited; the question is no longer that of defining her "sphere," but rather of giving her the best preparation for living, wherever her life may be placed.³³

The priority in education, Woolley believed, was to develop leaders and thinkers in society. Male students prepared to specialize in the public world of politics, economics, education and religion, and there was no logical reason why female students who did the same should be forced to assume twice the preparation by specializing in domestic science as well. She expected that a growing curriculum in these studies would intrude on liberal arts studies and jeopardize their quality. Women students would be penalized for "their double relation to the home world and to the world outside of the home."

In response to vocal pressure from advocates of domestic science, Woolley took advantage of opportunities to address the controversy. At President Burton's Inauguration at Smith College in 1910, Woolley told the audience that the danger facing women's colleges was "not that of 'excessive mentality,' as President Taylor once expressed it" [Taylor of Vassar], but rather "the influence of the outside life and its standards." She pointedly addressed the new president himself, suggesting that he faced the challenge of the problems as well as the rewards of higher education for women.

It is not my intention, Mr. President, on this auspicious day to "breed a coolness in de congregation", if I may borrow the negro preacher's objection to preaching on the ten commandments, by my introduction of this controversial subject. The value of vocational training, of the skill, the expertness, the saving of time, of money, of energy, even of life itself, by knowing how to do, can hardly be overemphasized. But in every vocation the men and the women who are the leaders, are the ones who can think. This is the "bed-rock" of college education, and if we take our stand here we shall not be in danger of losing our footing in the shifting sands of opinion with regard to the place of vocational training in the undergraduate course.

President Eliot at Harvard believed it was the college's responsibility to "furnish us the leaders for this period of quick and profound changes." The educated young man, now "must be a man of power." Woolley took Eliot's requirement and extended it to women's colleges where the goal was the creation of women of power.

Acknowledgment of this goal, Woolley pointed out, did not require universal agreement on a "definition of woman's sphere" nor on the necessity of equal suffrage.³⁴ Needless to say, fears of equal opportunity in education turned on these very points, but Woolley did not combine these issues.

Woolley encouraged differential growth among the existing academic departments. In the sciences between 1901 - 1911, five of the six departments grew substantially. The Geology department was the exception. By 1911, the six science departments offered a total of seventy-one science courses. Chemistry and Physics expanded the most with the faculty in Chemistry doubling from four to eight members and course offerings increasing from ten to seventeen. The faculty in Physics increased from three to five members and courses increased from eleven to fifteen. In the Mathematics department,

although there was no significant increase in the number of students concentrating in the study of mathematics, the college hired two additional faculty, one with a PhM and the other a PhD, in order to decrease the student-faculty ratio.³⁵ Woolley's rationale was that small groups were especially important in mathematics, "in sympathy with the opinion that better work can be done in small divisions."³⁶

Under Woolley's leadership, the departments of Philosophy and Psychology, History, and Economics and Sociology also grew significantly both in number of faculty and in courses. New faculty included several outstanding scholars and teachers. Nettie Neilson joined the History department in 1902 after completing a Ph D at Bryn Mawr. A scholar who researched and wrote throughout her life, Neilson would devote herself at Mount Holyoke to building a strong department and an exceptional library in her field of interest, the legal and economic history of medieval England. She, and her colleague and fellow Bryn Mawr graduate Bertha Haven Putnam, encouraged many students to pursue honors and graduate work. In 1943, Neilson would become the first woman president of the American Historical Association.³⁷ Helen Bradford Thompson joined the Department of Philosophy and Psychology in 1901. She completed her Ph D, a study of the psychological norms of men and women, at the University of Chicago in 1900 and published the results of her experimental work three years later in 1903. In Mental Traits of Sex and Psychological Norms in Men and Women, Thompson reported the results of several tests of the senses that she devised using a sample of fifty male and female students at Chicago. She concluded

that women's mental characteristics were not inferior to men's. She pursued research in issues of gender and psychology as well as in experimental psychology. While at Mount Holyoke, her extensive research resulted in the 1907 publication of "A Study of After-Images on the Peripheral Retina." Kate Gordon and Grace Fernold, two faculty members, worked with Thompson in the Psychological Laboratory.³⁸

When Thompson was hired at Mount Holyoke as an instructor, the college released biographical information to the press that emphasized both Thompson's ability to compete with the best researchers in her field and her interest in gender research. Both issues were of importance to Woolley. A woman scientist engaged in the rigors of experimental research was also helping to destroy the commonly held belief in men's mental superiority. Secondly, Mount Holyoke as a women's college committed to excellence had succeeded in hiring a highly respected researcher who intended to continue her work at the college. The Springfield Republican reported,

the research work in experimental psychology carried on by Miss Helen Bradford Thompson, while a student in Chicago University, was of such a quality as to command the admiration of all the leading psychologists of their country, and Professor Angell and other members of the faculty were so impressed with its value as to secure for Miss Thompson a traveling fellowship, ... in Germany. The special work of Miss Thompson which was so much admired was a study comparison of the mental characteristics of men and women, to ascertain whether the charge that women were mentally inferior to men be true.³⁹

The English Department split into separate entities of English Literature and English Rhetoric (similar to Wellesley College's system) and grew to a combined faculty of fourteen members

and forty course offerings. Woolley's love for music was evident in her support of the Music Department where the number of faculty members increased from three to nine and theoretical courses increased from three to fourteen. In the language departments, German and Greek experienced small increases while the Latin and Romance Language Departments grew significantly. Three departments, Education, Hygiene, and Biblical History and Literature did not increase in size. In keeping with her desire to minimize practical training in undergraduate studies, Woolley did not build the Education Department.⁴⁰

In 1899, Mount Holyoke had granted a single degree that included the study of Latin, mathematics, English, history, three languages, chemistry and physics. There were two years of required courses and two years of electives. The issue of major subjects in the curriculum caused "fierce college discussions about the ideal and the practical" and some people feared a growing "tendency toward a complete absorption in science to the detriment of all other knowledge."⁴¹ It was in this spirit of concern for practical training that a separate department of education was formed in 1899-1900 for prospective teachers offering theoretical courses in the history and philosophy of education and methodology courses and practice teaching in courses including Latin, English, mathematics, botany geology and French.⁴²

Woolley's goal, however, was to expand occupational opportunities for college women, not to direct them more efficiently into teaching positions. Therefore, the Education Department

retained one faculty member and lost two courses (from eight to six).⁴³ George Dawson, a PhD in psychology from Clark University who had also taught at the Hartford School of Religious Pedagogy, resigned in 1908, possibly discouraged by the continued fringe status of his department.⁴⁴ The Hygiene Department also retained one faculty member and lost one course, reducing its offerings to a single course. The Biblical Literature and History Department gained two faculty members, an increase from one to three, but reduced its courses from eleven to ten.⁴⁵

Woolley and Religion

The development of the Biblical Department is illustrative of both Woolley's educational philosophy and her policy-making. At Mount Holyoke, Woolley continued her daily habit of reading the Bible. At Vespers, at college Bible rallies, and in chapel talks, she gave speeches entitled "Why Should I Study the Bible?", "The Place of Prayer and Worship in Daily Living," "The Library Which is Called the Bible," and "Qualities Which make the Bible Educationally Valuable."⁴⁶ She believed in the power of prayer to effect change, and she believed that the Bible was more than "a collection of creeds or of precepts." She told the Mount Holyoke students that the Bible was "a book of lives - [the] truth of human life and its relationship to the divine."⁴⁷ Its contents were applicable to every aspect of modern life. She wanted the students to benefit from the preachings of a diverse group of ministers and therefore gradually worked to withdraw the college community from the local Congregational Church

where Mount Holyoke had worshiped for decades. She recognized that the decision was a "peculiarly difficult one to make" because of both the historical connection and the financial burden put on the church by the loss of so many members.

But the reasons for the change were too strong to be disregarded, --the larger numbers at the College, making it impossible to accommodate all at the church; the various denominations represented among the Faculty and students and the consequent desirability of having representatives of the different churches as college preachers ...⁴⁸

On the issue of promoting missionary work for graduates, Woolley was pleased to report that between 1901 and 1911, at least 31 students had elected to become missionaries, bringing the total number to 109 serving in twelve countries in 1913.⁴⁹ She made sure that "the appeal of missionary work is presented by very forceful speakers." Nevertheless, decreasing attention was paid to this, and Woolley worried about the result. "I have been rather anxious for fear we should not live up to our honorable record for sending out our college graduates as missionaries."⁵⁰ The students increasingly resisted religious requirements. Many had stopped attending Vespers by 1910,⁵¹ and Woolley "yielded to repeated student requests... to substitute for the required attendance at religious services, attendance at certain secular events."⁵² Still, in 1918, a one-year course in the Bible remained a required course, and there were sufficient electives for a student to major in Biblical Literature.⁵³

In 1901, Helen Miller Gould endowed a chair in the Biblical Literature and History Department with a gift of \$40,000. The endowment assured the future of the department, and Woolley hoped

that this would be the beginning of many endowments to other departments. She began to make urgent appeals to potential donors for large endowment gifts to both secure departments and to improve the salaries and working conditions of members of those departments. It was one of her major disappointments that, following the 75th Anniversary celebration in 1912, she was still pleading for a second endowed chair to guarantee "adequate salaries" in order to provide faculty with "a living wage," and to "secure and retain the best men and women."⁵⁴ Within the Bible Department in 1901, the endowment meant security, but it also presented some immediate problems for Woolley. The benefactor was a religious conservative who objected to the inclusion of Biblical criticism in courses that she envisioned as traditional Bible study. While at Wellesley, Woolley had been uneasy herself about the interference of criticism and interpretation with the students' knowledge of the Bible. In 1902, possibly in response to the conflict surrounding the Bible Department at Mount Holyoke, she decided to teach a senior Bible class entitled "Difficulties Arising in Bible Study."⁵⁵ Woolley's concerns were twofold. The natural questioning of received knowledge essential to true learning raised troubling question of faith. Secondly, learning about the suffering and unjust treatment of the less advantaged challenged belief in the existence of a just God. Her solution was to combat ignorance of the Bible through courses and college activities with the aim of keeping alive the students' "concerns of the soul"⁵⁶

Mount Holyoke retained a secure, religious orientation that encouraged Woolley to develop a Bible department that combined

scholarship and commitment to progressive religious thinking. Contrary to benefactor Gould's desire for fundamental religious teaching, Woolley's priority was to find a true scholar in religious studies who would head the department.⁵⁷ Gould wrote a letter of complaint to Woolley in the spring of 1903, upset that religious instruction was jeopardizing the faith of the young women.

One of the students whom I saw sometime ago told me of what a trying experience she had had on account of her teacher being destructive in her criticism and sweeping away faith without putting anything in its place. This girl said she had suffered a severe mental struggle on this account...my idea was to teach what the Bible says rather than to go into the higher criticism and into what men say about the Bible.⁵⁸

Gould suggested that Woolley contact the Bible Teachers Training School in New York to find a teacher replacement for the current teacher. Woolley responded three weeks later, explaining that she recognized real weakness in the department during her two years as President and was actively looking for a permanent instructor.

I am exceedingly sorry that you should have been troubled about the department which owes so much to you....It seems to me that it is better to continue an arrangement even if it is not ideal than to make a change of which one is not reasonably sure....the permanent head of the department must have as thorough and fine an academic training as any member of the faculty....the girls must be impressed with the fact that the teaching of the Bible demands as thorough preparation as the teachings of Biology or Philosophy - Then she, (if it is a she!) must have the teacher's power of winning and holding interest as well as of imparting knowledge, and, most important of all, there must be a Christian character with all the moral earnestness, and spiritual power, which that should imply.

Woolley ended the letter diplomatically with the "hope that the Bible department may be a real satisfaction to you,"⁵⁹ knowing

that Gould would never have the course of study she desired.

Woolley's religious goal was to create an interdenominational unity at the college believing there was no place better in society to cultivate this.⁶⁰ A scholarly, spiritual teacher could bring to life the biblical history that was essential for an understanding of current problems. Woolley envisioned Mount Holyoke unified around Christian work that was dedicated to the improvement of society. For the Bible department itself, she defined and required scholastic standards.

Woolley hired temporary faculty from the Hartford Theological Seminary to assist in the teaching of coursework required of all students. The department soon offered fifteen additional elective hours, including a popular course entitled the Life of Christ, and enrolled three to four hundred students in courses each year. In 1904, Woolley hired two instructors who were promoted to Associate Professor in 1907. They were identified in the Catalogue as "on the Helen Day Gould Foundation." One woman was a 1902 graduate of Columbia University who attended Union Theological Seminary; the second was an 1899 graduate of Mount Holyoke who attended the Hartford Theological Seminary. The Columbia graduate earned her Masters at Columbia and a Bachelor of Divinity at Union during leaves from duties at Mount Holyoke. (She resigned in 1914 to take a position at Vassar College and was replaced by a male associate professor with a PhD from Yale.)⁶¹

Woolley's policies on academic issues within the Bible department, once established through the hiring of competent,

scholarly faculty, were similar to those she promoted throughout the college. She believed in the academic freedom of scholar-teachers. From the beginning of her administration, individual departments had the power to make decisions about allocation of subjects and materials used within courses. Once Woolley established strong leadership for the departments, the chairwomen took on the responsibility of searching for faculty candidates. Woolley always reviewed the credentials of prospective candidates because her commitment to maintaining and upgrading standards was paramount. "The personnel of a department tends to perpetrate itself - be it excellent or mediocre," she asserted.

Woolley was a model of efficient, sensitive leadership when she presided over faculty meetings, keeping discussion in focus and resolving conflicts among the faculty with her "delightful sense of humor." Her secretary said that if there was a problem of any sort, "all assumed Miss Woolley would have the answer of 'what to do' and she always did!"⁶² Two women, Ellen Bliss Talbot (Philosophy) and Ellen Deborah Ellis, soon emerged as leaders of the faculty, and they set a tone at faculty meetings that complemented Woolley's style. Ellis had earned all her degrees, including her Ph D., at Bryn Mawr, and Woolley hired her in 1905 to both create and chair the Department of Political Science. Ellis developed courses in political theory and international organization, praising the academic freedom that Woolley endorsed. "[I was] not instructed as to specific subject matter to include in courses nor manner I was expected to pursue in presenting material to students."⁶³ Woolley came to depend on Ellis

as her skillful substitute when she had conflicts in speaking engagements.

Raising Academic Standards for Students

While Woolley worked to upgrade faculty, she also worked to upgrade the standards for student performance. In 1899, the faculty had voted to pass new regulations for higher and more uniform standards for scholarship. It was no longer sufficient for student grades to be simply 'passing'. Fifty percent of a student's grades had to be "with credit."⁶⁴ The majority of freshmen were accepted into Mount Holyoke on the sole basis of high school certificates, not examinations, and many students were severely lacking in many academic areas. In November of 1901, Woolley attended a conference in Boston of the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary schools whose purpose was to initiate cooperation among schools on entrance qualifications. Also in 1901, Mount Holyoke and Wellesley College both accepted invitations to join the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB), a policy-making organization that included among others, Harvard, Yale, Bryn Mawr, and Smith Colleges.⁶⁵ Woolley would later become the first woman to head the CEEB.⁶⁶

By 1908, 172 of the 213 students who entered the freshman class at Mount Holyoke were graduates of public schools. Of the total number, 112 students were admitted with certificates alone, thirteen were admitted on examinations alone and eighty-eight were admitted on part certificate/part examination. This constituted an improvement in standards of admission over a seven-year period, but

the system was problematic. Seventy-two of the 213 students were admitted with 'conditions.' (Conditions were identified deficiencies in the students' preparation. These students had to pass examinations to remove the conditions before graduation.) One-fourth of this deficient group had one point to remove; the remainder had two or three points.⁶⁷ High schools petitioned on a yearly basis for certificate privileges, and Mount Holyoke's Board of Examiners Committee handled renewals, new acceptances, and rejections every year. In 1911, 94 high schools requested privileges and 38 were renewed, 44 newly accepted and 12 rejected.⁶⁸ In 1913, when the Massachusetts Board of Education attempted to help small high schools by lowering language requirements and by accepting three to four units without examination, the Board of Examiners was unanimous in opposing this. Woolley went to Boston with two Mount Holyoke faculty members to discuss the issue with both the Board of Education and other colleges in the state.⁶⁹

In October of 1915, Woolley met with the presidents of Smith, Vassar and Wellesley to seriously consider a new entrance method. They were unanimous in their desire to eliminate the certificate system, and they agreed to begin comprehensive examinations in June of 1916. In 1916, Mount Holyoke had renewed privileges for 114 high schools, granted 34 new, put two schools on trial and rejected three.⁷⁰ Dean Purington said, "if students were admitted by examination instead of by certificate we should have less poor material on our hands."⁷¹ Mount Holyoke would remove all certificate privileges by 1918, and comprehensive exams began in 1919

when a Board of Admissions took over the work of entrance requirements.⁷² The plan, as conceived by the heads of the four colleges, was similar to the one adopted by Harvard, Princeton and Yale Universities. The comprehensive examinations were to be "a test of the quality of the applicant's scholarship and intellectual power" while examinations in all subjects would continue as an alternative measure.⁷³

A Committee on Low-Grade Students composed of faculty and administration formed in 1907, and policy was set to no longer accept students "heavily conditioned" in Mathematics, Latin, Greek, French, German or English and specific policy guidelines were established. (The committee would continue to function into the 1920s.) If by the spring of the freshman year, a student was failing in several subjects, she would be asked to withdraw. If a student failed two courses or was "heavily conditioned," she would not be allowed to return to school. A student would not be permitted to return for the junior year if it was unlikely that she could fulfill the requirements for the degree on schedule.⁷⁴

While working to upgrade the overall quality of the student body, Woolley worked hard to gain recognition and support for exceptional students. In June of 1905, the Executive Board of Alumnae Associations agreed to fund a fellowship to be awarded annually to a Mount Holyoke student embarking on graduate studies. As a result of Woolley's fundraising efforts among alumnae groups, the Alumnae Association created the fellowship in her name. Woolley also succeeded in winning Carnegie Foundation support for graduate

fellowships, and in the same year, 1905, Mount Holyoke was accepted into Phi Beta Kappa, an achievement that significantly increased the college's academic standing. Only ten of the twenty colleges applying for admission were accepted. The Theta chapter of Massachusetts was installed in February of 1905, and Amherst College students were invited guests, marking the occasion as evidence of the achievement of equality in education for men and women.

That day, Woolley became President of a Phi Beta Kappa charter group that included eleven faculty members, ten members of the class of 1905 and four of the class of 1906.⁷⁵ In 1907, during elections held at Pembroke College, Brown University, Woolley was elected the first woman senator of Phi Beta Kappa, leading all the candidates with 143 of 157 votes.⁷⁶ In 1911, at the end of Woolley's first decade in office, a total of ten Mount Holyoke graduates were recipients of fellowships for graduate study at the University of Chicago (3 students), Bryn Mawr (3 students), Wellesley (2 students), Smith (1 student) and the Chicago School of Civics (1 student).⁷⁷ By May of 1913, thirty-seven students had received Mount Holyoke fellowships. Nineteen were faculty members at colleges, (ten at Mount Holyoke) five were high school teachers, seven were still studying, three were married, two still lived at home, and one was doing settlement work.⁷⁸ Board President Smith's premature portrayal of Mount Holyoke's student accomplishments was fast becoming a reality under Woolley's leadership.

According to Woolley, by 1913, Mount Holyoke had achieved a student-faculty ratio of approximately eight and a half to one. Only

Bryn Mawr had a lower one. By contrast, Wellesley and Vassar had student-faculty ratios of ten to one and Smith had thirteen to one. Woolley noted that the purpose of the endowment fund was to keep the ratio from rising. Mount Holyoke's curriculum included more than 300 courses taught by 108 teachers. To receive a Bachelor's degree, Mount Holyoke and Bryn Mawr both required 120 semester hours; Wellesley required 118; Smith required 112; Vassar required 110 and Radcliffe required 102.5. At Mount Holyoke, of the 120 hours, 63 were in required courses. The required courses included English composition and literature, Greek or Latin (only Smith also required a classical language), a modern language, two sciences, philosophy and history. Required courses represented 60 credit hours at Bryn Mawr, 46 at Wellesley, 42 at Smith, 30 at Vassar. (Radcliffe ran completely on the elective system.)⁷⁹ Though students at Mount Holyoke wanted more electives in the academic program, it was not until the 1920s that there were significant increases in elective opportunities. Mount Holyoke did not relinquish its classics requirement until 1936.⁸⁰

Student Life and Leadership

Beginning in her first years in the Presidency, Woolley actively sought to develop student responsibility and leadership. The Students' League had been in existence since 1898, but the organization had no legislative power and simply attempted to enforce the rules set down by the faculty. The honor system of students' self-reporting of rule violations (Lyon's method) had been replaced

by a proctor system. The proctors, who were usually students themselves, kept track of offenses in special books, and enforcement consisted of a mandatory visit after three offenses to the chairman of the house in which the student lived. Three visits to the chairman required a visit to the Executive Committee. Reprimands flowed freely over violation of quiet hours and the ten o'clock curfew, missed daily chapel services and church services on Sundays. Students worked to outwit the proctors and, at the same time, complained that the League was ineffective and inefficient. Students complained that their peers indulged in loud talking and laughing during study hours and in loud whispering and talking after curfew.⁸¹ In 1905, the League twice petitioned the faculty to change the ten o'clock curfew but the request was rejected both times.⁸²

The faculty was slow to relinquish control of student life. Woolley approached the Students' League in 1903 to suggest that the faculty were recommending, not requiring, a system of outdoor exercise for physical education credit similar to the programs at Smith and Wellesley. Woolley conveyed to the League that the decision to introduce this system would be "left entirely up to the students."⁸³ A month later, a student article appeared in the school publication stating that "this should be corrected, because the faculty have already voted in favor of compulsory exercise."⁸⁴ Perhaps Woolley was hoping that by independently arriving at the same decision, the students would feel that they had somehow been consulted. In any case, students were, as yet, unfamiliar with the exercise of any independent authority. Many of the students, in

fact, shared a fear of too much independence. A student editorial appearing in The Mount Holyoke articulated this sentiment. "[An] extreme of independent, democratic spirit [is] to be guarded against - [a] moderate amount is good to animate and avoid stagnation." Too much independence will create 'self-sufficiency' and 'undue self-dependence.'⁸⁵ In 1904, Woolley gave the students an opportunity to confront this concern. Representatives from the Mount Holyoke Students' League travelled to Wellesley to participate in a newly-formed conference on improving student government at which they shared ideas and common problems with students from Bryn Mawr, Cornell and Vassar Colleges. This was the beginning of the Woman's Intercollegiate Association for Student Government and, through Woolley's efforts, Mount Holyoke became a charter member in 1906.⁸⁶

Over the next several years, discussions at the annual conferences focused on the ineffectiveness of the proctor system, a reflection of the relative powerlessness of the student bodies. Beginning in 1906, however, with a revision of its constitution, the Students' League at Mount Holyoke began to gain some legislative power subject to the approval of the faculty. The League gained the authority to determine the number of offices that students were permitted to hold. This was in response to both student and faculty concern that too much social life was interfering with academic work. The League was also given increasing responsibility for the enforcement of rules and regulations that it had no role in creating. It was responsible for maintaining "quiet, order and decorum" both on campus and in South Hadley and for supervising absences from college,

church and chapel. Increasingly, students felt that the rules and regulations were oppressive. In 1916, a student criticized what she called the hypocrisy of the college for claiming to have a real system of student government when in fact, "... the President [Woolley] has ultimate power over everything."⁸⁷ A student argued for increased power and responsibility for the League.

There are, it is true, erratic souls among the student body every year. I believe, though, that even at present the student body may honestly be depended on not to make erratic regulations. It may do radical things, but often the radical thing is the best thing. And with the increased responsibility and the more womanly atmosphere which will result, there is every reason to believe that the League will be proof against erratic measures and dependable for things good and wise and progressive.⁸⁸

In 1917, after much discussion, the constitution of the League was revised. An honor system replaced the proctor system and for a three-year trial, the honor system was extended to academic work. Students still objected since this change was imposed from above. In 1920, a group of students signing only initials to an article entitled, "Rules, Regulations and Revolution," complained,

We have had our share of externally imposed discipline, of living under rules and regulations; now we need the training of experience, the self-imposed discipline, the self-regulated life."⁸⁹

Woolley and Purington recognized that this "spirit of unrest and of chafing under restraint" was part of a general desire for more freedom shared by students at other women's colleges. Purington spoke for Woolley when she said the Administration wanted to be "broad-minded and progressive and at the same time to conserve the traditions."⁹⁰ Student attitudes had shifted from fear of too much

independence to desire for increased independence and 'self-regulation.'

The College Abolishes Secret Societies

A Students' League committee addressed the highly controversial issue of Greek-letter sororities or 'secret societies'. The societies had begun at Mount Holyoke as social clubs for relief from the austere life of the college, but as they grew in numbers and size, perceptions grew among opponents that their undemocratic nature made them unfit for Mount Holyoke and that the intensity of sorority life put undue strain on members. Some Mount Holyoke faculty who opposed the societies echoed Hall's arguments that "the very going to college and exposure to the manifold interests of its atmospheres - the presence of so many personalities and sets" put a strain on the already serious problem of maintaining a young woman's "bodily, mental, and emotional health." Since girls were more likely to suffer from excessive activity than boys who have a "broader and less intense view of things," sororities had to be eliminated to avoid dire consequences.⁹¹ These consequences included the dangers inherent in college friendships that might become too intense and sexualized, an issue that was discussed but not publicly acknowledged. In 1906, the college debating society heatedly debated the abolition of the societies. The winning team, opposed to them, emphasized the creation of "unnatural, unChristian conditions" within the societies.⁹²

There were five societies or sororities, each counting approximately thirty young women in their membership. They presented a powerful, united minority in opposition to faculty and student criticism. An added, troubling ingredient to the controversy was the zealous support of alumnae who would not accept easily the dissolution of their societies. Woolley had been working hard through personal appeal to cultivate the goodwill and generosity of the alumnae in support of the college and this issue threatened to undermine some of her efforts. Woolley wanted to abolish the societies primarily because student leaders were absorbed in sorority functions rather than in broader, more useful leadership. The sorority membership, she believed, was involved in too many superficial social activities.⁹³ The "greatest menace to the American Woman's College today is that of the social life," she said. In sororities, Woolley saw the danger of social life becoming "an end in itself."⁹⁴ In an effort to eliminate the need for the societies, a college-wide social club formed in 1905 with the express purpose of bringing "the whole college together for a good time." Those who opposed it argued that other organizations allowed for socializing and Mount Holyoke, unlike other women's colleges located in cities or large towns, didn't need a school-wide club.⁹⁵ Woolley disagreed and she supported the activities of the club, first the all-women dances in the gymnasium and later the dances that included men by invitation.

She promoted the need for a fair and thoughtful forum for both sides of the issue. As a result of ongoing discussion within

the college, the sororities themselves agreed to no longer 'rush' freshmen, but the larger problem remained unresolved.⁹⁶ Sorority alumnae organized themselves into an intersociety committee, and Woolley took this opportunity to suggest the creation of a larger committee that would include faculty and students as well as alumnae. The committee that formed included ten faculty members and four members from each of the five sororities, as well as two non-sorority students and alumnae. The committee was mandated to inform all sorority alumnae of its work and a questionnaire soliciting opinions was to be sent to all alumnae.

In 1908, a vote for 'nonperpetuation' of the societies was taken in several committees. A group of students formed a Reconstruction Committee made up of members and nonmembers of sororities which voted sixteen to two against them. The faculty committee voted to abolish them with only one dissenting vote and the full faculty voted fifty-nine to five for abolition. Only the alumnae of the societies voted 185-124 against abolition with 228 members not submitting votes. The trustees quickly voted to forbid any further admissions to the societies thereby allowing a gradual death as each class graduated and reduced the societies' membership. Having resolved the issue so successfully at the college, Woolley then needed to revitalize the society alumnae's loyalty and enthusiasm for Mount Holyoke. She promised to work to bring the positive qualities of close sisterhood that existed in the sororities into the life of the college as a whole.⁹⁷

Woolley had become a popular and familiar presence at countless alumnae meetings and functions, and the alumnae had responded generously to her constant appeals for financial support. She would not lose much alumnae support over the abolition of secret societies. A member of the Maine alumnae said that Woolley, "in her inimitable way," made the college's needs seem "absolute necessities."⁹⁸ The Alumnae Association had grown to between 7-8,000 members by 1909, making Woolley's obligations increasingly hard to fulfill. The Association decided to appoint an official secretary, Florence M. Read, and the college agreed to pay part of Read's salary in exchange for her assistance in the library. The Alumnae Association pledged the rest of Read's salary from an Income Fund recently created to fund the Mary E. Woolley Fellowship.⁹⁹ In June of 1915, in an effort to establish close and reliable communication between the Administration and the alumnae concerning policies of the college, the Graduate Council of Mount Holyoke College was formed. The council was composed of Woolley, Dean Purington, three faculty members and councillors from each local alumnae association.¹⁰⁰

It was the Alumnae Association that had first taken action on the need for better living arrangements for their college president. At a Board of Trustees meeting in April of 1907, the Association presented a statement that described Woolley's living situation in Brigham Hall as "inadequate to conserve her energies, owing to the lack of privacy and the wear and tear of being housed in a large dormitory where she is constantly before the public gaze." The alumnae wanted to build a house for the president "befitting the

status of our college."¹⁰¹ Two years later, in 1909, the President's House was completed and Woolley moved in. In the midst of the controversy over the secret societies, she invited

some of the most active and hostile of the alumnae members to visit South Hadley, see the new President's House, and discuss the problem with her. They came, but the gesture did not work as she had hoped it might.¹⁰²

Woolley had wanted them to feel at home at the college and she intended to make the house a source of pride and pleasure for the whole college community, including the trustees who were welcome to stay there when they visited the college, and faculty who dined and visited there regularly.¹⁰³ However, "[s]eeing Jeannette Marks installed in the President's House exacerbated the criticism of her, ..."¹⁰⁴ The relationship between Woolley and Marks, as well as Marks' independent activities, already provoked some hostility at the college. Marks' outspoken opposition to sororities added to the unhappiness that some alumnae already felt about Woolley's personal life.

The College Eliminates Domestic Work

With the elimination of secret societies and the consequent effort to redirect student energies toward broader concerns, Woolley had dealt with all but one of the issues enumerated in Thomas' criticisms of Mount Holyoke. She had been judicious about the pace and timing of the more controversial changes. The policy of domestic work as part of student life at Mount Holyoke brought the severest criticism from Thomas, but Woolley did not seriously challenge the

practice in the early years. The college was sensitive to criticism of its adherence to a system that Lyon had initiated and had so strongly advocated. In November of 1900, one month before Woolley's arrival, college faculty and students in the classes of 1901 and 1904 responded to a questionnaire designed by a faculty member to discover their sentiments about the usefulness of domestic work. The response was overwhelmingly positive, and the reasons reflected an appreciation of the original intent of the system. The students said that the system "gives a sense of responsibility for the comforts and happiness of other people," "instills regard for rights and privileges of workers," "teaches that we are not exempt from labor," "gives the girls a chance to meet in an altogether different way," "promotes a democratic spirit," "makes me feel more at home," "gives a girl a personal interest in her college," "allows no class distinctions," "enables girls who otherwise could not afford it to go to college, "teaches a certain class of girls that no one is too good to work," and "gives a foretaste of the cooperative system which seems destined to become prominent in the twentieth century."¹⁰⁵

The faculty responded similarly, presenting more systematically the intellectual, social, moral, and economic advantages of a system of cooperative work. The survival of the system begun in the seminary, the only domestic system of its kind currently in existence in the colleges and universities, was a strong argument for keeping rather than for eliminating it. Faculty said that cooperative work promoted "common brotherhood" more quickly than in the classroom, that it taught "respect for labor," promoted

"sympathy between classes," brought college life "nearer to family life," saved money and trained women to become "better employers." "Unselfishness, thoughtfulness, promptness and independence of action" were all learned attitudes and behaviors that faculty attributed to the domestic system.¹⁰⁶ The issues were clearly more complicated than suggested by the public justification based on lowered tuition costs. In the first several years of Woolley's administration, the question of whether the system interfered with academic performance was not discussed in faculty meetings. By the end of Woolley's first decade in office, however, the faculty who spoke out most strenuously in favor of domestic work had retired, and a forum for discussion opened.

In 1911, Woolley and the trustees formed a committee of five members to consider the continuance of the system. After two years of slow investigation and several progress reports, Woolley presented a four-page brief to the Board of Trustees that gave arguments in favor of discontinuance of domestic service for academic, moral, and practical reasons. Woolley's report judiciously emphasized the impracticality of the system and characterized the issue as one of "scientific management" because of the rapid growth of the college. Woolley expressed her view on the academic impact of domestic responsibilities. "I am confident that the large majority of the Faculty feel that the domestic system is responsible for the added pressure." She reported that the work was often "poorly done, with a consequent injurious influence upon the student," arguing that lack of time forced the student to choose academic work over the domestic.

Her report included the financial cost of the system and comparative estimates of the differences in cost if women workers were employed to replace students. By 1913, 547 students had domestic duties involving aspects of cleaning, and all were under the supervision of one woman. (Duties in academic departments and the library were not included.) Woolley proposed a \$50 per student increase in board fees which would generate \$38,500 in added revenue from the 770 students currently enrolled. Even with maximum estimates of the cost for paid maid service as well as paid assistants in the library and laboratories, substantial monies would remain for other college needs.¹⁰⁷ The Board was persuaded by the report. In May of 1913, twelve years into Woolley's administration, domestic work was voted out of existence, a reflection of her sense of timeliness and of her preference for steady, reasoned progress over abrupt change.¹⁰⁸ Beginning in September of 1914, tuition, room and board increased to \$425 for students who did not do service work at the college. Co-operative homes in which students performed domestic chores and other types of remunerative work in the college enabled students to pay less for room and board. In an effort to phase out the time-honored system gradually, the classes of 1916 and 1917 were permitted to retain it.¹⁰⁹

The student body had, on average, grown wealthier. In recent years, high heels, silk stockings and silk dresses had become acceptable attire in classes.¹¹⁰ A survey taken in 1916 of the 170 seniors, to which 135 responded, revealed that 94 seniors (70%) had neither earned nor borrowed money to finance their college education.

Twenty-seven students earned \$100 or more and nineteen borrowed (some both worked and borrowed). Three students had to pay all of their own expenses, receiving no financial support from their families.¹¹¹ There was some sentiment that, within the student body, poorer students were judged by their lack of wealth. This manifested itself in social pressure on students to not live and work in the cooperative houses and not seek remunerative domestic work¹¹²

Woolley was concerned about students of lesser means, but she approached the problem with a rigidity of thinking that she shared with other moderate progressives. She opposed the suggestion of a sliding scale for fees based on the students' ability to pay, agreeing with the Board that there should be no class distinctions within the college.¹¹³ What she failed to recognize was that a slowly-increasing uniform fee that the college tried to keep as low as possible became, in effect, a subsidy for those families who could afford to pay more while it became a hardship for those who could not.

In 1916, a doctoral student at Teacher's College, Columbia University designed a first study of its kind of the living conditions within women's colleges. The report would become one component of a larger work on "The Corporate Life of the Woman's College" and the subjects included Mount Holyoke, Smith, Wellesley, Vassar, and Bryn Mawr. Woolley took an active interest in the study and cooperated fully with the researcher, Margaret Jean Calvin, who encouraged each of the colleges to report fully and honestly. Individual colleges would not be identified, "no individual showing

for any separate college except where positive credit is reflected upon the college." Woolley reported that all rooms at Mount Holyoke were the same price, that room and board cost \$275, and that students had the option of living in one cooperative house or in one of two partially cooperative houses. Fifty-six students worked as dining room waitresses and 109 in all performed some kind of remunerative work.

Interestingly, Woolley reported that the service force was not hired through an Employment Bureau but rather through independent sources which provided an informal network of recommendations. Staff received no written contracts, and no tipping was permitted. No summer provisions were made for staff. No training and no recreational rooms were provided. "[N]o welfare work was done." In response to the 'welfare' question: "Do they [workers] resent it as ostentatious display of superior to inferior?", Woolley answered 'yes.' The College, she wrote, "does nothing and the maids do not desire it." There were 67 women in service in 1916, 98% 'country girls' from Ireland, France and Poland, and one-third under the age of twenty-five. They lived in the Residence Halls and worked daily from 6:00 A.M. to 2:30 P.M. and again from 5:00 to 7:30 each evening with one afternoon off per week as well as every other Sunday. Wages ranged from \$4.75 to \$8.00 per week, with an allowance of one week's pay in an emergency or illness.¹¹⁴

Apart from occasionally giving the women complimentary tickets to college events, Woolley made no mention of any other effort on the college's part to draw these young workers into the

academic or social life of the college. She certainly conveyed no sense that the close college community was ideal for a social experiment that could address some of the problems that progressives had identified - how to increase the opportunities of the less fortunate, how to train skilled workers, and how to give more meaning to work. Although her father would have applauded such an endeavor, Woolley separated the outside world and the college. She encouraged settlement work by Mount Holyoke students as close to the campus as the city of Holyoke and the 'summer house' for workers in South Hadley, but apparently saw no need to minister to the young women workers at the college.¹¹⁵ Woolley was most concerned about how Mount Holyoke's graduates would find ways to live productive lives. The work of the college, therefore, was to develop the talents of the select group of young women who had accomplished enough to become students at Mount Holyoke.

Unity and Cooperation Among the Women's Colleges

In the earliest years of her administration, Woolley began her work toward collegial unity and cooperation among Mount Holyoke's American 'daughter colleges,' Mills, Western and Lake Erie. She travelled to Ohio and California to participate in the colleges' major events and reciprocated with invitations to events at Mount Holyoke which drew increasing numbers of the academic elite. Woolley's theme at these colleges was of an extended family of women who shared one another's successes and pleasures. At Western College,

It is easy for me this afternoon to appreciate the feeling of a grandmother on her first visit to the home of a prosperous daughter. There are, however, few grandmothers who have the pleasure of meeting so many granddaughters all at once, as there are few colleges which can claim the honor of having so many. Mount Holyoke counts foremost among her blessings her daughter colleges.¹¹⁶

At Lake Erie College, Woolley called the colleges founded by Mount Holyoke graduates, a "Mount Holyoke Apostolic Succession." Mount Holyoke's unique role of "academic motherhood" would lead the way, she said, toward

new solidarity ... among colleges for women. ... [W]e realize that we need each other, the different foundations, the varying types, coeducation, the affiliated college, the separate woman's college. And we stand shoulder to shoulder as never before, not cold shoulder to cold shoulder as a witty woman once said of the faculty of a certain institution, who unfortunately held widely divergent views, but warm shoulder to warm shoulder.¹¹⁷

Woolley assumed the role of 'academic mother', healer, problem-solver, and friend among the women's colleges. When her friend Bates wanted Woolley to speak on behalf of the Spanish Institute, an organization that offered new opportunities for women in Spanish literature, she wrote to Woolley,

My dear Mary Lamb: When I tell you that this note is born, not of affection but of benevolence, I know you will sit straight up in that throne-like chair which I remember, and put on a presidential look of solemn responsibility... we regard you as a trump card... and we may lose heart about pushing the scheme forward if we cannot have your most valuable cooperation.¹¹⁸

By 1912, when Mount Holyoke was accepted into the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, Woolley had established herself as an outstanding leader. Thomas was a leader in the reorganization of

the A.C.A. and in 1913 asked Woolley to allow her nomination for the presidency.

You are the one person, I think, who could be unanimously elected, and your election...after the reorganization would signalize among other things the new, broader policies of the Association.... Personally I am coming to believe more and more in what can be done by organized effort. I am anxious that those of us who have been presidents of women's colleges in these days would unite to help the young college women of the country to direct their energies where they are most needed. Under you as president we can do this in harmony and with enthusiasm.¹¹⁹

Woolley would not become president until 1927. By then, the A.C.A. had been renamed the American Association of University Women. However, she initiated and participated in other unifying efforts through the years. In 1915, Mount Holyoke joined with Vassar, Wellesley, and Smith in the "Four College Conference" whose primary purpose was to cooperatively seek ways to secure endowments for women's colleges that equaled those of the men's.¹²⁰ The colleges' relatively poor endowments constituted major obstacles to advancement and demanded an enormous amount of administrative attention. In 1923, the situation had still not improved significantly. Woolley utilized her presidential report that year to air her frustrations over the never-ending requirements for raising money. The college had just completed a \$3,000,000 campaign, the largest in the college's history, and Woolley had been personally involved in an extraordinary amount of fundraising throughout the country.

The efforts were successful, but Woolley argued that

A campaign is a hectic and wasteful method, wasteful of the time and energies of the president and members of the faculty.... I question whether it is good for a college to

have its representative, president or other members of its faculty, subjected to some of the experiences in a campaign.

She described being regarded as a 'beggar' rather than a 'benefactor.' Woolley had always advocated a "steady, progressive policy" of fundraising, and she reiterated this in the report. "An institution which paid attention to its academic interests only by fits and starts would be considered a fit candidate for a hospital for the insane." Her plan was to place less emphasis on the general public which was simply not interested and to tap the resources of alumnae who could well afford to contribute to the college. Woolley reported that, in this campaign, many gave 100 times their regular contributions, and she suggested that they maintain this level with regular annual giving. She suggested that the alumnae match the annual interest on the current \$2,000,000 endowment.¹²¹

All of the women's colleges had similar financial problems, and the Four College Conference was the first official effort to acknowledge both these and other common problems and purposes. During 1915, Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, and Mount Holyoke met to plan introducing admission by examinations and the elimination of admission by certificate.¹²² Bryn Mawr, Barnard and Radcliffe joined the group by 1926, creating the Seven College Conference whose goal was "to present more forcefully the work and the needs of the women's colleges."¹²³ An article in the new Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly, "Are College Students Well-Informed?", made the following points about the seven colleges. All had "well-organized suffrage clubs"; all had lectures and talks on current events; Barnard and Radcliffe

Colleges had "many clubs dealing with civic issues in a confederation"; Wellesley, Vassar and Mount Holyoke had "active debating societies," and all students were reading more newspapers than in previous years. Mount Holyoke, for example, was subscribing to two daily papers for every residence hall.¹²⁴

Woolley also helped form the University Council in 1914, a group composed of the presidents of colleges in the Connecticut Valley including Smith, Amherst, Massachusetts Agricultural College, the YMCA College and Mount Holyoke. Course offerings from the several schools were listed in the Mount Holyoke Bulletin for the purpose of extending "opportunities for University work."¹²⁵ This outreach on the part of Mount Holyoke reflected Woolley's educational goals - to develop in Mount Holyoke students a greater sense of power and accomplishment and a broader sense of social responsibility.

A PRACTICAL VISIONARY:
MARY EMMA WOOLLEY AND THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

A Dissertation Presented

By

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C H A P T E R VIII

THE CHALLENGE TO DEVELOP SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY SETTLEMENT WORK, SUFFRAGE, PEACE, AND EMPLOYMENT

Woolley's third challenge in the early years was to broaden the experiences of Mount Holyoke students so that they would come to accept ethical and social obligations in return for the opportunity and privilege of higher education. This was the moral imperative that Woolley lived by. In her speeches, she dismissed the idea that broad interests weakened a woman's ability to fulfill her obligations at home. First drafts often contained direct argumentation on the order of, "No sane person can hold the view . . .," but final versions became patient, thorough rebuttals to received opinion. "We have a way of accepting a part truth, taking an arc, a segment of it, without completing the circle."

An educated woman was capable of loving and caring for her own home and children but, important as those responsibilities were, Woolley argued that more was expected of her. "Does she have a right to stop at that point in the great human circle?" Is it enough for the "privileged American girl" to fulfill her social obligations within her own class?

But what about the unprivileged girl? We know that she exists, we meet her even in Massachusetts, the girl who must be content if she has a chance to earn her daily bread without stopping to think of 'developing her powers' of 'finding her vocation', the girl who is not shielded and safeguarded, except by her own strength of character and fine perceptions. . . . the more womanly a woman, the more earnestly should she desire to give other women a chance to

be womanly, to lend a hand to other girls outside that charmed circle of one's own household and friendship.

She criticized the narrowness of the 'home-loving instinct'.

I have sometimes wondered whether we consciously violate the principles of the Consumer's League, that we may have the wherewithal to make our homes more beautiful, forgetting that the added charm is bought with a price, - the impossibility of decent living for another woman.¹

Woolley herself followed the Consumer's League guidelines for purchases, boycotting those goods that were produced through worker exploitation. She encouraged students to buy clothes that bore the endorsement of the League, "[m]anufactured under perfect sanitary conditions."² She invited leaders in social reform to lecture at the college. In 1910, Rose Schneiderman, worker and organizer, gave a firsthand account of the strike at the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory in New York.³ The following year, the students heard a lecture on the "Function of Education in Abolishing Child Labor."⁴ Woolley herself said,

[W]e women must bear a large share of the responsibility. The desire for a bargain and willingness to buy ready-made clothing at prices which can mean nothing else than starvation rates and unsanitary conditions have been the stronghold of the sweatshop and it will never disappear until Christian women determine to buy only the clothing made under good conditions and at fair prices.⁵

She frequently connected love of country and true patriotism with the men and women who eased the lives of the less fortunate. America needed "Boys' Clubs and juvenile courts and schools that build up, in place of prisons that tear down." She urged women to use their "acquired reputation" as "the religious sex."

Whatever may be our own convictions as to our religious superiority this must be conceded, that to conserve the

religious in a woman's nature, is to furnish a mighty power in meeting her social and ethical obligations."

"[I]nspiration is the electric power of moral and spiritual movements," Woolley told her audiences. She tried to inspire young women in college to accept social responsibility.

No institution offers a greater opportunity whether viewed as a field for ethical and social training or as an avenue through which to meet these obligations. The day has passed when an education can be viewed simply as a personal possession: a woman has a right to education only as she considers it a preparation for her service to others. That part of the school which we call the college is awake to its social and ethical obligations and its students are eager for greater knowledge and broader training.⁶

Three factors coalesced in these early years to make her efforts successful. Woolley brought the convictions and skills developed primarily through her father's influences to an educational institution that was proud of its long tradition of missionary training. She also brought the influence of Wellesley College's more secular ethic of social responsibility. Thirdly, the Mount Holyoke community, in its hope of bringing the college fully into modern life, was open to new ideas if they did not threaten the extinction of its traditions. Woolley was the ideal leader to allay these fears and inspire progressive change. She combined the traditional call for missionary zeal with goals of social reform activism and the higher education of women.

At the Missionary Jubilee, a fiftieth anniversary celebration of women's missionary work, Woolley introduced a speaker by emphasizing these interrelations.

As a college woman, I take peculiar pleasure in introducing a college woman who is living proof that a college training,

instead of leading to a narrow, self-centered life, provoketh to love and good works. A graduate and trustee of Wellesley College, Mrs. Helen Barrett Montgomery exemplifies in her life the motto of her Alma Mater: 'Not to be ministered unto, but to minister.'

There was also room in the modern world for the traditional missionary.

The door is open for the work of women for women in China, in Japan, in India, in Turkey, as it may not be again, for there are psychological moments in the history of nations as in the history of individuals.

The Twentieth Century, Woolley said, called for service

on a scale which women have never before in the history of the world had an opportunity to render ... Love of country, love of humanity, love of Christ are blended notes in the call which falls upon our ears.⁷

In a speech entitled "A Modern Interpretation of an Ancient

Teaching," Woolley compared Israel in the 8th Century B.C. with

America in the 20th Century. The two cultures shared a

splendid heritage of character ... a spirit of enterprise is like ozone in the atmosphere, breathed in by all who come to our shores... We are a very heterogenous country in these days and the character of our future depends in large measure not only upon the ideals which we keep for ourselves, but also upon those made real for our brothers of alien birth and often of alien thought.⁸

Woolley worried about the corrupting influence of "saloons, low and debasing shows, gambling and other evil houses" and exhorted "respectable citizens" to rid cities of them. Educated women had the responsibility to make

earnest, united, persistent, vigorous effort to educate and Christianize these millions of human beings ... Modern life is fearfully unified [so that] disease of the one class is the menace of all the others.

There was great need for social work among the poor, the millions of immigrants, and the "Negroes and Indians" whose plight was "a living reminder of ... oppression and injustice and dishonor."

The educated and privileged among America's citizens were obligated, in Woolley's view, to fight for the rights of the weak, especially for the "eager, ambitious boys and girls struggling against tremendous odds of color and poverty and prejudice to get a footing on an upper round of the ladder." The dividends for American society from this work toward social betterment were evident. Woolley believed that hope lay in the education of the young because "[i]mitation enters the very fastnesses of character" and the young were malleable. In a typical speech, this one given in 1907 in Cleveland, Ohio to the Federation of Women's Missionary Societies, Woolley challenged her audience to

think of the inspiration in having a direct part in this work, being the medium by which Christian Civilization becomes a reality to the Negro of the South, the Indian of the West, the Slav of our own home city.⁹

Two years earlier, Woolley had invited to Mount Holyoke the Chaplain of Hampton Institute in Virginia along with two graduates, one African-American and one Onondaga, who spoke about the teaching methods and successes of Hampton.¹⁰ The Institute's educational philosophy stemmed from the ideas of Booker T. Washington, "industrial education," black self-help and self-development.¹¹ Mindful of the dispute within the African-American community over Washington's accommodations to white society, specifically the critique of W.E.B. DuBois¹², Woolley invited both DuBois and

Washington (on separate occasions) to speak at Mount Holyoke. DuBois spoke on "The Work of the Negro Woman"¹³ and Washington spoke on his own life and work.¹⁴ Woolley supported Washington's approach. She appreciated a story he told about an African-American medical student training to specialize in nervous diseases, and she incorporated it into one of her speeches.

[W]hen asked where he expected to practice, [he] answered, "In Alabama," "But, my dear friend," exclaimed his questioner, "don't you know that the negro in Alabama doesn't know what a nerve is? If you are going to practice there, you should specialize, not in nervous diseases, but in tuberculosis." Probably much of the misunderstanding among the negroes who are not in sympathy with Booker Washington's attitude and work could be avoided, if this simple proposition were borne in mind, - that the ability, the taste, the temperament of the individual, and the condition of the environment in which he is to work, the kind of service that is in demand, - all should be taken into consideration in deciding upon the kind of education, training, which he should receive. But this question is much broader than the subject of education for the negro, - it concerns the white man quite as definitely and directly. The ideal which a democracy should strive to realize, is that of discovering the kind of work for which the individual is best fitted, taking also into consideration his environment, the demand for service of various kinds, and making training for that line of work possible for him. By this I do not mean a system of paternalism, a cut and dried program, the taking away of initiative, - but rather, the stimulation of initiative, the wise guidance of inclination, which, so often, has either no guidance, or that which is unwise.¹⁵

At Mount Holyoke, Woolley brought in lecturers who were leaders in current affairs and scholars and specialists in all disciplines. The college invited townspeople free of charge to attend lecture series and cultural activities. Woolley encouraged and supported student interest in settlement work, suffrage, and peace activism. She also worked for expanded employment

opportunities for women graduates. Woolley proceeded cautiously in these efforts, both in response to the conservative climate at Mount Holyoke and in keeping with her 'gradualist' predilections.

Sometimes, the more radical thinking and activities of Marks and of other colleagues and students pushed Woolley into quicker action.

A Current Events Club formed in 1902. Meeting twice each month, its stated aim was the "intelligent presentation of subjects representing all phases of the world's work." Regular attendance promised to "save a student from ignorance of living facts outside the college halls."¹⁶ Discussions covered such topics as the Irish Land Bill, Insurrection in Santo Domingo and Panama, the New German Reichstag, and the Chinese-American Treaty.¹⁷

Settlement Work

In the same year, Marks began to interest students in starting a chapter of the College Settlement Association (CSA).¹⁸ She had been president of the Wellesley chapter and had spent some time in the New York, Boston and Philadelphia settlements. A Reading Club formed with the cooperation of the YWCA in Holyoke and would soon, with the official formation of the CSA chapter at Mount Holyoke, combine efforts with the college Christian Association. Speakers came to campus to report on progress in social movements and to describe conditions from first-hand experience. Interested students travelled to Holyoke to visit the factories and tenements. Student activists enthusiastically enrolled mill workers in extension classes taught by college staff, and students managed a summer house

in South Hadley for the use of young women workers for brief respites from the city.¹⁹

There was criticism of this college settlement work within the Mount Holyoke community. Critics called it "dabbling in philanthropy" and wasteful work by "inexperienced and overworked" students.²⁰ When the CSA chapter at Mount Holyoke held its first meeting in September of 1904, there were almost two hundred members. With the combined efforts of the CSA and the YWCA, a coffee house opened in Holyoke that year for the use of women workers. One of the goals of the settlement association was to spread the principle of unity and friendship among colleges and working women. In December, Woolley spoke to the club on "The Social Responsibility of Women,"²¹ and the following year (1905), the Reading Club invited a member of the New York Association for Household Research who told the group that a college's responsibility was to "give the city" students trained in economics, psychology, sociology and history. She encouraged students to join civic associations, to learn about social movements and to move into the cities. She said that too many women were becoming teachers and too few were entering social work which offered 'good money' and desperately needed trained workers. The fault lay, she said, with the colleges because the study of social welfare issues was ignored.²²

That year, a recent graduate wrote an article for the Mount Holyoke in which she gave three reasons for the unwillingness of students to go into settlement work. The first was a lack of money, the second, a "negative view of 'mission work,'" and the third, a lack

of support from the colleges for the concept of the settlement. She advocated a course of study on reform efforts similar to those offered at other colleges (Wellesley for one). She argued that simple membership in the CSA was not sufficient. One year of living in a settlement would truly complete a young woman's education, she wrote, forever altering perspective and providing the skills to educate public opinion in favor of settlements while influencing the uneducated to become "upright, law-abiding" citizens.²³ Through the combined efforts of the CSA and the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, graduates of colleges belonging to either organization became eligible for \$400 fellowships while living in a settlement in "pursuit of some clearly defined line of work, scientific or practical."²⁴ Dean Purington was the liaison at Mount Holyoke for these fellowships.

In the first few years of CSA's existence, the Reading Club offered a varied speakers program. Coman from Wellesley spoke on the "Meaning of Industrial Strife," Anna May Soule of Mount Holyoke spoke on the "History of Modern Industrial Organization," and Lillian Wald spoke on "New Opportunities in an Old Profession." Marks lectured on "William Morris, Socialist," and "Anarchy and Individualism," and her mentor Scudder spoke about the work of Denison House in Boston.²⁵ Amy Hewes, a member of the Economics Department at Mount Holyoke, taught a class in Charities and Corrections and took students on field trips to Ellis Island. 4000 immigrants passed through Ellis Island each day, and one Mount Holyoke student described the arrival of a

boatload of Italians ... so quiet, so docile, so heavily laden, and oh! so strangely dressed. Pale green satin trimmed with white lace, blue velvet suits, homespuns, May-day costumes, Mother Hubbards, and feather boas.

The Mount Holyoke students found the dormitories for the immigrants who were detained on the island a "marvel of compactness and cleanliness." The attendants were "invariably gentle and kind" and, in general, the students came away feeling proud of America for "so efficient and kindly a system."²⁶

Given the students' reactions to Ellis Island, fears that exposure to social reform issues would bring radical challenge to the social order appear unwarranted. However, the CSA continually met with criticism. The social reform movement that the CSA represented offered young women graduates career alternatives to marriage or teaching, but college women in general resisted involvement. In 1907, Woolley invited Jane Addams, national social reform leader, to give the Commencement Address. Addams told the graduates that approximately 40,000 young women were graduating across the nation and those who were content with their educational success were "shirks."²⁷ "Applied morality" was needed, she said, yet most graduates merely observed conditions and did nothing. She offered two reasons why college women did not "take up the work of the period." Firstly, they had "used up [all] initiative" in getting their educations and secondly, they were "afraid to be unlike other women." Women were trained to want their houses, lives, and affairs "well-ordered after the tone of the period."²⁸ These were challenging ideas for young women graduates, many of whose parents

feared the restlessness and uncertainty about life plans expressed by their daughters. Woolley made an effort to reassure families that this unrest was entirely normal and manageable, not something to fear or stifle.

In 1909, in an anonymous contribution to the Public Opinion section of the Mount Holyoke, a writer listed the essential college organizations - the Students' League, the Christian Association, the Dramatic Club, the Athletic Association and the four class organizations. She described the CSA as too "highly organized," and a drain on the "time and energy of a large number of girls."²⁹ That year, at an open meeting of the CSA, student presidents from the Wellesley, Vassar, Smith and Mount Holyoke chapters each reported on their associations' activities and concerns.³⁰ In 1911, another attack on the CSA appeared in The Mount Holyoke. This time, "bad work" and "extreme incompetence" over the past four years (since 1907) were the criticisms against Mount Holyoke students who were "trying to do social work as a side issue." The writer's opinion was that "a good deed is not a good deed when it is badly done."³¹ By 1912, there were approximately forty CSA chapters in the East which held open monthly meetings and invited the nation's leading social reformers to speak. The question of their usefulness persisted. The work of the CSA was trivialized with critics focusing on activities like doll-making for Christmas trees in the settlement houses. An organization with a broad social appeal beyond any single college, the CSA promoted independence and initiative among its student leadership and members. The organization reached beyond individual

campuses and was associated with progressive social thought, sufficient reasons for some to criticize its influence.

The Mount Holyoke community was accustomed to defending itself against charges of excessive 'seriousness' and overemphasis on intellectual development at the expense of social development.³² Tradition at the college eschewed "premature experiments in a wider sphere" that interfered with the "legitimate college life." The institution had always been committed to

resolutely combatting the tendency to the overstimulation typical of American culture, and refusing to allow an easily stirred enthusiasm to make early havoc of the natural reserve of nervous strength, ... That this policy, which is essential to the institution, and not merely adventitious circumstance of its location, does not result in a narrowing of sympathies or in a failure to achieve practical working powers, its graduates are a sufficient proof. In purely educational, in philanthropic and religious work, these women have been notably progressive and successful.³³

The CSA involved its members in an activity outside of the college itself. By 1910, there were more than four hundred settlement houses across the country.³⁴ In this milieu, women established contact with other women through organizing. They developed new interests that they were able to pursue because the settlements encouraged those interests. Some of the criticism directed against settlement work was prompted by the belief that the activity was premature - more appropriate after graduation.

Marks' high profile in settlement and social reform activities may also have contributed to some of the criticism. In contrast to Woolley's approach to controversial issues, Marks' style

was blunt and confrontational. In 1906, she wrote "Social Work and the College Girl" which appeared in The Mount Holyoke.

Why should there be a class of men whose daily work is wholly pleasant to them and other classes of men whose daily work is wholly irksome to them? Our modern civilization does not aim at giving some share in the happiness and dignity of labor to all the people:" it is, rather, an "organized injustice" to force people who have nothing but their labor to sell to make useless things and to make even useful things under conditions in which there is no hope and no pleasure; and this organized injustice, as William Morris says, supported by the well-being and comfort of the masters, is hard to overthrow ... I do not say, "God be merciful to such as these!" for to them God, the Savior, will be merciful, but rather, "God be merciful to you, to us," for it is we, the privileged, the strong, the educated, the well-to-do, who will pay in the divine equity all accounts of war, of famine, of oppression, of needless human suffering. Let us take heed, therefore, how we pass the beggar on the street, the outcast, the forlorn, the hopeless, for we are our brothers' keepers.³⁵

In 1907, when Scudder came to Mount Holyoke, Marks was angry with what she perceived of as Woolley's obstruction of Scudder's access to student leaders.³⁶ Woolley might have downplayed Scudder's appearance, but it is just as likely that Marks was being too quick to criticize. Woolley and Marks were generally not in conflict politically. They shared their ideas, and Woolley was glad to have Marks' reactions and advice.³⁷ They addressed similar issues in their writing and public speaking but the forms and choice of language reflected their different personalities. When Woolley addressed the issue of the dignity of labor, she talked about the restoration of idealism and pride. Marks, on the same issue, stressed the removal of organized injustice and oppression. Woolley wrote,

Education should restore an idealism that makes a man proud of his part in shaping a tool or weaving a fabric, which teaches a woman that it is worthwhile to have a housewife's skill and thoroughness. It should inculcate a more discriminating sense of values, that sense which sees that it is more dignified to be a capable mechanic than an inefficient preacher or lawyer, a good cook rather than a poor teacher.³⁸

By the end of her first year at Mount Holyoke, Marks had published three articles about college life, all issues in which Woolley was much involved. The first, "Domestic Work in Women's Colleges," emphasized that no other women's colleges except for Wellesley had ever used such a system and Wellesley had eliminated it in 1896. Marks' second article, entitled "Society Life in Women's Colleges," attacked college sororities,³⁹ and the third, based in part on Marks' own experience, "Can a Girl Earn Her Own Way Through College?" was about the hardships of financial insecurity for young women.⁴⁰ Soon after, in 1905, she published "The American College Girl's Ignorance of Literature," a somewhat ill-tempered complaint based on her short experience at Mount Holyoke⁴¹ She also published "The New Trustee," a short story that mildly satirized Mount Holyoke College's administration and faculty. The story described a college's search for a wealthy trustee. The Board selected a wealthy but uneducated and somewhat silly woman named Miss Biddle who is subsequently swept off her feet at a dinner party by a nonsensical Professor of Pedagogy. This occurs because none of the other faculty guests are able to answer Miss Biddle's simplest questions about their own disciplines.⁴² The following year, Marks wrote a long,

flattering article about Mount Holyoke, complete with photographs, which appeared in the weekly newsmagazine, Outlook.⁴³

Suffrage

Woolley never interfered with Marks' freedom to express critical opinions in her publications. She appreciated Marks' sharp-eyed, cynical view of institutional foibles and resistance to change. Woolley rarely allowed herself to complain publicly or even privately. She was always supportive and protective of Marks in response to the criticism that Marks drew. She showed no desire to modify the acerbic Marks in the interest of more peaceful relations with faculty or trustees. Neither did Woolley make efforts to bring Marks closer to her own gradualist and persuasive approach. The suffrage issue is a case in point. In 1914, when the Equal Suffrage League was able to claim two-thirds of the Mount Holyoke faculty as members, Woolley said of herself, "For those of us who have come slowly, perhaps, but convincingly to the affirmative side'...the emphasis is no longer upon "rights" but upon "duty."⁴⁴ The majority of the alumnae were still not in favor of suffrage so that Woolley as President of the college was taking a controversial position. Two years earlier, in 1912, twenty-five students and five faculty members, including Marks, marched in Boston in a suffrage parade and carried a banner identifying Mount Holyoke, the only college "which was officially and distinctly represented in the procession."⁴⁵ Marks also marched in parades closer to home, in Springfield, Hartford, and South Hadley. In 1913, she became an organizer for the

militant National Woman's Party led by Alice Paul. While Marks marched and organized, Woolley incorporated suffrage into her speeches and wrote a pro-suffrage article that appeared in the Journal of the Association of the Collegiate Alumnae in January 1914.⁴⁶

Woolley had been unofficially supportive of suffrage issues from the beginning of her administration. In 1902, a Mount Holyoke student won an essay contest initiated by the College Equal Suffrage League (CESL). The goal of the contest was to stimulate "an interest in the movement among college women, or, at least, of bringing to their notice the principles on which the reform is based."⁴⁷ When a representative of the CESL asked to visit the college, Woolley "hesitated to sponsor such a lecture." She turned the decision over to the Students' League who extended an invitation to the CESL and hosted a small meeting comprised mainly of the Board members of the Student League, "...very red-faced as they gazed sadly at the rest of the diminutive audience." Woolley's absence and non-support made quite an impression on one Board member who reminded Woolley of the incident fifteen years later. According to this alumna, Woolley "found it impossible to believe her own curiously negative part in the story."⁴⁸ This is perhaps because soon after in 1906, Woolley felt honored to be among several representatives of women's colleges at the thirty-eighth annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Baltimore, Maryland. The evening was billed as "a tribute of gratitude" from the women's colleges to Susan B. Anthony who had turned eighty-six that year. In her speech, Woolley

emphasized the benefits to higher education for women from the great principles that motivated the struggle for women's political equality. Both men and women as individuals had the right to freedom and to the full development of their mental, physical and spiritual powers. Woolley drew a parallel between the struggle already won for education and the struggle soon-to-be won for political rights.

It seems almost inexplicable that changes, surely as radical as giving to women the opportunity to vote, should be accepted today as perfectly natural, while the political right is still viewed somewhat askance. No aspect of the question appeals to the speaker so strongly as its reasonableness....Some movements in history have been brought about by a stroke of the pen or a sudden uprising of the people, like a great tidal wave, sweeping everything before it; others have come slowly as the result of cumulative force of years of effort and represent the gradual growth of conviction.. The time will come when some of us will look back upon the arguments against the granting of the suffrage to women with as much incredulity as that with which we now read those against their education.⁴⁹

Thomas took the stage after Woolley and began by bluntly reminding the audience that no women teachers received the same salaries as men teachers for the same work, that no women were ever appointed to the most influential positions in public education, that women needed the vote "beyond all question" to protect their labor, and that the education of girls was "controlled ...by the densest conservatism." Thomas went on to say that it was "unthinkable that women who have learned to act for themselves in college and have become awakened there to civic duties, should not care for the ballot to enforce their wishes," and that it was "in the highest degree ungenerous for women like the women in this audience who are cared for and protected in every way, not to desire equal suffrage for the

sake of other less fortunate women." Thomas resorted to a racist tactic, asserting that when a woman was forced to observe her "ignorant negro coachman" stopping by a polling booth to vote on issues that would directly affect all aspects of the woman's life, the "grotesque" was added to the "degradation of her womanhood".⁵⁰ Woolley never publicly used the racial issue in her suffrage speeches.

On the Mount Holyoke campus as at other women's colleges, student and faculty interest in suffrage continued to increase. In 1908, the college held a day of mock presidential election activities, and the entire student body dressed in men's clothing to impersonate key figures and convention participants. This kind of masquerade was not new to Mount Holyoke or to women's colleges, but in 1908, observers found an "unusual comprehension of political principles" that seemed to have grown out of increasing interest in economics, politics and suffrage. Student impersonators of Taft and Bryan appeared at the mock conventions; a comic Carrie Nation wielded a hatchet and "convulsed the crowd" with her speeches and the "Debs" were a "howling band of socialistic enthusiasts" who waved red flags and cheered. A leader of the suffragists made an "eloquent appeal to the women of the nation."⁵¹

The suffrage question was debated twice in 1909 with the first debate ending in a tie vote. Three men, a judge from the Massachusetts Superior Court, the principal of Springfield's high school, and an Amherst College Economics professor, judged the second debate between juniors and seniors. They determined that the

negative won by the "force of arguments," while the house voted in the affirmative on the merits of the question - that women should have equal suffrage.⁵² In 1911, both the house and judges voted in the negative, and then in 1912, the debate drew a large audience and both the house and judges voted in the affirmative that "women of the U.S. should be admitted to equal suffrage with men."⁵³ In 1913, a representative of University Settlement in Chicago spoke to Mount Holyoke alumnae, a group generally unconvinced of the need for suffrage. She spoke about women's role in "civic housekeeping," and that giving women the vote was entirely natural because then women could enter into "the larger housekeeping" of the nation.⁵⁴ This was a common argument among some pro-suffrage advocates, but Woolley rarely used it, preferring an emphasis on women's increasing freedom and "advancement in all lines of progress."⁵⁵

The following year, 1914, the college community attempted an informal debate on the suffrage issue. Although there were three or four known and vocal opponents of suffrage among the faculty, no one came forward to speak for the opposition. Caroline Galt of the Archaeology Department spoke as an advocate, informing the audience that, while 125 years earlier women were not considered "worthy of vote, education, trades, professions, owning property or children," their status in 1914 was quite different. More girls than boys graduated from high school; 40,000 women were enrolled in colleges; one in five women worked in trades or professions; married women had the right to own property, and women had won equal guardianship rights of children in thirteen states. Her speech was an eloquent

appeal for help in the approaching eighteen-month period before a referendum.⁵⁶ Between 1914 and 1915, the membership of the Equal Suffrage League at Mount Holyoke grew substantially from 160 to 360 members.⁵⁷ When the suffrage leader Dr. Anna Howard Shaw came to speak on April 24, 1915, designated as Suffrage Day, she was greeted by hundreds of enthusiastic supporters. Marks also spoke that day in her new role as suffrage organizer for western Massachusetts. The following October, 150 students in caps and gowns along with alumnae and faculty in academic robes travelled to Springfield to march in a suffrage parade.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, Woolley in her role as president had to fulfill her obligations in fundraising and attendance at alumnae events and trustee meetings. She was often in the company of anti-suffragists, forced to demonstrate tact and self-control. Following one dinner event, she described herself as "the only 'non-anti' at the table."⁵⁹ Her diplomatic skills served her well, but she sought outlets for her true reactions through long letters to Marks in which she detailed the absurdities she endured and the restraint she practiced.

Peace Activism

Woolley believed that, along with suffrage, the issues of peace and international arbitration were essential progressive goals. Woolley was a member of the American Woman Suffrage Association, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Daughters of the American Revolution and on the national board of the Young Women's Christian Association when, in 1907, she joined the Peace

Congress of Women, a new national organization. In 1908, she was elected vice-president of the American Peace Society, and by then, Woolley was a member of almost a dozen organizations, holding key positions in several.⁶⁰

She gave her first major public address on the peace movement at the First National Arbitration and Peace Congress held at Carnegie Hall in New York City on April 16, 1907. The fourth session was devoted to the "Relation of Educated Women to the Peace Movement," and Woolley's speech was entitled "Educational Aspects of Peace Propaganda." The guests of honor were Julia Ward Howe and May Wright Sewall, women associated with a broad range of social reform struggles, and the participants included reformer Addams, Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, William Jennings Bryan, two-time presidential candidate and a major force in the Democratic Party, Earl Grey, the Governor General of Canada, and Lyman Abbott and Edward Everett Hale, both leaders in the Social Gospel movement. Hale had recently been appointed chaplain of the United States Senate. Also attending were the heads of Oxford and Cambridge Universities and Americans Felix Adler, Seth Low and Charles Eliot, all leaders in higher education who were committed to furthering progressive ideals. As president of Columbia University for eleven years, Low had transformed the small college into a prestigious institution. In 1907, he had just been elected chairman of the board of directors of Tuskegee Institute.

In her speech, Woolley said that she believed in the "impetus coming from great assemblies," that the "wise words and

eloquent appeals" for people to "subordinate selfish interests to the common good" were inspirational. She defined inspiration as she had many times for her students at Mount Holyoke as the great "motive power of achievement." She then criticized the military display currently installed at the Jamestown Exposition, arguing that "If we really wish to develop the spirit of mercy, rather than that of cruelty, to exalt reason rather than violence, why not depict 'the enticing splendors of peace' instead of 'the enticing splendors of war'?" Women, she told the audience, had a particular role because "in a certain sense every woman is an educator." The 'new woman' united the intellectual, a woman of force, with the emotional "for a larger social end than the world has ever known. ... The mingling of the races and world unity", the 'uplifting of humanity", held a special appeal for women.⁶¹

The following year, Woolley participated in the Peace Campaign organized by the American Peace Society. At the 80th Anniversary celebration of the organization in Boston on May 12, 1908, Woolley urged the audience to appeal to the imagination in the campaign for peace. It was lack of imaginative power, she said, that permitted people to ignore the realities of war, and it was the responsibility of educators to cultivate this power. The "great motive power of war" was based on fiction not fact. Uncle Tom's Cabin, she said, was based on fact and was an impetus to the anti-slavery cause. The story demonstrated "the image-making power of the mind". "Imagination blazes a trail for the practical, supplies the enthusiasm, awakens the interest, makes possible the union of theory

and practice." She told a story of how her father responded when he received a chaplain's appointment in the Spanish-American War at the age of sixty-six. He had told Woolley, "These boys do not know the horror of war; I do, and I may be able to help them when they find it out." Woolley exhorted her audience, "all ye are brethren." There was "no human conception so tremendous in its scope" than a world federation based on peace and brotherhood. She wanted Peace Day to be filled with music, flags, "spectacular ceremonies," organizations and badges, all the familiar symbols that excited a military celebration. Capturing the imagination of the young was an essential goal of a peace campaign, and she suggested that "the average boy or girl will join anything if it has a pin or some insignia."⁶²

In 1910, Woolley attended the convention of the American Federation of Women's Clubs. The Federation, with a national membership of 800,000 women, had put the peace issue on the convention's program for the first time in its long history.⁶³ Woolley was encouraged by this step taken by such a conservative group, one which she gently described as containing "a great deal of uninvested ability." In an article entitled the "Woman's Club Woman," published in Good Housekeeping, Woolley generously said that the image of "self-satisfied devotees of culture" was no longer if ever true. She reassured the typical club woman who was above all a homemaker that she had nothing to fear in the modern woman. She was "only an enlarged edition of the old-fashioned mother. She takes her mothering into new places and new plans, fostering methods of bettering the world as a home for the oncoming generation."⁶⁴ It was

Woolley's ability to communicate effectively with people that made her an increasingly popular national figure. Good Housekeeping would eventually include Woolley in its list of "America's Twelve Greatest Women."⁶⁵

Woolley's colleague and friend at Mount Holyoke, political science professor Ellis, said about Woolley that

while she recognized and honored both reason and the moral sense as the distinguishing characteristics of man in the scheme of creation, in her thinking and doing she gave a certain priority to moral considerations.

This became especially apparent during the period before the outbreak of World War I when Woolley's concerns, as Ellis saw it, were "centered around problems of the abolition of war and the maintenance of peace rather than the cause and course of the war itself."⁶⁶

Mount Holyoke, like every other college, became involved in the war effort. A War Relief Committee formed in 1914 and students enthusiastically fundraised \$1,577, collected linen for bandages, and knitted garments.⁶⁷ Neilson of the History Department organized lectures on the background of the war, while Woolley continued to devote her energies to pacifist activity. She said that the New Women's Peace Party endeavored "to enlist all American women in arousing the nations to respect the sacredness of human life, and to abolish war."⁶⁸ Woolley became a charter member of the Church Peace League of America, joining their commission on peace and arbitration, and in 1914, she wrote a strong statement of her position on the war.

This is not a people's war; neither is it a woman's war. Women have had little to do with the making of wars; - they have had much to suffer from wars that have been made. The old argument that women should have no voice in government,

because they could not bear arms to defend it, will give place to the new argument that they should have a voice, because their united voices will make for peace. It is not of slight significance that women representing all the warring nations can march side by side in a great peace parade. It is rather symbolic of the attitude of women on this great question, an augury of a happier future.⁶⁹

Woolley was angered by Germany's actions while remaining committed to a pacifist stand. "Germany deserves the contempt of the civilized world," she wrote in response to hearing about the destruction of Rheims Cathedral.⁷⁰ She read "Monarchical Socialism in Germany"⁷¹ and clipped news stories as she travelled by train across the country on a speechmaking and fundraising tour in 1915. She mailed the articles home to Marks who kept them for Woolley's files. The Ogden Standard in Utah headlined "Germany Sneers at United States" (26 July 1915). The San Francisco Chronicle carried a plea for the abolition of war "The Higher Duty of the United States," which argued that "A man may well sympathize with England, or with Germany, or with France, or with Austria in this war, and still be a good American citizen." (29 July 1915). She also clipped several anti-Wilson articles. Woolley wrote to Marks that she felt anxiety about the war everywhere. "Every woman whom I see, even the one who gave me a shampoo, says "Oh, I hope not war!" Every man . . . , "We must be prepared." I think that the Pope and we, the women, are right - Europe is dishonored by this year of bloodshed."⁷² In a letter to Marks while on her way to an arbitration conference, Woolley engaged in some racist commentary. While waiting for a train, she observed "a group of darkies in the corner of the station... [who] seems to be having a good time, the rest of the

world is pretty sober and almost every time I have overheard conversation I have caught the word "German."⁷³ Woolley's assumption was probably that the group was incapable of understanding the seriousness of the world situation.

By 1916, Woolley had added her name and her energies to the American League to Limit Armaments, the Boston Women's Peace Party, the Central Organization for a Durable Peace, the Church Peace Union, the Peace Emergency Committee for Massachusetts, and the League to Enforce Peace. As late as February of 1917, Woolley endorsed a petition for peace circulated by Mount Holyoke faculty. She personally sent the document with more than forty signatures to President Wilson.⁷⁴ Bates, Woolley's colleague from Wellesley, wrote to Marks in March of 1917. "Is that President of yours still a Pacifist? There ain't no such animal." In fact, by March, Woolley had added her signature along with eight other presidents of women's colleges to an endorsement of Wilson's decision to go to war. The college faculties had voted to express their unified loyalty to the war effort in a statement that read,

Although we believe that the settlement of international difficulties by war is fundamentally wrong, we recognize that in a world crisis such as this it may become our highest duty to defend by force the principles upon which Christian civilization is founded.

In a gesture of support for President Wilson, Mount Holyoke students voted to remove the college from a list of sponsors of the Collegiate Anti-Militarism League.⁷⁵

Woolley had accepted the inevitability of America's involvement in the war and the necessity of her cooperation within

the women's college community. After she signed the statement of support, she encouraged wholehearted participation from Mount Holyoke students in efforts to aid in the crisis. She pledged with them, as other women's colleges had done, to "prepare...physically, mentally, and so far as possible, specifically, for usefulness."⁷⁶ As public opinion became increasingly intolerant of anything less than unquestioning support for the war effort, Marks "joined the Society of Friends and spoke at Friends' meetinghouses in the Philadelphia area in support of political prisoners." This prompted an extreme reaction.

Joseph Skinner, president of the board of trustees ... called at the President's House in Miss Woolley's absence to protest this conduct. He told Miss Marks that her talks were harming the college, that she had been accused of being a Communist, and that she must stop speaking in support of political prisoners. She refused, but offered to resign instead. ... [Woolley] said at least semiofficially to her board president: "If Jeannette Marks leaves Mount Holyoke I shall leave with her."⁷⁷

Meanwhile, Woolley continued to support the college's involvement in the war effort. In June of 1917, she presented a plan for farming at Mount Holyoke and the majority of the college's 819 students worked in the 'war garden', a project designed to conserve food.⁷⁸ The college created emergency war courses beginning in the fall of 1917. Only freshmen were excluded from practical training in mechanical drawing, bookkeeping, typing, and stenography. A home economics course on how best to use and conserve food was taught cooperatively with the city of Holyoke and Massachusetts Agricultural College. The Red Cross offered courses in basic hygiene, home health care and first aid.⁷⁹ The plan was that, during the summer or if

need be during leaves of absence from school, students would utilize these skills to support the war effort. Woolley addressed a campaign rally for the national Liberty Loan Drive in South Hadley's church along with the mayor of Holyoke and the local congressman. The Mount Holyoke community was able to contribute the impressive sum of \$56,000.⁸⁰

When college opened in the fall of 1917, Woolley told the students in the first chapel service that they were "the hope of the world....Upon you rests in large measure the responsibility of what the post-bellum days shall mean....Civilization has received a challenge which you must meet."⁸¹ Woolley was concerned about the effects on the students of the rhetoric of national chauvinism and war heroics. The president of the Rockefeller Foundation had given the commencement address at Mount Holyoke the previous spring, proclaiming to the graduates that a national purpose had emerged, one that "thrills us with a sense of unity...[a] death struggle between tyranny and team-play." Woolley gave the Phi Beta Kappa address at Columbia University soon after this, and she called for a "redefinition of fraternity", one that did not define involvement in war as an "act of brotherhood." The 'death struggle' that 'thrilled' Mount Holyoke's commencement speaker evoked images for Woolley of "Vandals and Huns." The glorification of war was also a "degradation of womanhood;" women could not fulfill patriotic duty through fighting.⁸² A Mount Holyoke student succinctly expressed the attitude that Woolley hoped students would develop when she wrote, "To do our bit mentally, by not joining for one moment the ranks of

those who would lead us away from the idea of internationalism to come."⁸³

At a state convention of the Parent-Teacher Association in October of 1917, Woolley spoke about the meaning of 'preparedness,' a word that she said was overused during the war years. Americans did not understand the meaning of the word for the future.

The junker class, as a dominating power in government, may be made in Germany, but Germany has not a monopoly of junker thinking. There are men in other countries who think of preparedness only in terms of force. In this crisis of the world, attention is centered upon physical force but we must not forget that we are in a war to destroy war and that theory of government which makes war not only possible but inevitable - the surgeon's knife - and then the healing. And it is for the process of healing that we must prepare the children, - not, let us pray God, for another awful period of world surgery!

Woolley told a story of a friend with a German-born wife who had said, "Surely we can learn some good things from the German training." The friend was referring to the 'thoroughness' in work habits emphasized in the education of German children in contrast to American tolerance for careless or unfinished work.⁸⁴ In a time of such anti-German hysteria, it was remarkable for Woolley to deliberately make such a positive statement about German society.

Broadening Employment Opportunities

The crisis of war, however, offered women unique opportunities to develop skills in areas of employment previously closed to them and Woolley was certainly aware of this. She wanted students to inform themselves about opportunities. A shelf behind the main desk in the library was reserved for stacks of books and

pamphlets about vocations newly open to women.⁸⁵ The rapid substitution of women workers for the men who went to war created both problems and opportunities in industry. The women's colleges responded by organizing summer training schools to involve their college students. Hewes, head of the Economics and Sociology Department, took a year's leave to work in Washington as the Executive Secretary of the Commission on Women in Industry of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense (the woman's branch of the U.S. Inspection Service),⁸⁶ and it was she who recommended the creation of a training school for 'health officers' at Mount Holyoke.

These officers were trained to advise factory managers on how to create the most healthful and efficient working conditions for women workers in government factories. Smith College developed a training school for psychiatric social workers to assist doctors with soldiers traumatized by war experience. Vassar trained nurses, and Wellesley set up a training camp for Supervisors in the Women's Land Army. The women built the camp, constructing incinerator, plumbing, and drains; they studied the problems of farming at the Massachusetts State College of Agriculture and learned how to inspect farms. Efficiency studies of women workers were part of the work at the training schools.⁸⁷ The hope was that women, once a natural part of the work force, would remain in it when the war ended.

Woolley's efforts to assist college women with employment after graduation began long before the war years artificially expanded opportunities. The Appointment Committee that Dean

Purington headed in 1901 was, in fact, the successor of a Committee formed in 1899 to provide graduating students with job information.⁸⁸ In 1905, a former registrar at Wellesley College opened an agency in New York City that she hoped would place college women "in various lines of work," but the positions were almost exclusively teaching and secretarial.⁸⁹ Then, in 1910, the Women's Educational and Industrial Union (WEIU) in Boston formed an Appointment Bureau whose mission was to promote career opportunities other than teaching, "to deflect from teaching those college women who prefer something else." The bureau encouraged graduates to consider fields in social service, science, literature, advertising, banking, retailing and farming by publishing volumes that included papers written by people successful in their work as well as research results from studies on employment.⁹⁰ Mount Holyoke subscribed to these, and students consulted them, but the best efforts of the Bureau still produced job listings that offered a narrow range of fields. In June of 1912, the list began: head of department of domestic science, director of residence at college, social workers, governess, manager and agent for dramatic entertainer, secretaries, teachers of domestic science and art, manager of YWCA lunch room and superintendent of NYC playground.⁹¹ The executive secretary of the WEIU came to Mount Holyoke for several years to talk about career opportunities. Her orientation, however, was to design the college curriculum around future employment, and she recommended courses in business and home economics, an adjustment that Woolley opposed.⁹²

Student attitudes toward the role of women in the workplace appeared mixed. In the 1909 debate, "equal pay for equal work," the affirmative was defeated by the arguments that women "lack the capacity of men," that they are "of less economic value to employers," and that equity is "inexpedient for the country at large."⁹³ Woolley helped found the Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations in 1911 with the interests in mind of those who wanted equity. An ad for the Bureau ran, "Are you going in for society, matrimony or a profession? Which of the following will you be: trained nurse, scientist, librarian... or something valuable not named in this list. Ask us."⁹⁴

The Intercollegiate Bureau was established in New York City with the financial backing of the New York alumnae associations of Barnard, Bryn Mawr, Cornell, Radcliffe, Smith, Vassar, Wellesley and Mount Holyoke. The Advisory Board included Woolley, Thomas and Pendleton of Wellesley. In the first year, there were no teacher placements nor was college graduation a requirement for enrollment. The Bureau took 3% of the first year's salary as its commission.⁹⁵ In the first report, two months after opening, the Bureau listed 227 applicants and 98 employers. Job listings included statisticians, administrators, superintendents and managers.⁹⁶ The next year, because 95 of the 244 placements were in social work, a separate department was created as an experiment, in part because the N.Y. School of Philanthropy discontinued its own employment bureau. The executive committee was made up of men and women, and both sexes were eligible for placement. The rationale for this policy view was that

a placement bureau for women only would restrict opportunities for work.

It is a fact that in this profession the line between men's and women's work was not distinct and no bureau can accomplish the best results for women unless men may be registered. For example, an important call was recently sent to the School of Philanthropy with the request that a man be recommended. In the end a woman secured the position. A bureau registering women only might never have received this call.⁹⁷

The Bureau had unifying and far-reaching goals, both reflective of Woolley's influence. By 1915, four types of workers were registered - "holders of college degrees, professionally or technically trained women, women with valuable experience regardless of training, and social work candidates."⁹⁸ 66% of applicants were placed that year exclusive of the social work group which operated independently. This was a major goal for Woolley, helping women to achieve financial independence in careers that suited their talents and interests. During the war years, she was encouraged that women may have found some leverage in society. The Appointment Bureau at Mount Holyoke expanded to include war-related work opportunities. The U.S. Civil Service Commission notified the Bureau of qualifying examinations for eighty different kinds of jobs. Of interest in the 1917-1918 Report were the predictably large number of high school teaching positions (338) of which 105 required some knowledge of science. There were far too few candidates to meet the need, but the low salaries discouraged those who were qualified in the sciences. The Bureau was most pleased with the "interesting positions" open in 25 business firms.⁹⁹

In her public-speaking travels, Woolley still answered reporters' questions about why college women didn't marry, why they didn't reproduce, and why they were interested in equal suffrage. She responded that these were issues "that transcend[ed] our college life and which [could] not be attributed to the college."¹⁰⁰ In 1916, the focus of Woolley's argument had changed. For years, she had cited the careful research of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae and other studies, including research at Mount Holyoke, as evidence that college women did marry successfully and did produce children. Women's colleges and organizations had not stopped accumulating data and analyzing results in the hope that the facts would convince doubters of the value of women's education and the need for equal opportunity. In 1919, a statistics class at Mount Holyoke conducted a study of how the students had spent the previous summer vacation. The goal was to dispel the "popular notion [that] girls spend summers in idleness," and the research showed that of the 853 students enrolled, 43% (367) had been employed in thirty-three separate lines of work during the summer of 1918. 100 of those did general clerical work, sixty-four worked on farms and sixty-one worked in social service.¹⁰¹ The college supported the Intercollegiate Bureau's statement of purpose

In dealing in a direct, practical way with the economic problems of college women, while at the same time accumulating the data needed for progress in their solution, the Bureau is an organization requiring continuous and whole-hearted backing... It is founded on a sound educational principle of seeking the solution to problems through the accumulation and analysis of essential facts.¹⁰²

Woolley continued to use facts to educate the public about the good health of college students, about their intact desires to marry and procreate, and about their willingness to remain women, but fifteen years of experience had strengthened her understanding of how resistant to change the public could be. She shifted responsibility for prejudicial ignorance squarely onto the shoulders of society.

C H A P T E R IX

A WORLD LARGER THAN MOUNT HOLYOKE

Woolley's Fourth Challenge

Woolley's fourth challenge at Mount Holyoke was to create a fulfilling private life for herself. Above all, she wanted to share a home with Marks whom she loved deeply. In 1902, Woolley spoke to Judson Smith, President of the Trustees, about her preference for living in a house in order "to feel perfectly independent." Smith agreed that, as college President, she should have a house, but it took seven years for it to become a reality. In the meantime, Marks complained bitterly to Woolley about the lack of privacy and the artificiality of their public relationship, and Woolley attempted to cheer her. "Look on the bright side, my Bunny and thank God for keeping us well and giving us our life and work together."¹ Marks suffered in her diminished role as a young, untried teacher in an unacknowledged partnership with the popular, new president. She wrote to Woolley,

Nothing is so dear to me as the dignity of our friendship. I am proud to be your friend despite the fact that I care nothing for titles....that I am insignificant and unknown to most people is a matter of no concern to me; that I should appear to the slightest degree insignificant in your eyes to other people is a matter of bitter concern to me. And you have wounded me so often....how often!

Marks admired an open partnership between two faculty women whom Woolley and Marks knew at Wellesley. She noted the

dignified dependence of two people who love each other deeply - anybody seeing [it] is the better for it....I

despise conventionality; courtesy is another thing. I would not take a kingdom for the proof at the dinner table as well as in the quiet of our bedroom that you depend upon me; there is no gift equal to the dignity you can confer on me in that way.²

Few life situations eluded Marks' keen sense of humor, and she also joked about her living arrangements with Woolley. When Marks moved out of Brigham Hall into a set of rooms she dubbed "the Ridgepole," she wrote the following note to Woolley,

President Woolley

Pussonal (sic)

the Ridgepole

Madam:

I resign today as my position on the Ridgepole with all the other old heirs has become so insecure, that I must insist. You are very impolite, I mean polite but kindly excuse me, please, from the institution.

Yours truly

N. Marques

P.S. I've had an offer of \$3000.00 and a husband, I consider it a more normal life.³

Marks was unhappy about the severe limitations that teaching placed on her time, interfering with her creative writing. She feared, too, that Woolley's devotion to her would undermine her efforts toward self-reliance. She pleaded with Woolley,

[H]elp give me a chance to do the work I so long to do. Ten years from now if I have not accomplished something by way of writing I shall be a disappointed woman....If I give all to you and give up the idea that I must protect myself from you, will you really care for my work as well as loving me?⁴

Woolley responded, "I will make your work the chief thing....Your success means as much to me as my own."⁵ She believed in Marks' literary talents and when Marks embarked on an ambitious, lifelong literary career in addition to her teaching, Woolley encouraged and assisted her in every way possible. By 1913, Marks had published

twelve books and more than 100 magazine articles, poems and short stories. When Woolley travelled, she became an informal agent for Marks, speaking with publishers and carrying Marks' latest publications in order to share them with alumnae and anyone else she might encounter. Marks worked in every genre, writing short stories, poems, plays, critical essays, magazine articles on current topics, novels and a full length biography of Elizabeth Barrett Browning.⁶ Critical response to her work was mixed. When she published English Pastoral Drama,⁷ a book based on her Master's thesis, an English reviewer commented that Marks had approached her topic "with a thoroughness of research that is typical of a certain class of her fellow-countrywomen."⁸ A second wrote,

Professor Marks has done a needful though not highly important work for students of English literature....Miss Marks justly observes that 'it is not particularly pleasant to study a phase of literature which, once fresh and undoubtedly attractive, has become old and roue.'

By 'wading' through and summarizing more than 100 pastoral plays and operas, most of them obscure, Marks was able to compile a thorough bibliography, "a thankworthy service for students of the English drama."⁹ In 1909, she published a collection of short stories, Through Welsh Doorways,¹⁰ based on her experiences during several summers in Wales. The stories, one reviewer said, were "knit by her magic." The poet Edwin Markham called Marks "a humorist, a psychologist and a dramatist....felicities of style mark every page."¹¹ Encouraged by publishing successes and upset over chronic conflict at Mount Holyoke, Marks planned to spend the academic year

1910-1911 in Wales living with a woman she had met in London in 1904.¹²

While in Wales, Marks received a hate letter that she refused to share with Woolley. Woolley guessed that it was from the same New York alumnae who had written to her months before. ("[M]y thorough disgust with some of our alumnae....It seems as though I ought to go forth and 'fight them to the finish'!")¹³ Alone in South Hadley, Woolley asked Marks to return, assuring her that the storms of criticism had passed and "everyone [was] so cordial."

Come home, for my sake, as well as for your own....the loneliness I cannot stand much longer....There has never been a more general recognition of my work than there is this autumn - and I have never felt that I could do it more firmly than I feel it this year. I know that I can do this work, Sweetheart, I feel it in my bones. Of course I will be wise and not antagonize people unnecessarily, but that is another question. There is nothing in our friendship for which to apologize - it has been and is the greatest power in my life.

Woolley ended with a further plea, "I can then throw my energy into my work."¹⁴

In response to this, Marks penned a long, heartfelt letter attempting to explain her feelings and behavior.

Darlin' Muddie:

You simply must pull yourself together and help me.... I am not fighting this fight for you alone although there is no good thing I may attempt to do that is not done in part for you, for you are so much a part of the real me that that must be so. You know very well that I am excitable but that my second thoughts and final judgement are always good. I must stop this ill-judged and futile effort to make you feel how much I need you and miss you.... I ought to be ashamed of myself for squealing so much. I won't any more. What you report to me about the college does not reassure me although it does not disturb me. People usually get something of what they deserve and no doubt I deserve in part all the vindictive and vicious criticism that has

followed me. But there has been so much of it and for so long that I feel almost entirely indifferent. As an institution and because it is your work I feel an interest in the college, but I must find at least part of my life elsewhere ... the circumstances of my life are a source of constant humiliation to me. That at thirty-five or forty in the world of work [I] should be so insecure, that people should misinterpret my whole attitude towards what does and does not count. That I should be still financially crippled and unable to do anything for you. I am a grown and growing woman, and however much the child in me may want coddling it could never be really content with coddling and shelter.... when I have got a better grip on myself my work will receive more structure than it has in some time; it is a positive relief to know that I am living in a house to which no one brings any critical words about one;.... By diligent pursuit of this new career you and I have undertaken for me - I shall hope in a year or so to be presentable at a dinner table. You know very well that education pure and simple has never been a dominant or [illegible] interest with me. I am more interested in a less specialized sort of life.... And darlin' Muddie, although I know you to be one of the few great women in the world today and with a still finer future before you, can't you see that ... however much I may rejoice in your eminence ... it gives you opportunity to be all I know you to be, and that however little I may be in comparison with you yet that I, too, ... must try to have a life of my own?... You have never failed me, darlin' Muddie.... do not fail me now. Give me some tether, dearest.... Let me feel you strong; stay on your pedestal, darlin' Muddie, and so will you be helping me most.¹⁵

This letter reveals the complex and appealing woman to whom Woolley was so attracted. Contrary to the expressed view of some that Marks was merely an arrogant and ill-tempered person who bullied everyone, including Woolley, the woman revealed in this letter was capable of sensitivity and painful self-awareness. Close friends knew how deeply Woolley and Marks cared for each other. King wrote to Woolley after a visit in 1903,

Dearest May, ...the rest and the comfort and the pleasure which you and Jeannette gave me, came in to the rescue with great success....I had a lovely, lovely time with you, dear, and have thought it all over a dozen times. I was charmed

with the college; somehow the life seems more natural with you than in the other two colleges which I know well.¹⁶

Soon after meeting Marks, the Reverend Woolley told his daughter that Marks was 'wonderful, one of the brainiest, strongest women' that he knew.¹⁷

While some colleagues disliked Marks, many students rated her and her classes among their favorites. It was not unusual for a student to comment that she "adored" or "worshipped" Marks.¹⁸ In 1903, an accomplished student, who was also editor-in-chief of the Mount Holyoke, wrote to her sister about both Marks and Woolley.

After I have safely 'processed' out of chapel in cap and gown without tripping up or tumbling down or bursting out laughing I go to my Literature recitation and hear a most brilliant woman (Miss Marks) hold forth in little asides and sarcastic remarks almost unsurpassed in wit and pointedness.... A week ago Thursday afternoon I assisted Miss Woolley at her "At Home" and enjoyed even that very formidable function, discovering in her a most fascinating woman, a perfect lady, and yet a girl in her sympathies and many of her interests.¹⁹

The idea that Marks constituted the single unfortunate weakness in Woolley's otherwise exemplary life, a perception of a portion of the Mount Holyoke community, becomes simplistic in light of Marks' qualities and accomplishments. Woolley and Marks functioned at a remarkably high level professionally throughout their long lives, an achievement attributable in part to the emotional sustenance of their relationship.

The early years at Mount Holyoke were years of great personal loss for Woolley and she sought comfort from Marks.²⁰ Both of Woolley's parents and her beloved grandmother with whom she had

lived as a child died in less than two years between 1905 and 1906.

Woolley wrote to Marks in Wales just after her father's death.

Yesterday we took Papa to Wilton and laid him by Mamma and last night I could not help feeling that she was not so lonely - the tears keep coming - I cannot help it - for I miss him so. Since Mamma went, he has seemed to be both mother and father in a way, and you know how gentle and thoughtful and loving he has been...not one complaint in the midst of all his suffering and no flinching in the face of death...it will be an inspiration and a comfort to think of him so bravely saying good bye.²¹

Three weeks later, her grandmother died and she again wrote to Marks, discouraging her from coming back early to South Hadley. "I am nearest and dearest only to you... I shall work this year with that end (our home) in view."²²

Marks was the first tenant to join Woolley in the President's House in 1909. She occupied the third floor which she dubbed Attic Peace. Helen Cady, a classmate of Marks' at Wellesley and recently hired at Mount Holyoke in the English department, joined Woolley and Marks, embarking on a living arrangement that Woolley found satisfactory. She encouraged Cady's attentions to Marks because during her long absences from the college and her consuming responsibilities on campus, Woolley needed the reassurance that Marks had a helpmate at home. Woolley could pursue her own work with energy and focus when Marks was safely with a devoted friend. Marks suffered sufficiently from physical ailments and emotional stress to seek treatment at Kellogg's Battle Creek Sanatorium in Michigan. She described her moods,

I am feeling resolute and cheerful today but this is only two days after one of the worst storms I have had. I don't pretend to understand myself --I introspect too much anyway

--, all I know is that these cyclonic disturbances are too horrible for words: they are madness, perhaps madness in a mild form, but nevertheless madness.²³

She entangled herself in intense, problematic friendships.²⁴ Through everything, Marks relied on Woolley's love, her emotional balance and her faith in Marks' abilities.

In 1910, Marks returned to South Hadley after several months in Wales and soon after resigned from her position as associate professor at Mount Holyoke. She continued to live in the President's House and devoted herself to her writing until 1915, when she returned to teaching as a lecturer. Marks' literary and political interests as well as her personal style continued to provoke criticism at the college. She was an undeniably innovative teacher, and her publishing successes enhanced the college's reputation. Marks was eventually able to create a balance for herself between teaching and more personally creative work. She instituted a playwriting course which evolved into the Laboratory Theatre, an extensive program of study that involved all aspects of play production, and in 1916, she began an annual program of scheduled Poetry (and eventually Play) Shop Talks which brought Robert Frost, Amy Lowell and many others to Mount Holyoke for lectures and discussions. In 1920, at the age of forty-five, Marks became chairman of the English Literature Department²⁵ and for the next seventeen years of Woolley's presidency, she lived with Woolley at the President's House and spent summers with her at Fleur-de-Lys, the large country house that her father had built on Lake Champlain in Westport, New York.

During these years, as Marks wrote and published, she enlisted the technical help of administrative staff, colleagues and students. In 1911, she won the Welsh National Theatre Prize for a sentimental novel set in Wales, and in 1916, one of her stories was selected for an anthology of the best short stories of the year.²⁶ She began extensive study of the toxic effects of morphine and alcohol addiction and the connections between drug abuse and creative genius. This interest resulted in a critically well-received book of essays on literary figures, Genius and Disaster, and a less successful novel, Leviathan, the Record of a Struggle and a Triumph.²⁷ In 1921, she collected her published verse in a single volume. The poems were parodied at Mount Holyoke, possibly a contributing factor in her decision to stop publishing her poetry.²⁸ In 1927, Marks published Thirteen Days, an account of the last efforts in the campaign to save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti. Carl Sandburg called it an "authentic account from a troubled and truthful bystander and participant," and Edgar Lee Masters termed Marks "a woman of a free and enlightened mind."²⁹ In 1928, Marks finished Family of the Barrett, the biography of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. The result of almost ten years of research and writing, it received moderately good reviews.³⁰ Throughout the years, she wrote with Woolley's interests in mind, producing several articles on college life and on Woolley herself.³¹ After a Yale University graduation one year, Woolley wrote to Marks, "All the rest was just the 'show' of things, you were the real thing."³²

When Woolley retired from Mount Holyoke, defeated and weary, she was homeless after thirty-seven years of living at the college. Marks invited her home to Fleur de Lys. "I cannot tell you how what you said about a home where I could be, 'warmed the cockles of my heart.' I have felt like a man without a country and it is dear of you to want me 'around.'"³³ Woolley suffered a stroke seven years later in 1944, and Marks cared for her at Fleur de Lys for the remaining three years of her life. At Woolley's death, Dorothy Foster, who had come from Bryn Mawr to teach at Mount Holyoke in 1904, wrote a letter of condolence to Marks.

At least Miss Woolley had you... I know from knowing you, how infinite the little happinesses you have brought to her. From my first arrival at Mount Holyoke I was aware of her distinction and deeply interested in her. Such a queer place as Mount Holyoke College was in 1904!...I am glad I saw each step in the evolution of the modern college.... I am grateful to you for my many personal contacts with her.... How unfailingly gracious she has always been! What a fine sense of humor, what facing of its realities! An unusual person, very much herself and really active in furthering world unity, not merely paying it lip-service. ... Her concern for you was paramount in her life. Her pride in you was one of her deepest satisfactions. You knew you could rely on her. To have her gone must leave you feeling stripped, defenseless, although you are not really so.³⁴

Foster's view of the Marks and Woolley relationship goes a long way to dispel the recurrent criticisms at Mount Holyoke that Marks held Woolley in imperious control, or that Marks used her position within the administration to gain her professional ends. Personal weaknesses notwithstanding, Marks offered Woolley a lifelong friendship. Those who knew the two women well recognized their relationship as intimate and sustaining. Woolley did appear to

fiercely take Marks' part in any personal conflict in which Marks was involved. However, Marks' success as a teacher and writer were more than sufficient justification for the advantages Woolley gave her.³⁵

Woolley's Focus During the Twenties and Early Thirties

With three of her four challenges successfully met, Woolley continued during the second half of her presidency to respond to her last challenge. Mount Holyoke College had achieved equal status among the elite colleges. Woolley and others had successfully made the case for women's higher education, and with Marks' appointment to the chairmanship of the English Literature department, Woolley established her 'home and family' with Marks at the college. Her final challenge was to instill in young college women an idealism and a sense of mission that would prompt them to use their skills in the creation of a better world. The years of developing student interest in suffrage, settlement work, and peace activism gave way in the twenties and thirties to years of exhorting educated women with newly-acquired political rights to utilize their new powers constructively. Woolley felt a sense of urgency to the work needed for peace and unity in the world. Without lessening her efforts on behalf of Mount Holyoke, she took on increasing responsibility for advocating the significant role of college women in world leadership.

When peace was declared at the end of World War I, the city of Holyoke hosted a peace parade and invited the college to participate. The chapel at Mount Holyoke flew the American flag alongside the eight flags of the allied nations, and the students

gathered in chapel to sing Le Marseillaise, Rule Britannia, America and the Star-Spangled Banner. The organist played the national anthems of the remaining allies.³⁶ Woolley strongly supported the League of Nations, arguing that women's 'constructive' instinct made "every woman in favor of a league of nations."³⁷ She responded to all requests to speak for the League, "a call to the colors!", whenever she had spare hours.³⁸ By the end of 1919, however, American support for the League had eroded and Mount Holyoke students, listening to arguments in favor of the League at college and arguments against at home, had drifted into an apathy that greatly concerned Woolley. She said at a meeting of the Association of American Colleges in Chicago,

... we are very proud today to carry the memory of the year 1917 because then we showed the world that we were ready to stake all for an ideal. We are very proud to look back to the year 1918 when we proved that our deeds spoke even louder than our words. I wonder whether we shall look back as filled with pride upon the year 1919. I fear not.³⁹

Meanwhile, Woolley's college schedule was increasingly demanding. She wrote, "Between the attempts to organize the world and the alumnae, life is somewhat strenuous."⁴⁰ At the end of 1919, the college set a fundraising goal of \$3,000,000; by the following June, the General Education Board had appropriated \$500,000 with the condition that the college raise the balance within two years. Woolley was pleased. "So I have \$25,000 more to divide among salaries! I must confess that I feel more rested."⁴¹ The two years ahead soon became what Woolley described as "a killing Business."⁴² What the college needed was a large gift of \$500,000 or more, but

Woolley knew that it was "a very difficult proposition to get money from the general public"... that "only personal influence will do it."⁴³ The task of creating interest among wealthy outsiders, "preparing the ground", involved "the inevitable talk to a group assembled in front of their open fire!"⁴⁴ Politics often mixed with talk of money, and Woolley had to be judicious in her comments, careful not to offend conservative opinion. When Board President Skinner attended one function with her, Woolley said that she "took a wicked satisfaction in having [him] hear what he [the host] had to say about the League of Nations (emphatically favorable)".⁴⁵

As the campaign wore on, she became increasingly tired. "We must work diligently for thousands of little gifts."⁴⁶ "Speaking and raising money - or trying to raise it - are so stupid."⁴⁷ The alumnae were working hard for this campaign "but most are loaded down with home or professional demands," Woolley observed. It is "not strange that they feel burdened by this new responsibility. They are loyal and will do the best that they can, I am sure!"⁴⁸ In March, Woolley was in Washington where she attended an 'at home' with the President's wife, Mrs. Harding. "Miss Bates and I felt rather out of our element and are hoping that there may be a chance to see Mrs. Wilson."⁴⁹ She would have her wish a few days later when Pendleton of Wellesley joined her. The two women crossed paths often in their fundraising travels. "Miss Pendleton is tasting the joys of trying to wring money out of an undisposed public! Poor thing, I feel for her,"⁵⁰ Woolley told Marks. She was tired of being away from home. "[A]ll the more as the arbiters of my destiny intimate that they

expect me to be 'on my job' continuously.... This Juggernaut is relentless."⁵¹ In early May of 1921, Woolley was in Georgia and on her way to Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia. "I have grown tired of hearing of the poverty of millionaires!"⁵² She returned to Mount Holyoke for the 20th anniversary celebration of her inauguration and the announcement of a \$100,000 endowment of the President's chair to be named the Mary Emma Woolley Foundation.⁵³

By June, the campaign fund had reached \$2,456,000. Woolley was invited to serve on the China Educational Commission of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, but she did not expect that the trustees would release her from fundraising until the goal was met. Much to her surprise, the Board decided that she should go. "The trustees with one or two exceptions, felt very strongly that I should go to China." The trustees knew that Woolley's participation on the Commission would add to the college's prestige. Woolley and Marks were both unhappy about the six-month separation, and Woolley suggested that Marks accompany her. They could manage on Woolley's salary and the trip would be inspiration for Marks' writing. "I feel pretty 'heart-achy' at the thought of leaving you for five or six months. Ah me! I fear I was not cut out for a 'career', but for a 'stay-at-home!'"⁵⁴

What I care about most of anything in the world is your well-being - just as I care most about you. It almost kills me to think of being away from you....If you say the word, I will say I simply cannot go.⁵⁵

Woolley did go and she went alone. Dean Purington was acting President in her absence and Harriet Newhall, as her

assistant, ran the President's Office. It would be "smooth running", and Woolley enjoyed six months of respite from administrative concerns.⁵⁶ After short stops in Japan and Korea, the Commission settled in China where Woolley threw herself into the work and pleasures of the trip. She thoroughly enjoyed the company of likeminded people who criticized the "folly of militarism" and were "peas from the same pod" on social, educational and international issues.⁵⁷

While China's central government was on the verge of collapse and Peking (now Beijing) closed the city gates nightly against raids from Northern troops, Woolley and her commission engaged in long conferences and committee meetings whose purpose was to compose an educational scheme for China. At receptions, she met missionaries and alumnae from the women's colleges in America. In her free time, Woolley slipped away alone to visit the shops, climb the Great Wall, and indulge in Chinese foods. Woolley saw in China a nation struggling to maintain its fragile independence while Japan and the European colonial powers cynically sought to gain advantages for themselves. "If only the rest of the world will give her [China] a chance to find herself and interfere only by the helping hand!"⁵⁸ Just as in her wholehearted support of the League of Nations, Woolley's hopes for China reflected her endorsement of the idealism in Wilson's foreign policy. Woolley never indicated in her speeches that the 'helping hand' of Wilson's foreign policy in any way constituted a less obvious form of interference.⁵⁹

Once back in the States, Woolley was again swept into a whirl of fundraising travels, conferences, and college activities. After attending a conference in New York of the Women's Foundation for Health, an organization that existed "on a shoestring" and whose situation Woolley called "wearisome - like beating the air," she explained to Marks why she didn't withdraw her support. "I stay in because I feel that I have no right to get out, when the work they are doing is good and the workers so devoted." On the same New York trip, she attended a dinner at which representatives of seven colleges and several lawyers discussed the best methods for colleges to guarantee bequests. "I am tired of trying to interest 'wealth' in worthy causes! Today's 'jobs' are not peculiarly to my liking,"⁶⁰ Woolley confided to Marks.

In 1925 and again in 1927, she was appointed a delegate to the Institute of Pacific Relations held in Honolulu, Hawaii for two six-week sessions. The participants, a group of men and women of all ages, were Chinese, Japanese, British, American, Australian and New Zealanders, assembled to discuss and propose plans for cooperative relations among their nations. While in Hawaii, Woolley received news from Marks of the case of Sacco and Vanzetti in Boston. She immediately spoke to activists at the conference who felt that while the investigation was in the hands of Harvard President Lowell's Commission there was nothing to do but wait for their report. Woolley wrote,

I cannot believe that they will be executed. At the least, I think the penalty will be changed to imprisonment and I

hope that it will be better than that. It haunts me but I cannot see that there is anything for us to do.⁶¹

When, on August 3rd, the commission recommended against clemency, Woolley joined a petition campaign. She wrote to her brother asking for his signature, "It seems to me too terrible that Massachusetts should put to death men of whose guilt is so far from proved."⁶² On her return to Massachusetts she sent a telegram to the governor, stating with her characteristic appeal to reason why the execution would be wrong.

Have just returned from the Institute of Pacific Relations in Honolulu to learn of critical situation in Sacco-Vanzetti case. There are many thinking people who believe them innocent. There are many more who are not convinced they are guilty. Their execution while there is a shadow of a doubt as to their guilt would be a tragedy for Massachusetts and a blow to confidence in American justice. Urge such deliberation as will establish facts beyond a doubt.⁶³

In 1927, the year of the second Institute, Woolley agreed to her nomination for the presidency of the American Association of University Women (AAUW). She modestly said that the request "came like a bolt from the blue." The truth was that the Association had been interested for many years in having Woolley as President. Although Woolley agreed to serve "for a limited time,"⁶⁴ she would ultimately serve three consecutive terms between 1927 and 1933, balancing "two full-time 'jobs'".⁶⁵ She accepted the AAUW position because she saw the great potential for influence in an organization whose membership exceeded 30,000 educated women. She believed more than ever that "the problem of the century is the international problem," and the solution lay in the development of educational

organizations because they had "an almost unlimited field" within which to work. Woolley believed that the AAUW was so large and so diverse that "no group in the national life has a wider opportunity for helping to promote and develop this unity in diversity."⁶⁶ This is why, even though she made serious attempts in both 1929 and 1931 to relinquish the presidency, she ultimately agreed to stay.

Her first major act as President was to call a full meeting of the Board of Directors in Washington D.C.⁶⁷ Her goal was to centralize the traditionally fragmented association of the AAUW's 455 branches. She began by moving the International Relations Office from New York to the national headquarters in Washington D.C. and, soon after, established the central office for the Fellowship Fund campaign at headquarters. At the opening address of the Sixth National Convention in 1929, Woolley proudly told the membership, "Our Association is an efficiently-run machine, as anyone who visits national Headquarters can testify."⁶⁸ Between 1929 and 1930, the Association experienced the largest membership increase in its history.⁶⁹ By the beginning of her third term, Woolley had unified and strengthened the central organization to include a director, a headquarters secretary, a secretary of international relations and secretarial staff. The competence and loyalty of this staff made it possible for Woolley to carry the burdens of the presidency. As she expressed it, the Board of Directors of the Association "unflinchingly held up my hands."⁷⁰ "No president who has another

full-time job, as most of us have, can possibly do for an organization like this what ought to be done."⁷¹

Woolley was interested in all aspects of the AAUW's work - the Fellowship Fund that encouraged women of exceptional abilities to pursue work in the sciences, the research in education and in the progress of women, the advocacy work for women's entry into professions, the preparation and dissemination of educational materials from pre-school through adult education. Her greatest interest, however, was in developing an international consciousness in the corporate membership of the AAUW. In 1917, her friend and colleague Thomas had organized a Speaker's Bureau as part of the AAUW's War Service Committee. Issues of war and peace, education and democratic institutions were topics for discussion. In 1919, Thomas helped to organize the International Federation of University Women. Woolley shared Thomas' vision. She wanted to bring American women fully into the International Federation of Women and this required educational work to convince the membership of the value of international cooperation. Woolley found politically kindred spirits among the leadership of the Association. The women who supported a strong effort toward international dialogue were also activists in peace and anti-militarist organizations. There was, however, strong conservative influence within the Association which manifested itself in efforts to remove pacifists from key committee positions, especially from those committees whose purpose was to influence Congressional opinion.⁷²

Woolley Goes to Geneva

In 1931, Woolley was especially anxious to step down from the AAUW Presidency. She had received an invitation to join the Layman's Foreign Missions Commission, a commitment that would involve many months out of the country and had initially declined because of obligations at Mount Holyoke. The possibility of going resurfaced and Woolley hoped that the AAUW would be able to release her from her duties. Instead, the Association asked her to remain president in absentia. Woolley agreed but did not join the Laymen's Commission because in December of 1931, she received a more significant invitation. President Hoover appointed her as a delegate to the Conference on the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments to be held in Geneva. Women's organizations had succeed through pressuring him to include a woman representative on the U.S. delegation.⁷³ had been successful, and Woolley was suddenly a part of an enterprise whose mission she believed to be the most important that the world could undertake. Thomas, greatly discouraged by the course of national and international events, viewed Woolley's appointment as a "bright ray."⁷⁴ Woolley was an excellent choice for leadership in peace and international relations. Early in her tenure as President of the AAUW, Woolley had written,

Two convictions in these first months have been growing upon me: first, the increasing need of international experience and understanding on the part of students and scholars from all countries; and second, the especial need of American students to acquire an international consciousness which shall leaven our national egocentrism, without lessening appreciation of our great advantages and opportunities. The ignorance of the average British student whom I have met

about America is appalling. But the oblivion of the average American student touching Europe is more so and more dangerous because less often stirred by a lively curiosity.

She extended her criticism of American chauvinism to the membership of the AAUW itself, suggesting that closer alliance with the international federation was of the utmost importance. Woolley argued that "an international relationship based not upon force, but upon insight, understanding, sympathy, friendship" was essential to "all other possibilities for advance...in all human organizations." This internationalism, she said, was "such that the world had never known, or needed."⁷⁵ In April of 1931, when the AAUW held its Fiftieth Anniversary celebration, the Board invited the Council of the International Federation of University Women to combine with their conference in the United States. Pendleton offered the facilities of Wellesley College to the international women. For Woolley, "It ... put into personal terms the truth that no movement for human betterment can be an isolated movement, belonging to one nationality or to one culture."⁷⁶

In April of 1931, the North New England branch of the AAUW voted to fund a Mary Emma Woolley Fellowship which later was designated for graduate study or research in international issues.⁷⁷ For Woolley, this was a realization of her personal goal to broaden the experience of educated women. As President of the AAUW and member of many women's groups, Woolley represented "the organized women of America." For those who opposed her anti-militarist and feminist views and feared the increasing pressure from women's groups to place women in positions of power, Woolley and other like her

represented a threat. When Hoover invited Woolley to serve, she was a popular choice among the progressive groups, less so among conservatives. A headline in the Springfield, Massachusetts newspaper read, "Selection of Miss Woolley is Criticized Protests Heard in Capital on Ground Mt. Holyoke President Is Pacifist."⁷⁸ The Massachusetts chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution had already blacklisted her for her peace activities,⁷⁹ but her home branch of the DAR in Rhode Island as well as the national DAR refused to follow suit. Woolley's acceptance was cause for celebration for the Women's International League. A representative had called Woolley to urge her acceptance shortly before the call came from the Secretary of State.⁸⁰ Progressive groups believed that Hoover was reluctant to support the advancement of women. A woman in the AAUW leadership commented, "You know the general opinion is that he is very much opposed to placing women in positions of authority."⁸¹ With Woolley's appointment, the media attempted to interpret Hoover's decision, one newspaper suggesting that,

President Hoover responded to a highly organized and insistent demand from women....In choosing a woman, Mr. Hoover probably was influenced also by his preference for persons of determined ideals in line with his own pacific desires, rather than technicians upon whom he has placed much of the responsibility for some past failures at international arms accord.⁸²

Whatever Hoover's motivation, Woolley did not hesitate in her acceptance of his offer.

A factor in my decision was the experience of my father in two wars. ... he served as chaplain in both the Civil and Spanish-American War ... The horrors he witnessed in the Civil War made him feel that his experience qualified him to soften in a measure the shock of such horrors for young men

in the Spanish-American War. From him I learned to abhor all war.⁸³

The opportunity was also a rewarding culmination of her years of leadership in the AAUW and peace organizations. A newspaper story described the Geneva appointment as the "fulfilling [of] a lifelong ambition."⁸⁴ The Mount Holyoke community swallowed any unhappiness it may have felt over Woolley's absorption in out of college activities and enjoyed the reflected prestige and excitement which accompanied her appointment. Her secretary noted that the AAUW had always demanded from Woolley "great blocks of time...unreasonable amounts of time" that made "inroads into the time spent on college affairs." Woolley belonged to many organizations but, most often, she "'loaned' her name to show her interest in their work,"⁸⁵ and commitments only involved occasional speeches and meetings. The AAUW required a full commitment of time and energy. An article in the Washington Post from 1934 suggests how Mount Holyoke's claim to Woolley was overshadowed by her public career. The article, entitled "That Woman, Woolley!" began,

So, Mary Emma Woolley is going to retire, is she? Retire: But not from the so-miscalled Disarmament Conference, to which she was appointed (our first woman diplomat)She is going to stick to that - if it still exists. She is going to retire from the presidency of Mount Holyoke College. This is the first time we ever felt sorry for Mount Holyoke.⁸⁶

This was not the first time that inaccurate rumors of Woolley's retirement made the newspapers.⁸⁷

The Geneva delegation consisted of Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson as nominal Chairman, Hugh Gibson, the Ambassador to

Belgium, as Acting Chairman, Democratic Senator Claude Swanson from Virginia, Norman Davis, a second Democrat who had served in the State Department in Wilson's administration and Woolley, a registered Republican, but one who "acted as an "independent" at the ballot box, a species not popular in either party."⁸⁸ Surrounded by politicians and career diplomats, Woolley recognized her novice status (she described herself as "an untried diplomat."⁸⁹) but she assumed her responsibilities with characteristic confidence and enthusiasm. "I can state with confidence that no one worked harder to understand the problems confronting the Conference."⁹⁰ When she arrived at Geneva, Woolley had two reactions. The first was an overwhelming sense of the enormity of the Conference's purpose, "I felt more keenly than before the significance of the new role and was somewhat depressed by it." The second was a sense of adventure as she moved into the spacious three-room suite with two bathrooms and three telephones which would be home for six months. "It may be that I am fortunate in making adjustments.,"⁹¹ a reference to the ease with which she adapted to new living arrangements.

From January until August of 1932, Woolley devoted herself entirely to the affairs of the conference in Geneva. She was both diplomat and representative for the scores of organizations who sent petitions to the conference. International church groups, League of Nations associations, peace and women's groups all hoped that Woolley, the only woman on the five-member Committee on Petitions, would succeed in assembling a formal and official presentation of the millions of signatures from citizens of fifty-four countries. There

were 8,000,000 signatures from women's groups alone.⁹² One member objected to a public ceremony, and so, on February 3, the day after a "solemn opening session" of the Conference, (solemn because of Japan's aggressive actions in China) Woolley gave her "maiden speech" in her committee and the vote in favor of a formal presentation carried. On February 6, at a "great gathering" of over four hundred women, the many thousands of petitions were formally presented.⁹³

The sobering reality of Japan's aggression in Manchuria contributed to a general mood of pessimism early in the conference. "Pessimists grow on every bush over here ... cultivation of a polyanna disposition clearly is one's [illegible] duty," Woolley wrote to Marks.⁹⁴ Woolley's perspective was larger and idealistic. Referring to the United States, she said, "At last we were where we ought to be, in Geneva, at a conference of the nations."⁹⁵ Perhaps it was not too late for the United States to influence the world.

The failure of the United States to join the League of Nations was one of the keenest disappointments of my life, a disappointment personal in its intensity. And that the League might realize its full possibilities had become one of my chief interests.⁹⁶

During the early plenary sessions Woolley was impressed with the "liberal spirit of the addresses ... applying high moral principles." She recognized that applying these principles was "not so easy," but that it was "easy to talk."⁹⁷ She worked with Gibson to prepare his speech, telling Marks to "'cross [her] heart' and not tell anyone," about Woolley's suggestion for "an absolute prohibition of lethal gas and bacteriological warfare," that the State Department had approved. She described the delegation as a "fine" group to work

with, "gentlemen from start to finish."⁹⁸ Woolley became friendly with Walter Lippmann who was writing for the New York Herald Tribune. Lippmann told Woolley that he expected his articles to help, "by their influence over the American people."⁹⁹ They were in agreement that public opinion had political impact and that it was their responsibility to help people form educated views. Meanwhile, Will Rogers was introducing Woolley to the readers of the New York Times.

Our female delegate, Miss Woolley, is the outstanding novelty. I had an hour and half's chat with her this afternoon. Didn't know whether to call her Miss, Mrs., Professor, Doctor or what, so I called her 'Doc', and 'Doc' and I got along great ... Thirty million women of the world have hope and faith in her common sense versus diplomacy. It's no joking matter getting the world to disarm. Maybe a woman can do it. It's a cinch men can't. So good luck to you 'Doc'.¹⁰⁰

Woolley's second Committee assignment was the important Budgetary Control Committee where she "stood out as long as she could for a minimum of armament expenditure." A Washington Post article reported on an exchange between Woolley and another committee member who complained,

If we protest,... she just closes her eyes and says, 'You don't understand; there is a new spirit in the world. Besides, the President told me to work for the maximum of reduction, and I propose to work for that.'¹⁰¹

"Men and politics are both queer!" was Woolley's personal assessment of the diplomacy she witnessed.¹⁰²

To a novice in the diplomatic field the attitudes and actions of trained diplomats were incomprehensible, --- They simply did not make sense. Granted that nationalism was in the saddle and rode mankind, realistic thinking should make clear the fact that the only safe and sure policy for the future of the individual nation lies in maintaining the sanctity of treaties.¹⁰³

She resourcefully found a "guide, counsellor and friend" in a banker and former diplomat who worked with her on budgetary limitation issues during the three weeks of recess. "Membership on the Budgetary Commission is no sinecure," she wrote to Marks.¹⁰⁴ She also served on the Moral Disarmament committee composed of the five women delegates who were selected by their own individual delegations. Woolley recognized that the committee was viewed as a "somewhat unnecessary appendage to material disarmament."¹⁰⁵

By March, the inertia created by the caution of delegations following orders from governments, including the United States government, began to erode even Woolley's enthusiasm.

It is inconceivable that Japan should continue on her mad course.... Litvinoff's scheme appeals to me, but alas! The other nations think it only a scheme to promote communism and there seems no chance for it."¹⁰⁶

"Japan has certainly done her prettiest to wreck the Conference."¹⁰⁷ For one week, Woolley "sat 'glued' to her chair" listening to speeches and "being stirred by the small powers" who strongly advocated League of Nations intervention over Japan's aggression in Manchuria. She was "depressed by the 'big' ones (powerful countries)"¹⁰⁸ because political and economic self-interest so obviously dictated their positions. Moreover, because the United States was not in the League, it could "act only from the sidelines." She received cables from her many contacts in China. "I feel so helpless, not only for myself, but for our Delegation," she wrote to Marks.¹⁰⁹ When the recess was extended to allow for the German elections, Woolley was prescient as she hoped for Hindenberg's

victory. "Hitler would surely throw a monkey-wrench into the international machinery."¹¹⁰

Impatient over the lack of initiative taken by the U.S. government, Woolley was also getting a political education. She asked Marks to sell her (Woolley's) du Pont investments. "I am seeing so much of the evil of manufacturing munitions and the insidious way in which the private manufacture works against disarmament."¹¹¹ Gibson, whom Woolley described as fond of Hoover but aware of "his timidity", returned to the States in an attempt to persuade the administration to go further with disarmament proposals.¹¹² When the Conference reconvened, the U. S. delegation felt encouraged by increased presidential support. A fellow delegate suggested that Woolley begin a massive telegram campaign¹¹³ urging Hoover to allow the delegation to "go far in a liberal policy."¹¹⁴ Woolley wrote to Marks asking her to involve interested faculty at Mount Holyoke, but she also told her not to share with the faculty at large the truth that the administration "needs to be exhorted."¹¹⁵ Over 1200 petitions, some of them representing thousands of people, arrived in Geneva by mail and by cable. Woolley was prompted to write to Marks about the unending frustrations she experienced over role expectations.

You are right in thinking that there are difficulties even in being a woman! I must be effective, but not aggressive; womanly but not womanish; equal to social obligations but always on hand for the business ones; informed, but unable to take my pipe and join other "pipers" in the corridors during translations - et cetera, et cetera!!¹¹⁶

When she had received more than 2000 letters and cables, a "marvelous collection of human documents," Woolley selected 100 and sent the package to Hoover. "Poor man," she wrote, "should know more than what politicians choose to pour into his ears!"¹¹⁷ As the Conference progressed, she observed in amazement and irritation how commissions "gradually transfer everything from 'aggression' to 'defense' columns and approve the principle of 'qualitative disarmament.'" She was exasperated enough to conclude that "a conference of women would say: 'In order to have 'qualitative disarmament,' all we have to do is to apply to other nations, the German restrictions.'"¹¹⁸ (referring to the disarmament of Germany at Versailles). Woolley was entirely caught up in the Conference and reluctantly travelled to Grenoble to attend a major conference of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.¹¹⁹ She also planned to inform the trustees at Mount Holyoke who wanted her to return for Commencement that she could not come back before the Conference ended. To Marks, she wrote, "[The] President might well wonder why he appointed me."¹²⁰ Woolley believed that the "most critical days of the conference" lay ahead. "[J]ust as well not have come as to leave now. I feel like Solomon's baby!"¹²¹

Woolley praised the cooperation among the members of the American delegation. She believed that they had written a "fine" disarmament plan and that the administration was "holding our thumbs ... Here's hoping that we'll be allowed off the leash."¹²² In mid-June, Woolley heard rumors that the British and French were possibly allied in taking no actions toward "reduction of effectives,

qualitative disarmament, or anything else that is real." She wrote to Gibson, "unless this Conference accomplishes something it will stand before the world as the most striking example of a reductio ad absurdum."¹²³ She would describe the weeks before June 19th as "The Doldrums." One especially beautiful day, she sat on a patio where she could glimpse Lake Geneva and she thought to herself, "Such a beautiful world of nature -- why was human nature so out of harmony?"¹²⁴ On June 19th, Gibson arrived at lunch to tell Woolley that Hoover had "broken away from conservative advice and asserted himself."¹²⁵ The President had just cabled approval of the delegation's proposal. "At last something was going to happen and on the initiative of our own country."¹²⁶ An intense period of conferences and meetings followed, but the delegations of the major powers argued and delayed over the points of the Hoover Plan when it was presented to the General Commission on June 22. "Grandi [the Italian representative] was the one person who rose to the occasion," with full enthusiastic support for the plan.¹²⁷ Powerless herself because she was not participating in the actual negotiations, Woolley wrote another memo to Gibson.

Is there ground for the assertion made repeatedly within the last five months, even as late as last Wednesday by someone who apparently knows the situation, that certain influential delegates have such connection with the steel interests that any real progress toward reduction in armaments must be made by over-powering their opposition? The international organizations...are working hard to impress upon the home public the necessity of bringing immediate pressure upon their governments....The reaction at home, I fear, would be unfavorable, the American public thinking that the Delegation had a chance and failed to improve it.¹²⁸

Three weeks later, forty-one of the nations represented at the conference voted in favor of the Benes Resolution, a compromise version of the Hoover Plan which committed the nations to "a substantial reduction of world armaments."¹²⁹ When the Conference adjourned, there were no specific agreements to limit or reduce armaments.¹³⁰ On the day before adjournment, Woolley reported that the Italians and French "came to blows," and then, on the last day of the Conference, there was an "atmosphere of happy speeches and good feeling."¹³¹ She had been impressed throughout the conference with the Soviet delegate, Litvinov's intelligence and insights, and it was his analysis of the conference's conclusion that she agreed with. He had said,

The resistance which even proposals for the very minimum measures of disarmament encountered -- showed that in spite of the Paris Pact renouncing war ... the governments still believed in war as an instrument of national policy and that they preferred to talk to each other, even of peace and international solidarity, when armed to the teeth.¹³²

Woolley believed that there had been a number of "missed opportunities" at Geneva. For one, she thought that Secretary Stimson's full participation in the conference would have made a difference. "Curious that in time of war we can see the supreme action needed ... Cannot see it in time of peace." She was particularly critical of the fact that the administration did not take the delegation into its confidence before the Hoover plan was completed. Perhaps if she and her colleagues had had time to confer with the British and French delegations "giving [Britain] a chance to

feel its share in it and with France giving some sense of security," these countries might have supported the U.S. initiative.¹³³

When Woolley returned to the United States and began to speak publicly about the conference, she tempered her deep disappointment over the vague and unsatisfactory outcome. She did not want young people or those who worked hard to influence public opinion about peace and international cooperation to lose hope. Belief in the struggle toward moral disarmament was incompatible with political cynicism. Woolley believed that the majority of the delegates were sincere in their attempts toward disarmament.¹³⁴ To the skeptics she asked,

Which is the more dangerous reaction, over-credulity or over-suspicion? If there must be a choice, I would cast my vote for the former ... The habit of suspecting hidden motives puts a big stumbling block in the pathway of international understanding.¹³⁵

Whatever his private thoughts, Lippmann called the Conference "a great achievement." Woolley quoted him at length in her article "What Happened at Geneva?"

[T]o have kept fifty nations talking amiably about their vital interests, to have explored and debated questions which touch the pride, the honor and the fears of so many people, to have had no explosions but rather to have increased understanding, is in any broad perspective a unique performance. Nothing like it has ever been attempted before in the whole history of the world and not to have failed ignominiously is almost a triumph.¹³⁶

Of significance for Woolley were the successful campaigns of the women's and peace organizations. She was most upset about the disappointment felt by the American people over the Conference's failure to move beyond rhetoric. Public opinion, she believed, had

influenced Hoover whose Plan reinvigorated the Conference sufficiently to pass the Benes Resolution. To the women of the AAUW, Woolley said,

Never before has public opinion been so articulate or so effective at an international conference as it was at Geneva....Public opinion has begun to function. See to it that it continues!¹³⁷

Upon her return, she wrote to Hoover to tell him that she was ready to come to Washington at any time to report on her experiences at the conference. Hoover responded with praise for her efforts, but with no apparent interest in her offer.¹³⁸ Woolley wrote back in gratitude for his appreciation.

I have never wished more earnestly for accomplishment than at the General Disarmament Conference, and what I was able to do fell so far short of my desires, that I particularly needed the appreciation which you have so generously given. Thank you more than I can put into words.¹³⁹

Privately, Woolley would express dismay over the behavior of the "powers that be" in the world "who could not see...that the way of safety lay in disarming down to Germany before Germany demanded arming up to them!"¹⁴⁰ She had been a novice in the political world of international diplomacy at Geneva and came away sorely disappointed by the ineffectiveness of the effort. The experience, however, did not change her attitude toward the constructive work that needed to be done. She would tell the 'truth' of the Conference's failures in such a way as to keep vital the 'spirit' of progressive women and men who were the only hope for a peaceful future.

C H A P T E R X

THE OVERTHROW OF FEMALE LEADERSHIP

"I feel so ashamed that it should be Mount Holyoke!"

-- Mary Emma Woolley¹

Woolley returned to Mount Holyoke College, pleased to be home and to find that the college had once again run smoothly in her absence. The women that she had left in charge managed to make gains for Mount Holyoke during a period when the college, along with the whole of society, was beset by serious financial problems. She praised Newhall, Secretary of the Board of Admissions, for her unremitting work to create the largest freshman class in college history without compromising academic standards. She praised Dean Allyn for her skill in stretch[ing] "the scholarship funds to their uttermost limit," and she praised Dean Mary Ashby Cheek for her "great ingenuity in making possible remunerative work for the students who must earn something in addition to the scholarship aid." The Finance Committee had been able to close the year with a balanced budget.² Confident that the college was doing well, Woolley accepted virtually all invitations to speak about her Geneva experience. In October, she travelled to Chicago, Little Rock, Corpus Christi, and Houston, speaking before AAUW and peace organization audiences. Woolley told Marks that she hoped she was "help[ing] the two causes of the AAUW and Disarmament."³ In November, en route to Washington, she spoke to large audiences in New Haven and New London, and while

in Washington, met with newly-elected President Roosevelt. "You can imagine how cheerful I feel over election returns" she wrote to Marks.⁴

Woolley's celebrity as a Conference delegate and her personal interest in international issues naturally overshadowed for a time both her role as Mount Holyoke's president and the concerns of the college, but Woolley relied on the support of faculty, trustees, and alumnae who voiced their approval of her activities. While in Geneva, Woolley received a letter from Board member Edward White, a letter she told him was one of the nicest she had ever received. He had heard that she was "looking well" and

carrying [her] part...with influence and power. We have also had word from time to time that your sincerity and personality have impressed your fellow delegates and built up for you a prestige that is winning many of the hard headed diplomats to your ways of thinking. I have often thought that your college presidency was restricting your field of influence, and was delighted when the opportunity came for you to enter international affairs....Of course we miss you at Mount Holyoke...the wheels of government do not turn quite as smoothly as they do when you are in control....We watch the papers for news of you. I am proud to be associated in a small way with one so useful in the world in trying to solve its problems.

"From a trustee's point of view," White concluded, "there is very little to report. Our last meeting was peaceful."⁵

White was apparently unaware of any resurfacing of the issue of Woolley's 'resignation' which had been raised by the Board the previous year. In June of 1931, two communications had indicated a split within the Board regarding Woolley's presidency. At the trustee meeting that June, the Board voted to send a letter of congratulations to Woolley for thirty years of outstanding

achievement. The Board stated that it was "primarily conscious of the great change in the condition of the college that had taken place in these years, and also in particular of the leading and largely determining part" that Woolley had played.

We simply wish to convey to her, and put on our Records, an expression of brief but heartfelt appreciation of her devotion of herself and her complete success in the service of the College. And at the same time we would assure her of our earnest desire to cooperate in every way possible, as well as to convey to her our personal regards, of which she is renewedly assured.⁶

The second communication was a draft of a letter written by the Board and intended for the Alumnae Associations of the college. This was prompted by the actions of alumnae in Springfield, Massachusetts, who had heard rumors of Woolley's wish to retire and began to organize national alumnae groups to "demand ... that she be retained in the presidential office until the observance of the centennial in 1937..."⁷ The letter from Board member Howell Cheney, a Connecticut businessman, expressed the college community's "regret at [Woolley's] repeated expression of a desire to retire." According to the letter, "After being advised by Miss Woolley of her wish to resign in 1933," the Board appointed a committee which ultimately "urged her to accept the invitation [to the Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry] and to postpone her resignation until 1934." The letter stated that Woolley had been

particularly anxious to respond to the appeal of the student body that she should be here next year....She has, therefore, come to feel that it is not wise for her to be absent for so extended a period and has reduced the proposed term to not more than four months in any event, and may give it up entirely.⁸

Upset by the misinformation and implications contained in this letter, Woolley shared it with Marks and Newhall. Following their suggestions,⁹ she wrote to Cheney detailing the corrections she had made. She said that although it had been her strong desire to retire in 1932 just prior to her seventieth birthday, she had agreed to the Board's wishes for her to remain until 1934. She had never vacillated in that decision.

As you will see, I have deleted, "and their regret at her repeated expression of a desire to retire." Two or three years ago, before your return to the Board, as you will realize, I stated to the Board that it was my expectation to retire at the close of the academic year 1932-1933, preceding my seventieth birthday that summer, because the attainment of that age then seemed a sufficient reason. The sentence in paragraph two indicates a reluctance on the part of the Board to accept that statement and my own insistence. As far as I know, the Board acquiesced until last March when I was informed of their action urging me to accept the invitation to act as a member of the Commission sent to the Orient, and to postpone my resignation until 1934, a suggestion which I accepted. There has not been a "repeated expression" of a desire to retire.

Woolley asked that the word 'retirement' replace 'resignation' wherever the word appeared. She also informed Cheney that she intended to join the Commission in January, after spending the critical first semester at Mount Holyoke. The "intimation of not going at all would simply confuse the issue with the Alumnae."¹⁰

Later, Woolley spoke to White about the Board's actions. She told Marks, "In spite of the 'masonic' character of the Executive session, Mr. White made some illuminating remarks!" White believed that Woolley had "no stronger friend on the Board than Mr. Cheney," and that "Mr. Kendall is the 'opposition' [and] intimated very nearly a 'fight for all' led by Dr. Edwards!"¹¹ The struggle began in 1931

with the retirement of Board President Joseph Skinner. For twenty-six years, Woolley and he had worked together in mutual respect. Henry Hyde, Skinner's successor as president, joined the Board in 1929 and enjoyed the same rapport with Woolley. She had been able to rely on both men for advice and support.¹² Between 1930 and 1931, three men who would become key in the ensuing succession fight joined the Board. They were Edgar Furniss, Dean of the Graduate School at Yale, Cheney and Alva Morrison, a Boston stockbroker and son of an alumna. In 1931, Kendall apparently offered Frances Perkins, a Mount Holyoke alumna and then Industrial Commissioner for the state of New York, the presidency of Mount Holyoke, telling her that if she accepted, the Board would "get rid of Miss Woolley."¹³ She did not accept and with Hyde still President of the Board, Woolley was assured general cooperation from the trustees.

When the Geneva trip replaced the Laymen's Foreign Mission, and Woolley's time away from the college stretched past Commencement into late summer, the Board made no official complaint. There was hearsay that Hyde had informally told Woolley in the fall of 1932 that the Board wished her to remain in the presidency until the centenary in 1937.¹⁴ The Depression economy was causing both a shrinking endowment and falling enrollment at the college, and the Board must have recognized that Woolley was a crucial asset. Her popularity among the alumnae and her wide appeal nationally meant continued financial contributions. Hyde's purported request that Woolley stay until 1937 would provide partial explanation for

Woolley's quiet change of mind about her original agreement with the Board to retire in 1934.

The Succession Fight

However, events quickly overtook thoughts of retirement. When Hyde died in 1933, presidential power on the Board of Trustees passed to Morrison who soon formed a Committee on the Succession to the Presidency. It was composed of Cheney, Kendall, two alumnae, Rowena Keyes and Mary Hume Maguire, and Morrison, himself.¹⁵ In November of 1934, Woolley submitted to this committee two names of potential presidential candidates. Morrison officially stated that the committee agreed to offer the presidency to the nominees. Later, he refused to respond to the charge that these offers were "merely gestures to appease the Alumnae group desiring a woman president."¹⁶ Olive Copeland, secretary both to Woolley and to the Board of Trustees, believed that "certain trustees [were] determined to appoint a man." She gave as evidence of this, "the offering of a salary so low to a really distinguished woman" that it had to be "intended to warrant a refusal - a real insult!"¹⁷

In February of 1935, the Conference Committee of the Faculty, the official channel of communication between the faculty and trustees, solicited statements from all faculty members on "any and all aspects of the succession to the presidency." Two-thirds of the faculty (75% of professorial rank) responded with lengthy descriptions of qualifications, nominations, and references in the event that the nominees became serious candidates. Over the next two

months, the Succession Committee received these "long, frank, and full statements" and the recommendations were almost exclusively of women. The Board of Directors of the Alumnae Association also met in February and produced a report which hedged on the "question of sex."

There is a difference of opinion in the Board as to whether a man or woman president would be most desirable. The Board in general seemed to feel that the question of sex should be approached with an open mind - fitness for the task being the primary factor and sex of secondary importance. Preference of the Board so far as expressed seemed to be for a woman, with the qualifying statement made above, except in one case. Here it was felt that in view of the celebration of 100 years of women's education, other things should be sacrificed in favor of a woman.¹⁸

At this point, the Succession Committee decided to expand itself to nine members because, as Morrison reported, "we had not solved our problem, and being determined to make a unanimous report, we decided to enlarge our Committee by adding four new members." They selected two men and two women, Furniss, Paul Davis, Helene Pope Whitman, and Lottie Bishop. Furniss assumed the chairmanship of the committee when he joined.¹⁹ In April of 1935, Woolley received a letter from Kathryn McHale, the General Director of the AAUW, in which McHale shared information she had just received about the Mount Holyoke presidential search. The Board was quietly but actively interviewing men as candidates for the presidency.

Knowing that the Association would regret very much losing any of the gains it had made in the recognition of women if the presidential tradition of Mount Holyoke were ever broken, I am writing to ask if you have any suggestion as to what AAUW might do in the matter.²⁰

Woolley answered McHale immediately.

It would be impossible to over-emphasize my feeling in regard to the importance of having a woman as my successor,

and the attitude on the part of some Trustees, which they put in the form of "the best person possible regardless of sex" troubles me greatly.

Woolley suggested that individual members of the AAUW write to the Succession Committee members and that McHale contact Cheney for some suggestions.²¹ McHale wrote to Dr. Esther Richards, a Mount Holyoke alumna widely recognized for her accomplishments, to enlist her aid. She asked Richards to recommend women candidates.

Any suggestion, of course, will be difficult to make as there are few women like Miss Woolley. Therefore, the qualifications of any person I think will have to be measured by other criteria than those which she so well exemplifies.²²

Sufficiently worried by the direction the committee was taking, Woolley composed an appeal to the entire Board of Trustees for the selection of a woman as her successor and sent a copy to each of them.²³ Furniss, Bishop and Kendall, all members of the Succession Committee, wrote in answer that "they were absolutely in favor of a man."²⁴ In October of that year (1935), 7000 survey questionnaires were sent to alumnae. The Succession Committee received 287 responses to the surveys that contained no explicit question about sex preference for the presidency. Nevertheless, 177 of the 287 respondents made a point of mentioning their preference for a woman.²⁵

Meanwhile, though Woolley found herself caught in this unexpected and escalating struggle over the presidential succession, she did not sacrifice her other activities. In the spring of 1933, she went to Minneapolis to attend the Biennial Convention of the AAUW. After three consecutive terms as president of the

organization, Woolley was retiring. In her address, she praised the Association's research on the status of women soon to be compiled in a book entitled Century of Progress. She also praised the significant progress made in improving international relations through AAUW efforts. She emphasized the potential power that a national group as large as the AAUW could wield. (The AAUW had grown to include 603 branches, 39 state divisions and organizations in 37 countries.) Woolley said a heartfelt goodbye after six years of leadership.

It is quite impossible to put into words all that it has meant to me, both as an official and as a layman...from you all I have received only loyal support, and when I say 'thank you' I mean not a collective expression, but an individual one. For my valedictory wish for you I am borrowing the words of an old Hebrew poet - may you 'go from strength to strength'.²⁶

The following day, Woolley participated in historian Mary Beard's session at the Convention. Highly critical of higher education for its elitism and conservatism, Beard criticized women for being contented "to work merely for equality in what seemed to be a successful man's world," and for not recognizing the significance of women's participation in the making of history.²⁷

Woolley stayed actively involved in the AAUW by accepting the chairmanship of the Committee on International Relations. In a letter to Woolley, McHale expressed the wish that Woolley live "nearer to Washington so that we would have the benefit of your guidance more frequently than our semi-annual Board meetings allow."²⁸ Because of her busy schedule and the succession conflict at Mount Holyoke, Woolley cancelled plans for an AAUW-sponsored trip

to South America in the summer of 1935. Then in the fall, her beloved brother Erving died suddenly. As she had done years earlier after her parents' deaths, Woolley forced herself to work harder in her grief. She increased her fundraising efforts for a new college chapel and an addition to the library. The chapel and library represented Woolley's legacy to Mount Holyoke. They had been among her earliest concerns at the college, and if the succession struggle had not taken place, her efforts on behalf of the library and chapel would have been chief among her final and most personally satisfying contributions to Mount Holyoke.

During the 1930's, Woolley also had to contend with the attacks of professional anti-communists. Her name appeared in The Red Network, a 350-page book that purported to expose subversive supporters of Communism in America. The lengthy entry on Woolley contained eighteen lines of text listing Woolley's pertinent affiliations.²⁹ The author had sent an earlier work, Red Revolution, to all the chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution, which caused Woolley's expulsion from the Massachusetts chapter. Her home chapter in Pawtucket followed the national DAR, ignored the propaganda and sent Woolley a warm letter of congratulations during the 1937 Centenary with the message "proud that you have always remained a member!"³⁰

There was no official mention at Mount Holyoke of these political attacks on Woolley. The criticism aimed at her was indirect. She was faulted primarily for her many absences from the college.³¹ In 1935, an alumnae group released a list of requirements

for the new president, the first stating that "the President must make Mount Holyoke her major interest."³² Simultaneous with the effort to select a successor to Woolley, planning began for the college Centennial in 1937. The first meeting was held in May of 1934, and Woolley joined Succession committee members Morrison and Furniss on the Centennial Committee. Early discussions focused on the need for a publication of Mount Holyoke's history. Historian Hewes, who was also a member of the Conference Committee of the Faculty (part of the succession efforts), suggested that the history be written through the careers of the college's presidents with a third of the book devoted to Woolley's administration.³³

In March of 1936, Woolley was the subject of further political attacks, this time from the American Legion. When the Joint Committee on Education held hearings in Boston on the repeal of the Teacher's Oath, (an obligatory pledge of patriotic allegiance to the government) Woolley was attacked because she, along with other college leaders had signed a petition calling for repeal. The Boston Globe and the Herald covered the story, and Woolley was "bitterly assailed as communistic and utterly unfit to head a college."

President Mary E. Woolley of Mount Holyoke was painted by another speaker as a participant in practically all forms of communism in America ... Mrs. Joseph Ford ... declared that Dr. Mary E. Wooley [sic], ... was connected with numerous Communist organizations including the Russia Reconstruction Forum, the Sacco-Vanzetti Advisory committee, the Fellowship of Faiths, the Open Road and in 1932 was a petitioner for the recognition of the Soviet Union. She said she quoted the affiliations to "best show Dr. Wooley's [sic] patriotic sympathies."³⁴

1931

Two months later, on May 18th, Morrison informed Woolley that in June the Committee was recommending to the Board the appointment of a man to the presidency. The Committee had already offered the position to Roswell Gray Ham, an associate professor of English Literature at Yale University, and he had accepted.³⁵ Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor and a member of the Board of Trustees, recalled the decision-making,

I voted consistently over a period of months against any candidate who was not a woman. Originally several members of the Board of Trustees voted as I did, but, as the matter proceeded, one by one most of them dropped off ... The failure to elect one of the three women who were proposed was a mistake, I thought, and that the choosing of a successor to Miss Woolley was, I believe, engineered by a rather high-powered group of businessmen who had found Miss Woolley "difficult," as they said, to deal with. Since they were only businessmen, their contacts with her had been only on the material side of the College's life, and Miss Woolley's reluctance to go into high-powered publicity and advertising was what had primarily annoyed them. Several admirable women were proposed. One after the other they were rejected by this group. ... one of the women was Mildred MacAffee [sic] who later became President of Wellesley College; the former Dean of the Graduate School of Bryn Mawr (name now forgotten); and Miss Frances Willis, now U. S. Ambassador to Norway, with long experience in teaching as well as a career diplomat, ...³⁶

Woolley reacted to the news by writing a letter of protest to each trustee, and the Conference Committee of Faculty produced a notice and questionnaire which they sent to the entire faculty informing them of the Committee's action. 87 of the 106 faculty who responded said that they wanted a woman president; eleven wanted a man and eight wanted the 'best person' regardless of sex. The Faculty Committee presented these results to the Board of Trustees. On the day of the meeting (June 6) at which the Succession Committee

made its recommendation to the Trustees, both Woolley and the Faculty Committee came to the meeting to protest and request postponement of the decision. Woolley presented a statement which read:

The letter which I wrote to each member of the Board of Trustees, under date of May the twentieth, gives the reasons for my strong feeling with regard to the appointment of a woman as my successor in the presidency. Those reasons, as you may recall, are as follows: first, the principle upon which Mount Holyoke was founded, that women as human beings have an equal right with men for the development of their powers and an equal right to opportunities for service; second, that the progress of Mount Holyoke throughout the last one hundred years has been under the leadership of women, to whom recognition is due; third, that a change in policy with regard to the presidency of Mount Holyoke would mean striking a blow to the advancement of women, the seriousness of which can hardly be overestimated.

There are other factors which deserve consideration. If the College were a college for men, would the possibility of appointing a woman as president be given a moment's consideration? Certainly not without an overwhelming demand for the change, a demand from the faculty, alumni and undergraduates. The faculty of Mount Holyoke have given unmistakable evidence of their desire, 87 members of the teaching faculty out of 106 voting for a woman. Surely no expression of opinion should have greater weight than that of the faculty to whom is due in large measure the progress of an institution.

No opportunity has been given for an alumnae vote on the question of choice between a man and a woman, but judging from the individual comments from all sections of the country and from the petition signed by a large number of New York alumnae, one assumes that a large majority of alumnae prefer a woman as President of the College.

The opinion of thoughtful persons outside the College and outside its immediate constituency should not be underestimated in its influence upon the future development of the College, and that feeling strongly supports the policy of choosing a woman as President of Mount Holyoke.

To sum up I can imagine no greater blow to the advancement of women than the announcement that Mount Holyoke celebrates its Centennial by departing from the ideal of leadership by women for women, which inspired the founding of the

institution and which has been responsible in large measure for its progress.

At the time, Woolley did not know that the Committee had informed the press of the appointment two weeks prior to the June meeting.³⁷

Eight days later, Woolley received a call from Furniss, chairman of the Succession Committee, informing her that Ham was scheduled to be in Amherst to receive an honorary degree the following day and that he would also like to visit Mount Holyoke.³⁸ This action by Furniss suggests that Woolley's personal response to the succession was so professionally correct that he did not comprehend the intensity of her objection to Ham's appointment. It also suggests that Furniss, Ham, and the committee expected minimal resistance to their decision. Woolley wrote to Marks in mid-June describing a meeting that "went well" with "no reference to 'the succession'I felt that I had a steel-rod in place of my normal spine, but I suspect that that feeling will continue." Woolley was receiving many letters from alumnae, and she commented that they were split "about half and half" over the trustees' action. She decided that the Alumnae Quarterly was the most appropriate place to publish her June 6th statement. She wanted to avoid any damage to the college's reputation with negative publicity in the newspapers, preferring to rely on an informed response from the alumnae. Alumnae in opposition had to increase their visibility and pressure or Woolley saw no possibility of Ham withdrawing. "As for any withdrawal of acceptance or resignations of Trustees, the 'Horoscope' has no such indication!" she wrote to Marks.³⁹

Woolley sent a copy of her statement to Esther Caukin Brunauer at the AAUW Headquarters, though she doubted that the Journal would publish "anything controversial about a college in the Association."⁴⁰ Brunauer responded by writing a long, thoughtful letter to Furniss in which she emphasized the fact that there appeared to be effort under way to remove women from influential positions. She wrote to Marks that she did not expect it to have much impact on him, but perhaps "an accumulation of these sentiments might."⁴¹

...The choice of a man to become President of Mount Holyoke at this time amounts to an assertion that a hundred years of collegiate education for women has failed to produce women of sufficient scholarly attainment and administrative capacity to be entrusted with the executive posts of important educational institutions. One does not need to look very far to realize that such an assertion is false, but the implication that your committee believes it to be true gives much support to those who are striving today to eliminate women from positions of influence in our national life.

It may be true that there are today few women with long experience as college executives available for the post at Mount Holyoke, but men college presidents are not always obtained by transferring successful executives from one institution to another. Regardless of sex, there is almost always some uncertainty as to how a new president will develop, and I submit that the proportion of successful presidents among the women heads of colleges is very high. A scarcity of already successful women college presidents for the filling of the Mount Holyoke vacancy does not seem to be a valid reason for turning away from women entirely to appoint a man who, whatever his potentialities may be, is as untried as many of the women whose names must have been before the Committee ...

I have seen a whole nation of women put back two generations under a philosophy that accords them neither the status of individuals nor the right to gain economic independence. (I spent all of 1933 in Germany.) Moreover, I have come across in many parts of this country evidence of a movement to eliminate women from posts of importance and influence. To

see Mount Holyoke College waver in its faith in women is a serious disappointment, indeed.⁴²

Brunauer was correct in her appraisal of Furniss; her arguments were of no interest to him. He had been determined from the outset to replace Woolley with a male president. In February, months before the college community knew of Ham, Furniss wrote to him about the issue of sex and leadership at Mount Holyoke. "Dear Ros: Here's the evidence that trustees of an earlier day were as guilty as are we of preferring the masculine influence at the College. Yours, E.S.F." He enclosed a photocopy of a note from Mount Holyoke historian Viola Barnes who had discovered in her research on the early history of the college for the Centennial that, in 1852, the trustees had offered the principalship of the seminary to Albert Hopkins at Williams College. What impressed Barnes most was that the trustees had "confidently set out to acquire so distinguished a person, not only a teacher who had taught boys but a scientist of reputation."⁴³

In an exchange of letters, Brunauer and Marks discussed the need for an investigation of boards of trustees and their role in decision-making at colleges and universities. Brunauer decided to present the project to the AAUW, and Marks and Brunauer agreed that Woolley should be at least temporarily spared knowledge of these efforts so that the protest and Woolley's personal situation remained clearly separate.⁴⁴ Woolley herself was "trying to give no opportunity for the charge that my position is due to 'personal pique'." It was "not altogether easy," she wrote to Marks.⁴⁵

Woolley had refused to give her statement of protest to the newspapers, preferring to have it appear in the Alumnae Quarterly in August. Initially, however, the editor of the Quarterly refused to print Woolley's protest and acquiesced only after Newhall and others demanded its publication. The Quarterly editor wrote to Morrison (who in turn wrote to Ham) reassuring him that she [the editor] was "planning to reduce its [the statement's] presentation to the least possible terms," placing it at the end of the Quarterly in the Comment and Discussion section.

The Alumnae Board of Directors together with the Quarterly Committee have reached a final decision...to exclude all controversial material from this issue, with only one exception....we must print Miss Woolley's statement as read to the Alumnae College. This is a compromise because of her position as President and because many of the alumnae will be much less disturbed to find it there, than to find it omitted. The alumnae's personal regard for Miss Woolley is so strong that we feel only by the acceptance of her statement can we retain their loyalty to the College and the Alumnae Association.⁴⁶

When Woolley's statement appeared, the editor included the following disclaimer, "print[ed] at her [Woolley's] request." Reducing "its presentation to the least possible terms," involved not merely placing it in the "Comments and Discussion" section but involved literally reducing the size of the type. Morrison commented to Ham that "the publication of this statement will in the long run react only against Miss Woolley and is therefore most unfortunate."⁴⁷ The Quarterly editor also contacted Esther Price, a writer and Mount Holyoke alumna (Class of 1913), asking her to interview Ham for the November issue of the magazine. In the first of several contacts with Ham, Price informed him of her wholehearted support for his

appointment. She called alumna Elizabeth Adams' leadership in opposition (a protest that gained publicity in the Holyoke

Transcript-Telegram) a

ridiculous tempest in the teapot ... If there's anything Mt. Holyoke needs, it's just what you can bring -- a good healthy Western breeze, a normal family in the President's house, and a masculine point of view. All families have fathers, and most daughters seem to prefer them to mothers; so why it is such a heinous sin for a man to be president of a woman's college, Heaven only knows. If Elizabeth Adams and Mary Emma Woolley had had a few more men in their lives, they wouldn't go off so haywire.

Price told Ham that she believed the conflict lay between faculty and trustees.

It all seems to boil down to some kind of a fight between the faculty and the trustees. Apparently the former feel that the latter ignore them, and there are a lot of hurt feelings -- vented on you, not as an individual, but because you are the trustees' choice.

After the interview with Ham, she intended to write an article on "what makes a good president for any woman's college." In closing her letter to Ham, Price made the self-contradictory statements that "sex has nothing whatever to do with it [good leadership]" and that "[i]n a difficult administrative period ... doubtless a man has more courage of a sort, and more sense of humor (because less personally sensitive) than a woman."⁴⁸

In the Alumnae Quarterly article, Price elicited a statement from Ham that he was not the trustees "man," and she was pleased to report to Ham later that although she had been advised to omit this statement from the article, the decision to retain it had the desired effect. She said that alumnae who had opposed Ham's appointment were relieved to be told that Ham was his own man. Price later researched

and wrote an article which she called "This Business of Running a College" and interviewed several college presidents in the process. Meta Glass, President of Sweet Briar College and Woolley's ally in the AAUW, would not speak with Price and Wellesley's new, young President McAfee succeeded in irking Price with "childish prejudices." Price wrote Ham afterward that,

I certainly thank our lucky stars that Mt. H. didn't draw that type. She believes that all differences between men and women "Except the purely physical" are acquired. She called our trustees tactless though she knows none of them except Miss Rowland, and made other statements which were so unguarded and lacking in keen analysis that it makes one wonder.⁴⁹

Two alleged differences between a male and a female president according to some of the trustees who pushed for Ham's appointment were, one, that a man could provide a "charming hostess" in his "nice wife," and, two, that women were not administrators.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, the suppression of all controversial material in the Alumnae Quarterly removed any hope of a free exchange of letters among the alumnae on the topic of the succession. In September, the Board of Directors of the Alumnae Association (the Alumnae Council) went further when they voted that in addition to censoring controversy in the Journal, "the Alumnae Association and its clubs, committees, and individual members should with all good will give their heartiest support to the coming regime." In November, the Alumnae Association endorsed the action of the Board of Directors with approximately 175 alumnae present. There were eighteen dissenters.⁵¹ Caroline Smiley, who together with Amy Rowland would help to create the Alumnae Committee of Investigation, attended that

meeting and charged that the "whole affair savored of Fascism and dictatorial rule."⁵²

Woolley and the women she consulted in the AAUW agreed that the best outcome would be for the Alumnae Council to go on record against both the choice of a male successor to the presidency and the procedure that the trustees followed to make that choice.⁵³ However, they held little hope that this would occur. For one, the Alumnae Council meetings were open so that the trustees attended, inhibiting the kind of discussions that might have taken place if the group were composed exclusively of alumnae. Her colleagues in the AAUW were baffled by the seeming indifference of the alumnae, but Woolley generously attributed their inaction to 'uncertainty.' "Uncertainty as to the right action to be taken rather than apathy toward the principle at stake is at the basis of much of this indifference."⁵⁴ Woolley visited with Perkins in Washington and they agreed that the only chance for a change in the appointment would be if Ham withdrew; they also agreed that there was little chance of that.⁵⁵ In September, the New York Times carried the headline, "Dr. Mary Woolley Backs Roosevelt Breaks Lifelong Republican Allegiance to Support His Foreign Policies." The article noted Woolley had agreed to speak for the Democrats on September 15 over a nationwide radio hook-up. This was to be Woolley's first address under the auspices of the Democratic Party and a further insult to the college trustees, most of whom were Republicans.⁵⁶ The following month, Woolley presided at a banquet in honor of Perkins who spoke about New Deal Labor

Legislation.⁵⁷ Woolley's calendar was filled with "Association business."⁵⁸

In December, McHale made the comment that if it were true as she had heard that the ministers on the Board were opposed to Ham's appointment, that information should be made public.⁵⁹ McHale was correct. Three of the six men on the Board were ministers and all three voted against Ham. They held out against destroying the tradition of female leadership, one that owed a great deal to the conviction and vision of religious leadership in women's higher education. In the Mount Holyoke of 1936, ministerial influence had been overtaken by business and professional influence. The political impact of the ministers' objections was minimal.

Beneath the public composure that she never lost, Woolley was deeply troubled by the Mount Holyoke community's inability to take the "right action." In a letter to her friend Sarah Downer, a Mount Holyoke alumna who became a teacher in China, she confided that,

It is a hard experience, the hardest, - aside from personal griefs, that I have ever had to meet....I wish that I might sit down and talk it all out with you. I am well, in spite of my 'feelin's' and very busy. I expect to be here this year; after that, I am not quite sure where I shall be.⁶⁰

The AAUW, unwilling to take an official stand in opposition to Ham's appointment at Mount Holyoke, instead came forward with a strong editorial in the Journal of the American Association of University Women. The AAUW deeply regretted that

so rare an opportunity for development and leadership and service as that offered by the presidency of Mount Holyoke

[has been] withdrawn from the sex for which the college exists.

The editors selected a portion of the last public address of Bryn Mawr's President Thomas in which she utilized the statement of the longtime head of the Johns Hopkins medical faculty.

Women like men can never become truly eminent unless they receive the reward of their labors. They must have full professorships, important laboratory positions, and the presidencies of women's colleges. I am shocked to find that even at Bryn Mawr at least one half of your full professors are men, and that in the many hundreds of coeducational colleges in the United States there are practically no women professors, and that even some of the few separate women's colleges have men as presidents instead of women. College presidencies are the great prizes of the teaching profession and also college presidents exert a strong influence on secondary schools and colleges. I understand that there are only twenty-eight or thirty women's colleges among the hundreds of coeducational and separate colleges for men which have women presidents. Why should great women educators be deprived of these few educational prizes and the important educational influence they exert? No man could be expected to do distinguished work in teaching and research under such discouraging conditions. How long are other women going to permit women scholars to be compelled to make bricks without straw?

There could be no more appropriate comment from the point of view of the A.A.U.W. on the appointment of a man as president of Mount Holyoke College.⁶¹

(With Thomas' death in 1935, Woolley had lost her strongest ally in female academic leadership.) In the same issue of the AAUW Journal, Dorothy Kenyon, a New York lawyer who at the time was chairman of the AAUW Committee on the Legal Status of Women, argued that if "sex is forgotten, merit alone" must control but "[t]here is no such thing as joint participation of the sexes in men's colleges. It isn't even seriously considered."⁶²

In December, McHale of the AAUW and Richards from Johns Hopkins met with Perkins to discuss a proposal from an AAUW member. The proposal was that a select group including Perkins and Richards should approach Ham and ask him to resign. As McHale reported it to Woolley, Perkins believed it important to confront Cheney, Furniss and Morrison as well as Ham. The group should be

in no sense ladylike in their statements concerning what they were going to do about the future of Mount Holyoke College under a man president if Mr. Ham did not see a reason for resigning.

Perkins felt that this could not be accomplished by academics or women like herself. "[I]t would be ludicrous for Dr. Richards and herself to be chained to the gates of Mount Holyoke College as the Woman's Party might characteristically and justifiably behave."

McHale added in her letter to Woolley that

Mount Holyoke College should be made to suffer until the trustees are convinced that the support of women can only be gained when the tradition of Mount Holyoke College in the matter of a woman president is carried on.⁶³

Woolley replied that she knew the strongest possible influence would have to come from organizations outside Mount Holyoke. She told McHale that the advice of Amy Rowland and Carolyn Smiley would be useful.⁶⁴

In January of 1937, Rowland and Smiley's alumnae committee, known as the Committee of 100, published "The Case of Mount Holyoke Against the Committee of Nine." In April, the AAUW summarized the 'broadside' in the Journal's editorial.

The flier voices a protest against various aspects of the appointment, which may be briefly summarized thus:

- (1) Inclusion on the Committee of Selection of several members known to be strongly opposed to a woman president; also three members connected with Yale, where the appointee, Dr. Roswell G. Ham, was teaching.
- (2) The haste with which so radical a departure was voted on by the Board of Trustees.
- (3) The disregard of alumnae and faculty opinion, the latter having been expressed in a vote of 106 to 87 in favor of a woman president.
- (4) The trustees' contention that, three women having refused the post, it was not possible to find a suitable woman. (The committee points out that none of the three could reasonably have been expected to accept.)
- (5) The absence of outstanding qualification of Dr. Ham, associate professor of English at Yale.
- (6) The closing of the Alumnae Quarterly to expressions of opposition to the appointment.

The broadside also calls attention to gains which have been made by the college in a woman's administration:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| Endowment, Mount Holyoke College ... | |
| May 31, 1901 | \$ 568,723.39 |
| June 1, 1936 | \$4,676,886.99 |
| Growth of Student enrollment | |
| 1900-1901 | 550 |
| 1935-1936 | 1,017 |
| Growth of Faculty | |
| 1900-1901 | 54 |
| 1935-1936 | 123 |

... although A.A.U.W. has no official "stand" in the matter, certain issues involved have a direct connection with A.A.U.W. objectives. Those who are in a position to know testify that it is becoming increasingly difficult for women to secure advancement in the academic world. Opposition to women in college faculties was sharpened by the depression; it shows no sign of abating now. At such a time, when women seem to be losing out even in the lower ranks, the loss of a college presidency which has been traditionally held by a woman is a serious blow.⁶⁵

Meanwhile, McHale wrote to Woolley that the Committee on the Economic and Legal Status of Women had decided to pursue a study of the entire episode at Mount Holyoke with a focus on the Board of Trustees.⁶⁶

In a newspaper interview, President-elect Ham criticized those who opposed his appointment as "more interested in feminism than in the good of Mount Holyoke." He went on to suggest that "Mary Lyon was not a feminist. She was used to working with men. ...

Besides, the fight for feminism is over now." The interviewer asked how the controversy had affected him. "It has helped my scholarship, I have acquired a philosophical attitude," was his reply. Ham said that he understood the upset over his appointment. "It was as if Yale University had appointed a new president who had not graduated from Yale." He also suggested that "...the fact must always be kept in mind that women's main vocation is marriage."⁶⁷

As a result of the circulation of Rowland's and Smiley's "broadside," newspapers gave extensive coverage to the story in February of 1937. Headlines trivialized the issue. "Mt. Holyoke Won't Be Ruled by a Leatherneck from Yale," "No Men Wanted," "Male Head of Holyoke Stirs up Big Rumpus," "Mere Man is Cause of Fuss," "Male, Female Battle Rages at Mt. Holyoke," "A Man at Mt. Holyoke? Never! Cry Graduates," "First Male as President Arouses Mount Holyoke," ran headlines that reported on the opposition. "Ham Calm in Storm," "Dr. Roswell Ham is Not Excited," reported Ham's reactions.⁶⁸

In another interview to the press in early February Ham said that letters of support for his appointment exceeded letters of

opposition by twenty to one. He offered this overwhelming approval of him as ample reason for not resigning. He also stated that the agitation over his appointment had nothing to do with the education of women. "It's a pity," he was quoted,

that an alien discussion to the principles of education should be brought up ... So far, at least, the controversy has not had a great deal to do with the matter of education.⁶⁹

A Boston Globe reporter observed that "Mr. Ham's big durable he-man personality and solid scholarship would be a fine tonic for the spinster management of Mount Holyoke."⁷⁰ Noting this remark in a letter to Smiley, McHale quipped that endocrinologists would better understand that statement than educators. "I think the time has come for a crusade by women and for women," she wrote. She was discussing the situation with historian Beard, but since the Association had not yet taken official action, she made no public response.

The tragic figure in all of this is Miss Woolley. It is incredible to think that vicious statements are going around about her. When I consider what Miss Woolley's disinterested service has been and then realize that she is going out of Mount Holyoke a person without honor in her own college, and without a suitable income, it alarms me. The Board of Trustees of Wellesley have always been such fine people! Miss Pendleton's end was a dramatic finale that pleased us; as you know the Wellesley Board of Trustees voted her a handsome income and a beautiful new home.⁷¹

(Pendleton retired in June of 1936. Gratified that the Wellesley College trustees had listened to faculty and alumnae opinion and maintained female leadership in Wellesley's Presidency, Woolley was, at the same time, saddened by the loss of another good friend and ally when Pendleton died shortly after.)

The National President of the Alumnae Association of Mount Holyoke, Maude Titus White, sent a telegram to the United Press to coincide with Ham's February interview. White detailed the steps taken by the alumnae to end controversy over the succession.

Difficult to believe reports in morning papers that Miss Woolley supports action of a small group of insurgent alumnae who are more interested in feminism than in Mount Holyoke.

She also incorporated the information that Barnes had given Morrison about the offer to Hopkins in 1852, "... so our present trustees are not breaking a precedent. I have utmost confidence in integrity and unselfish service of our trustees."⁷² Alumna trustee Keyes had believed in September that Woolley only needed "... 'cajoling' to come in and cooperate." In a letter to Ham, she had mockingly told him that some Wellesley faculty members had actually written Woolley "a note of sympathy!"⁷³ In February, she was offering Ham sympathy. "I do hope you and Mrs. Ham are not too upset over Miss Woolley's madness. I'm ashamed of her and "the 100." But I think you are our "liberator" and you mustn't take this to heart."⁷⁴

The increasing public attention to Ham's appointment provoked responses from alumnae who had been silent until then about their opposition.

Your comment in the press that the large majority of alumnae at the Nov. meeting of the Association were in favor of accepting the situation as a closed issue is true. But those who can go to such a meeting on a week day in mid-November are not in my estimation a fair cross section of our alumnae. No professional women can attend. The hall was packed with homemakers, many of whose interest are very limited. I was able to attend for the first time in my graduate life and was amazed at the methods used in conducting business.⁷⁵

A 1926 graduate wrote,

... either you took a great deal on faith or else fully cognizant of opposition were prepared to withstand it. -- your resignation will constructively terminate the present regrettable but inevitable controversy.⁷⁶

From a 1898 graduate came the following:

... go forward, Mr. Ham! In your teaching of girls reared in a faith that inculcates submission you have doubtless gained experience that enables you to deal manfully and successfully with such a situation as that in which the trustees have placed you -- and "Possession is nine points of the law."

Yours in protest - not approval⁷⁷

A recent alumna and doctoral candidate in Zoology at the University of Chicago wrote:

The aim of the college has been and should be the intellectual and personal development of the individual. It is not and should not become a fashionable polishing school for "damsels" as you have implied, and ineptly called the students, to the press.

The persons who have frankly and openly objected to your election are those whose reputations in their fields have brought jobs and fellowships to the rest of us. They were not allowed time to speak beforehand ...⁷⁸

An alumna and professor at Wayne University wrote:

I understand from the newspapers that you are not cognizant of the extent of alumnae disapproval of your appointment to the presidency of Mt. Holyoke College. I feel that we who disapprove of your appointment have been responsible for that impression as, apparently, we have been less vocal than those who have informed you of their approval. I am, therefore, personally informing you of my disapproval of your appointment and my reasons for that position. ...

I believe that the lack of confidence in the action of the Board of Trustees and of the Committee of Nine is more widespread than either you or they realize as many of those who share this point of view feel that to protest now that the appointment has been made is not only futile but undignified and not quite sportsmanlike, a feeling which I understand although I do not share. This lack of confidence was expressed quite unanimously, for instance, by all of the

Detroit alumnae present at a recent general club meeting although only about half were willing to protest the action of the Board for the reasons expressed above....

Nor do I feel that you meet the qualifications necessary for the leadership that Mt. Holyoke needs. You are a scholar in a very narrow field and so little known outside that narrow field that when I ask our own university English faculty whether they have heard of you, the typical reply is, "Why no, but then my field is not Dryden." You have had no experience in the administration of a department, let alone a College. Your experience in the education of women has been very limited and not typical. Your experience with the broader aspects of education has been too limited to fit you for the administration of a college like Mt. Holyoke at this time. Particularly do I feel that the field of education at present has need for vigorous leadership by individuals who are familiar with and have actively participated in healthy, present-day trends in education and who bring to the interpretation of those trends a broad vision and a new balance.⁷⁹

Elizabeth Green, from the class of 1931, criticized the manner in which the trustees reached and released their decision and then suppressed all discussion and protest. She also stated that she was withdrawing financial support from the college.⁸⁰

Ham's initial appointment in June of 1936 produced a number of positive letters, some specifically responding to the controversy.

You must think we are a nest of hornets here. Please do not think we mean to involve you personally in any proclamation of principle that rushes into print. I am myself sorry to see the principles held by many within the College, including myself, displaying themselves quite so publicly at this time, for we do not want to hamper you in your work.⁸¹

It is regrettable that some who apparently still feel woman's position needs to be defended have stirred a ripple of discord ...⁸²

A 1916 alumna concluded, "... the hullabaloo has been the best possible proof that a little masculine thinking is needed at the

college."⁸³ The Dean of Wheaton College, wrote a letter of congratulations.

Ever since the moment I learned of your appointment I have been wanted to write to you and tell you how delighted I am that Holyoke is going to have a man for a President, and one who is a member of the Yale faculty. The work that Miss Woolley has done has been so remarkable and has kept her so much before the public that I think it would be peculiarly difficult for a woman to follow her at this time. I think that a change of point of view, either from a woman's to and man's, or vice versa, or from one part of the country to another is valuable and at this particular stage in Mount Holyoke's history, I believe a man can make a real contribution.⁸⁴

The activities of the Committee of 100 brought forth a strong reaction from those in favor of Ham's appointment. They expressed embarrassment over "displaying principles so publicly" and dismissed the idea that women's rights still required vigilant protection. The argument that Woolley was irreplaceable, that no woman could follow in her shoes, denied the fact that Woolley became great through the experience of long leadership. A young or relatively inexperienced woman was less desirable than an equally inexperienced male candidate. Discomfort over the outspokenness and anger of women who opposed Ham's appointment led his supporters to arguments in the extreme.

For some time I have desired to write you to assure you that the present outburst of hysteria from a few uneasy spirits among the alumnae by no means represents the sentiment of the college at large. It is hard to understand why this comedy is allowed to continue! I have personally talked with many, alumnae, Faculty, students, and find everywhere a great longing for a man president. Two years ago, a prominent member of the Senior class told me "We girls have now had thirty years of woman's dominance; we would like a change, and believe the time has come for that change; we want a man for a president." ... Last June at commencement time, a very prominent alumna remarked that her daughter,

(for some reason a student at Wellesley) had written how heart-broken she and her friends were because a woman had been chosen for their new president! and not a man as the college had hoped. The young daughter envied Mt. Holyoke! ... My own friends in the Faculty, and many have talked with me almost too frankly on the subject, feel as we do and I can truthfully assure you that after you and Mrs. Ham are once established here (would it might be tomorrow!) you will have the whole college at your feet. ... indeed I feel like the man in the vision sent to Paul, holding out our hands and calling to you: "Come over to Mt. Holyoke and help us!" for it will surely take a whole generation to live down the terrible blow given to womanhood by the way some of our misguided and fanatical women have acted and are still, unfortunately acting in their mistaken zeal. After all, we greatly fear that the zeal is mostly a personal one, and not disinterested nor objective, nor for the good of the college itself! Possibly some such thought may have entered your mind also Surely nothing is more convincingly demonstrated that the great need for Mt. Holyoke is to get a man at the head than the way the women have acted who are clamoring for that head, and we look to you to save us!⁸⁵

Historian Barnes wrote,

After reading the newspaper this morning, I thought I would drop you a note wishing you good cheer in the latest onslaught of the die-hards, of which the only item of interest was that Miss Woolley had openly joined their ranks. I wish one could see inside her mind to find out how she reconciles a feminist war with world peace. Whenever one hears opinion expressed by the students and younger alumnae it shows increasing disapproval of the cheap publicity given the whole affair, and the hope that your coming will mean the dawn of a new era. A prominent senior recently told me that she and many of her class could scarcely wait to graduate so they could get back home and put some sense into their local alumnae chapters.

The pleasant anticipation of your coming is not however by any means limited to the young. Someone was telling us that when the news of your election reached the fifty-year class reuning [sic] here at Commencement last June, they broke into cheers and said, "Now perhaps Mount Holyoke can lose its reputation of being an Old Maids' college!"

It is still my belief that the opposition movement is primarily one led by selfish faculty interests backed by a few fanatics among the alumnae. One of the faculty-administrative leaders, when asked what woman she wanted, said it did not matter who it was, just so it was a woman,

for then they could do as they pleased. The whole affair therefore appears to be just another bit of evidence as to what has been wrong with the college for some time.⁸⁶

A trustee wrote,

We seem to have more than our share of fanatics and insane women, I confess, but the big group is of a very good sort really ... I have been broadcasting the fact that Miss Woolley invited you [Ham] to the meeting of the Education Committee and that you are helping to pick important new members of the faculty ... It is important and most advisable to have everyone realize that Miss Woolley has accepted the situation.⁸⁷

The following letter arrived from a woman who had spent one year at Mount Holyoke.

... [I] express my hope that the outrageous taste used by the "female rights" will not too completely disgust you. Mt. Holyoke has suffered from too many women for years, and the one ray of hope that I have when I learned that a man was to be president now seems to fade! ... My husband says our four daughters are not going to college if he can help it. Too many horrible examples of misfitted women, mostly college graduates abound!⁸⁸

A younger alumna (class of 1931), who identified herself as a married teacher, dismissed the concerns of those opposing Ham, "It seems to me that a militant attitude about careers for women is now quite unnecessary."⁸⁹

Some writers expressed sentiments extreme in their hostility and in their subservience toward the incoming leadership.

I consider all this fuss ... made by a handful of antiquated females outrageous, as well as undignified. It makes me awfully ashamed of Mount Holyoke. My daughter went to Smith and I often visited her there. No college is prouder of its man-presidents than Smith, and I, for one, would prefer any man to any woman for Mount Holyoke no matter how outstanding that woman might be.⁹⁰

One alumna urged Ham to "think nothing of this deplorable Amazon uprising! Command me."⁹¹ Another charged that the

alleged champions of tradition, feminism and the like are really betraying their own inadequacy and the attendant insecurity imminent upon reorganization. An outgoing tide is apt to have a goodly bit of refuse on the beach; I admire your fortitude in assuming the task of "cleaning up".⁹²

Several writers expressed mortification over the actions of the Committee of 100.

... There's no disgrace likely to come upon our fair college and its womanliness quite equal to the shame of being known as the hot-bed of fussy and militant (I don't know which is worse -- displaying both, we're awful) femininity. We of the more recent classes (mine was 1930) are aghast at the unseemly behavior of our elders. ... I'm ashamed of us.⁹³

As a Mount Holyoke alumna I wish to express to you my embarrassment at the controversy which the militant feminists are forwarding so vociferously. The whole episode seems so utterly ridiculous and fantastic in this day and age that one scarcely knows what to do about it. I have protested to the committee against their actions, which I feel are making Mount Holyoke the laughing stock of the educational world. Unfortunately I am not a woman of wealth and influence, but at least I can be counted as one more on the side of common sense and dignity.

I feel sure that the majority of Mount Holyoke women are not pleased by this re-opening of the issue. We all wish to be gracious to Miss Woolley, who is an old woman now, but who has no right to dominate all of us.⁹⁴

When Newsweek was preparing an article on the controversy, Price called the editor with unsolicited information because, as she told Ham, "they [the magazine] were going pretty much by la Rowland's statement, and some trustee down here who isn't playing cricket with Morrison." Price took credit for giving the article balance and humor. "... the statement about 'more pipe-smoking males' is this bad gal's." Also the "silent out of deference to Miss Woolley." She disclaimed responsibility for recalling "the gossip" or for digging "into Mary Emma about her absences from S.H." She indulged, however,

in an attack on Marks in the letter to Ham. "I think Mr. Morrison ought to get a D.S.O. when this is all over, and Jen Marks a damp little hummock in the swamp along with a few bull-frogs. She's had too much 'Attic Peace.'"⁹⁵

The article read,

This new group of Ham supporters thought "more pipe-smoking males are what Mount Holyoke needs to get it out of its feminist rut." They also thought Miss Woolley's interest in various women's organizations and in peace had taken her away from the campus so often that she lost academic contact.

Marks was quoted in the article and described as "an intimate friend of Miss Woolley" with an apartment in the President's House.⁹⁶ Price noted with satisfaction that the photo of Woolley revealed all of her wrinkles.⁹⁷

It is apparent from her letters that Price felt personally antagonistic toward both Rowland and Marks. About the alumnae effort to force Ham's withdrawal, Price wrote,

It may all tie into J. Marks, though I'm not sure of that tie-up. Miss Woolley herself is still making statements that are amazing - such as that the trustees have asked her to resign three times.⁹⁸

In spite of her research into college governance beyond Mount Holyoke, Price remained unable to grasp that the succession controversy was larger than the personal views of Marks or other outspoken opponents.

Woolley was almost seventy-four and, although her stamina had always been extraordinary, she was now under the most unrelenting pressure. She suffered a mild heart attack in February and was forced to rest for a while. In March, the trustees voted to grant

her what she appreciatively called "a generous annuity," and later that month, Woolley was off to Savannah, Georgia to participate in the AAUW's Tenth National Convention. Beard participated in a panel entitled, "University Women in the Twentieth Century," which included Woolley, Virginia Gildersleeve, Dean of Barnard College, and Dr. Margaret Morriss, newly elected President of the AAUW and Dean of Pembroke College.⁹⁹ Beard had expressed the belief back in 1931 that women's willingness to obediently follow men's lead in education had

deepened the intellectual cowardice of women instead of alleviating it....The objective of equal pay for equal work, of the mere feminist enthusiasm for sheer equalitarian effort with scholastics, has developed in women an over-respect for established thought. Having thus lost the play of their critical faculties which education should impart, they have failed to grasp the import of a learned caste. That is one of their intellectual hazards through excessive instruction of the present form. On their own initiative, through more worldly experience, they might regain their poise.¹⁰⁰

This analysis by Beard, near the end of Woolley's long career in education, must have given Woolley pause. She worked throughout her professional life to broaden the experience and thinking of her students. Now she was confronted with proof of Beard's thesis in her struggle at Mount Holyoke. Many of the alumnae, Woolley discovered, were incapable of understanding the import of letting go of hard won gains in female leadership.

In the AAUW Journal Woolley thanked the organization for creating an endowment for an international fellowship in her name.

I am sure that you know that nothing could please me more nor seem a greater honor than the naming of this fellowship for me. But you know equally well that it is not the personal pleasure which counts for the most. Rather, it is the thought of that which the fellowship will accomplish, an

accomplishment that will go on, long after our work is finished.¹⁰¹

This is the final satisfaction that Woolley would not have at Mount Holyoke. What mattered most to her, more than her own contributions, was that she preserve the opportunity for female leadership at Mount Holyoke. In this, Woolley would fail.

The Centennial Celebration

However, the Centennial celebration at Mount Holyoke would give Woolley a forum in which she could make her position understood. In May of 1934, at the first committee meeting, Woolley began to plan an event that would address the issues she believed were distorted or silenced during the succession fight. The organization of the Centennial (or Centenary) was similar to the successful 1912 anniversary celebration; the trustees sponsored the event and a trustee chairman co-directed with Woolley. Most of the planning was done by faculty committees. The invitation list numbered between 13,000 and 14,000 guests and included alumnae, faculty, federal and state government officials, international groups, Woolley's organizational affiliations, friends and family, trustees, the Geneva committee, and members of the clergy. From the outset, Woolley made her priorities clear. She did not want to involve professional fundraisers, only "intensive work by a few people on a few large potential donors."¹⁰² She encouraged subcommittee work on several centennial publications, the major one a history of the college whose purpose was "to record the development of higher education for women,

not only in Mount Holyoke, but as it reflects social and educational changes from 1837 to 1937."¹⁰³ Beard was among the handful of first choices to write the history, as was Merle Curti of Smith College, but both were too busy. Historian Arthur Cole, Dean of the Graduate School of Western Reserve University, agreed to undertake the project.

In June of 1936, the Centennial committee voted to change the date of the celebration from October of 1937 to the preceding May. Woolley had refused to return to Mount Holyoke in October. In explanation she said that her presence

would put a great burden upon many persons, alumnae, faculty and others, as well as upon Mr. Ham and herself. She said that if she had been away for a longer time, the situation would be different, but that as things were she felt that there would be a certain nervous tension and strain that would seriously militate against the success of the whole occasion; the alumnae, guests, and faculty would all wish not to be failing in any way in their recognition of Mr. Ham, and at the same time they would feel that the retiring president had a certain claim upon them.¹⁰⁴

For the majority of the college community, it was inconceivable to hold the Centennial without Woolley's participation. The date was set for May, just before Woolley's last commencement.

The Centennial committee gave trustee Chairman Furniss and Woolley the task of selecting speakers for the event, but the two had different ideas about who should be invited. Furniss suggested President Angell of Yale, President Hutchins of Chicago, President Conant of Harvard and Historian Charles Beard (Mary Beard's husband, himself a prominent historian). Furniss and several other committee members rejected Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, Woolley's choice,

because his political views were too 'pronounced' and fundraising might be compromised by his appearance. Woolley had argued that any bad feelings generated by the presidential elections would have diminished by May. Woolley also suggested Gildersleeve and Margery Corbett-Ashby, the British delegate to the Geneva Conference.¹⁰⁵ Alumnae requested Mary Beard and Woolley herself as speakers. By January of 1937, Woolley's list of selected speakers included Gildersleeve, Corbett-Ashby, Perkins, Beard, and President Roosevelt who had promised to make every effort to come. Furniss had argued for a speaker who could address the "family and civic influence" of the college so that the "work of the rank and file of college women" would be recognized.¹⁰⁶ Woolley rejected this. The overall plan she envisioned was to develop a symposium on Women at Work in the World. The participants would be Mount Holyoke alumnae who were accomplished in their respective fields, not alumnae who represented the "rank and file" as Furniss would have liked.

The Centennial was a major undertaking. Thirty committees and fifty subcommittees were responsible for planning the two-day event. Woolley and Furniss' Centennial committee reached the decision to grant honorary degrees exclusively to women. The committee also decided to invite several women from Europe and the Far East to receive degrees for their outstanding work in scholarship and public affairs. Furniss, as representative of the Board of Trustees, agreed to recommend that the Board cover travel expenses and honoraria¹⁰⁷ Then in March, Furniss wrote to the executive secretary of the Centennial Committee, bypassing Woolley, and

informed her that corporation meetings at Yale would make it impossible for him to attend the Centennial. He also expressed apologies for President Angell who would also be unable to attend. In addition, Furniss asked to be relieved of his duties as chairman of the Centennial committee. The executive secretary, after sharing the letter with Woolley, replied that Woolley hoped Furniss would at least be able to attend the morning session of the Centennial. Since only one committee meeting remained, Woolley also expressed the view that it was "very unsatisfactory to change" the composition of the committee at such a late date. Furniss agreed to stay, but he did not say that he would attend the Centennial and in fact, did not.¹⁰⁸ In April, Morrison wrote to Dean Cheek that he, too, would be unable to attend the Centennial. Cheek responded that, since he was Chairman of the Board of Trustees, "we just feel that we cannot take 'no' for an answer....we have every confidence that you will stand by the College on this very important occasion."¹⁰⁹ Morrison, unhappy with Ham's exclusion from the event, had deliberately "maneuvered" this exchange in an effort to include Ham in the Centennial.¹¹⁰ Morrison wrote back to Cheek,

[T]he shadow which my absence may cause, though possibly 'real', will be so faint as compared with the dark shadow which already hangs over the Centennial, as to pass unnoticed....I have no personal feeling in the matter whatsoever. But I cannot be a party to an obvious and public slight to Dr. Ham....Frankly, Dr. Ham should speak in my stead at the luncheon, and should take his place there with the presidents of our neighbor colleges, Smith and Amherst. This is the only means left to the College of presenting a united front to the general public.¹¹¹

When the two-day Centennial finally arrived, the college presented a united front but not the "front" that Morrison envisioned. He had not succeeded in including Ham. The program included no appearance or message from the president-elect. Morrison, himself, fulfilled his responsibility by being physically present, but he made no speech and no speakers officially acknowledged his presence. In the words of a reporter, Morrison "grimly accepted his role of silent auditor," yet "no man's face was so red" as that of the "distinguished-looking Harvard graduate ... chairman of the Board of Trustees". Seated at Woolley's side on the dais, Morrison listened to a program of speeches addressing women's loss of opportunities for leadership, men's unfair exercise of control over women's decisions, and women's unquestioning and expected subservience to male leadership. He also endured the audience's scrutiny. The same reporter commented on the strangeness of the non-participation of both the college president-elect and the trustees. "From all that was said and done here a stranger would assume that Mt. Holyoke has no trustees and Miss Woolley no successor."¹¹²

With the climate of conflict at the college, it was impossible for the Centennial to celebrate the transfer of power from Woolley to Ham, to 'bind the wounds' of those who felt angry and betrayed by the succession. However, a Centennial that celebrated the progress women had made and that identified the ominous present and future threatening to erode that progress carried a potential for healing. Two remarkable days in early May of 1937 resulted from

three years of careful planning. A newspaper reported that said, "Some of the most distinguished women in the world marked the 100th anniversary of the higher education of women in America" at Mount Holyoke's Centennial. The women questioned, "... whether men are giving women fair play in according them the chances for responsibility and leadership for which these 100 years of equal education have fitted them."¹¹³ On the first day, Woolley and Perkins sat together on the platform, both dressed in black.¹¹⁴ Perkins spoke first, her major focus the power inherent in women's organizations. Despite the many different interests of women's groups, Perkins argued, the groups shared a common purpose because they all worked for progressive change. These women's organizations accomplished their objectives with virtually no opportunity to hold 'important public positions.'

Behind ... statistics, we realize lies a great volume of interesting and valuable contributions by college women to their particular communities and to the nation as a whole. I think that we may truly say that women's organizations in this country are a tremendous force for progress. Through such means women are one of the great present factors in developing public opinion for meeting changing conditions and therefore they are playing a part of primary importance in national and international affairs. They are achieving this end even though the actual number who occupy important public positions is exceedingly small....

Despite their diversity of interests the great majority of these organizations have some similar planks in their platforms. Thus they have a common meeting ground and can be rallied to support efforts to reach certain worth while local and national objectives, such as the promotion of health, peace, and women and child welfare, social security measures, higher educational standards, political reform, better legislation, better citizenship, cultural standards and development, to mention the most outstanding aims. Most of these organizations are nation-wide in their set-up,

ready to be galvanized into activity for a particular cause by a dynamic appeal from the national headquarters....¹¹⁵

Woolley followed Perkins to deliver a brief, poignant address about the 'world vision' of Mount Holyoke that had originated in Mary Lyon's seminary.

If the limits of Mount Holyoke's work were those of the nation, we might well be proud of what the Seminary and College have accomplished within these years. One of the most amazing aspects of the life of your Alma Mater, however, is the fact that it has not been limited to this country, that even one hundred years ago there was a world vision. One hundred years ago! Think of what that implies. Isolation; distance and difficulty and danger; almost insuperable barriers between hemisphere and hemisphere. It is only as we put ourselves back into the social and political life of the first half of the nineteenth century that we can appreciate what "world vision" meant in the eighteen-forties....¹¹⁶

Woolley had not wanted to speak formally, but she agreed to because so many alumnae had requested it. Woolley's message was what she had 'preached' throughout her professional life. "Education," she said, "in the ordinary sense won't save us. We want something that works faster; something, if possible, that changes men. ... [T]hinking men and women," she said, understood that the "future of the world depends not only upon the cultivation of the 'things of the mind' but also the 'things of the spirit.'" Technology would not save humanity. Only "increased proficiency in the great province of human relations" would. "If being good can save us, it is high time we tried it." The familiar, inspiring message from Woolley for hope for the future provoked an emotional response from the audience who stood in rousing tribute.¹¹⁷

The Alumnae luncheon followed the speeches. 1200 women attended and, after lunch, Beard joined Woolley and Perkins on the speakers' platform. Woolley had scheduled Beard's appearance to follow immediately after the luncheon "in order to increase the significance of the occasion."¹¹⁸ As an historian, Beard rejected the popular belief that American women's education 'began' at institutions like Oberlin College and Mount Holyoke Seminary. She believed that women had long been educated both informally and formally and always been a force in history; philosophy was not the product of men's minds only but of the combined intellects of men and women.

Beard placed Woolley in the tradition of great women like Addams who "revived the feminine tradition," and practiced and taught a nonconformist philosophy of life that was both courageous and trusting.

The break in that feminine tradition of concern with social principles came with college education for women. In the formal instruction which girls began to receive in the sixties and which led in the eighties to the elevation of Mount Holyoke from a seminary to the status of a college, the controlling influence, aside perhaps from the course in belles lettres, was the secular, amoral, materialistic, mechanistic doctrine of each against all, sometimes described in a daintier fashion as *laissez faire*....

In this American renaissance and revision, a noted triumvirate of college alumnae living in Chicago -- Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, and Florence Kelley -- in the very center of individualistic political economy, history, biology and sociology calling itself science, revived the feminine tradition and accepting the fact that they were women, though equally educated, offered society and its educational institutions a philosophy and learning less in conformity with the stockyards. ...

It was in harmony with this American renaissance and revision that Mary E. Woolley began to direct the education of girls as President of Mount Holyoke at the turn of our own century -- a tendency that bridged the chasm cut by laissez faire in the Enlightenment. ... For President Woolley the college was never a mere cloister for refining ancient theories or splitting hairs inordinately split in times past. That was never her idea of a liberal arts course. Through membership and activity in numerous civic societies, ranging from the League for Permanent Peace to the American Association for Labor Legislation, she faced great public issues in their insistent forms. She encouraged her faculty to keep their windows open upon the wide world. She tried to remove the barriers between learning and living, accepting for herself grave obligations imposed upon her by the President of the United States and recognizing the truth that the leader in education must bear the hazardous but challenging responsibilities of a public personality. ... The heritage of her spirit she bequeathes to her successors and to the alumnae of her college who, in cherishing this institution and education for women must, if they are loyal to their own intelligence and to this trust, widen their sympathies to the very borders of society and seek knowledge for society endlessly and without fear.

What happens on this campus is symbolic of happenings in all women's education. It is prophetic of men's fate no less than women's. Any evasion of evident duties would spell cowardice. Such evasion would be a sign of intellectual and moral anaemia -- the inertia of life -- forecasting death for individuals, for institutions and for society at large. Such an inertia to the point of cowardice would be particularly tragic at this hour when all western civilization has reached a crisis in its economy, in its thought, and in its human relations. The nature of this crisis is ominous in that such prosperity as the world now enjoys synchronizes with mounting expenditures for instruments of human destruction unparalleled in the long and appalling history of mankind.... Woman is and makes history....¹¹⁹

Beard wrote extensively on the subject of women in history, and her radical ideas had become part of the general discussion among progressive women in the AAUW. In 1938, a year after the Centennial, Beard would be far more critical of traditional education and Mount Holyoke than she was in her speech during the celebration. In an

AAUW symposium published in the Journal of the American Association of University Women entitled "The Second Century Faces the First,"

Beard wrote,

Much as I hate to say it, in my opinion what Oberlin and Holyoke represented was a petty bourgeois provincialism in America steeped in more sex bigotry than the old pagans knew. . . . I tried to show in my address at Mount Holyoke last spring, during the Centenary celebration, that women had always partaken of the education of their time. But American men and women have been loath to believe it because unwilling to study the history of women with free minds and industry.¹²⁰

At the Centennial, Beard's audience proceeded to the afternoon programs, no doubt challenged by her provocative speech. The entertainment was an original play written by a student and produced by Marks' Laboratory Theatre. The play was an elaborate reenactment in pantomime of the opening day at Mary Lyon's seminary in 1837. A dance performance entitled "Changing America" depicted a society that followed a false messiah, the god Mammon. People lusted after wealth, and life became viciously competitive. Men built cities with skyscrapers to worship their god, but conflict destroyed the society and its citizens destroyed Mammon. In the end, people returned to the simple life of early America with a renewed understanding of the need for social cooperation. 5000 guests attended the garden party that followed this entertainment. Woolley was surrounded by a Court of Honor while costumed students representing the decades between 1837 and 1937 wandered through the crowd. The overcast skies gave way to thunder and lightning and the reception moved indoors, where Morrison and Woolley stood together in a receiving line to greet the many guests.¹²¹

The chill air and clouds persisted into Saturday morning and the academic procession had to be postponed. After the chairman of the Harvard Corporation brought greetings from that University, Woolley introduced her British friend and colleague at Geneva, Corbett-Ashby. Corbett-Ashby challenged the audience to consider the question: "How many [women] are heads of great educational establishments?" Women in the audience gasped out loud at the speaker's audacity as they stole glances at Morrison.¹²² Corbett-Ashby continued,

Women are now educated in most countries, but opportunities for responsibility and leadership, though they are increasing, are still few. It is to gain these opportunities that is the new aim of the Women's Movement.

How many women are government executives?... How many are heads of big industrial concerns? Are women less capable than men when given the chance? ...

All [pioneer] women won their goal, acquired their leadership by sheer force of character against contempt, ridicule, slander and physical violence, of a bitterness we can hardly realize today.

The opposition is still here, but it is disguised. Any one of us, however timid and soft, can be educated; the lower ranks of employment at lower rates of pay are open to us; there is social and personal freedom, but this has its disadvantages. Because school and college are easy, because the young girl is welcomed for her cheapness in office, factory, and workshop, we believe we have equality and freedom, and can gain the goal of leadership or wealth equally with men. This is a delusion; we generally discover after ten years of work that we are passed over for promotion, and that the difference between men's and women's salaries and opportunities yawns more widely. We still need the loyalty and comradeship among women that won us the world of today. We must break the vicious circle which denies us posts of leadership and responsibility, because we have not had the experience which society has denied us....

I could continue endlessly the tale of women's service, but the moral is more important. Women have given, can give,

precious service to the world, but the world must pay the price, if it is to benefit. The price is first education, then opportunity. Loyalty of women to women, fair play from men.

Women must be inspired by a deep faith in democracy, a passionate belief in freedom, in their own value, and have a resolute determination that what former generations have won, they will not throw away. The menace of Fascism lies dark over Europe. Are you free from it? Are your horizons expanding, or do you see insidiously creeping in an attack on women's opportunities and chance? The price of freedom is eternal vigilance.¹²³

These were the sentiments of Thomas who had not lived long enough to witness Mount Holyoke's inability to remain 'vigilant.' Woolley then introduced Gildersleeve, her friend and associate in the International Federation of University Women. Woolley emphasized how well women had learned to work together in large organizations.

My memory goes back so far that I can recall statements that women, if given added opportunities, would not show solidarity, unity. It is so common an experience to have women working together, as for example, in the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, the Federation of Women's Clubs, that we have almost forgotten that there was once a disbelief in women's ability to do this very thing.¹²⁴

Gildersleeve took Corbett-Ashby's hard-hitting arguments and brought them home to the women's colleges themselves where, she argued, women professors

have fared less well in recent years than before, just because women are more open-minded and impartial on this question, [of balancing the teaching staff of a college with both men and women] apparently, than men.

It is less easy for our sex to gain those professorships in colleges and universities which are so often the necessary ivory towers for the pursuing of delightful studies. True, we have made great progress in the last hundred years in opening professorships to women but not much, I imagine, in the last twenty-five, for we have not many more women

professors in coeducational universities, and we have proportionately fewer in women's colleges.

As for the coeducational institutions, I have never been familiar with them, and so I hazard only very tentatively the conjecture that in them women are still regarded definitely as an inferior sex. The impression I gather from my casual and enjoyable visits at coeducational universities is that women stay in their place. No one seems to expect a woman to become the head of the institution or the dean of a faculty, and only rarely a professor of full standing; and no one conceives of a woman student as president of the student body, or editor-in-chief of the university paper, or holding any other post of chief responsibility. Men are quite naturally expected to do the leading. This atmosphere of expected subservience on the part of our sex -- in which I must say they seem for the most part quite happy -- strikes oddly the visitor from a college for women, who feels, perhaps wrongly, that it may tend to keep women from those professorial niches in which human beings can so delightfully pursue the scholarly life.

... Women's colleges realize that it is well for young people to be taught by both men and women: that no scholarly or academic community should consist of one sex only. So of recent years even those colleges for women whose faculties used to consist almost entirely of women have made a distinct effort to secure a considerable proportion of men professors. This is a sound policy; I applaud it. It tends to make a more live and varied, a less cloistered community on the campus.

But in this situation our sex seems to be losing out on both fronts. Unless we can persuade our colleagues in the colleges for men to take a view as broad-minded as our own, and realize that they should have a fair proportion of women teaching their boys, our women scholars, alas, will find very few professorial posts available to provide money and a room of their own for the pursuit of the scholarly life.

This is not so impossible, I believe, as it may sound. I think I see a few faint signs that some day, conceivably, posts in men's colleges may be available for women scholars.¹²⁵

Contrary to Ham's statement to the press that the succession controversy had nothing to do with education, Beard, Corbett-Ashby

and Gildersleeve argued that the loss of female leadership had everything to do with a regressive trend in women's education.

The Centennial Committee had selected twenty women to receive honorary degrees at the Centenary: eleven Doctors of Letters, three Doctors of Science, and six Doctors of Law. Woolley introduced each of them and conferred the degrees. The recipients of the Doctors of Law degrees included five heads of colleges. Woolley praised Katherine Blunt, President of Connecticut College for Women, for leading the college "with the trained powers of the scientist. ... to the front rank." McAfee, the young Dean of Women at Oberlin College who was recently appointed President of Wellesley College, Morriss, Dean of Pembroke College, Aurelia Reinhardt, President of Mills College, Gildersleeve, and Corbett-Ashby were the other recipients.¹²⁶ Reinhardt brought greetings from the "daughter colleges," and Amherst College President Stanley King brought greetings from the "brother colleges."¹²⁷ When Woolley introduced her friend, Morriss, she began her remarks with the familiar college language of family relationships. "I am sure you have begun to realize that this is really a family party of daughters, sisters and brothers." Morriss, Woolley said, claimed "all college women as daughters" in her new role as President of the AAUW.¹²⁸

The last speaker of the Centenary was President Neilson of Smith, Woolley's longtime colleague and friend, whom Woolley had personally asked to speak on behalf of the "sister colleges." Neilson's address was an affectionate, personal tribute to a woman with whom he had worked for many years and for whom he had great

respect. "Modern Mount Holyoke College is Miss Woolley," Neilson proclaimed. He articulated what everyone who had observed Woolley's leadership of Mount Holyoke knew to be true, that Woolley had brought the college "fully abreast of all the institutions of its kind throughout the world." Neilson described Woolley as "fortunate" because she knew that

it was she who thought of it in these terms, whose keen appreciation of forward movements has set new standards, whose acuteness in the selection of staff has built up its distinguished faculty, and whose spirit, extraordinarily profound and broad, have given Mount Holyoke the quality that it has today.¹²⁹

Woolley closed the Centenary program with a brief expression of gratitude and appreciation on behalf of the college and ended with a simple good-bye. "We say, Thank you! from the depths of our hearts."¹³⁰ She had, as always, demonstrated great dignity. Those who knew Woolley best and understood the toll taken by the events of the past three years appreciated her courage. Her friend Glass told Woolley that the "best thing about it all was you. You seemed at your high level - and that is high."¹³¹ McHale of the AAUW, who had been intimately aware of every stage of the fight, told Woolley that she knew "the price [Woolley had] paid for this disagreeable experience." She believed, however, that the Centennial program was so memorable in the history of higher education for women that "right will prevail eventually." "I am inclined," she said, "to think that you are in a stronger position as a result of the celebration than at any time since the continuity of its great development was broken."¹³²

Ada Comstock, Dean of Radcliffe College, agreed with McHale. "Never in my experience has an audience been so deeply stirred by a conviction of the importance of giving free and wide opportunities to women," she wrote to Woolley. She felt that the men as well as the women who listened to the "ringing words" and the "force and good temper and humor," especially of Gildersleeve and Corbett-Ashby, were deeply affected. The succession fight and the immediate future of Mount Holyoke without female leadership had created "a great sounding board" for the truth.

[P]erhaps the events which you deplore will be the cause of a fresh awakening of the public mind to the necessity of keeping open the doors of equal opportunity - and perhaps of opening new doors.¹³³

One alumna wrote to Woolley immediately after the Saturday program. She dashed off a letter from an Amherst inn before she left for her home in Connecticut. The celebration, she said, "seemed like a crowning event" for Woolley's great work. She found the speakers and the messages so compelling that she told Woolley, "I shall live the rest of my life in the warm glow of that picture." And finally, in response to the loss that Mount Holyoke's new male president represented, she wrote,

I can hardly express also the pain and sorrow I feel that some woman of strength and vision and scholarship is not to have the opportunity of future leadership at Mount Holyoke.¹³⁴

A week later in a newspaper interview, Corbett-Ashby warned British women that the actions of Mount Holyoke's trustees were significant to the women's movement all over the world. She called the successful stalling of progress in female leadership "a tragedy

due to the jealousy (or blindness) of small men and the inertia of small women." When Willystine Goodsell, historian of women's education and Woolley's friend, read the newspaper article, she wrote to Woolley and echoed Corbett-Ashby's view. "How little the trustees must have valued the long tradition of the college, how meagre must have been their understanding."¹³⁵ Professor Ellis, who had come to Mount Holyoke in 1905 and remained until her retirement in 1944, was one of the most respected members of the faculty. She maintained that the fight to resist Ham's appointment, undertaken by such a significant and varied group of women, was essential.

Mr. Ham's appointment to the Presidency of Mount Holyoke College seems to me, as it seemed at the time when it was made, so unfortunate that I therefore believe the accompanying struggle among various factions to have been justified.

Ellis characterized the end of Woolley's presidency as "a tragic ending to a long and distinguished career."¹³⁶ Woolley's secretary, Copeland, thought that Woolley "did enjoy, in a way, the Centennial because of her pride in the college - but personally it was tragic, for she felt she had failed."¹³⁷

When Woolley left the President's House in July, she moved some of her possessions into a house in South Hadley that Marks had rented, intending to return for visits with friends. Woolley then moved permanently into Marks' Westport house, far from friends and family in New England, New York City and Washington, D.C. When she was not travelling, Woolley looked forward to Marks' weekend visits. In October of 1937, Woolley was feeling isolated and lonely at Westport, but felt reluctant to join Marks in South Hadley. "I am

sure," she wrote, "that living in South Hadley, at present at least, would make it embarrassing for all concerned. 'Things' must go with as little agitation as possible, as long as you are on the faculty."¹³⁸ Marks was in continual conflict with a member of her department as well as with the new president and complained to Woolley about her perceived mistreatment. Until her retirement in 1941, Marks effectively discouraged Woolley from visiting South Hadley. The combination of Woolley's own disequilibrium over the changes at Mount Holyoke and of her principled stand in opposition to the succession, as well as Marks' animus toward the college administration succeeded in keeping Woolley away for the rest of her life. Once Marks retired and settled into life at Fleur-de-Lys, Woolley had less interest in visiting South Hadley. Friends came to Westport to visit the two women. Woolley refused all official invitations to Mount Holyoke.

The AAUW continued its research on barriers to the hiring and advancement of women within college faculties, documenting losses for women even in the lowest ranked positions. The AAUW listing of separate women's colleges with women presidents (excluding coordinate and Catholic women's colleges) remained at ten in 1937 despite the loss of Mount Holyoke. Rockford College in Illinois appointed a woman president for the first time since 1919, Dean Cheek of Mount Holyoke, the only recipient of an honorary degree at Woolley's final Commencement at the college. In her citation, Woolley said, "You have been as courageous as you are gracious, never sacrificing principle to expediency."¹³⁹ In 1942, Mount Holyoke hired eight new

faculty members, four men and four women. The men were appointed to professorial positions and the women to instructorships. In a letter to her cousin, Woolley explained her continued refusal to accept official invitations at Mount Holyoke by citing this action.

The policy ...is my protest against what was done. You know me well enough to realize that I never say a word against the present administration. The question is something bigger than the personal.¹⁴⁰

It was true that Woolley was turning her back on great accomplishments. In 1937, Mount Holyoke employed 128 faculty members and 66 assistants who had earned degrees from more than fifty institutions. There were twenty-three departments and the college plant included thirty-four buildings on 270 acres. The endowment had grown to \$5,000,000 and the library contained 150,000 volumes.¹⁴¹ These were all achievements of which Woolley could be proud. In her final Report as President-Emeritus, Woolley cited the aspects of the college that meant the most to her. The Mary E. Woolley Fund, was earmarked to increase the salaries of the faculty. This gave her "peculiar pleasure" because she had not achieved her goal for competitive salaries. She did realize a great accomplishment. In June, with the laying of the cornerstone of the new Gothic Chapel. A donor's admiration for Woolley had prompted a single gift to the college of \$350,000. Woolley would never see the chapel. In the closing remarks of her Report, she noted that "a great deal has been done [at the college] on the material side." It was the task of someone other than the retiring President to impersonally "evaluate

changes as well as record them, remembering that the material development is a means to an end, not an end in itself."¹⁴²

In Retirement

By rejecting official association with Mount Holyoke after her retirement, Woolley effectively lost any opportunity to play a role in the future of the college. Those who believed that the severing of ties with Mount Holyoke constituted the 'tragic' end of Woolley's professional life misunderstood Woolley's thinking. During the years of the succession fight, Woolley maintained a principled silence after she released her statement of protest. This silence probably contributed to misunderstanding. Because Woolley allowed (and encouraged) others to articulate what she could not, few people understood that Woolley had made a choice. She chose to throw her energies and the weight of her reputation into the wider world of women's and peace organizations. She was grateful to the leaders and members of these groups for the intellectual and emotional support that they gave her.

Woolley's personal limitations, which dictated that she always create a 'constructive' viewpoint were exaggerated in the succession fight. Opponents jumped to the conclusion that personal insult provoked Woolley's objection to the appointment of a male successor. She was, therefore, cautious in her public statements so that she would not appear to be fighting a personal battle.

Extremely disappointed and upset by the actions of the trustees, she also felt a sense of personal failure. What she perceived of as her

own failure was not only the loss of the presidency to women but the surprising lack of solidarity among the graduates of Mount Holyoke College. She knew that most young women college students of the twenties and thirties took higher education for granted and seemed increasingly less aware of the need to struggle collectively, not only to gain new ground, but to maintain what women had won. "The college girl of today is in the grip of the extreme wave of individualism which has swept the country. She considers that she has the divine right to do as she pleases," Woolley observed to an interviewer in 1929.¹⁴³ However, the failure of understanding on the part of the younger alumnae during the succession fight was still a disappointment and a surprise to Woolley. There were older alumnae, too, who had achieved some personal professional success and therefore believed that the struggle for equality had been won. These women agreed with their younger counterparts that Woolley symbolized embarrassingly old-fashioned and 'spinsterish' attitudes. It was time for Mount Holyoke to enter the modern world.

A feminist interpretation of the history of women in society had never been presented at Mount Holyoke. Most educators saw this as evidence of the legitimacy and quality of the college curriculum, one that paralleled that of the men's colleges. However, as the women's colleges became more like the men's colleges, they lost the sense of social purpose that they had had in the first decade of the twentieth century. Perhaps, at the end of her long career in women's education, and after enduring the unacceptable loss of Mount Holyoke's presidency to women, Woolley became aware of the

consequences of this omission in the teaching of undergraduate women. When the battle over the succession was clearly lost, Woolley turned her attention to her last opportunity at the college, the two days of Centenary celebration at the close of her academic career.

The event that she and the committees planned became a kind of 'teach-in' at which the hundreds of people in attendance were informed in no uncertain terms that, contrary to popular belief, women were losing rather than making gains in leadership in all sectors of society including education. The speakers at the Centennial, Perkins, Beard, Corbett-Ashby, and Gildersleeve, spoke with a single voice. Opportunities for women in political, business, professional, and educational leadership were almost nil. In graduate and professional education, female admissions were increasingly limited. Women faculty were held back in coeducational institutions and, as men made inroads into faculty and administrative positions in female colleges, women in educational leadership were losing ground there as well. In the 1930's, in education, the single-sex colleges for women were the only places where women had opportunities for leadership. Given the trend of increasingly limited opportunities for educated women, the loss to women of Mount Holyoke College's presidency, particularly in light of its unbroken tradition of female leadership, was significant. Previous experience demonstrated that, once lost, women regained leadership very slowly, if ever.

There were echoes in Woolley's Mount Holyoke experience of her father's conflict with the powerful, conservative members of his

Pawtucket congregation. In Reverend Woolley's church, the institution divided against itself and he was given the opportunity to create a new church, one whose beliefs and practices he upheld. That was not possible at Mount Holyoke. The losers, those who fought for female leadership and criticized the decision-making process of the trustees, had to accept defeat and cope with the new regime. Woolley, however, made the choice that her trustee friend, White, had prophetically observed when he wrote to her in Geneva. He had wanted Woolley to know how pleased he was that the small world of Mount Holyoke had not inhibited her larger usefulness in the world. She had worked for intercollegiate cooperation for many years at while Mount Holyoke; now she devoted herself to the broader interests that had competed with her college responsibilities. Just as her father had ultimately been able to minister to a congregation that was receptive to his social gospel preachings and work, Woolley was freed for a brief period from the constraints of her college presidency.

After retirement, she was in great demand as a speaker and, health permitting, she agreed to as many engagements as she could possibly manage. She eventually signed with a booking agency but made certain that she was able to speak for organizations that could not pay.¹⁴⁴ Woolley was chairman of the People's Mandate to Governments to End War, chairman of the Committee on International Relations of the AAUW, a member of the Commission on International Justice and Good Will and chairman of the Cooperating Commission of Women in the Federal Council of Churches.¹⁴⁵ In 1938, en route to Atlanta from Washington D.C. after visiting with Eleanor Roosevelt,

Woolley commented on a successful People's Mandate meeting in New York. "[M]any women leaders in peace organizations were there - strengthening my feeling that women are increasingly the force with which to reckon in this Movement."¹⁴⁶ In February, she began a five-week trip which took her to Toronto where she spoke to a League of Nations group,¹⁴⁷ then on to Chicago and St. Paul where she met with Mount Holyoke alumnae (where no one mentioned "the college of 1938-9,") and finally to San Francisco where she spoke to the National League for Woman's Service.¹⁴⁸ Woolley called the trip "strenuous 'pleasure exertion'."¹⁴⁹ In June, she was off again to Toronto, Lake Erie College, Chicago, Beloit College, Boston and Wellesley.¹⁵⁰

In July, Woolley set sail for England with her friends Glass and Gildersleeve to attend the Conference of the International Federation of Women. She travelled to Paris for a second conference before returning to the States.¹⁵¹ 2000 people came to hear her speak at an Armistice meeting in Philadelphia.¹⁵² Six days later, she accepted a last-minute invitation from Dorothy Kenyon to speak in Washington D.C. at the Conference of Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain. She shared the podium with her friend Neilson and discussed "Why the Embargo Should Be Lifted Now."¹⁵³

Often, when she travelled, people asked about the events at Mount Holyoke, but although she admitted her unhappiness over Ham's appointment, she never spoke critically of his administration. She reserved that for private conversations with Marks and their small group of intimates. For the most part, Woolley had achieved a

certain serenity. In early 1940, when Marks complained about the English Literature Department, Woolley offered her advice.

I just hope that you will do what I am learning to do, acquire a 'protective covering' ...of refusing to think about the persons who are disappointing....save all our energy for those who 'stand-by' under all circumstances - [the] less we think about the destructive and more we think about the constructive, the more we shall be able to do for the latter.¹⁵⁴

The war in Europe began to dominate Woolley's thinking in 1940. The refugee problem, which was a concern of Eleanor Roosevelt's, became a concern of Woolley's. The limits of Woolley's pacifism became evident in her response to Hitler.

I am glad that the President included the word 'anger' in characterizing the reaction of the American people to this incredible atrocity of the Nazi government, "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad," I hope may be realized in the case of Hitler and his cohorts. They should meet the fate of a poisonous viper, put out of the way for the common safety.¹⁵⁵

In November, after the presidential election, Woolley sent a telegram to the Roosevelts. "Our Westport household deeply thankful for outcome. God bless you."¹⁵⁶ Days later, in Boston and New York, she encountered the "businessman's reaction" to the election. "You could have sliced the gloom with a knife!", she told Marks.¹⁵⁷ Woolley no longer needed to concern herself with how her political views might offend businessmen trustees.

In March of 1941, she agreed to attend the first meeting of the Commission of the Federal Council 'To Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace' because she was one of only two women on the Commission ("for the sake of our sex as well as for other reasons").¹⁵⁸ In preparation for the Biennial meeting of the AAUW,

Woolley wrote to the Board of Directors urging them to consider discussion of the Equal Rights Amendment, even though she knew that sentiment within the AAUW was strongly opposed. She herself was not yet in favor of the amendment,¹⁵⁹ and she had deliberately avoided a visit with Alice Paul, the National Woman's Party advocate of the ERA, because she did not want Association members to think that Paul had influenced her.¹⁶⁰ Woolley wrote to the Board,

I hope women may pull together in this world crisis and that time may be allowed for more thought before acting upon the motion not to favor [the] Equal Rights Amendment....I have given it much thought and hope that it may do more good than harm!¹⁶¹

The Association came out in strong opposition at the Biennial and Woolley's response was, "My friends were fine - but I suspect that there was quite a 'wave of criticism' with regard to my motion."¹⁶²

Woolley maintained this high level of commitment to causes until 1944 when she suffered a stroke which left her severely disabled and ended her professional life. For the next three years, Woolley was confined to a wheelchair, and Marks cared for her at Fleur de Lys until Woolley's death on September 5, 1947.¹⁶³ Marks received letters of sympathy from a great number of people whose lives had been touched by Woolley's. A friend wrote,

She was such a womanly woman, that in spite of the completeness of her own mind and soul, she had a yearning for, and appreciation of family and all that means - that you have given to her... We grieve with you even though your sister-in-spirit had lived her life all the way and done her work to the sword's hilt.¹⁶⁴

Marion Parks, President Emeritus of Bryn Mawr wrote,

I have always admired and loved her; she helped me constantly in my job at Bryn Mawr, more especially because

she had known and worked with Miss Thomas and understood some of the special problems there. And like the other college presidents at the women's colleges, I relied on her right-mindedness and honesty and intelligence which she put so simply and directly at our service...¹⁶⁵

Purington, Woolley's administrative 'right hand' at Mount Holyoke, wrote, "She was a wonderful woman. The world seems empty without her. I have only a few years left at best and I hope they may be spent in worthwhile work in her memory."¹⁶⁶ From the President's office of Rockford College, Cheek wrote, "There is no loss except that of my own mother that I could feel more keenly. [It was] a rare privilege to be one of the inner circle under her leadership."¹⁶⁷ One alumna said, "I think of Emerson - 'To be great is to be misunderstood - For non-conformity the world whips you with its displeasure."¹⁶⁸ And a second alumna wrote, "I loved Miss Woolley and there is no one who had or has had more influence over me. I suppose I never told her so."¹⁶⁹

Woolley had indeed derived much pleasure from the long years of association with young college women. They embodied her hopes for a better future and despite her disappointment over her own ineffectiveness, she never wavered in her hopes for the young. In 1945, on a bright, warm day in November following several days of rain, Woolley went 'motoring' in the countryside around Lake Champlain and returned home to dictate a letter to her younger friend in China. "The war is over," she said, "and it must be a great relief to you. We have a wonderful amount to do in the new world. A much larger part than ever faced the world before this day. May we be true to it."¹⁷⁰

In Conclusion

Almost forty years had passed since a student complained in an editorial in The Mount Holyoke that women were deemed incapable of the detachment necessary to understand and argue from abstract principles.¹⁷¹ Woolley's consistent reiteration throughout the succession fight that her opposition was based on principle went unheard, in part, because of the persistence of this powerful stereotype. Cole concludes his commissioned history of Mount Holyoke with a brief reference to the controversy without addressing the substance of the arguments propounded by Woolley and her allies.¹⁷² Wells says that,

The opposition to the appointment was masterminded throughout by Miss Marks, although she seldom allowed her name to appear except in private letters, judging quite rightly that her motives would be highly suspect.¹⁷³

Cole and Wells thus ignore the well-reasoned arguments, implying that there were none, and therefore reinforce the stereotype. Woolley and others attempted to place the succession in a broader context. The issue for them was not merely one of following tradition at Mount Holyoke but also the larger need to resist the contemporary trend of reduced opportunities for professional women. Woolley said,

Civilization has been hard upon women ... I cannot see that the sequestration so long observed was ever meant for women. A woman is a human being --- before she is a woman. Just as a man is a human being before he is a man ... The higher education of women is a feminist movement, the natural expression of a fundamental principle, that is, that women being first of all human beings, even before they are feminine, have a share in the inalienable right of human beings to self-development ...

Opportunities for women, in the closing years of my life are being steadily narrowed. The belief in the unlimited value

of human personality has disappeared in many places and has been supplanted by faith in an omniscient and omnipotent state ... I wish ... to stress the truth that it is only as human relations in a democracy are shaped by women -- as well as by men -- with the thinking of both directed by the good heart, that we shall ever realize the better world! Feminism is not a prejudice; it is a principle.¹⁷⁴

This study identified four themes in Woolley's life. The first was the importance of creating opportunities for women to exercise leadership. In spite of the loss of the presidency of Mount Holyoke to women, Woolley's entire career at Mount Holyoke furthered opportunities for women in leadership. Even as a man became the president of Mount Holyoke, Dean Cheek, a Mount Holyoke alumna and former history professor¹⁷⁵ was appointed President of Rockford College. At the same time, Dean Morriss of Pembroke College, another former Mount Holyoke professor, was elected to the presidency of the AAUW. Woolley had nurtured the leadership potential of both of these women. The advance in profession from teaching to political or educational leadership was uniquely difficult for women. After Woolley's death, Perkins made this same observation about Woolley's career.

Miss Woolley had a very remarkable career and as one looks at it, it seems strange that a young woman whose principal training had been that of a teacher should have been able to go so far, not only in academic life but in the public life of the whole country and in international affairs. She was undoubtedly one of the most influential women in the world in her period. That influence, I think, was based upon her personality rather than upon her position or training.¹⁷⁶

At Mount Holyoke, Woolley was able to nurture in some teachers and students that strength of "personality" that permitted the move from teaching to leadership. One of Woolley's Wellesley

students remembered her in a letter to Marks. "I consider Miss Woolley a great and good woman, true to her principles and a beacon light for timid women who evade the "controversial issues" they should courageously face."¹⁷⁷

The second and third themes encompassed Woolley's progressivism and feminism. Her progressivism derived from two principal sources, the social gospel Christianity of her father and the influence of the progressive educators with whom she came in contact before her appointment to the presidency of Mount Holyoke. Reverend Woolley, President Andrews and Professor Jameson at Brown University, Vida Scudder, Emily Balch, Mary Calkins and other faculty women at Wellesley College were Woolley's mentors. Her progressivism included absolute belief in the responsibility of privileged, educated Christians to serve society. Woolley believed that fulfillment of this responsibility would result in honest, effective government and the amelioration of suffering in society.

Woolley's feminism began in her childhood under her parents' influence. Her father's challenge to St. Paul's injunction that women be silent in the churches was one of her earliest and most vivid memories. Experiences at Wheaton Seminary, Brown University and Wellesley College convinced her of the falseness of received doctrine that women were inherently intellectually inferior to men. She was also convinced of the importance of female-dominated institutions of higher education. Her relationship with Marks, a younger and more militant feminist, provided her with many opportunities to broaden her understanding of political and social

issues. Their relationship also represented a feminist commitment on the part of both women in the face of intolerance and the potential for persecution.

Woolley's feminism and her progressivism were both tempered by a pragmatic sense that influenced her public stance. She would not, for example, publicly advocate suffrage for women until 1906. There was sufficient anti-suffrage sentiment within the Mount Holyoke community to inhibit Woolley from taking an early position of support for suffrage. She remained a moderate feminist throughout her professional life. Unlike her father, who fought against the conservatism of his first Pawtucket congregation, Woolley avoided conflict at Mount Holyoke until the succession fight which forced her to take an unpopular, principled stand. In her speeches, she was never confrontational or highly critical of her opponents. She attempted to persuade and influence business, political, and civic leaders through measured, logical appeal to commonly-held values.

Woolley was able to influence her times through her work as an educator. Her educational philosophy included a traditional adherence to liberal arts education, and she rejected demands for vocational and domestic studies at Mount Holyoke College. She was not, however, philosophically opposed to vocational training in higher education, and she supported the growth of some institutions for that purpose. She believed that Mount Holyoke College had a distinctive mission as a liberal arts college for women, and one aspect was the training of women for leadership in society. She accepted teacher training, because many educated women would find

their only professional opportunity in teaching. She agreed with those who had not permitted a preparatory school to be established at Mount Holyoke. Rather, she upgraded standards of admission and accelerated the improvement of those students who were accepted with deficiencies.

As President of Mount Holyoke, she worked to create unity and strength among the elite women's colleges through cooperation, not competition. Her hope was that the women's colleges, as a group, would attract large donations and build endowments in order to be able to expand not shrink or disappear. The fact that endowment contributions went primarily to men's colleges and co-educational institutions was one reason that the women's colleges' share of all college students declined dramatically from 19.1% in 1899-1900 to 8.1% in 1919-20.¹⁷⁸

Woolley wanted to educate her students for living in a world wider than one of cloistered intellectual pursuit of middle-class affluence devoid of a sense of duty. She exposed her students to the ideas and actions of progressive intellectuals and activists to stir them to accept social responsibility. In her work outside of Mount Holyoke, especially with the AAUW, Woolley saw her role as complementary to her leadership at Mount Holyoke. She understood the importance of professional networking in order for women's issues to win public attention. A constant discussion of the future of educated women was essential to keep up the momentum of reform. Some members of the Mount Holyoke community viewed AAUW demands on Woolley as exploitative and in competition with her role as president of the

college. In high profile activities such as her participation in the Geneva conference, the college did not protest and enjoyed the positive publicity. Nevertheless, when the issue of the presidential succession arose, many felt that Mount Holyoke deserved a president who worked exclusively for the college, an implied disapproval of Woolley's out-of-college activities.

Woolley failed to see how conflict could arise as a result of her style of leadership and of her activities. She did not anticipate the struggle over her succession. The lack of solidarity on the part of students and alumnae at Mount Holyoke during the succession fight came as a disappointing surprise to her. She was unprepared, as well, for the effect of a newly-developed conservative and anti-feminist core of trustees on the Board. Her unwillingness or inability to engage in struggle led to confusion among some of the alumnae about the intensity of Woolley's feelings and left others to organize without her leadership. Woolley's skills in dealing with those with whom she disagreed had always involved disarming, persuading and conciliating. Her public letter of protest, which she read to the Board of Trustees, was a rational appeal for female leadership addressed futilely to those who were committed to opposing that leadership. Beyond that, Woolley could not go.

In her personal life, Woolley sustained a long term unconventional relationship in the face of many difficulties. She created home and family with Marks, a 'safe haven' from the professional worlds in which they moved. Marks provoked antagonism within the Mount Holyoke community because of her somewhat

thin-skinned and argumentative nature, her feminist and radical politics, and her intimacy with Woolley.¹⁷⁹ However, there was no pressure sufficient to destroy Woolley's love for and support of Marks. Their relationship was not an isolated one. They had numerous friends who cared for them both. In spite of this, Woolley chose to maintain a thin veneer of fiction about her relationship with Marks at Mount Holyoke.¹⁸⁰

An examination of Woolley's professional life reveals that she had an extraordinary influence on educated women in colleges, in religious and civic organizations, professional groups, and peace and reform organizations. Despite the failure to retain female leadership at Mount Holyoke, her life remains exemplary. It took an extraordinary woman like Woolley with her intelligence, courage, and capacity for independent action to surmount the obstacles in the way of female accomplishment. Converse realized, in 1915, that each of the women's colleges with their women presidents and women heads of departments "has her peculiar testimony to offer concerning the administrative and executive powers of women as educators, their capacity for initiative and organization." Converse went on to say that,

... a general history of the movement for the higher education of women, although of value, cannot tell us all we need to know, since of necessity it approaches the subject from the outside. The women's colleges must speak as individuals; each one must tell her own story, and tell it soon. The bright, experimental days are definitely past ... and if the romance of those days is to quicken the imaginations of college girls one hundred, two hundred, five hundred years hence, the women who were the experiment and who lived the romance must write it down.¹⁸¹

Cole's history of Mount Holyoke College approached "from the outside." Neither Woolley nor her colleagues who "were the experiment," were able to give their "peculiar testimony."¹⁸²

Woolley's love for George Eliot and Eliot's writings is evidenced throughout her life. When Woolley wrote in her own notes "What was she [Eliot] like?"¹⁸³ Woolley almost certainly never recognized herself in the meticulous, comprehensive notations she made on Eliot's life, work and thought. Woolley noted that Eliot was, "... very womanly and human, as well as intellectual ... sensitive, susceptible to nature, to people..." Eliot had, "... infinite capacity for taking pains ... wide knowledge and mental grasp ... [a] sense of responsibility ... humor ... self-depreciation and uncertainty ... religious and philanthropic zeal [including]... love for the Bible".¹⁸⁴ Eliot represented for Woolley the best that a woman could be. Woolley was too modest to recognize herself in the ideal standard of womanhood she observed in Eliot's life and work. Yet the biographer of today can glimpse in Woolley's appreciation of Eliot's qualities part of the autobiography that Woolley was too self-effacing to write.

Ideas for Further Research

1) A study of the academic programs and career paths of Mount Holyoke College students between 1901 and 1920, with control groups from elite co-educational institutions in order to discern what, if any, differences there were.

2) A comparative study of the female presidents and deans of the elite women's colleges and coordinate college between 1900 and 1920. This would include, in addition to Woolley, M. Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr, Caroline Hazard and Ellen Pendleton of Wellesley, Lida Shaw King of Pembroke and Virginia Gildersleeve of Barnard. The goal would be to further illuminate the interaction of progressivism, feminism and education.

3) An investigation of the relationship between Woolley, Gildersleeve and Thomas while the three women served as leaders of their respective colleges. Of interest would be to discover how they relied on the helped each other and to explore their cooperative work in the AAUW and the International Federation of Women.

4) An investigation of Woolley's influence on the AAUW and the extent to which Woolley was influenced by the AAUW during her later years at Mount Holyoke.

5) An investigation of the individuals who were on the Board of Trustees just before and during the succession controversy to see if the participants in the fight left more complete evidence explaining their reasoning for what they did.

6) A complete biography of Jeannette Marks. In addition to her personal story, this should include an analysis of her literary efforts and her contributions to academic life at Mount Holyoke. It should also include an analysis of her political activities and views as revealed in her actions, her writings and her personal correspondence.

A P P E N D I X A

THE MARKS AND WOOLLEY RELATIONSHIP

Woolley was born in 1863, Marks in 1875. The twelve-year difference in their ages may account for some of the differences in their responses to their relationship. The two women experienced different societal pressures. Woolley's strengths were, to a large extent, built on social supports that she did not question. Her belief in herself as a contributing member of what Emerson called "the affirmative class"¹ was unshakable. Her sense of purpose, her need to serve, and her sense of her own respectability were secure. Her family and the religious and educational institutions with which she affiliated were constant and reliable sources of strength. Woolley believed that her love for Marks constituted a healthy devotion to the happiness of another human being. She ignored and implicitly denied the unconventionality or possible abnormality of her feelings for Marks and her desire to establish a home with her. Woolley spent much of her life achieving the rewards and approval of a society in which she fundamentally felt at ease.

In contrast, Marks was a member of a younger generation of women that found fewer social supports and felt more burdened by the demands of economic independence and respectability. Because Marks lived in Woolley's house, which was the President's official residence Marks was often forced to choose between entertaining Woolley's 'public' or isolating herself. She both resented and was hurt by social ostracism and was tormented by feelings of inadequacy

and abnormality. Historian Foucault provides evidence that with the proliferation of sex manuals, educational treatises and psychological case histories in the early twentieth century there also came an effective repression of sexuality. The effect of this was apparent in Marks' life. The silence accompanying sexual issues that characterized the era of Woolley's youth and young adulthood was replaced during Marks' by public discussion of sexuality. Marks studied the psychological and pseudo-scientific literature, searching for ways to understand herself. She linked drug and alcohol addiction, as well as tuberculosis to genius and creativity.² She also criticized "abnormal" desires among college women, warning of the dangers of "unwise college friendships," while she personally pursued and enjoyed close friendships with students and colleagues. Marks visited health spas and submitted to regimens reputed to help control emotional and physical excesses.³

The relationship that developed between Woolley and Marks was intense and intimate. During the summer of 1900, Woolley lived with her parents in Pawtucket and prepared to sail for England. She and Marks exchanged long, passionate. The letters reveal the emotional and physical/sexual nature of their love.⁴ For Woolley, this was a realization of love that she had never imagined for herself. The following are selected letters that she wrote to Marks during that summer.

... Suffer? Yes dearest, my heart was sore, but not for myself - my, dear, brave sweet, heart - I cannot think now of you without a lump in my throat and a pang in my heart - Dearest, I blamed myself for letting you tell me, and so putting you with my own hands, on to the rack when I would

do anything to make life less hard for you, but perhaps it was better - I am sure that it was, if it has brought you comfort and now we know that neither life nor death can come between us, or mar the love which has become so great a part of ourselves. Dear Heart - I should have said yesterday, that I could not love you better - but dearest, when I saw you last night suffering as I had never seen you suffer before, it was as if a great wave of tenderness broke over me and swept me onto a shore where my feet had never before stood - there are inner and deeper recesses in the human heart which are like a new discovery - Do you suppose that it will be ever so? That we shall go on and on, feeling that we are constantly coming to a new country, ... Dear Heart, I think that it will be so and that you & I will find together that love is the road which takes us "to God;" you and I, sweetheart, I love the sound of the words almost as I love the sound of my darling's voice. God bless you dearest my dearest, and never so dear as this day, when I feel that she is mine, to love and love forever.⁵

You wish me to write you every thought [I] long to look into your eyes, to feel your kisses, to hear your voice, my voice, sweetheart, and the sweetest voice in the world. The longing is so great that my heart throbs with pain and is the heaviest load that I have carried, I kiss your ring, Dear heart; and your picture, but they are not you, not my little girl, whom I love with all my heart and mind and soul and strength. If I had you now, I would cover your dear lips and your dear eyes with kisses and I would hold you so tightly that you could not get away from me, from the arms that long for you. ... perhaps by tomorrow, I can control myself a little better and tell you how your love will help me this summer to be thoughtful and patient, to look on the bright side and meet whatever comes with hope and courage - ... I must go to my room, our room, darling, where we have so often knelt with our arms around each other, and by the side of the bed kneel down alone and ask God to help me, while I have my little week all by myself ... the ring is a comfort, it speaks to me of you and it tells me that I am yours - will you wear the little pearl pin ...? Will you wear it always ... for my sake?⁶

I cannot trust myself to think of the other way of talking, of the delight of looking into your eyes, and of seeing every change of expression on the face that I love so dearly - ... I would not have Him take away the hourly longing for you. Life is so much richer ... but I must be calmer - now the feeling uppermost is of such longing for you that I cannot reason with myself - ... I am maimed when you are away from me, I am hurt and sore, and I cry out that I cannot stand it, that I must be with you. Dearest, this

must not be - I must be brave and I shall pray daily, hourly, for courage to face life for the little time before we shall be together again, I hope, for always. Do you remember that I was almost frightened when you said that you had entrusted your life to me, that your faith, your courage, your everything, depended upon me? I was frightened - I felt almost like saying that you must not, that I could not, dared not, take the awful responsibility. I do not feel so now - God is first - both of us are in His hands - but as far as human trust can go, a joy in the realization that you have given yourself to me in this way. (I have put my life into your hands, dearest, for the great overpowering love of which I had never dreamed before, has come to me and nothing can ever separate us, my other and better half.⁷

... my arms are so empty without you. It seems to me that I cannot stand all these nights without my own little sister ... Dearest, I thought never to love as I love you! My life is just bound up in you and my heart is oh! so lonely and sore without you your big sister. The quiet in these rooms is almost unbearable and I feel that I must put my arms around you and hold you close and kiss you and kiss you, my Darling!⁸

... Will the happy time ever come when I can hold you in my arms, and love you, love you, so tenderly and so passionately, my own Jean. I will kiss your eyes and your lips and -- will call you by every sweet name that is my love, you cannot be "starving" for love now, Darling, for surely no mortal being ever gave more unreservedly and entirely than I give to you. I have shut my eyes as I sat here, so that I might shut out all the world but your face, as it lives before me these days, and I have looked down through your eyes into your very heart and said "Jeannette, I love you, my Darling, with all the power of love that is in me. You are mine and I am yours, and nothing, neither life nor death, shall ever separate us." ... I know when I had you with me that this longing for you would be and I kissed you and kissed you, Dearest, that I might feel your dear lips even when they were many miles away from me. But Darling, when I once more have you, I think that I shall never let you go from my arms! ... Dearest, dearest, if only this love letter could carry to you the love which is yours, and comfort you and make you feel that I am with you my own Jean. It is a comfort to me to talk with you I can then go to bed, read our verses and both your letters and then pray, that God will take care of you and keep you well & strong and make your life bright & full of the best things. I brought our Bible with me, although I know that I had kept several here, for I felt that I must read from that

thus I may dream of you and ... turn over to find you and take you into my arms. Dearest, it will not be many weeks now before that will be a reality not a dream and you may again wake yourself and me with your kisses. My own Jean, my love indeed, you must know how I love you!
Your own May⁹

I can sometimes hardly realize that I really have you as my own you whom I have loved for so long a time and yet never realized until these last few months what capability of loving, what perfect union of lives was in store for us. ... you are perfect in my eyes - so thoughtful, so considerate, so earnest so sincere, so true ...¹⁰

You must write me, everything, just how you feel every mood - that is part of the compact! You are my little sister I would make all these doubts & questionings disappear & make you realize how you belong to me.¹¹

A P P E N D I X B

HONORS AND ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS OF MARY EMMA WOOLLEY

In 1940 in anticipation of the publication of an article for the Providence Sunday Journal¹ a member of the Brown alumnae association put together a four-page single-spaced manuscript detailing Woolley's complete vitae. The following excerpts list her honors and affiliations.²

Honorary Degrees

| | | |
|------|----------|---|
| 1900 | Litt. D. | Brown University |
| 1900 | L. H. D. | Amherst College |
| 1910 | LL. D. | Smith College |
| 1914 | A. M. | Yale University |
| 1923 | LL. D. | Yale University |
| 1931 | LL. D. | Denison University |
| 1933 | LL. D. | Oberlin College |
| 1934 | LL. D. | Lake Erie College |
| 1934 | L. H. D. | Wheaton College |
| 1935 | LL. D. | New York University |
| 1935 | Ped. D. | New York State Teachers College |
| 1936 | LL. D. | Western College |
| 1937 | Litt. D. | Columbia University |
| 1937 | LL. D. | University of Chicago |
| 1937 | LL. D. | Bucknell University |
| 1938 | LL. D. | Mills College |
| 1940 | LL. D. | Rockford College |
| 1940 | LL. D. | College of Osteopathic Physicians and Surgeons. |

Honors

| | |
|--|---|
| "Daughter of the Regiment," | Eighth Connecticut Volunteers, Civil War. |
| <u>Kosovo Medal</u> | Royal Red Cross of Yugoslavia (1931) |
| <u>Susan Rosenberger Medal</u> | Brown University (1937) |
| <u>Monticello College Centenary Medal</u> | (1938) |
| <u>Cristobol Colon Medal</u> | (1940) |
| Women's Centennial Congress -- | Honor to "Career Women," (1940) |
| Scroll presented by Federation of Women's Clubs in | "recognition of |
| outstanding service in the field of education," | (1941) |

Membership in Religious Organizations

Northeastern Territorial Committee of National Board of Young Women's Christian Association, and War Work Council.

Vice-President Women's Home Missionary Association
Director of National Institutes for Moral Instruction
Vice-President Rhode Island Branch Woman's Board of Missions
Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis
Educational Aid Society (Advisory Council)
Board of Missionary Preparation
Religious Education Association (Director-at-Large) Vice-President
Corporate Member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign
Missions
American Section of the Committee on Christian Education in the
Mission Field
Committee of Religious Education of the National Council of
Congregational Churches
Honorary Member of National Council of Congregational Churches in the
United States
World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the
Churches

Membership in Philanthropic Organizations

Director of Volunteer Body of National American Woman Suffrage
Association
Vice-President American School Peace League
League for Permanent Peace
Woman's Peace party, Massachusetts Branch, Honorary Vice-President
American Institute of Social Service (National Council)
Advisory Committee of Standing Committee on Habit-Forming Drugs
(American Public Health Association)
Honorary Vice-President of National Consumer's League
Curtis Guild Memorial Committee
Honorary Vice-President of Woman's Suffrage League
Member Advisory Council Massachusetts Association for Labor
Legislation
Provisional Jewish Emancipation Committee
Advisory Board of the Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations in New
York City
Honorary Vice-President of the Massachusetts Audubon Society
Advisory Council of the American Society for Labor Legislation
National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness
Vice-President of the League to Enforce Peace
National American Committee of the Polish Victims' Relief Fund
Member of Central Organization for a Durable Peace
National Council of the American Institute of Child Life
Charter Member of the Church Peace League of America
National Council of Women (Chairmanship of committee on Peace and
Arbitration)
World Court League - member of National Advisory Board
Council of Direction of the American Association for International
Conciliation
Chairman, People's Mandate to Governments to End War
Honorary Member, National Board of Y.W.C.A

League of Nations Association
American Society for Labor Legislation

Membership in Educational Organizations

Senator of the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa Society
Brown University and Mount Holyoke College Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa
Current Opinion Scholarship Fund Committee
Vice-President Constantinople College Association
Executive Committee University Council of Massachusetts
Board of Governors of Union College for Women in Madras, India
Managing Committee of the American School of Oriental Research in
Jerusalem
Advisory Committee of the Women's Hall of Fame Building Movement
Board of Electors of the Hall of Fame
Education Committee of Conference for a Better New England
American Association for Maintaining a Woman's Table at Naples
American Academy of Political and Social Science
College Entrance Examination Board
New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools
Honorary Council of Auxiliary Association of Constantinople College
Trustee, Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio
Trustee, American International College, Springfield, Massachusetts
Trustee, Great Barrington School, Great Barrington, Massachusetts
Trustee, Santiago College, Santiago, Chile
Trustee, Rockford College, Rockford, Illinois
Trustee, American School, Damascus, Syria
Member of Board of Overseers, Chevy Chase Junior College, Washington,
DC
Member of Rhode Island Society for the Collegiate Education of Women
Honorary Member of Salem Society for Higher Education for Women
Women's Bureau of the Democratic National Committee
Member, National League of Women Voters

Club Memberships

Associate of Collegiate Alumnae
Honorary Member New England Woman's Press Association
Lyceum Club, London
Association of Collegiate Alumnae, Rhode Island Branch
Boston College Club
Brown Alumnae Club
Springfield College Club
New England Wheaton Seminary Club
Pawtucket Woman's Club
Woman's Cosmopolitan Club, New York City
The Women's University Club, New York City
Sorosis
Pawtucket Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution

Major Citizenship Contributions

Member of the Commission on Christian Education sent to China, August
1921 to February 1922
Member of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, 1925, 1927
Member of American Delegation to Conference on Reduction and
Limitation of Armaments at Geneva 1932 and 1933
President American Association of University Women, 1927-33
Chairman of Committee on International Relations, (AAUW) 1933-39
Trustee of American Institute of International Education
Member of Laureate Chapter of Kappa Delta Pi
Vice-President Massachusetts Society for Prevention of Cruelty to
Animals
Vice-Chairman of American Civil Liberties Union

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER ONE

¹ Kate Field, untitled poem, Congregationalist and Christian World 89 (1904): 1002.

² MEW, "What's Wrong with Women Teachers?" Pictorial Review 13 Mar. 1929: 22.

³ Barbara W. Tuchman, "Biography as a Prism of History," Biography as High Adventure, ed. Stephen B. Oates (Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1986) 94 [hereinafter: BHA].

⁴ Tuchman: 95.

⁵ Tuchman: 94.

⁶ qtd. in Stephen B. Oates, "Prologue," BHA: ix.

⁷ Stephen B. Oates, "Prologue," BHA: xi.

⁸ Pearl Felice, a resident of South Hadley whose father owned a shoe repair business in the town often attending college cultural activities, interviewed 11 Mar. 1981. Mary Wentworth McConaughy, a Mount Holyoke alumna who later was on the faculty of Mount Holyoke, interviewed 22 Mar. 1982. Anna Mary Wells, a Mount Holyoke alumna who later wrote a joint biography of Woolley and her lifelong companion, Jeannette Marks, interviewed 11 Mar. 1987.

⁹ MEW, "The Strength of Goodness," Chapel Talk Recording, 24 Sep. 1920, MHA.

¹⁰ Jennie Jerome, interview with Roberta Yerkes Blanshard, 24 Mar. 1975, Mount Holyoke College Alumnae, Class of 1911, Jerome, Jennie G. Box 1: 42, 44.

¹¹ Carolyn G. Heilbrun, Writing A Woman's Life (NY: Norton, 1988): 25. Heilbrun is paraphrasing Conway.

¹² Heilbrun: 24.

¹³ Heilbrun: 25.

¹⁴ MEW, NONA: 6.

¹⁵ MEW, "Miscellaneous Notes," typed ms., Autobiographical Materials, Box 1, MEW Papers, MHA.

¹⁶ qtd, in Heilbrun: 23.

¹⁷ MHTC 11 (Olive Copeland), MHA: 9.

¹⁸ MHTC 11: 5.

¹⁹ MEW, "Address of President Mary E. Woolley," Speech 2 (The College Evening of the Thirty-Eighth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Baltimore) 8 Feb. 1906: 5, 7. [All references to speeches by MEW unless otherwise indicated are available by speech number in MHA].

²⁰ Ellen Fitz Pendleton, Wellesley, M. Carey Thomas, Bryn Mawr, Virginia Gildersleeve, Barnard, Lida Shaw King, Women's College at Brown University (Pembroke) and Agnes Irwin, Radcliffe, in addition to Woolley.

²¹ Marion Talbot, The History of the AAUW, 1881-1931 (Cambridge: Houghton-Riverside, 1931): 28.

²² See Arthur C. Cole, A Hundred Years of Mount Holyoke College (New Haven: Yale UP, 1940): 215.

²³ See for example Rosalind Rosenberg, Beyond Separate Spheres, Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism (New Haven: Yale UP, 1982): 28-63. ("The Feminization of Academe" and "The New Psychology and the New Woman").

²⁴ On this issue, see John Rury and Glenn Harper, "The Trouble with Coeducation: Mann and Women at Antioch, 1953-1860," History of Education Quarterly 26 (1986). See also, Lynn D. Gordon, "Co-Education on Two Campuses: Berkeley and Chicago, 1890-1912," Woman's Being, Woman's Place, ed. Mary Kelley (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1979), Alice Rossi, "Coeducation in a Gender-Stratified Society," and Patricia Palmieri, "From Republican Motherhood to Race Suicide: Arguments on the Higher Education of Women in the U.S., 1820-1920," Educating Men and Women Together: Coeducation in a Changing World, ed. Carol Lasser (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1987), Florence Howe, Myths of Coeducation (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1984), Geraldine Joncich Clifford, ed. Lone Voyagers Academic Women in Coeducational Universities, 1869-1937 (New York: Feminist, 1988).

²⁵ See Penina Glazer and Miriam Slater, Unequal Colleagues - The Entrance of Women into the Professions, 1890-1940 (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1987), Barbara Harris, Beyond Her Sphere: Women and the Professions in American History, (NY: Greenwood P, 1978), Roberta Frankfort, Collegiate Women, Domesticity and Career in Turn-of-the-Century America, (NY: NYUP, 1977). See especially the data in Susan Carter, "Academic Women Revisited: An Empirical Study of Changing Patterns in Women's Employment as College and University Faculty, 1890-1963," Journal of Social History 14 (1981): 615-697.

²⁶ See "The Complete Roster of America's Greatest Women," Good Housekeeping Mar. 1931: 342.

²⁷ See Anna Mary Wells, Miss Marks and Miss Woolley (Boston: Houghton, 1977). See also Blanche W. Cook, "The Historical Denial of Lesbianism," Radical History Review 20 (1979): 60-5.

²⁸ Jane Roland Martin, Reclaiming a Conversation The Ideal of the Educated Woman (New Haven: Yale UP, 1985).

²⁹ Joan Kelly, "The Social Relation of the Sexes Methodological Implications of Women's History," Women, History and Theory, ed. Joan Kelly (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1984): 1.

³⁰ See Mary R. Beard, Woman as Force in History (NY: MacMillan, 1946) and Berenice Carroll, ed. Liberating Women's History (Urbana: U Illinois P, 1976). See also Anne Firor Scott, Making the Invisible Woman Visible (Urbana: U Illinois P, 1984).

³¹ Kelly: 2-3.

³² See Rosenberg. See also Sandra Harding and Jean F. O'Barr, ed. Sex and Scientific Inquiry (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1987).

³³ Karen Sacks, "Engels Revisited" qtd. in Kelly: 10.

³⁴ Rosenberg: 39.

³⁵ Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Women and Economics (1898; NY: Torchbooks-Harper, 1966): 337-8.

³⁶ Gilman, Women and Economics: 336-7.

³⁷ See Alice Rossi, Gender and the Life Course (NY: Aldine, 1985) and Essays on Sex Equality (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1970). Carol Gilligan, In a Different Voice Psychological Theory and Women's Development (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1982). Margaret Rossiter, "Sexual Segregation in the Sciences: Some Data and a Model," Signs, 4 (1978): 146-51. See also Adrienne Rich, On Lies, Secrets and Silence (NY: Norton, 1979).

³⁸ Martin: 195. See also Phyllis Stock, Better Than Rubies, A History of Women's Education (NY: Putnam's, 1978), Margaret Bryant, The Unexpected Revolution (London: University of London Institute of Education, 1979).

³⁹ William James, "The Varieties of Religious Experience," The Harper American Literature, Vol. 2, (NY: Harper, 1987): 472.

⁴⁰ See Martin: 11-69.

⁴¹ See Rosenberg, Harding and O'Barr and Reconstructing the Academy, a full issue of Signs, 3 (1987).

⁴² See Mary Wollstonecraft, A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, ed. Charles W. Hageman, Jr., (NY: Norton, 1967), Kathryn Kish Sklar, Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity (New Haven: Yale UP, 1973), Gilman, The Man-Made World (NY: Charlton, 1911) and Herland (NY: Pantheon, 1979).

⁴³ See, for example, the ideas in John Dewey's Democracy in Education (NY: MacMillan, 1916).

⁴⁴ Martin: 180.

⁴⁵ MEW, "The Relation of the Educated Woman to the Peace Movement" Speech 1 (First National Arbitration and Peace Congress, Carnegie Hall, New York City) 16 Apr. 1907: 1 [Speech is identified on the program as "Educational Aspects of Peace Propaganda."] See also Rosenberg: 54-83.

⁴⁶ qtd. in Carl Degler, introduction, Women and Economics: xxxiv.

⁴⁷ Joan N. Burstyn, Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood (London: Croom Helm, 1980): 19.

⁴⁸ Rosenberg: xiv. For the historical background, see Carl Degler, At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980), Jill K. Conway, (with Linda Kealey and Janet E. Schulte), The Female Experience in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century America (NY: Garland, 1982), Mary Kelley, ed. Woman's Being, Woman's Place (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1979).

⁴⁹ see Barbara Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1985): 85.

⁵⁰ See Richard Hofstadter, The Progressive Movement 1900-1915, (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, Prentice, 1963) and The Age of Reform (NY: Knopf, 1974), David F. Noble, America By Design (NY: Oxford UP, 1979), Robert Wiebe, The Search for Order, 1877-1920 (NY: Hill and Wang, 1967).

⁵¹ Claudia Goldin, "The Gender Gap in Historical Perspective," Quantity and Quiddity, Essays in U.S. Economic History ed. Peter Kilby (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan UP, 1987): 142.

⁵² see Rosenberg: xiv.

⁵³ qtd. in Scott: 303.

⁵⁴ qtd. in Helen R. Olin, The Women of a State University, An Illustration of the Working of Coeducation in the Middle West (NY: Putnam's, 1909): 67-68.

⁵⁵ qtd. in Olin: 66-67.

⁵⁶ qtd. in Rury and Harper: 390.

⁵⁷ see Scott: 307.

⁵⁸ see Scott: 303.

⁵⁹ See Thomas Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States Vol. 2. (NY: The Science Press, 1929): 261-4. See also Olin: 182-7. According to Solomon, "...feminists regarded the early female colleges as second-best..." (Solomon: 47)

⁶⁰ qtd. in Woody: 290-1.

⁶¹ See Rury and Harper, Howe: 267, Lynn D. Gordon, Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990): 26-45. For a discussion of plans for "natural" segregation of women students at colleges and universities through the creation of separate courses and annexes leading to vocational segregation, see Woody: 290-5. Note also discussion of the "problem" of female dominance in humanities courses.

⁶² qtd in Howe: 262.

⁶³ See Rosenberg: 28-63.

⁶⁴ Rosenberg: 45.

⁶⁵ MEW, "Some Results of Higher Education for Women," Harper's Bazar, 43 (1909): 587.

⁶⁶ MEW, "The College Woman as Homemaker," Speech 35, Ladies Home Journal (1909).

⁶⁷ See Emily Davies, Thoughts on Some Questions Relating to Women, (Cambridge [UK]: Bowes and Bowes, 1910). Emily Davies was the founder of Girton College at Cambridge University.

⁶⁸ Jerome, letter to mother, Nov. 1907. Re "smashes" see Marjorie Dobkin, ed. The Making of a Feminist: Early Journals and Letters of M. Carey Thomas (Kent, OH: Kent State UP, 1979): 78n.

⁶⁹ M. Carey Thomas, "The Future of Woman's Higher Education," Mount Holyoke College, The Seventy-Fifth Anniversary (South Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1913): 102.

⁷⁰ George Herbert Palmer, letter to Alice Freeman, 3 Dec. 1886 qtd. in Roberta Wein, "Women's Colleges and Domesticity, 1875-1918," History of Education Quarterly 14 (1974): 42-3.

⁷¹ See MEW, "Values of College Training for Woman," Harper's Bazar, 38 (1904): 836-7. See also, MEW, "The College Woman as Homemaker."

⁷² Rosenberg: xvii.

⁷³ see Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality: An Introduction (NY: Pantheon, 1979): 53-73. See also Peter Gay, Education of the Senses (NY: Oxford UP, 1984): 422-38.

⁷⁴ Browne, F.W. Stella, "Studies in Feminine Inversion," Gay American History, Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A. ed. Jonathan Katz (NY: Crowell, 1976): 384. Inversion was the term used to describe both female and male homosexuality.

⁷⁵ Gay, Peter The Tender Passion (NY: Oxford UP, 1986): 219.

⁷⁶ Gay, The Tender Passion: 205.

⁷⁷ See, for example, Patricia Palmieri, In Adamless Eden: A social portrait of the Academic Community at Wellesley College, 1875-1920 diss., Harvard U, 1981, 8125392 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1990), Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," A Heritage of Her Own ed. Nancy Cott and Elizabeth Pleck (NY: Simon, 1979): 311-342, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Disorderly Conduct Visions of Gender in Victorian America (NY: Oxford UP, 1985), Lillian Faderman, Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present (NY: Morrow, 1981), Jean Glascock, ed. Wellesley College, 1875-1975: A Century of Women (Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College, 1975).

⁷⁸ For example, in a 1929 obscenity hearing on Radclyffe Hall's lesbian novel The Well of Loneliness, a judge stated, "The book can have no moral value since it seems to justify the right of the pervert to prey upon normal members of the community." (qtd. in Faderman: 322.).

⁷⁹ See below. In 1913, an anonymous junior (pseud. "Molly Make-Believe") published a fictional diary ("Extracts from Molly's Diary") in The Mount Holyoke (23 (1912-13): 231-7.). It is a mean-spirited thinly disguised parody of the Woolley-Marks relationship in which Marks is cast as a man, John Marks.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER TWO

¹ qtd. in MEW, NONA: 17.

² MEW, NONA: 1.

³ MEW, "What I Owe To My Father," What I Owe To My Father, ed. Sydney Strong (NY: Henry Holt, 1931): 3.

⁴ See Elsie Nicholas Danenberg, The Romance of Norwalk (NY: The States History Co., 1929): 262-4. See also Samuel Richards Weed, Norwalk After 250 Years (So. Norwalk: C. A. Freeman, 1902): 381.

⁵ See Frances Lester Warner, On a New England Campus (Cambridge: Riverside P, 1937): 21. See also "Miss Mary E. Woolley, Mt. Holyoke's Retiring President, Born in Norwalk in Home Built by Stephen Ferris, Pioneer Hatter and Church Deacon." [illegible periodical] 14 June 1936, Fairfield County File, 1936, Historical Collections, Henry A. Bishop Room, Bridgeport Public Library, Bridgeport, CT.

⁶ J. J. Woolley, letter to "Bro Yale," 18 July 1863, qtd. in Jeannette Marks, LAL: 20.

⁷ Marks: 16.

⁸ Marks: 12-13.

⁹ Marks: 17.

¹⁰ Marks: 11. His mother, Fanny Burroughs, was the great-great granddaughter of John Burroughs who landed in Boston in 1650, settling in Stratford, Connecticut in 1672. Fanny Burroughs' father, Stephen Burroughs, was born in 1729. MEW, NONA: 2.

¹¹ Marks: 10. Marks had travelled in Jamaica to research the Woolley geneology.

¹² See David W. Palmquist, Bridgeport, A Pictorial History (Virginia Beach, VA: The Donning Co., 1981): 28.

¹³ See George L. Rockwell, The History of Ridgefield, Connecticut (Ridgefield, CT: Privately printed by the author, 1927): 261.

¹⁴ Daniel W. Teller, History of Ridgefield (Danbury, CT: 1878): 192.

¹⁵ See Warner: 22-23. See also Marks: 18. For the Eighth Connecticut Regiment see George C. Waldo, Jr., ed. History of Bridgeport and Vicinity Vol. 1 (NY: S.J. Clarke, 1917): 389.

¹⁶ Center Congregational Church, Welcome, (Meriden, CT: [n.d.]): 8.

¹⁷ Center Congregational Church, Meriden Center Congregational Church, (Meriden, CT: [n.d.]): 294.

¹⁸ J. J. Woolley, letter to Center Congregational Church, 30 Sept 1862, Meriden Center Congregational Church Records 1846-1915, Meriden, CT. Prior to 1864, the pastoral term in the Methodist-Episcopal Church was limited by design to two years. It was extended first to three years and in 1888, extended to five years. In 1900, the limit became renewable. It was not unusual for a Methodist church to have a new pastor each year. Woolley was beginning to raise a family and the desire for a permanent position for economic stability probably also contributed to his willingness to change denominations.

¹⁹ "Resolved ... That we extend the hand of Christian fellowship to all other Evangelical Churches..." Center Congregational Church, "Church Resolutions," June 13, 1867, Meriden Center Congregational Church Records 1846-1915, Meriden, CT.

²⁰ MEW, NONA: 6.

²¹ See MEW, NONA: 11.

²² Martha Kunhardt, letter to MEW, 9 June 1936, MEW Papers, Series A, MHA.

²³ MEW, NONA: 5. Later, Woolley quotes her mother saying, "I believe that there is nothing in the world of which your father is afraid." (MEW, NONA: 7.)

²⁴ MEW, "What I Owe My Father,": 3.

²⁵ MEW, NONA: 9.

²⁶ MEW, NONA: 8.

²⁷ MEW, NONA: 7-8.

²⁸ Rev. Thatcher Thayer, "The Ideal Pastor: a Discourse Commemorative of Rev. C. Blodgett, D.D." address Pawtucket Congregational Church, 1 Jan 1880, PCCA: 24.

²⁹ Rev. Constantine Blodgett, "Sermon," 9 Jan 1837. (Pawtucket, RI: Pawtucket Congregational Church, 1837).

³⁰ Thayer: 14.

³¹ J. J. Woolley, letter to Pawtucket Congregational Church, 13 July 1871, PCCA.

³² MEW, letter to "Cousin Nancy," 24 Jan. 1875, qtd. in Marks: 27.

³³ Robert Morgan Mitchell, This Branch of His Planting, (Pawtucket, RI: Park Place Congregational Church, 1982): 4.

³⁴ Darius Goff, letter of personal religious experience, 13 June 1856, PCCA.

³⁵ Meeting of the Sabbath School Society, 8 Sep. 1879, PCCA.

³⁶ Legal Meeting, 20 Mar. 1871, PCCA.

³⁷ The conflict between the emerging social gospel Christianity represented by ministers like Horace Bushnell, Washington Gladden, Henry Ward Beecher and Lyman Abbott and the more traditional attitudes is apparent here. See Marion Starkey, The Congregational Way (NY: Doubleday, 1966): 263-70. See also Robert T. Handy, ed. The Social Gospel in America (NY: Oxford UP, 1966): 21-29. For Gladden's work, which must have affected both the Reverend Woolley and his daughter in young adulthood, see below: 92, 102-3.

³⁸ Pastor's Class, "Some Wonderful Results of Prayer," Sunday School Concert, 23 Jan 1881, PCCA.

³⁹ MEW, "What I Owe My Father," : 3.

⁴⁰ See R. Sherman, letter read to Pawtucket Congregational Church, 25 Jan 1881, Annual Meeting Records, 1867-1983, PCCA: 294.

⁴¹ MEW, "College Woman's Duty to the State," Speech 67 (Boston Alumnae, Gentlemen's Night) 14 Feb. 1908: 1.

⁴² See Annual Meeting Records, 1867-1983: 291.

⁴³ Rev. J. J. Woolley and Rev. Constantine Blodgett, remarks, Female Missionary Association of Pawtucket, 6 Jan 1873, PCCA.

⁴⁴ Marks: 25.

⁴⁵ Sarah Blodgett, "Report of Pawtucket Auxiliary of the Woman's Board of Missions," 4 Jan 1875, PCCA.

⁴⁶ "Report of Youth's Mission Circle," Mar 1875, PCCA.

⁴⁷ Sarah Blodgett.

⁴⁸ See Marks: 26, 31.

⁴⁹ MEW, "Treasurer's Report" to the Woman's Board of Missions, 1 Jan 1877, PCCA.

⁵⁰ See "Report of Pawtucket Auxiliary of the Woman's Board of Missions," 6 Jan. 1879, PCCA.

⁵¹ Annual Meeting Records, 24 Feb 1880, PCCA: 291.

⁵² Sherman.

⁵³ See, Annual Meeting Records, 25 Jan. 1881, 1 Feb. 1881, 8 Feb. 1881, PCCA: 294-9. See also the case of Mr. Barton, Annual Meeting Records: 254-8. The case of Mrs. Elizabeth Burns, Annual Meeting Records: 277-83.

⁵⁴ Annual Meeting Records, 29 Oct. 1881: 305.

⁵⁵ J.J. Woolley, letters to Pawtucket Congregational Church, 11 Sep 1881, 9 Oct 1881, PCCA.

⁵⁶ qtd. in Marks: 31.

⁵⁷ J. J. Woolley, letter to Pawtucket Congregational Church, 31 Jan 1882, Annual Meeting Records, 31 Jan. 1882, PCCA: 306.

⁵⁸ Annual Meeting Records, 9 Feb. 1882, PCCA: 308.

⁵⁹ See "Report of the Committee," 7 Mar. 1882, PCCA.

⁶⁰ Mitchell: 4.

⁶¹ Marks: 31.

⁶² MEW, NONA: 11.

⁶³ MEW, NONA: 11-4.

⁶⁴ MEW, NONA: 14.

⁶⁵ MEW, NONA: 15.

⁶⁶ MEW, NONA: 14.

⁶⁷ Marks: 32.

⁶⁸ MEW, NONA: 15.

⁶⁹ MEW, "Respect," typed ms., Autobiographical Materials, Box 1, MEW Papers, MHA: 4.

⁷⁰ MEW, "Respect": 6.

⁷¹ MEW, "Respect": 4.

⁷² MEW, "Respect": 5.

⁷³ MEW, "Respect": 4.

⁷⁴ MEW, NONA: 16.

⁷⁵ Marks: 34.

⁷⁶ Mitchell: 8.

⁷⁷ See Annual Meeting Reports, 19 Sept. 1882, 5 Oct. 1992, PCCA: 328-332. Individual Church members were traditionally permitted to request dismissal at any time.

⁷⁸ Pawtucket Gazette and Chronicle, 7 June 1882, Park Place Congregational Church Archives.

⁷⁹ Park Place Congregational Church, A Record of 50 Years (Pawtucket, RI: Park Place Congregational Church, 1932): 6.

⁸⁰ qtd. in Mitchell: 15.

⁸¹ Annual Meeting Reports, 28 Mar. 1882, PCCA: 337.

⁸² "Standing Committee Report," 27 Jan 1885, PCCA.

⁸³ Mitchell: 6.

⁸⁴ MEW, NONA: 16.

⁸⁵ MEW, NONA: 16.

⁸⁶ MEW, NONA: 17.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER THREE

¹ See Lucy Larcom, letter to The Rushlight 28 no. 2 (June 1883): 33.

² Wheaton Female Seminary, 48th Annual Catalogue of Wheaton Female Seminary 1882-83 (Norton, MA: Wheaton Female Seminary, 1882): 7.

³ Lucy Larcom, Wheaton Seminary: A Semi-Centennial Sketch (Cambridge, 1885): 87.

⁴ Larcom, Wheaton Seminary: 38.

⁵ See Paul C. Helmreich, Wheaton College: The Seminary Years 1834-1912 (Norton, MA: Class of 1949 Wheaton College, 1985): 60-1.

⁶ Kate Upson Clark, (Wheaton, 1869) Memoir, "At Wheaton Seminary in 1867-69," Kate Upson Clark folder, WCA.

⁷ The clergy had founded Harvard in 1638 because it dreaded the illiterate ministry that was inevitable without formal education. By the 1830s, churches had founded 80 colleges and 30 seminaries for men, none for women. See Larcom, Wheaton Seminary: 69.

⁸ qtd. in "About Mary Lyon," TMH 14 (1904-05): 288.

⁹ See Sarah D. (Locke) Stowe, History of Mount Holyoke Seminary, (1837-1887) (So. Hadley, MA: 1887): 36

¹⁰ Southern girls were welcome at most northern girls' schools because they added a desired refinement to the school atmosphere. Larcom, Wheaton Seminary: 27.

¹¹ See Helmreich: 105.

¹² qtd. in Elizabeth Alden Green, Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke (Hanover, NH: U P of New England, 1979): 167.

¹³ qtd. in Stowe: 67.

¹⁴ qtd. in Cole: 33.

¹⁵ See Helmreich: 29.

¹⁶ In 1888, the New England Wheaton Seminary Club in Boston met monthly and there were typically about one hundred women in attendance. See Helmreich: 59.

¹⁷ Eunice Caldwell Cowles, letter to Eliza Baylies Wheaton, 31 Jan. 1889, qtd. in Helmreich: 60.

¹⁸ See Helmreich: 69.

¹⁹ Stowe: 70.

²⁰ Harriet Paine, The Life of Eliza Baylies Wheaton, (Cambridge: Riverside, 1907): 193.

²¹ Paine: 178.

²² MEW, NONA: 24. Quotation from "a commentator on female education in early Oberlin days."

²³ See Paine: 149-50.

²⁴ Paine: 27.

²⁵ Larcom, Wheaton Seminary: 82.

²⁶ Larcom, Wheaton Seminary: 35.

²⁷ Paine: 65.

²⁸ Larcom, Wheaton Seminary: 47.

²⁹ Eunice Caldwell Cowles to Eliza Baylies Wheaton, 10 Feb 1885, qtd. in Helmreich: 61.

³⁰ Larcom, Wheaton Seminary: 85-6.

³¹ Ann Augur, letter to her father, 9 Sept. 1888, excerpted and enclosed in Belle Ferris Briggs (cousin of MEW), letter to JM, 2 Feb 1952, JM Papers, Box 113, Folder 1, WCSC.

³² Helmreich: 61.

³³ see Helmreich: 62.

³⁴ Augur.

³⁵ Larcom, Wheaton Seminary: 63.

³⁶ Larcom, Wheaton Seminary: 73.

³⁷ Larcom, Wheaton Seminary: 65.

³⁸ qtd. in Helmreich: 57.

³⁹ Helmreich: 58.

⁴⁰ C[aroline] L[ouisa] Blake [Wheaton '16], letter to Dr. Samuel Cole, 5 Apr 1924, Principals: A. Ellen Stanton, Marion B. Gebbie Class of 1901 Archives and Special Collections, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.

⁴¹ qtd. in Paine: 209.

⁴² Augur.

⁴³ When Stanton resigned in 1896, the board offered Pike the principalship which she refused. See Helmreich: 68.

⁴⁴ MEW, NONA: 25.

⁴⁵ MEW, "Editorial," The Rushlight 29.1 (Dec. 1883): 73. Reprinted in Wheaton Alumnae Quarterly 27 (1948): 7-8. [Also available in Mary E. Woolley, Biographical Files, WCA.]

⁴⁶ MEW, "Editorial," The Rushlight 29.1 (Dec. 1883): 75.

⁴⁷ MEW, NONA: 19

⁴⁸ See Wheaton Female Seminary, 56th Annual Catalogue. 1890-91 (Boston: Wheaton Female Seminary, 1890): n.p. [6].

⁴⁹ See The Rushlight 33.1 (Dec. 1887): 15, 33.1 (Nov. 1888): 22. [In 1888-89 when the The Rushlight began regular monthly publication during the academic year they started with the wrong volume number, hence two volume 33's. The writer is especially indebted to Ms. Zephorene L. Stickney, Archivist and Special Collections Curator of the Marion B. Gebbie, Class of 1901, Archives and Special Collections at Wheaton College for this information.]

⁵⁰ See "The Globe Extra 5 O'Clock Longshoremen Out," Boston Globe 15 Aug. 1882: 1. See also "The Labor Troubles," Springfield Republican 6 Sep. 1882: 5.

⁵¹ qtd. in "The Labor Troubles," Springfield Republican 8 Sep. 1882: 5.

⁵² See "Parade in NY Extra 5 O'Clock Labor's Array Grand Parade in NY," Boston Globe 5 Sep. 1882: 1.

⁵³ Washington Gladden, Working People and their Employers (Boston: 1976): 174-5. See also his call for "the system of cooperation ... industrial partnerships." Gladden: 49.

⁵⁴ Wells reports, "...Mr. Woolley said that he believed a soul on Water Street [the poor area of Pawtucket] was as precious to God as one on Walcott Street [the rich area]..." (Wells: 20). The Park Place congregation united "...the immigrant mill hands the

Pawtucket church had considered undesirable, but there were a useful and devoted few from Walcott Street." (Wells: 22).

⁵⁵ See Lucy Larcom, "American Factory Life - Past, Present and Future," Journal of Social Science 16 (1882): 141-6.

⁵⁶ Emma L. Shafer, "Politics at Wheaton," The Rushlight 29.3 (Dec 1883): 2.

⁵⁷ Shafer: 5-6.

⁵⁸ Annie S. Cutler, "Editorial," The Rushlight 29.3 (June 1884): 76-7.

⁵⁹ See Rushlight 28.1 (Dec. 1882): 58-9. See also The Rushlight 29.1 (Dec. 1883): 67-8.

⁶⁰ See The Rushlight 29.1 (Dec. 1883): 68-9.

⁶¹ See Larcom, Wheaton Seminary: 58-9.

⁶² MEW, "Portraits of our Grandmothers," The Rushlight 29.2 (Mar. 1884): 28.

⁶³ Larcom, Wheaton Seminary: 49.

⁶⁴ Larcom, "Psyche at Norton" The Rushlight 28.2 (June 1883): 35.

⁶⁵ MEW, "Closing Plea of the Plaintiffs in the Court held June thirteenth in Seminary Hall," The Rushlight 29.3 (June 1884): 26-7.

⁶⁶ MEW, "Closing Plea ...": 35.

⁶⁷ MEW, "Our Legendary Patrimony," The Rushlight 29.3 (June 1884): 44.

⁶⁸ See MEW, "Our Legendary Patrimony,": 51-2.

⁶⁹ MEW, "Our Legendary Patrimony,": 52.

⁷⁰ See MEW, "Our Legendary Patrimony,": 48.

⁷¹ MEW, "Our Legendary Patrimony,": 50.

⁷² MEW, "Our Legendary Patrimony,": 48-9.

⁷³ Lyman Abbot, "Baccalaureate Sermon," The Rushlight 29.3 (June 1884): 54-5.

⁷⁴ "Abbott, Lyman," Webster's American Biographies, 1984 ed.

⁷⁵ MEW, NONA: 22.

⁷⁶ qtd. in Mitchell: 11-12.

⁷⁷ Mitchell: 12.

⁷⁸ MEW, NONA: 22.

⁷⁹ Briggs. Her recollections of Woolley's appearance was from summers spent together in Norwalk.

⁸⁰ Heloise Hersey, letter to G[race] F. Shepard, 8 Apr. 1929, Faculty: Heloise Hersey 1889-1892, Marion B. Gebbie Class of 1901 Archives and Special Collections, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.

⁸¹ See MEW, NONA: 24.

⁸² For Hersey's literature lectures in 1889-90 see Wheaton Female Seminary, Fifty-fifth Annual Catalogue, 1889-90: n.p. [6].

⁸³ MEW, "Life of George Eliot," Speech 52 (Coventry Women's Club) Spring, 1908, (Mrs. Whiting's Club, Holyoke, MA) 8 Oct. 1908, (S. Hadley Falls [MA] Woman's Club) 27 Jan. 1909, (19th Century Novel Class, Mount Holyoke College) 5 Apr. 1917. In addition to the speech, there are many notes to herself identifying elements to highlight, outlines and themes for possible speeches about Eliot and many references to the novels. Daniel Deronda was published in 1876 when MEW was 13.

⁸⁴ John W. Cross, George Eliot's Life as Related in Her Letters and Journals, New Edition Vol. I (Edinburgh: 1885): v.

⁸⁵ Cross: 175.

⁸⁶ Cross: 83, 91.

⁸⁷ See above: 7, NONA: 5.

⁸⁸ MEW, "Inspirations by the Way" Speech 60 (Commencement - Brooklyn Heights Seminary, Brooklyn) 3 June 1908: 9.

⁸⁹ See Henry George, Progress and Poverty (1879; New York, 1886). See also Edward Bellamy, Looking Backward, 2000-1887 (Boston, 1888).

⁹⁰ See Washington Gladden, Applied Christianity: Moral Aspect of Social Questions (Boston, 1886). "Gladden expressed his conviction that the teachings of Jesus contained the fundamental principles for the right ordering of society and that when they were applied to the industrial situation, its deeper problems would be solved." (See Handy: 28).

⁹¹ "I think that for the normal development of human character, and the stable and fruitful organization of human society, it is necessary to have private property firmly safeguarded and private enterprise strongly encouraged by the state." (Gladden, qtd. in Handy: 28).

⁹² See MEW, "Socialistic Schemes," The Rushlight 34.5 (Mar. 1890): 75.

⁹³ See "The New England Wheaton Seminary Club," The Rushlight 34.5 (Mar. 1890): 74.

⁹⁴ MEW, "Socialistic Schemes": 75.

⁹⁵ MEW, "Socialistic Schemes": 75. Woolley placed these words in quotes but did not footnote the printed version of the paper. From context, we are led to infer that she is quoting a Monsieur de Lavelaye (without indicating the title of his work).

⁹⁶ MEW, "Socialistic Schemes": 77.

⁹⁷ MEW noted that "Henry George says "Looking Backward" is "a castle in the air with clouds for its foundation," and the Nationalists [supporters of Bellamy's vision], on the other hand, think that " 'Henry Georgeism' is an ostrich, which running its head into the ground can see nothing in the wide world but land." (MEW, "Socialistic Schemes": 75). She chose, however, to discuss both George and Bellamy, arguing, "Granting with the editor of The Nationalist that "Mr. George is looking only after the cellar," it is fitting that we should begin at his foundation and climb patiently to Mr. Bellamy's airy citadel." (MEW, "Socialistic Schemes": 76). Thus, Woolley synthesizes George (MEW, "Socialistic Schemes": 76) and Bellamy (MEW, "Socialistic Schemes": 77-8).

⁹⁸ MEW, "Socialistic Schemes": 78.

⁹⁹ Larcom, Wheaton Seminary: 92.

¹⁰⁰ Larcom, Wheaton Seminary: 70.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER FOUR

¹ qtd. in Marks: 39.

² See Wells: 34-5.

³ See Walter C. Bronson, The History of Brown University, 1764-1914 (1914; NY: Arno and NY Times, 1971): 6.

⁴ Bronson: 450-1

⁵ Bronson: 452.

⁶ Bronson: 453.

⁷ Bronson: 431.

⁸ Grace E. Hawk, Pembroke College in Brown University, The First Seventy-Five Years, 1891-1966, (Providence: Brown UP, 1967): 19.

⁹ Wells: 36.

¹⁰ Bronson: 454.

¹¹ Such a prejudice is reported by a Professor of Physics who remembered, "I began the course of lectures to the Women's College with diffidence, believing that the mind of women is not, as a rule, of a kind to be willingly tethered by exact considerations of the material universe. But I found neither lack of aptitude nor of grasp." qtd. in Mary Louise Record, "Half a Century Ago Brown Said it was an Experiment" Providence Sunday Journal, 21 Sep 1941. Section IV: 3.

¹² qtd. in Warner: 47. Jameson misdates the experience as 1892.

¹³ qtd. in Marks: 39.

¹⁴ qtd. in Wells: 37.

¹⁵ MEW, "The Passover Scandal," The Brown Magazine 4 (1892-93): 189-96, 219-228. MEW, "Early History of the Colonial Post Office," Publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society New Series 1 (1893-94): 270-291. MEW, "The Development of the Love of Romantic Scenery in America," American Historical Review 14 (1894): 56-66.

¹⁶ See Record.

¹⁷ See Marks: 39.

¹⁸ See Record.

¹⁹ qtd. in Marks: 42.

²⁰ qtd. in Wells: 37.

²¹ qtd. in Record.

²² Clara Comestock Everett, qtd. in Record.

²³ Clara Comestock Everett, qtd. in Record.

²⁴ E. Benjamin Andrews, Annual Report of the President to the Corporation of Brown University 21 June, 1894, qtd. in Hawk: 15.

²⁵ qtd. in Record.

²⁶ Hawk: 37.

²⁷ See Bronson: 428-9.

²⁸ See Bronson: 448-9.

²⁹ See Bronson: 445.

³⁰ Henry Manning, to his journal, 11 Sep 1891, qtd. in Record.

³¹ See Wells: 38.

³² See Hawk: 30.

³³ Hawk: 33.

³⁴ Hawk: 38.

³⁵ See MEW, NONA:

³⁶ Gorham Noble Norton, letter to MEW, 19 May 1942, MEW Papers, Series A, MHA.

³⁷ Ethel F. Tower ('98) qtd. in Hawk: 38.

³⁸ See Record.

³⁹ MEW, "The Passover Scandal."

⁴⁰ The first set of "Etchings" in The Brown Magazine appeared in Volume 5 (1893-94). For Woolley's contributions: 26-8, 63-5.

⁴¹ qtd. in Marks: 39.

⁴² See Hawk: 40. For an example in the bound volume of The Brown Magazine when Woolley first joined the editorial board, compare the title page of 5 (1893-94) where she is listed on the board with the facing photograph which includes all the male members of the board but not her.

⁴³ MEW, "The Women's College," The Brown Magazine 6 (1894-95): 377.

⁴⁴ Bronson: 462.

⁴⁵ Only the new Populist Party favored it in 1892.

⁴⁶ Bronson: 462.

⁴⁷ Bronson: 463.

⁴⁸ Bronson: 464-6. Andrews remained at Brown for one more year before resigning in 1898 to take up the position of Superintendent of the Chicago Public Schools (Bronson: 467). Lawrence Veysey in The Emergence of the American University (1965; Chicago: Phoenix, 1970) makes the point that during periods of political unrest, professors and academic leaders were expected to be quiet. "... Resistance to academic freedom was not so much a matter of principle as it was an aspect of public relations." Influential members of the university, donors and prospective donors in particular, were now empowered to shift the attitude, as Veysey says, of the university (410).

⁴⁹ Hawk: 35.

⁵⁰ Hawk: 36.

⁵¹ Hawk: 52. This would not come to pass until 1928.

⁵² "The chapter was not unaware of the existing discrimination nor unwilling to act, It did take into account, however, that while three coeducational colleges admitted women to membership no co-ordinate college did so. ... Accordingly, in 1900 a special section of the R.I. Alpha chapter was created, whose members were to be elected by Alpha rules. Ten undergraduates, two from the junior class and eight from the senior class, and twenty-four alumnae were elected. Only such women might be admitted as had 'manifested a scholarship not inferior to that of the lowest men scholars elected'..." Hawk: 51-2. Woolley was one of the twenty-four alumnae elected.

⁵³ MEW, NONA: 33.

⁵⁴ MEW, "The Passover Scandal,": 223-4.

⁵⁵ MEW, "The Development of the Love of Romantic Scenery in America": 56.

⁵⁶ See "The New President of Mount Holyoke," MEW Papers, Series B, Box 45, MHA: n.p. [4].

⁵⁷ See Wells: 40.

⁵⁸ See Palmieri, In Adamless Eden: 96-101, 106-36. See also George Herbert Palmer, The Life of Alice Freeman Palmer (Boston: Houghton, 1908): 230-1, 234.

⁵⁹ MEW, "The Women's College," The Brown Magazine 6 (1894-95): 379.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER FIVE

¹ MEW, "Idealism in Education," Speech 36. Given eight times between 1905 and 1907 in Ohio, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Missouri. She spoke about Herbert Spencer's idea that a teacher must try to produce "a pleasurable excitement" in his or her students. At Wellesley, Woolley would join a community of academic women who made this a goal of their teaching.

² See Palmieri, In Adamless Eden: 166. [hereinafter IAE]

³ See Palmieri, IAE: 145-6.

⁴ qtd. in Florence Converse, The Story of Wellesley (Boston: Little, 1915): 177.

⁵ Palmieri, IAE: 102.

⁶ Palmieri, IAE: 100.

⁷ See Palmieri, IAE: 108.

⁸ Palmieri, IAE: 105.

⁹ See Converse: 27.

¹⁰ Converse: 13.

¹¹ Kate Upson Clark, Memoir, "At Wheaton Seminary in 1867-69," Kate Upson Clark Folder, WCA.

¹² qtd. in Converse: 48-9.

¹³ See Converse: 27-8.

¹⁴ See Palmieri, IAE: 49.

¹⁵ Palmieri, IAE: 48.

¹⁶ See Palmieri, IAE: 45-48.

¹⁷ See Converse: 32.

¹⁸ Women had been admitted to the University of Michigan for the first time two years before she enrolled. See Converse: 59.

¹⁹ See Palmieri, IAE: 69, 102-3.

²⁰ See Palmieri, IAE: 87.

²¹ See Palmieri, IAE: 119.

²² See Warner: 28.

²³ See Palmieri, IAE: 154-5.

²⁴ See Converse: 127.

²⁵ See Palmieri, IAE: 149-150.

²⁶ Helen A. Shafer, "Report to the Board of Trustees, 1892-1893," qtd. in Converse: 77.

²⁷ qtd. in Converse: 89.

²⁸ an alumna qtd. in Converse: 88.

²⁹ See Palmieri, IAE: 159, 164-175.

³⁰ Converse: 90.

³¹ MEW, NONA: 39.

³² See above: 129. Emerson, the senior faculty member who was dismissed, earned a Ph D. from Yale in 1903, and apparently never forgave Wellesley for its treatment of her. See Palmieri, IAE: 166.

³³ MEW, NONA: 39.

³⁴ qtd. in Marks: 43.

³⁵ The physics laboratory was set up in 1879, the experimental psychology laboratory in 1891, one of the first in colleges in America. See Converse: 129.

³⁶ See Converse: 122-3.

³⁷ MEW, "Some College Tendencies," The Wellesley Magazine 6 (1897): 6.

³⁸ See Wellesley College, Wellesley College Calendar, 1897-98 (Boston: Wellesley College, 1897): 47-8.

³⁹ See MEW, NONA: 38.

⁴⁰ The decimation of the Department in 1900 through the departure of three faculty members, Woolley, Rush Rhees, who left to become President of Rochester University, and Lydia Sanderson, a second Mount Holyoke alumna, who became head of the Bible Department at Wells College, led President Hazard to remark that "this department seems to have been a training place for future leaders."

(Caroline Hazard, "President's Annual Report" Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer of Wellesley College. 1900. (Boston: Wellesley College, 1901): 8).

⁴¹ MEW, NONA: 38. Smith "...was a professor of Old Testament language, literature, and theology in the United Free Church college of Glasgow from 1892 to 1909... He frequently traveled and lectured in the United States." (Smith, Sir George Adam, The New Columbia Encyclopedia 1975 ed.) Because of Woolley's Old Testament and Hebrew studies one can understand her emphasis on the significance of his visits to Wellesley.

⁴² "Abbott, Lyman," Webster's American Biography 1984 ed.

⁴³ "Moody, Dwight," Webster's American Biography 1984 ed.

⁴⁴ See "College Notes," The Wellesley Magazine, 5 (1897): 357.

⁴⁵ See "Christian Association Notes," The Wellesley Magazine, 4 (1896): 283.

⁴⁶ Claire Godwin Swift, letter to JM, 25 Mar 1950, Jeannette Marks Collection, Box 112, Folder 7 (typed), Folder 6 (original), WCSC.

⁴⁷ Anna E. Wolfson, letter to JM, 18 Feb 1950, Jeannette Marks Collection, Box 112, Folder 6, WCSC.

⁴⁸ MEW, "Some College Tendencies," : 7.

⁴⁹ David L. Cohn, The Good Old Days - A History of American Morals and Manners as seen through the Sears, Roebuck Catalogs 1905 to the Present, (NY: Simon, 1940): 74.

⁵⁰ MEW, "Some College Tendencies," : 7.

⁵¹ MEW, "Some College Tendencies," : 5.

⁵² See Helmreich: 69.

⁵³ See "The New President of Mount Holyoke," unidentified newspaper clipping, MEW Papers, Series B, Scrapbook 45: n.p. [4].

⁵⁴ See Wells: 53-4. See also Palmieri, IAE: 176-9.

⁵⁵ See Palmieri, IAE: 332-356.

⁵⁶ qtd. in "Calkins, Mary Whiton," Notable American Women, 1607-1950. See also, Converse: 94.

⁵⁷ "Scudder, Vida," Notable American Women, The Modern Period, 1980.

⁵⁸ qtd. in Palmieri, IAE: 175.

⁵⁹ Maynard Force Thayer, letter to JM, 5 Mar 1950, Jeannette Marks Collection, Box 112, Folder 7 (typed), Folder 6 (original), WCSG.

⁶⁰ See Alice Payne Hackett, Wellesley: Part of the American Story (NY: Dutton, 1949): 184-7. Scudder's letter is quoted in Hackett: 186-7. She helped to organize the women's Trade Union League, joined the Socialist Party in 1911 and was labelled a "rabble rouser," "anarchist" and "Bolshevik." In 1919, she helped reorganize the League for Industrial Democracy and later joined the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She wrote sixteen books on literary, religious and political topics throughout her long life. See "Scudder, Vida," Notable American Women, the Modern Period 1980 ed.

⁶¹ The National Consumers' League (Woolley dropped the word "National" from its title when she referred to it) was formed in 1892. "[It] agitated for seats for saleswomen in department stores, promoted clean, ventilated lunch rooms, published white lists of stores that treated employees well, and issued labels to be attached to items made under sanitary and healthful conditions." (Alice Kessler-Harris, Out to Work A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States (NY: Oxford UP, 1982): 166).

⁶² See "Coman, Katherine," Notable American Women, 1607-1950 1971 ed. See also Converse: 143-5.

⁶³ "Balch, Emily Greene," Notable American Women, 1607-1950 1971 ed.

⁶⁴ Emily Greene Balch, "College Settlements and the Opportunity to Gain Social Intelligence." TMH 24 (1915-16): 402. Woolley would follow Balch's career. In 1902, Balch became the co-founder and president of the Boston Women's Trade Union League and spoke out against racial discrimination and class exploitation in support of striking workers. She became a socialist and, with Scudder, organized a socialist conference in Boston. Balch opposed World War I and conscription, and in 1919, she was fired by the Wellesley Board of Trustees for her political activities. She was fifty-two at the time and had to find a way to earn her living. She became secretary-treasurer of the newly-formed Women's International League for Peace and Freedom whose purpose was the study of war and elimination of its causes. After years of travelling, organizing and extensive writing, Balch ultimately returned to the town of Wellesley where she lived in a house owned by college friends. See "Balch, Emily Greene," Notable American Women, 1607-1950 1971 ed.

⁶⁵ See Palmieri, IAE: 154.

⁶⁶ See Palmieri, IAE: 302.

⁶⁷ Lord Wellesley and other collies were fixtures of the Woolley household at Mount Holyoke. See Wells: 178n, 183.

⁶⁸ "Bates, Katharine," Notable American Women, 1607-1950 1971 ed.

⁶⁹ See Palmieri, IAE: 151-2.

⁷⁰ Vida Scudder, On Journey (NY: Dutton, 1937): 139.

⁷¹ Scudder, quoted in Nan Beaver Maglin, "Female Friendship: Vida D. Scudder and Florence Converse," ms: 27.

⁷² Maglin: 34.

⁷³ qtd. in "Scudder, Vida," Notable American Women, the Modern Period 1980 ed.

⁷⁴ Mary Augusta Woolley's diary is enclosed in MEW, Autobiographical Materials, Box 1, MHA. Mary Emma Woolley wrote on the diary, "Blessed Little Mother." See also, MEW, letter to JM, 3 Aug. 1900.

⁷⁵ The full context of this self-admonition can be seen in the following passage from a speech Woolley gave which she published in 1909, "In the rush of the modern world, we should add to, 'I strive to keep my body under,' 'I strive also to keep my nerves under'!" (MEW, "Some Results of Higher Education for Women," Harper's Bazar 43 (1909): 587.)

⁷⁶ qtd. in MHTC 11 (Olive Copeland): 10.

⁷⁷ Mrs. Cyrus (Grace Frazee) Brewster, Sr., letter to JM, 24 July 1950, Jeannette Marks Collection, Box 112, Folder 7 (typed), Folder 6 (original), WCSC.

⁷⁸ Mary Hewett Hildreth, letter to JM, 28 July 1950, Jeannette Marks Collection, Box 112, Folder 7 (typed), Folder 6 (original), WCSC. See also Lucile Reynolds Hall (Mrs. Walter A. Hall), letter to JM, 3 Apr 1950, Box 112, Folder 7 (typed), Folder 6 (original), WCSC.

⁷⁹ Katharine Jones Rew, letter to JM, 31 Mar 1950, Jeannette Marks Collection, Box 112, Folder 7 (typed), Folder 6 (original), WCSC.

⁸⁰ Grace Phemister, letter to JM, 17 Feb 1950, Jeannette Marks Collection, Box 112, Folder 7 (typed), Folder 6 (original), WCSC.

⁸¹ qtd. in Wells: 51-2. Marks had a troubled relationship with her father and was preoccupied all her life with her family history. When she was in her late eighties, she attempted to write an autobiography which she entitled The Wild Pigeon Steam Mill. The unpublished manuscript is a collection of bizarre, unhappy stories of her early childhood. Marks worried throughout her life that her mother's illnesses, physical and mental, would someday afflict her. Marks' father, William Dennis Marks, was the talented and ambitious only son of seven children born into a wealthy, mill-owning Episcopalian family in St. Louis, Missouri. He earned an engineering degree at Yale University before marrying Jeannette Holmes Colwell. His business failed shortly before their first daughter, Jeannette Augustus, nicknamed Gussie, was born in a boarding house on August 16, 1875. The family moved to Philadelphia where a second daughter, Mabel, was born and where Mr. Marks soon became Whitney Professor of Dynamics in the Engineering School of the University of Pennsylvania. He was a friend and associate of Thomas Edison and decided to leave his academic post to found the Philadelphia Edison Electric Light Company, one of the several companies that Edison formed to develop and market his inventions. Marks remembered how "thrilled and terrified" she felt in her father's Philadelphia library, but she and her sister actually spent most of their time in the company of their ailing mother in the summer house that their father built in Westport, New York, on Lake Champlain. Her father's life in Philadelphia was a mystery to Marks but she was aware of rumors of 'other women.' He kept his daughters out of the local public school in Westport, hiring instead a string of governesses to tutor them. It was a lonely life, and Marks passed the days exploring the out of doors, swimming in Lake Champlain, composing stories and poems, practicing piano, horseback riding (her mother was accomplished at both) and playing in the enormous attic of the house. Mother and daughters, accompanied by Lucy, the African-American woman who had raised Mrs. Marks and who now cared for all three, spent two years in Germany living with the family of their father's business associate. Her sister attended school, but Marks had rheumatic fever and was tutored at home by a governess whom she thoroughly disliked. Back in America, Mrs. Marks became increasingly ill and her husband eventually admitted her to a sanitarium. He closed up the Westport house and enrolled Marks in, first, a Boston boarding school and then Dana Hall, a preparatory school in the town of Wellesley. Marks entered Wellesley College at the age of twenty in 1895. See Wells: 42-5.

⁸² MEW Papers, Series A, Box 38, MHA. The writing is dated 28 Nov 1898. Marks notes that she found it in 1950 in MEW's ribbon box which had been willed by MEW to her cousin Helen Ferris.

⁸³ qtd. in Wells: 54. See also Palmieri, IAE: 176-7.

⁸⁴ See "Caroline Hazard," Notable American Women, 1906-1950, 1971.

⁸⁵ qtd. in "Editorials," The Wellesley Magazine 7 (1899): 367.

⁸⁶ qtd. in Palmieri, IAE: 179.

⁸⁷ Woolley, Mary Emma, ALS to: Caroline Hazard, 13 Mar 1899, WCA. Wells (53) refers to "gossip" that Woolley was disappointed at not being appointed instead of Hazard.

⁸⁸ Woolley, Mary Emma, ALS to: Caroline Hazard, 10 Apr 1899, WCA.

⁸⁹ See Wells: 53.

⁹⁰ MEW, "Free Press," The Wellesley Magazine 8 (1900): 331-333.

⁹¹ Hazard: 4.

⁹² Nettie I. H. (Mrs. Hill) Brougham, letter to JM, 31 Mar 1950, Jeannette Marks Collection, Box 112, Folder 7 (typed), Folder 6 (original), WCSC.

⁹³ Swift.

⁹⁴ Harriet Albertson Buckhout, letter to JM, 1 July 1950, Jeannette Marks Collection, Box 112, Folder 6, WCSC.

⁹⁵ Maynard Force Thayer.

⁹⁶ Hazard: 9.

⁹⁷ Converse: 131.

⁹⁸ Students were required to do a few hours of housekeeping chores each week, but by the 1890s, these jobs were almost exclusively clerical or laboratory assistance.

⁹⁹ qtd. in Marks: 52.

¹⁰⁰ Woolley used the term herself in NONA: 44.

¹⁰¹ Arthur Cole, A Hundred Years of Mount Holyoke College (New Have: Yale UP, 1940): 201.

¹⁰² qtd. in "Wellesley Girls Cheer," unidentified newspaper clipping. n. d. [Jan 1900]. Woolley, Mary E. 1894, Biographical Files, WCA.

¹⁰³ Hazard: 6.

¹⁰⁴ The question of what lay ahead after college was a disturbing one for many women graduates. After four years of intense and rigorous liberal arts education, the vast majority of young women faced limited work opportunities and expected heavy family responsibilities. Many experienced post-college depressions. In an article entitled "After College, What?", historian Joyce Antler documents the frequent incidence of depression after graduation among members of the Wellesley class of 1897. (American Quarterly 32 (1980): 409-434.) Marks graduated in 1900.

¹⁰⁵ MEW, letter to JM, 9 July 1900, MEW Papers, Series C, MHA. [Unless explicitly identified, letters between MEW and JM all exist in Series C of the MEW papers and the footnotes will omit that fact.]

¹⁰⁶ MEW, letter to JM, qtd. in Wells: 57.

¹⁰⁷ See "Alumnae Notes," TMH 9 (1899-1900): 273-9. See also "College Notes," TMH 9 (1899-1900): 322.

¹⁰⁸ See Hazard: 13.

¹⁰⁹ MEW, letters to JM, qtd. in Wells: 58-9.

¹¹⁰ MEW, letter to JM, 17 Oct 1900.

¹¹¹ MEW, letter to JM, 10 Oct 1900.

¹¹² MEW, letter to JM, 6 Oct 1900.

¹¹³ MEW, letter to JM, 14 Oct 1900.

¹¹⁴ See Hawk: 66.

¹¹⁵ MEW, letter to JM, 6 Oct 1900.

¹¹⁶ qtd. in "The Presbyterian Union," The Evangelist 6 Dec 1900. MEW Papers Series B Box 45: n.p. [45].

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER SIX

¹ MEW, letter to JM, quoted in Wells: 59.

² MEW, letter to JM, 31 Dec. 1900.

³ MEW, letter to JM, 31 Dec. 1900 (second letter).

⁴ MEW, letter to JM, 6 Jan. 1901.

⁵ MHTC 10 (Susan R. Stifler): 2-3.

⁶ MEW, letter to JM, 17 Dec. 1900.

⁷ MEW, letter to JM, 6 Jan. 1901.

⁸ MEW, letter to JM, 7 Jan. 1901.

⁹ MEW, letter to JM, 17 Sep. 1901.

¹⁰ See the manager of The Worthy in Springfield, MA, letter to Miss Henrietta A. Marks (sic), 7 May 1902 which states they are "pleased to reserve room for Miss Woolley and yourself for Saturday and Sunday night, in a quiet part of our house."

¹¹ See, for example, JM, letter to MEW, 8 May 1902, "I think a couple of years more of this life will kill all that's normal and sensitive there is in me. Dearest, can't we have a home?"

¹² See Wells: 71.

¹³ Springfield Republican, 16 May 1901: 5.

¹⁴ MEW, Speech 58 (Alumnae Luncheon, Boston) 25 Feb. 1911.

¹⁵ See Palmieri: 179.

¹⁶ For an analysis of the intellectually oriented women at Wellesley, see Palmieri: 192-305.

¹⁷ Springfield Republican, 18 Jan. 1900, in SBC Series 1, 2: 37, MHA.

¹⁸ "Miss Mary E. Woolley is Elected President of Mt. Holyoke College," Pawtucket Gazette and Chronicle 18 Jan. 1900, MEW papers, Series B, Oversize Materials, 46, MHA, n.p. [3].

¹⁹ Judson Smith, "Address and Presentation of the Keys," TMH 11 Inauguration Number (1901): 8. [hereinafter Inauguration].

²⁰ See Springfield Republican 16 May 1901: 12.

²¹ MEW, "Inaugural Address," Inauguration: 8-9.

²² Mary Lyon, letter to Miss Grant, 4 Feb. 1833, Mary Lyon, The Inception of Mount Holyoke College (Springfield, MA, 1887): 9.

²³ MEW, "Inaugural Address,": 9.

²⁴ MEW, "Inaugural Address,": 12.

²⁵ MEW, "Inaugural Address,": 13-14.

²⁶ MEW, "Inaugural Address,": 14.

²⁷ MEW, "Inaugural Address,": 14-15.

²⁸ MEW, "Inaugural Address,": 15.

²⁹ The Congregationalist and Christian World, 25 May 1901 in MEW Papers, Series B, Box 45, MHA: n.p. [13].

³⁰ Carolyn Hazard, "Address by President Hazard of Wellesley," Inauguration: 15-16.

³¹ Hazard: 17.

³² Hazard: 16.

³³ Taylor's letter read, "I have been made to feel that the resignation of my duties here would be construed by most observers, despite my own honest protest, as an assertion that the type of work for which Vassar stands is of less importance than that of a college mainly devoted to men ... I have been persuaded, too, that in the present juncture, when new problems as to the very nature of woman's education are being raised, the presence of one who has long experience in the work, and knows its interests and its limitations, may be of grave importance. It has seemed to me, too, that there are far more men willing to give their best service to the education of men than there are who will give a like earnest service for woman's education. I have been convinced, also, that the position offered me would present no greater opportunity for usefulness than that I now hold. The chance of directly influencing the life of one's time through the young men of a great college is alluring; but indirectly and in an increasing degree directly, the influence of the educated woman in the home, the school, the church, the state, and society, can hardly be accounted as holding second place." "Intercollegiate," The Wellesley Magazine 7 (1899): 379.

³⁴ In 1908, Taylor refused permission to a group of suffragists to speak on campus. In defiance, approximately forty

students held the meeting in the local cemetery. Among those attending were Inez Milholland, a student-organizer, Harriet Stanton Blatch, a Vassar alumna, Charlotte Perkins Gilman and labor leader, Rose Schneiderman. See Solomon: 112-3, Horowitz: 193, 222, Gordon: 134.

³⁵ James M. Taylor, "Address by President Taylor of Vassar," Inauguration: 19.

³⁶ See "Harris, George," The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography 10: 101.

³⁷ George Harris, "Address by President Harris of Amherst," Inauguration: 20.

³⁸ Harris: 21-22.

³⁹ Harris: 23.

⁴⁰ Springfield Republican, 16 May 1901: 5.

⁴¹ Springfield Republican, 16 May 1901: 5.

⁴² Orra A. Phelps, "The Mt. Holyoke Inauguration," C.A.C. [Connecticut Agricultural College] Lookout (June 1901): 16. MEW Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 2, Folder 2, Inauguration - Clippings, MHA.

⁴³ qtd. in William Faunce, "Address by President Faunce of Brown University," Inauguration: 25.

⁴⁴ Faunce, Inauguration: 23.

⁴⁵ Faunce, Inauguration: 26.

⁴⁶ Faunce, Inauguration: 27.

⁴⁷ NT, Rom. 11. 33.

⁴⁸ French American 1 June 1901 in MEW papers, Series B, Oversize Material, 45, MHA: n.p. [17].

⁴⁹ Mary Augusta Woolley, Diary, 15 May 1901, MEW papers, Autobiographical Materials, Box 1, MHA.

⁵⁰ Mary Louise Atstatt, letter to her mother, 15 May 1901, Class of 1904, Folder 1, MHA.

⁵¹ Smith: 6.

⁵² A. L. Williston, letter to M. Carey Thomas, [11] Oct. 1900. Thomas, letter to A. L. Williston. 15 Oct. 1900. Thomas had been quoted in the Springfield Daily Republican 11 Oct. 1900. Williston's letter and her reply along with a copy of the original newspaper article are available in Mg/5b, MHA.

⁵³ A. Lyman Williston, letter to M. Carey Thomas, 17 Dec. 1900. Mg/5b. MHA.

⁵⁴ qtd. in Cole: 208.

⁵⁵ Cole: 201.

⁵⁶ See "About Mary Lyon," TMH 14 (1904-05): 288.

⁵⁷ MEW, "Mary Lyon," TMH 14 (1904-05): 240.

⁵⁸ See MEW, "Mary Lyon,": 237.

⁵⁹ See MEW, "Mary Lyon,": 238.

⁶⁰ MEW, "Women in Professions - Education" Speech 54 (St. Paul, MN) 6 June 1906: 1.

⁶¹ see above: 179.

⁶² MEW, The Report of the President, 1901-1911 (So. Hadley: Mount Holyoke College, 1911): 13.

⁶³ Cole: 245.

⁶⁴ Lyon, Inception, 17.

⁶⁵ See Tiziana Rota, "Between 'True Women' and 'New Women': Mount Holyoke Students, 1837 to 1908," diss., U of Massachusetts, 1983: 184.

⁶⁶ "Public Opinion," TMH 20 (1910-11): 212.

⁶⁷ [anonymous student class of] 1914, "Our Honor," TMH 23 (1913-14): 47-48.

⁶⁸ qtd. in Elaine Kendall, Peculiar Institutions (NY: Putnam, 1975): 117-8. Cornell University and Boston University had accepted women in 1868 and Amherst was opposed to the trend.

⁶⁹ See Cole: 192-3.

⁷⁰ L. Clark Seelye, "Founders Day Address," TMH 13 (1903-04): 188-9.

⁷¹ William Dewitt Hyde, "The Worth of the Womanly Ideal," TMH 15 (1905-06): 129.

⁷² Hyde: 127.

⁷³ Hyde: 129.

⁷⁴ Hyde: 129-30.

⁷⁵ Hyde: 127.

⁷⁶ Hyde: 128.

⁷⁷ See below: 276.

⁷⁸ See Rota: 81-2, 79.

⁷⁹ See Rota: 223-6.

⁸⁰ See Cole: 248. See MHTC 10 (Susan R. Stifler): 3, 13.

⁸¹ "Editorial," TMH 16 (1906-07): 306.

⁸² untitled [growth of MHC] (March 1902), Papers Prepared in English courses under the direction of Clara F. Stevens, 1896-97, Mg/4: 3, MHA.

⁸³ [illegible periodical title] 5 Jan. 1901. SBC Series 2. 3: 103.

⁸⁴ Warner: 106.

⁸⁵ MHTC 10 (Susan R. Stifler): 1-2.

⁸⁶ qtd. in Marks, LAL: 66.

⁸⁷ B. M. Marvel ('38), letter to Mount Holyoke College, 3 Mar. 1981, MEW Papers, Series A, MHA.

⁸⁸ MEW, "Education for Life" Speech 49 (Civitas Club, Brooklyn, NY) 8 Feb. 1911. The quote is from the version delivered at the Nurses Training School in Holyoke, MA, 6 June 1911: 1.

⁸⁹ "Alumnae Notes," TMH 12 (1902-03): 41.

⁹⁰ "Alumnae Notes," TMH 12 (1902-03): 218.

⁹¹ "Alumnae Notes," TMH 18 (1907-08): 355.

⁹² Judson Smith, "Mount Holyoke College and its Alumnae," TMH 17 (1907-08): 2.

⁹³ MEW, qtd. in "Alumnae Notes," TMH 19 (1909-10): 365.

⁹⁴ MEW, letter to JM, 10 Dec. 1909.

⁹⁵ MEW, "What the Alumnae May Mean to the College" Speech 47 (Springfield [MA] Alumnae Club) 4 Dec. 1909: 5.

⁹⁶ MEW, Annual Report of the President, 1906-1907 (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1907): 20.

⁹⁷ With much fanfare at the college, McKinley had come to Mount Holyoke two years earlier to attend his niece's graduation. See Cole: 238 and picture facing. See also "The President's Sunday First Visit to Mount Holyoke," Springfield Republican 19 June, 1899, SBC, Second Series, 3, MHA: 75-77.

⁹⁸ MEW, qtd. in "Holyoke Opera House Crowded President Woolley's Address," Springfield Republican 20 Sep. 1901, SBC, Second Series, 3, MHA: 124.

⁹⁹ Jane A. Stewart, "Women's Colleges and Their Women Executives," The Booklovers Magazine 2 (1903): 353.

¹⁰⁰ Stewart: 342.

¹⁰¹ Stewart: 352.

¹⁰² qtd. in Warner: 35-6.

¹⁰³ See MEW, "Education of Women" Speech 28 published in Encyclopedia Americana. 1905.

¹⁰⁴ MEW, "The Woman's College for Women" Speech 20 (Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences) 10 Feb. 1909.

¹⁰⁵ MEW "Address at the Inauguration of Dean King" Speech 76 (Brown University) 25 Oct. 1905: 2-3.

¹⁰⁶ MEW "The Significance of Changes in Education for Women" Speech No. 43 (Western Reserve University) 14 June, 1905: 5-6.

¹⁰⁷ See for example MEW, "Some Results of Higher Education for Women," MEW, "The College Woman as a Home-Maker," Ladies Home Journal 1 Oct. 1909 Speech 35.

¹⁰⁸ MEW, "Values of College Training for Women," Harper's Bazar 38 (1904): 837.

¹⁰⁹ Between 1850 and 1859, 75% of Mount Holyoke students married. Between 1905 and 1908, 59.4% married. The percentage who would never marry increased from 24.5% to 40.6% over that 50-year

period. The average number of children per Mount Holyoke mother (1850-1908) was 2.5. In the 1880s, 33.6% of Mount Holyoke marriages were childless, with that percentage falling to 23.6% in the period 1900-08. See Rota: 317-9.

¹¹⁰ MEW "Commencement Address" Speech 79 (Western College, Oxford, Ohio) 14 June 1905: 8, 14.

¹¹¹ MEW, "What Should College Training Accomplish?" Speech 3 (Woman's Club, Milwaukee, Wisconsin) 28 Apr. 1910: 17.

¹¹² MEW, "The College Woman as a Home-Maker."

¹¹³ MEW, "What Should College Training Accomplish?": 12.

¹¹⁴ MEW, "What Should College Training Accomplish?": 9-10.

¹¹⁵ MEW, "The Significance of Changes in Education for Women,": 8-9.

¹¹⁶ MEW, "Some Results of Higher Education for Women,": 588.

¹¹⁷ G. Stanley Hall, "The Kind of Women Colleges Produce," Appleton's Magazine n.d. filed with MEW, "College Woman's Place in the World" Speech 44 (Staten Island [NY] Woman's Club) 9 Dec. 1910.

¹¹⁸ MEW, "Some Phases of a Girl's Education" Speech 25 (Montclair [NJ] Woman's Club) 18 Nov. 1908: 7 [following]. Thomas Cranmer was Archbishop of Canterbury, responsible for the Great Bible of 1540, known as Cranmer's Bible.

¹¹⁹ MEW, "College Woman's Place in the World": 2-3, 5b, 6, 5a.

¹²⁰ MEW, Annual Report of the President, 1905-06 (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1906): 12-13.

¹²¹ MEW, "College Woman's Place in the World": 5a.

¹²² MEW, "What Should College Training Accomplish?": 14.

¹²³ MEW, "Some Phases of a Girl's Education": 2.

¹²⁴ "Debating Society Notes," TMH, 18 (1908-09): 396.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER SEVEN

¹ MEW, The Report of the President, 1901-1911 (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1911): 22.

² MEW, "The College and Evangelism," Speech 99 (Christian Endeavor Union, Springfield, MA) 29 Sep. 1910: 1.

³ M. Carey Thomas, "The Future of Woman's Higher Education." Mount Holyoke College, The Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, South Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1913: 104-5. [hereinafter, Anniversary]

⁴ MEW, "Bryn Mawr College, Twenty-fifth Anniversary," Speech 45 (Bryn Mawr, PA) 22 Oct. 1910: 2.

⁵ Thomas: 100-5.

⁶ Thomas: 103.

⁷ Beginning in 1852 and continuing throughout the second half of the 19th century, alumnae of Mount Holyoke founded a number of institutions, known as 'Daughter Colleges.' These were, Mills College in California founded in 1852 by Susan Tolman Taggart ('45) and her husband Dr. Cyrus Taggart, Western College in Oxford Ohio, founded in 1853 with Helen Peabody ('48) as its first principal, Lake Erie College in Painesville, Ohio founded in 1859 with Lydia Sessions ('56) as its first principal, Huguenot College founded in 1874 in Wellington, South Africa with Ferguson ('56) as its first principal and president, and the International Institute for Girls in Spain, founded in 1876 by Alice Gordon Gulick ('67) and her husband the Reverend William H. Gulick and incorporated under the Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1892. (Alumnae Association of MHC, One Hundred Year Biographical Directory of Mount Holyoke College 1837-1937, Bulletin Series 30, No. 5, South Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1937: 7.)

⁸ In addition, Mary Almira Smith, Surgeon of New England Hospital for Women and Children, Mary Frances Farnham, Dean of Women, Pacific University in Oregon, and Caroline Ransom, Assistant Curator, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York received honorary degrees. Anniversary: 123-7.

⁹ President Alexander Meiklejohn, "In Behalf of Colleges of the Connecticut Valley," Anniversary: 142-3.

¹⁰ "Editorial," TMH 20 (1910-11): 452.

¹¹ See MEW, "Dedication of the Library," TMH 15 (1905-06): 134. See also A Lyman Williston, "Library Notes," TMH 13 (1903-4): 395.

¹² See "Other Colleges," TMH 15 (1905-6): 83.

¹³ MEW, "Dedication of the Library,": 136.

¹⁴ MEW, "One Academic View of Culture" Speech 23 (The Classical Association of New England, Mount Holyoke College, So. Hadley, MA) 12 Dec. 1908: 4, 5. The last quotes are handwritten at the bottom of a typed outline.

¹⁵ MEW, "Dedication of the Library,": 138.

¹⁶ MEW, The Report of the President, 1901-1911: 21.

¹⁷ "Alumnae Notes," TMH 20 (1910-11): 458. By July 1, 1911, endowment had reached \$861,823. See MEW, The Report of the President, 1901-1911: 21.

¹⁸ "College News," TMH 26 (1915-16): 473.

¹⁹ MEW, "The Vocational Power of Women's Colleges," TMH 19 (1909-10): 171.

²⁰ MEW, The Report of the President, 1910-1911 (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1911): 5-6.

²¹ See MEW, The Report of the President, 1901-1911: 8-9. In 1912, in The Mount Holyoke, an alumna Marion F. Lansing ('03) stated that Mount Holyoke College had 108 faculty, thus sharing with Bryn Mawr the lowest ratio of students to faculty among the women's colleges, one to seven ("The Curriculum Today," TMH 22 (1912-13): 81). The contradiction between her number and Woolley's is because of her inclusion of assistants as faculty. Woolley identified 90 members of the "Faculty proper" in the 1913-14 academic year (See MEW, Report of the President, 1913-1916 (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1916):6). Woolley's figure creates a ratio of one to eight and a half, a lower ratio than Wellesley, Vassar and Smith.

²² MEW, The Report of the President, 1901-1911: 8.

²³ MEW, Annual Report of the President, 1904-05 (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1905): 6-7. Woolley would petition for this every year, but the trustees would not vote to create sabbaticals until 1925. See Cole: 253.

²⁴ MEW, Annual Report of the President, 1902-1903 (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1903): 3-21

²⁵ MEW, Annual Report of the President, 1903-1904 (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1904): 5.

²⁶ This information is contained in the answer prepared by Woolley to a Questionnaire sent by the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Education collecting Statistics of Colleges and Universities, 1915-1916, MEW Papers, Series A, Sub-series 2, Folder 14, MHA.

²⁷ Alumnae Association of Mount Holyoke College 1937: 11-34. All faculty (exclusive of administrators and assistants) hired between the years 1901 and 1911 were counted. The number of years that they remained at Mount Holyoke placed them into two different categories, those who left before 1912 and those who stayed past that benchmark year. The group of fifty faculty that stayed past 1912 had earned twenty-two doctorates, twelve masters' and three bachelors' degrees. The group of eighty-three who left before 1912 included thirty-one doctorates, twenty-four masters' and fifteen bachelors' degrees. Faculty with earned doctorates represented 44% of those that remained at the college while faculty with earned doctorates who left the college represented 37% of the total. There were appointees who did not have a degree or whose degree was not furnished in the Directory.

²⁸ MEW, The Report of the President, 1901-1911: 5, 19.

²⁹ See MEW, Annual Report of the President, 1902-1903: 6. See also MEW, Annual Report of the President, 1904-1905: 5.

³⁰ In 1906, students debated the idea that courses in domestic science should be offered in the curriculum and the affirmative won. "College Notes" TMH 15 (1905-06): 281.

³¹ See Wells: 108.

³² MEW, qtd. in Wells: 155.

³³ MEW, "The Vocational Power of the Women's College,": 172.

³⁴ MEW, "Address at the Inauguration of President Burton" Speech 46 (Smith College, Northampton, MA) 5 Oct. 1910: 4-6.

³⁵ See MEW, The Report of the President, 1901-1911: 9.

³⁶ MEW, Annual Report of the President, 1907-1908 (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1909): 5. "The maximum size of divisions in required Mathematics is twenty-two..." MEW, Annual Report of the President, 1905-1906 (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1907): 7.

³⁷ "Nettie Neilson," Notable American Women, 1607-1950 1971 ed. noted that she was "deeply conscious of her role in the struggle of women to achieve recognition in the world of scholarship." For more on Neilson and Putnam, see Penina M. Glazer and Miriam Slater,

Unequal Colleagues, The Entrance of Women into the Professions, 1890-1940 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1987): 45-64.

³⁸ Mental Traits of Sex and Psychological Norms in Men and Women, (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1903). "A Study of After-Images on the Peripheral Retina," co-authored with Kate Gordon Psychological Review 14 (1907): 122-167. See also MEW, Annual Report of the President, 1904-05: 8.

³⁹ See Springfield Republican, 3 Oct. 1901, SBC First Series, 3, MHA: 126.

⁴⁰ See MEW, The Report of the President, 1901-1911: 9.

⁴¹ "Editorials," TMH 8 (1898-9): 38, qtd in Cole: 234.

⁴² Cole: 235.

⁴³ See MEW, The Report of the President, 1901-1911: 9.

⁴⁴ See MEW, Annual Report of the President, 1907-1908: 11.

⁴⁵ See MEW, The Report of the President, 1901-1911: 9.

⁴⁶ Speech 97 (Mount Holyoke College Vespers) 2 Oct. 1904, Speech 91 (Grace Church, Holyoke, MA) 28 Feb. 1909, Speech 94 (YMCA, Northampton, MA) 10 Jan. 1906.

⁴⁷ MEW, "Qualities Which Make the Bible Educationally Valuable" Speech 96 March, 1904: 1,2.

⁴⁸ MEW, The Report of the President, 1901-1911: 9.

⁴⁹ See MEW, The Report of the President, 1901-1911: 17-18. For full data see "Mount Holyoke Missionaries," TMH 22 (1913): 294.

⁵⁰ MEW, qtd. in Harriet R. Pease "Report of the Second Annual Meeting of the Graduate Council of Mount Holyoke College," TMH 25 (1915-16): 441. In this statement Woolley misremembered her earlier report (see note 49) and stated 34 alumnae had become missionaries in her first decade.

⁵¹ See "Editorial," TMH 21 (1911-12): 219.

⁵² MHTC 9 (Ellen Deborah Ellis): 6

⁵³ See Laura H. Wild, "The Purpose of the Biblical Department," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly 1 (1917-18): 210.

⁵⁴ See MEW, The Report of the President, 1911-1913 (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1913): 26.

⁵⁵ See Wells: 78. Wells states that this course was the only teaching Woolley ever did, but Jerome refers to a senior Bible class that Woolley taught in 1911. See Jerome, letter to Mother, 5 Mar. 1911.

⁵⁶ MEW, "The College Girl's Religious Difficulties," Congregationalist 9 Aug. 1900, MEW Papers, Series B, Box 45, MHA: n.p. [55].

⁵⁷ See MEW, Annual Report of the President, 1902-1903: 12.

⁵⁸ Helen Miller Gould, letter to MEW, 16 May 1903, MEW Papers, Series B, MHA.

⁵⁹ MEW, letter to Helen Miller Gould, 10 June 1903, MEW Papers, Series B, MHA.

⁶⁰ See MEW, "The College and Evangelism": 5.

⁶¹ See Catalogue of Mount Holyoke College, 1904-1905. (So. Hadley: Mount Holyoke College, 1904): 11, 12. See also Catalogue of Mount Holyoke College, 1907-1908. (So. Hadley: Mount Holyoke College, 1907): 9, 10. See also MEW, Report of the President, 1913-1916: 9. See also "Department Notes," TMH 24 (1914-15): 118-119.

⁶² MHTC 11 (Olive Copeland): 2, 6, 1-2.

⁶³ MHTC 9 (Ellen Deborah Ellis): 14.

⁶⁴ Cole: 236.

⁶⁵ See MEW, Annual Report of the President, 1903-1904: 8.

⁶⁶ See Warner: 36.

⁶⁷ See "Report from the Registrar, 1908-1909," Annual Report of the President, 1908-1909 (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1910):21-22.

⁶⁸ "Board of Examiners Committee Annual Report" 1911-12, Mount Holyoke College Faculty Committees, Board of Examiners, MHA.

⁶⁹ "Report of the Board of Examiners," May, 1913.

⁷⁰ "Annual Report of the Board of Examiners," May, 1916.

⁷¹ qtd. in Pease: 439. Purington was a Mount Holyoke graduate (1886) and a member of the Mathematics department when Woolley asked her, in 1902, to assist in the administration of the college. Woolley appointed Purington as assistant to the treasurer, secretary of the Appointment Committee (a committee that assisted

alumnae in finding employment) and supervisor of the Students' League as well as of scholarships and registration. Woolley increased the staff by six secretaries and an assistant to the registrar so that hers and Purington's responsibilities were manageable. When the college awarded Purington an Honorary Degree at the 75th Anniversary celebration, Woolley said of her, "beloved Dean and friend of Mount Holyoke students, bringing to the problems of your office the clear mind of the mathematician and the warm-hearted sympathy of the truly educated woman..." Anniversary: 125.

⁷² see "Report of the Board of Examiners from June 12, 1918 to April 7, 1919": 3.

⁷³ Ellen C. Hinsdale "The New Plan of Admission," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly 1 (1917-18): 4.

⁷⁴ "Committee on Low-Grade Students" undated report, c. 1907-08, Mount Holyoke College Faculty Committees, MHA.

⁷⁵ See "College Notes," TMH 14 (1904-05): 303-5.

⁷⁶ See "Woolley, Mary Emma," Notable American Women, the Modern Period 1980 ed.: 662.

⁷⁷ MEW, Report of the President, 1901-1911: 12.

⁷⁸ See Elisabeth S. Williams, "Historical Sketch of the Fellowships," TMH 22 (1912-13): 478

⁷⁹ See Lansing: 81-2.

⁸⁰ See Cole: 328.

⁸¹ See "Editorial," TMH 15 (1905-06): 234-5. See also "The 'Black Book,'" TMH 15 (1905-06): 316-7.

⁸² See Hazel Sanford "The Students' League -- A Sketch of its History," TMH 24 (1914-15): 466.

⁸³ "Editorial," TMH 12 (1902-03): 270.

⁸⁴ "Editorial," TMH 12 (1902-03): 327.

⁸⁵ "Editorial," TMH 12 (1902-03): 378.

⁸⁶ See "College Notes," TMH 14 (1904-05): 221. See also Cole: 275, Sanford: 469.

⁸⁷ Marion Truesdell, "Student Government at Mount Holyoke College," TMH 25 (1915-16): 301-3.

⁸⁸ Truesdell: 309.

⁸⁹ C.,C.,M.,P.,S.,S.,T., "Rules, Regulations and Revolution," TMH 30 (1920-21): 164-5.

⁹⁰ "Report of the Dean, 1919-1920," Report of the President, 1919-1920 (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1920): 20. In 1922, the Mount Holyoke College community, an entirely new form of self-government was adopted by the Students' League. It "brought students and faculty into a centralized, cooperative arrangement. ... It was to have control of student life in almost all aspects." Cole: 281.

⁹¹ A Sorority Alumna "Something More About Societies" TMH 18 (1908-09): 421.

⁹² See "College Notes," TMH 16 (1906-07): 41.

⁹³ See Wells: 110.

⁹⁴ MEW, "The Vocational Power of the Women's College,": 170.

⁹⁵ "Editorial," TMH 15 (1905-06): 109.

⁹⁶ See "Public Opinion," TMH 18 (1908-09): 103. "Public Opinion," TMH 18 (1908-09): 174-7. "Public Opinion," TMH 18 (1908-09): 240-3.

⁹⁷ See Cole: 276-7. See also Marion R. Newell, "The Society Question at Mount Holyoke College," TMH 20 (1910-11): 1-8. The "Report of the College Reconstruction Committee" is in Newell: 4-8.

⁹⁸ "Alumnae Notes," TMH 18 (1908-09): 122.

⁹⁹ "Editorial," TMH 19 (1909-10): 226-7.

¹⁰⁰ See "A Graduate Council for Mount Holyoke College," TMH 24 (1914-15): 205.

¹⁰¹ Wells: 101.

¹⁰² See Wells: 114.

¹⁰³ See Wells: 104.

¹⁰⁴ Wells: 114.

¹⁰⁵ See Class of 1901 and Class of 1904, "Opinions of the System of Domestic Work in Mount Holyoke College," My/4, MHA. Twenty students responded: seventeen were enthusiastically positive about the system, one was negative, and two were mildly supportive.

¹⁰⁶ See Mount Holyoke Faculty, Opinions on the System of Domestic work, c. 1901, My/4, MHA.

¹⁰⁷ MEW, "Arguments in favor of discontinuance of domestic work," c.1913, My/5, MHA: 1.

¹⁰⁸ See "Domestic Work From the Record of the Trustees of Mount Holyoke College," Mount Holyoke College Trustees Records, Series C, Sub-Series 1, Folder 12, MHA. See also: MEW, Report of the President, 1911-13: 24-5.

¹⁰⁹ See L.B.D., M.E.G., R.E.K., M.C.M., M.P.S., M.T., M.M., 1916, "Our Money -- What We Do With It," TMH 25 (1915-16): 596.

¹¹⁰ See [anonymous student class of] 1918, "Is College Different?" TMH 27 (1917-18): 111.

¹¹¹ See Pease: 437.

¹¹² See "Is College Different?": 111.

¹¹³ See Pease: 438.

¹¹⁴ See "College Provisions for Living" 8 Mar. 1916, MEW Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 2, Folder 114, MHA.

¹¹⁵ See, for example, an exchange article from Vassar Anne Thorpe, [Vassar] 1917, "The Social Side of Domestic Service at Vassar College," TMH 25 (1916-17): 364-70. This article describes the organization of the Good Fellowship Club House at Vassar, a place for the housekeeping force, almost all of them young women, to gather socially. The goal of the house was to give "more power" and "opportunity to employees of the college."

¹¹⁶ MEW, "Mary Lyon's Religious Ideal and Its Expression" Speech 5 (50th Anniversary of the Western College, Oxford, Ohio) 6 June 1905: 1.

¹¹⁷ MEW "Address of Congratulation at Inauguration of President Small, Lake Erie College, October 27, 1909," TMH 19 (1909-10): 267, 266, 269.

¹¹⁸ Katharine Lee Bates, letter to MEW, 11 Oct. 1910, MEW Papers, Series B, MHA.

¹¹⁹ M. Carey Thomas, letter to MEW, 28 June 1913, MEW Papers, Series B, MHA.

¹²⁰ Cole: 320.

¹²¹ MEW, Report of President, 1920-23 (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1923): 4.

¹²² see above: 241.

¹²³ Cole: 320.

¹²⁴ Harriet B. Prescott, "Are College Students Well-Informed?" Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly, 1 (1917-18): 8-10. In 1904 the first intercollegiate debate had been suggested and rejected out of hand because Mount Holyoke feared a "shameful defeat." In 1912, Mount Holyoke accepted a challenge for an intercollegiate debate from Vassar. (Cole: 305). In March of 1913, the debate took place, beginning a tradition of inter-collegiate debating. To the great surprise of the Mount Holyoke community, they won the debate. In reporting on the victory, TMH commented that Woolley's absence was "a source of great regret to all." ("College Notes Vassar-Mount Holyoke Debate" TMH 22 (1912-13): 458). In 1917, Barnard, Radcliffe and Smith joined with the other three to form a debating league. ("College News," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly, 1 (1917-18): 240.

¹²⁵ MEW, Report of the President, 1913-1916: 16.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER EIGHT

¹ MEW "The Conservation of Values" Speech 53 (Social Education Congress, Boston) 8 Mar. 1908: 1-4.

² [Advertisement for] "Gymnasium Suits Swimming Suits Jumper Blouses," TMH 19 (1909-10): vi following 446.

³ See "College Calendar," TMH 19 (1909-10): 508.

⁴ MEW, Report of the President, 1911-13: 62-3.

⁵ MEW, "The Social Responsibility of the Educated Christian Woman," The Congregationalist and Christian World 31 Dec. 1904: 1002. Also available as Speech 65.

⁶ MEW, "The Conservation of Values": 4-5,7.

⁷ MEW, "Missionary Jubilee" Speech 101 (Springfield, MA) 7 Mar. 1911: 2, 4.

⁸ MEW, "A Modern Interpretation of an Ancient Teaching" Speech 81 (Holyoke, MA) 10 May 1908: 10.

⁹ MEW, "Education and the Missionary Spirit" Federation of Women's Missionary Societies, Cleveland OH. 15 Oct. 1907 reprinted in TMH 18 (1908-09): 242, 244.

¹⁰ See "College Notes," TMH 15 (1905-06): 201.

¹¹ See C.Vann Woodward Origins of the New South, (Baton Rouge: LA State UP, 1951): 356-68.

¹² See W.E.B. DuBois "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others," Souls of Black Folk (Chicago, 1903): 41-59.

¹³ See "College Calendar," TMH 21 (1911-12): 478.

¹⁴ See "Mount Holyoke College Booker Washington Speaks," Springfield Republican 12 Jan 1914, SBC Series 2, 8, MHA: 2-3

¹⁵ MEW, "Education for Life": 3.

¹⁶ "Editorial," TMH 12 (1902-03): 153.

¹⁷ See "College Notes," TMH 13 (1903-04): 271.

¹⁸ See "College Notes," TMH 11 (1901-02): 434. At one early meeting Marks' class came dressed as Canterbury pilgrims eating

Christmas dinner after which a masque by Florence Converse was performed. See "College Notes," TMH 13 (1903-04): 272.

¹⁹ See "Public Opinion," TMH 22 (1912-13): 39-40.

²⁰ Cole: 250

²¹ See "College Notes," TMH 14 (1904-05): 220.

²² See "College Notes," TMH 14 (1904-05): 396-7.

²³ See Belle Mead, "The College Woman and the Social Settlement," TMH 14 (1904-05): 191-194.

²⁴ See "College Notes," TMH 14 (1904-05): 34.

²⁵ See "College Notes," TMH 13 (1903-04): 399, "College Notes" TMH 14 (1904-05): 33, "College Notes," TMH 17 (1907-08): 479, "College Settlements Notes," TMH 18 (1908-09): 397. Scudder not only spoke at Mount Holyoke. Some Mount Holyoke students also visited Denison House. See Mary P. Sheldon "Impressions of Denison House, Boston," TMH 16 (1906-07): 390-3.

²⁶ [anonymous class of] 1908, "Ellis Island," TMH 17 (1907-08): 443, 445-6.

²⁷ Jane Addams, "Commencement Address," TMH 17 (1907-08): 47.

²⁸ Addams: 46.

²⁹ "Public Opinion," TMH 19 (1909-10): 300.

³⁰ See "College Calendar," TMH 18 (1908-09): 324.

³¹ "Public Opinion," TMH 20 (1910-11): 495-6.

³² For example, a debate was conducted in 1904, "resolved: Mount Holyoke College emphasizes intellectual at the expense of physical and social development." "College Notes," TMH 14 (1904-05): 32.

³³ Cole: 220-1.

³⁴ Maglin: 28.

³⁵ JM "Social Work and the College Girl," TMH 15 (1905-06): 218-9.

³⁶ Scudder came to Mount Holyoke on April 20, 1907 to address the Reading Club. (See "College Calendar," TMH 16 (1906-07):

405) On an undated note written on a Friday afternoon Marks complained "I think you are an old idiot to work like this ... Your own disgusted Dependent. I didn't like you today at all" to which Woolley replied Monday morning in an undated note that Marks was "a naughty girl, willful, spoiled ... But I love you even when you are most haughty! Now doesn't that take the wind out of your sails!"

³⁷ There are many examples in the MEW/JM correspondence of responses to each others' work. See, for example, MEW, letter to JM 5 May 1916, arranging for Marks to look at the "working" copy of a proposed Bryn Mawr talk of Woolley's.

³⁸ MEW, "Educational Ideals for the Pupil," Harper's Bazar Aug. 1909: 756. Also Speech 38.

³⁹ See Wells: 74-5.

⁴⁰ See JM, "Can A Girl Earn Her Own Way Through College?" The Home Magazine 16 (1901): 507-9.

⁴¹ See Wells: 95.

⁴² See JM, "The New Trustee," New England Magazine new ser. 32 (1905): 663-672.

⁴³ JM, "Mount Holyoke College; A Study in Educational Service," Outlook 82 (1906): 191-202.

⁴⁴ Wells: 154.

⁴⁵ Cole: 267.

⁴⁶ See MEW, "The Civic Responsibility of the College Woman," Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae 7 (1914): 11-16.

⁴⁷ "College Notes," TMH 12 (1902-03): 38.

⁴⁸ See Susan R. Stifler, "In 1905 A curiously negative reaction to the suffragettes," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly 56 (1972-73): 13.

⁴⁹ "Address of President Mary E. Woolley," Speech 2 (The College Evening of the Thirty-Eighth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Baltimore) 8 Feb. 1906: 6-7.

⁵⁰ "Address by Miss M. Carey Thomas," (The College Evening of the Thirty-Eighth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Baltimore) 8 Feb. 1906: 27-30.

⁵¹ See "College Calendar," TMH 18 (1908-09): 247-9.

⁵² See "Debating Society Notes," TMH 19 (1909-10): 64, 143-4.

⁵³ See "Debating Society," TMH 21 (1911-12): 4, 411

⁵⁴ See "Alumnae Notes," TMH 23 (1913-14): 289-90.

⁵⁵ MEW, "Memorial Service, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe," Speech 105 Boston 8 Jan. 1911: 6.

⁵⁶ See "Equal Suffrage League Notes," TMH 23 (1913-14): 606-8.

⁵⁷ See "Equal Suffrage League Notes," TMH 25 (1915-16): 49.

⁵⁸ Cole: 267.

⁵⁹ MEW, letter to JM, 10 Aug. 1917.

⁶⁰ See Wells: 76-7.

⁶¹ MEW, "Educational Aspects of Peace Propaganda" Speech 1 (The National Arbitration and Peace Congress) New York City 16 Apr. 1907. See above: 412 for Woolley's own title.

⁶² MEW, "Peace and the Imagination" Speech 4 (80th Anniversary Celebration of the American Peace Society) Boston 12 May 1908.

⁶³ See "International School of Peace," TMH 19 (1909-10): 505.

⁶⁴ MEW,, "The Woman's Club Woman," Good Housekeeping May, 1910: 559, 560. The second quote is Woolley quoting the chairman of the Household Economics Committee.

⁶⁵ See Alice Booth, "America's Twelve Greatest Women Mary E. Woolley," Good Housekeeping March, 1931: 200-204. See also "The Complete Roster of America's Greatest Women," Good Housekeeping, March, 1931: 342. The women were selected by the readers of Good Housekeeping and a panel of five men: Newton Baker, Bruce Barton, Booth Tarkington, Henry Van Dyke and Otto H. Kahn. The women in addition to Woolley were Grace Abbott, Jane Addams, Cecilia Beaux, Martha Berry, Willa Cather, Carrie Chapman Cott, Grace Coolidge, Minnie Maddern Fiske, Helen Keller, Florence Rena Sabin, Ernestine Schumann-Heink.

⁶⁶ MHTC 9 (Ellen Deborah Ellis): 4-5, 11.

⁶⁷ See M. C. K., "War Relief Work," TMH 25 (1915-16): 44-5.

⁶⁸ MEW, qtd. in Springfield Republican, 16 Apr. 1915, qtd. in Cole: 257.

⁶⁹ MEW, letter to JM, 10 Aug. 1917.

⁷⁰ MEW, letter to JM, 21 Sep. 1914.

⁷¹ MEW, letter to JM 14 Nov. 1915.

⁷² MEW, letter to JM 27 July 1915.

⁷³ MEW, letter to JM, 20 May 1915.

⁷⁴ See MEW, letters to JM, 1 Feb. 1917 through 7 Feb. 1917 (5 letters).

⁷⁵ Wells: 165-6.

⁷⁶ Cole: 259.

⁷⁷ Wells: 169.

⁷⁸ Cole: 259.

⁷⁹ Cole: 261.

⁸⁰ See "College News," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly 1 (1917-18): 238.

⁸¹ "Mount Holyoke Opens The Hope of the World," Springfield Republican 21 Sep 1917: 18.

⁸² George E. Vincent "The Meaning of America," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly 2 (1918-19): 84. Woolley's speech was published in the same issue. (MEW, "A Redefinition of Fraternity," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly 2 (1918-19): 86-91.)

⁸³ "Editorial," TMH 27 (1917-18): 29.

⁸⁴ "Holyoke Convention Parent Teacher Ass'n," Springfield Republican 4 Oct. 1917: 4.

⁸⁵ See "College Notes," TMH 27 (1917-18): 42.

⁸⁶ See "College News," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly 1 (1918): 242.

⁸⁷ See George Palmer Putnam, "Mount Holyoke's Training School for Health Officers" Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly 2

(1918-19): 185-7, Edith Dunton, "Smith's Training School for Psychiatric Social Workers," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly 2 (1918-19): 182-3, Dorothy Camp and Margaret Conrad, "The Vassar Training Camp for Nurses," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly 2 (1918-19): 180-2, Elizabeth Mainwaring, "The Wellesley Training Camp for Supervisors in the Woman's Land Army," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly 2 (1918-19): 183-4.

⁸⁸ The Mount Holyoke catalogue for 1910 states: "Because of an increasing need for some medium of communication between the alumnae and those seeking educated workers, a standing committee, known as the Appointment Committee, was established in March 1901. The duties of the Committee are to collect and systematize information regarding Mount Holyoke alumnae who desire positions in any line of work, and also to gather all possible information concerning openings for Mount Holyoke women." Mount Holyoke College, Bulletin of Mount Holyoke College: the Catalogue 1910-11 (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1910): 75.

⁸⁹ See "Alumnae Notes," TMH 14 (1904-05): 307.

⁹⁰ See "Notice," TMH 20 (1910-11): 71-72.

⁹¹ See "Alumnae Notes," TMH 22 (1912-13): 66-7.

⁹² See "College News," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly 2 (1918-10): 35.

⁹³ "Debating Society Notes," TMH 19 (1909-10): 233.

⁹⁴ [Advertisement for] "Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations," TMH 25 (1915-16): iv before 352.

⁹⁵ See "Alumnae Department," TMH 21 (1911-12): 173-4.

⁹⁶ See "Alumnae Notes," TMH 21 (1911-12): 320.

⁹⁷ Ellinor T. B. Endicott, "The Organization of the Social Work Department," TMH 22 (1912-13): 334-335.

⁹⁸ Annie L. Pomeroy, "The Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations of New York," TMH 25 (1915-16): 62.

⁹⁹ Report of the Appointment Bureau, 1 Sep 1917 to 1 Sep 1918, MJ/12, MHA.

¹⁰⁰ MEW, qtd. in Pease: 441.

¹⁰¹ See [anonymous class of] 1919, "Summer Work of Mount Holyoke College Girls," TMH 29 (1919): 1.

¹⁰² Pomeroy: 63.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER NINE

¹ MEW, letter to JM: 3 Apr. 1902.

² JM, letter to MEW, 7 Apr. 1905.

³ JM, note to MEW, n.d. [1904].

⁴ JM, letter to MEW, 6 Apr. 1905.

⁵ MEW, letter to JM, 7 Apr. 1905.

⁶ There is no full bibliography of the writings of Jeannette Marks. Wells lists 20 books (267-8). There are extensive indices in MHA and WCSC which are probably not complete. Her life and work are rich in research possibilities.

⁷ (London: Methuen and Co., 1908).

⁸ rev. of English Pastoral Drama by JM London Daily Graphic reprinted in TMH 19 (1909-10): 219.

⁹ rev. of English Pastoral Drama by JM Outlook 15 Aug. 1908: 863-4.

¹⁰ (Boston: Houghton, 1909).

¹¹ Edwin Markham, rev. of Through Welsh Doorways by JM reprinted in TMH 19 (1909): 220.

¹² She was in a conflict with a member of her department and was criticized for her influence with Woolley. Marks was sensitive to the opinion that because she was "in [the] graces of the administration," she got what she wanted. MHTC 10 (Susan R. Stifler): 18. See also Wells: 80, 96-7.

¹³ MEW, letter to JM, 9 Oct. 1910.

¹⁴ MEW, letter to JM, 21 Oct. 1910.

¹⁵ JM, letter to MEW, 1 Nov. 1910.

¹⁶ Lida Shaw King, letter to MEW, 8 June 1903.

¹⁷ MEW, letter to JM, 17 Mar. 1901.

¹⁸ MHTC 10: 9.

¹⁹ Florence M. Hall (1904), letter to her sister, 18 Oct 1903, class of 1904, MHA.

²⁰ Wells states that Marks barely offered Woolley any sympathy for her losses and "refused" to come to Pawtucket when Woolley "begged" her to come. (Wells: 92-3, 97-8). A week after Mrs. Woolley's death, Marks offered to come to Pawtucket. "If you need me very much send for me -- and I'll come right back ... how well I am going to take care of you. I am going to spoil you, Beloved, just as much as I can. ... I'm living through all your nights with you ... across all these miles I will take you in my arms and kiss those dear eyes ..." (JM, letter to MEW, 6 Apr. 1905). When the Reverend Woolley died Marks asked Woolley to join her in Wales. Woolley responded that she could not. She explicitly stated that she did not cable Marks with the news because "I did not want you to think of coming back to this hot summer" (MEW, letter to JM, 8 July, 1906).

²¹ MEW, letter to JM, 5 July 1906.

²² MEW, letter to JM, 29 July 1906.

²³ JM, letter to MEW, 14 Nov. 1910.

²⁴ Marks became involved with Ethel Arnold in 1904 on her first trip to Britain. A niece of Matthew Arnold and daughter of Thomas Arnold, she was a writer and photographer. Marks lived with Arnold in Wales for several summers and brought her to Mount Holyoke to deliver a series of lectures on English writers. Arnold was a gifted but dominating personality, plagued by alcohol and drug dependence. Marks was involved with her for more than a decade. Initially, Marks kept Woolley out of the relationship, but eventually, when Arnold visited Mount Holyoke, she was Woolley's guest at the President's House. See Wells: 83-4, 105-6, 119-20, 123-4, 138.

²⁵ Wells: 161-2, 172. She would remain chairman until 1937, retiring from the college in 1941.

²⁶ See Wells: 125, 163.

²⁷ Leviathan, the Record of a Struggle and a Triumph (NY: George H. Doran Co., 1913). See Wells: 149-151 for a summary. Genius and Disaster (NY: Adelphi Co., 1925) was preceded by preliminary studies in various journals. (See Wells: 164).

²⁸ See Wells: 177-9.

²⁹ Thirteen Days (NY: Albert and Charles Boni, 1929). Both quotes are from blurbs on the book.

³⁰ Wells: 245-6.

³¹ JM, "What it Means to be President of a Woman's College," Harper's Bazar 47 (1913): 265-6. See above: 274 and notes 39-42 to ch. 8. Marks would write Woolley's biography after her death in 1947, LAL.

³² MEW, letter to JM, 18 June 1914.

³³ MEW, letter to JM, 31 March 1937.

³⁴ Dorothy Foster, letter to JM, 15 Feb 1948, JM Papers, Series 8, Folder 56, MHA.

³⁵ On the favoritism, see Wells: 79-80, 96-7, 102-3, 117-8, 153-4, 171-2, 183-4, 202-10. Many of these incidents are related from the point of view of people who did not like Marks, so the evidence for Woolley's favoritism is not definitive.

³⁶ "College News," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly 2 (1918-19): 249.

³⁷ MEW, "The College Woman in this World Leadership" Speech 330 (Association of American Colleges, Chicago, 8 Jan. 1920): 24.

³⁸ MEW, letter to JM, 25 Sep. 1919.

³⁹ MEW, "The College Woman in this World Leadership": 16.

⁴⁰ MEW, letter to JM, 25 Sep. 1919.

⁴¹ MEW, letter to JM, 29 May 1920.

⁴² MEW, letter to JM, 13 Apr. 1920.

⁴³ MEW, letter to JM, 11 May 1921.

⁴⁴ MEW, letter to JM, 4 May 1921.

⁴⁵ MEW, letter to JM, 18 July 1920.

⁴⁶ MEW, letter to JM, 26 Oct. 1920.

⁴⁷ MEW, letter to JM, 22 Oct. 1920.

⁴⁸ MEW, letter to JM, 15 Feb. 1921.

⁴⁹ MEW, letter to JM, 30 Mar. 1921.

⁵⁰ MEW, letter to JM, 15 Apr. 1921.

⁵¹ MEW, letter to JM, 16 Apr. 1921.

⁵² MEW, letter to JM, 2 May 1921.

⁵³ MEW, Report of the President, 1920-23 (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1923): 5.

⁵⁴ MEW, letter to JM, 15 June 1921.

⁵⁵ MEW, letter to JM, 17 June 1921.

⁵⁶ MEW, Report of the President, 1920-23: 8. Harriet Newhall was Woolley's Secretary from 1915 to 1928. From 1928 till Woolley's retirement she would be Executive Secretary to the President and to the Board of Admission. (Alumnae Association of Mount Holyoke College: 26).

⁵⁷ MEW, letter to JM, 5 Sep. 1921.

⁵⁸ MEW, letter to JM, 6 Nov. 1921.

⁵⁹ For a classic presentation of this alternative analysis of Wilsonian foreign policy, see Williams, William A. The Tragedy of American Diplomacy, (1959. NY: Dell, 1972): 59-107.

⁶⁰ MEW, letter to JM, 19 Jan. 1927.

⁶¹ MEW, letter to JM, 21 July 1927.

⁶² MEW, letter to Erving Y. Woolley, 19 Aug. 1927, MEW Papers, MHA.

⁶³ qtd. in Wells: 200.

⁶⁴ MEW, "Greetings From our New President," Journal of the American Association of University Women, 20 (1926-7): 99.

⁶⁵ MEW, letter to Dean Florence Root (Wooster College), 30 Mar. 1929, Reel 48, C-12, AAUWA.

⁶⁶ Woolley, "Greetings From our New President."

⁶⁷ Eleanor Boswell, Executive Secretary, AAUW, form letter to Board of Directors, 7 Sep. 1927, Reel 48, C-12, AAUWA.

⁶⁸ MEW, "Achievement Versus Possibility," Journal of the American Association of University Women, 22 (1928-29): 169.

⁶⁹ Kathryn McHale, Executive and Educational Secretary, letter to MEW, 11 June 1930, Reel 48, C-12, AAUWA.

⁷⁰ "The President's Address" Journal of the American Association of University Women 26 (1932-33): 219.

⁷¹ MEW, "The American Association of University Women -- A Brief Review of Fifty Years," Journal of the American Association of University Women, 24 (1930-31): 172.

⁷² See for example, Elizabeth Eastman, letter to MEW, undated, [1928] describing the effort of a member of the AAUW to have a pacifist removed from the Women's Joint Congressional Committee. Woolley's responses are contained in MEW, letter to Eastman, 11 Jan. 1928 and MEW, letter to Belle Rankin, Executive Secretary of the Board of the Directors of the AAUW, 11 Jan. 1928. By return mail, Rankin advised that the woman in question would be appointed as a "special representative" on the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, a compromise of sorts. (Rankin, letter to MEW, 15 Jan. 1928, Reel 48, C-12, AAUWA). For indication that the leadership was strongly anti-militarist, see Rankin, letter to MEW, 29 Mar. 1929, "I personally, am very much opposed to our Association being implicated in, what I firmly believe, a scheme of the War Department to boost military training. What they want to do is to get women enlisted so that they will be willing to wave the flag and boost enlistments and back the War Department and war propaganda, should the possibility of conflict arise." (Reel 48, C-12, AAUWA).

⁷³ See Marks, LAL: 126.

⁷⁴ See Marks, LAL: 127.

⁷⁵ MEW, "Achievement Versus Possibility," : 172-3.

⁷⁶ "News of the International Federation", Journal of the American Association of University Women 24 (1930-31): 25.

⁷⁷ See "Editorials," Journal of the American Association of University Women 24 (1930-31): 203-4.

⁷⁸ Springfield [MA] Evening Union, 24 Dec. 1931. MEW Papers, Series B, Container 48 (Folio), n.p. [13]. See also "Administration says Miss Woolley is not a pacifist" [Holyoke Transcript-Telegram], n.d. [Dec. 1931]. MEW Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 5, Folder 17.

⁷⁹ Wells: 214. See also "Picks Miss Woolley As Arms Delegate" New York Times 24 Dec. 1931: 1, 6.

⁸⁰ MEW, Draft ms. Introduction to My Career as a Diplomat, MEW Papers, Autobiographical Materials, Box 1: 1.

⁸¹ Rankin, letter to MEW, 9 June 1930, Reel 48, C-12, AAUWA.

⁸² "Women Hail Miss Woolley," Newark [NJ] News 24 Dec. 1931, MEW Papers, Series B, Box 48 (Folio), n.p. [13].

⁸³ "Interesting Interview with Dr. Woolley," Holyoke Transcript-Telegram 28 Dec. 1931, MEW Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 5, Folder 17.

⁸⁴ Springfield [MA] Evening Union.

⁸⁵ MHTC, 11 (Olive Copeland): 3.

⁸⁶ qtd. in "Editorials," Journal of the American Association of University Women 27 (1933-34): 170.

⁸⁷ See "Miss Woolley's Retention As Mount Holyoke's Leader Until Centennial Is Urged," Springfield Daily Republican 11 Apr. 1931, MEW Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 5, Folder 17. The article referred to Woolley's "possible retirement." See below: 330-1.

⁸⁸ MEW, Introduction to My Career as a Diplomat: 1, 6.

⁸⁹ MEW, Introduction to My Career as a Diplomat: 5.

⁹⁰ MEW, Introduction to My Career as a Diplomat: 6.

⁹¹ MEW, Introduction to My Career as a Diplomat: 5.

⁹² MEW, Introduction to My Career as a Diplomat: 10.

⁹³ MEW, letter to JM, 6 Feb. 1932.

⁹⁴ MEW, letter to JM, 22 Jan. 1932.

⁹⁵ MEW, Introduction to My Career as a Diplomat: 14.

⁹⁶ MEW, Introduction to My Career as a Diplomat: 1.

⁹⁷ MEW, letter to JM, 21 Feb. 1932. Woolley noted that she would "include 'entre nous' paragraphs for the household."

⁹⁸ Mew, letter to JM, 13 Feb. 1932.

⁹⁹ MEW, letter to JM, 14 Feb. 1932.

¹⁰⁰ Will Rogers, letter to New York Times, MEW Papers, Scrapbooks Geneva, 47: n.p. [1].

¹⁰¹ "That Woman, Woolley!" qtd. in "Editorials," Journal of the American Association of University Women 27 (1933-34): 171.

¹⁰² MEW, letter to JM, 21 Feb. 1932.

¹⁰³ MEW, Introduction to My Career as a Diplomat: 6-7.

¹⁰⁴ MEW, letter to JM, 11 Mar. 1932.

¹⁰⁵ qtd. in Wells: 221.

¹⁰⁶ MEW, letter to JM, 18 Feb 1932.

¹⁰⁷ MEW, letter to JM, 1 Mar. 1932.

¹⁰⁸ MEW, letter to JM, 11 Mar. 1932.

¹⁰⁹ MEW, letter to JM, 6 Mar. 1932.

¹¹⁰ MEW, letter to JM, 17 Mar. 1932. Woolley would be proved correct. The second session collapsed when Hitler withdrew from both the conference and the League of Nations in October of 1933.

¹¹¹ MEW, letter to JM, 19 Mar. 1932.

¹¹² MEW, letter to JM, 17 Mar. 1932.

¹¹³ MEW, letter to JM, 16 Apr. 1932.

¹¹⁴ MEW, letter to JM, 28 May 1932.

¹¹⁵ MEW, letter to JM, 16 Apr. 1932.

¹¹⁶ MEW, letter to JM, 22 Apr. 1932.

¹¹⁷ MEW, letter to JM, 20 May 1932.

¹¹⁸ MEW, letter to JM, 22 Apr. 1932.

¹¹⁹ MEW, letter to JM, 10 May 1932.

¹²⁰ MEW, letter to JM, 22 Apr. 1932.

¹²¹ MEW, letter to JM, 7 June 1932.

¹²² MEW, letter to JM, 2 June 1932.

¹²³ MEW, letter to Gibson, 15 June 1932, MEW Papers, Series C, Box 28: 2.

¹²⁴ MEW, "Hope Springs Eternal," draft chapter, MEW Papers, Autobiographical Materials, Box 1, MHA: 1.

¹²⁵ MEW, letter to JM, 19 June 1932.

¹²⁶ MEW, "Hope Springs Eternal," : 3.

- ¹²⁷ MEW, "Hope Springs Eternal," : 5.
- ¹²⁸ MEW, letter to "Mr. Ambassador" [Gibson], 2 July 1932, MEW Papers, Series C, Box 28: 2, 1.
- ¹²⁹ MEW, "What Happened at Geneva?" Journal of the American Association of University Women 26 (1932-33): 69.
- ¹³⁰ MEW, letter to JM, 16 July 1932.
- ¹³¹ MEW, letter to JM, 24 July 1932.
- ¹³² qtd. in MEW, Introduction to My Career as a Diplomat: 31.
- ¹³³ MEW, "Notes," ms. MEW Papers, Miscellaneous Notes, Autobiographical Files, Box 1, MHA: 1.
- ¹³⁴ MEW, Introduction to My Career as a Diplomat: 21.
- ¹³⁵ MEW, Introduction to My Career as a Diplomat: 17.
- ¹³⁶ MEW, "What Happened at Geneva": 70.
- ¹³⁷ MEW, "A Message from President Woolley," Journal of the American Association of University Women 26 (1932-33): 1.
- ¹³⁸ See MEW, letter to President Herbert Hoover, 9 Aug. 1932. Hoover responded, "I wish to convey to you my most cordial congratulations on the part you played as one of the five women delegates to the General Disarmament Conference. Your tact and understanding in dealing with delicate situations and your clear presentation of this country's peace policies when occasion arose have aroused universal praise. You were successful in striking a just balance expressing on the one hand the determination of this Government to do away with war, and on the other showing that pacifism need not be synonymous with unrealistic dreams and disregard of actual possibilities. This country is justly proud of having sent you to Geneva ..." Herbert Hoover, letter to MEW, 19 Aug. 1932, Jeannette Marks Collection, Box 112, Folder 2, WCSC. Also available in MEW Papers, Series B, MHA.
- ¹³⁹ MEW, letter to Hoover, 29 Aug. 1932, Jeannette Marks Collection, Box 112, Folder 2, WCSC. Also available in MEW Papers, Series B, MHA.
- ¹⁴⁰ MEW, letter to JM, 7 July 1932.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER TEN

¹ MEW, letter to Dorothy Foster, 22 June 1937, MEW Papers, Series B, MHA.

² MEW, letter to Boyd Edwards, 22 Sep. 1932, MEW Papers, Series B, MHA.

³ MEW, letter to JM, 30 Oct. 1932.

⁴ MEW, letter to JM, 8 Nov. 1932.

⁵ Edward White, letter to MEW, 20 May 1932, MEW Papers, Series B, MHA.

⁶ qtd. in Marks, LAL: 281.

⁷ Cole: 337.

⁸ President of the Board of Trustees, letter to the Mount Holyoke Alumnae Association of _____, 9 June 1931. It was proposed to send this to all associations "who have specifically addressed the Board of Trustees on the subject of [Woolley's] retirement." Cheney, letter to MEW, 10 June 1931, MEW Papers, Series B, MHA.

⁹ MEW, letter to JM, 11 June 31.

¹⁰ MEW, letter to Cheney, 15 June 1931, MEW Papers, Series B, MHA.

¹¹ MEW, letter to JM, 13 June 1931. Dr. Boyd Edwards was a minister and headmaster of Mercersburg Academy in Pennsylvania and a staunch supporter and admirer of Woolley. (See Edwards, letter to MEW, 10 July 1933, on the occasion of Woolley's birthday, MEW Papers, Series B, MHA.) Harry Kendall, a businessman and son of an alumna, was appointed to the Board in 1923. He had always objected to Woolley's style of leadership and "a good deal of what she stood for." (Wells: 228) In a memorandum prepared in 1961, Frances Perkins, a Mount Holyoke Alumna, Secretary of Labor in the Roosevelt Administration and a Board member in the period around the succession, noted that "Mr. Harry Kendall ... was really the leader of the group who wanted to have a man as President ... [he] really disliked [Woolley] and he didn't conceal that fact from her. (Frances Perkins, memorandum enclosed in letter to Hugh Hawkins, 21 Sep. 1961. Frances Perkins Papers, Correspondence, Folder 10, MHA.) Woolley had, however, enjoyed supportive and amicable relations with the Board despite some political differences and periodic upsets over Marks' activities. 1931 marked the beginning of a change in the Board that, over the next six years, would create tremendous controversy and cause anger and bitterness within the Mount Holyoke

community. When Mount Holyoke finally appointed a man as her successor, Woolley believed that she had failed in her work at the college. By losing Mount Holyoke's presidency, she believed that she had contributed to a major setback in women's advancement in an unequal society. Woolley had failed to hold ground already won.

¹² MHTC 11 (Olive Copeland): 2.

¹³ Alumnae Committee of Investigation, "The Case of Mount Holyoke vs. the Committee of Nine," 6 June 1936, Reel 89, H-34, AAUWA: 2 [Hereinafter: Investigation] Another version of this called "1837 -- The Case of Mary Lyon vs. The Committee of Nine -- 1937," is available in Folio Scrapbook: Material Relating to Mr. Ham's Succession to the Presidency of Mount Holyoke College Following Miss Woolley, RGH Papers, MHA: n.p. [1] [Hereinafter: Folio Scrapbook]. The Alumnae Committee of Investigation was formed by Carolyn Smiley and Amy Rowland, both alumnae and the latter a former Trustee. The various charges in the document were disputed by Board Chairman Alva Morrison and alumna Mary Hume Maguire who served as secretary to the trustees' search committee. ("Copy of Mr. Morrison's Reply to Mrs. Cooper's Letter of Inquiry," 19 Feb. 1937 [Hereinafter: Morrison] "Copy of Letter of Inquiry From Mrs Cooper to Mr. Morrison," 15 Feb. 1937, "Memorandum by Mrs. Mary Hume Maguire,..." [Hereinafter Maguire] all available in RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-series 1, folder 13, MHA.) It is unlikely that the charge that Perkins was offered the presidency in 1931 is untrue, because she was a member of the Board of Trustees at the time and could have publicly denied the statement.

¹⁴ Investigation: 2, see also Marks, LAL: 155. Wells disputes this fact. "Both the setting and the conversation as reported by Miss Marks are exceedingly improbable, much more like a scene from one of her plays than a report of a real conversation." (Wells: 223.) However, Woolley had looked at the document that contained this offer from Hyde and she wrote to Smiley, "to the extent of my knowledge the statements on the fliers are accurate." (Wells: 236.) Wells does not acknowledge that she is challenging Woolley's version.

¹⁵ See Morrison.

¹⁶ Morrison: 3.

¹⁷ MHTC 11: 6.

¹⁸ Maguire: 1-2.

¹⁹ Morrison: 2.

²⁰ McHale, letter to MEW, 20 Apr. 1935, Reel 89, H-34, AAUWA.

²¹ MEW, letter to McHale, 23 April 1935, Reel 89, H-34, AAUWA.

²² McHale, letter to Richards, 25 April 1935, Reel 89, H-34, AAUWA.

²³ MEW, letter to Edward White, 20 May 1935, MEW Papers, Series B, MHA. Woolley had several women candidates in mind. In February of 1936 she sent a letter to Maude Titus White, the President of the Alumnae Association recommending six women, three of whom were married.

"1. Mrs. Anna Brinton, Ph.D., a Friend; Dean at Mills College, California; a classical scholar; leading member of the American Classical Society; successful administrator; world traveller; sister of the wife of Professor Miles of Yale University.

2. Mrs. Millicent Carey McIntosh, Ph.D., also a Friend; Head of the Brearley School, New York City; formerly acting Dean of Bryn Mawr; niece of former President M. Carey Thomas; able scholar; delightful personality.

3. Miss Meta Glass, Ph.D., a Virginian; President of Sweet Briar College; sister of Senator Glass; classical scholar; successful administrator; delightful personality; wide experience.

4. Miss Mary Yost, Ph.D., a Southerner; Dean of women at Stanford University, California; formerly Professor at Vassar College; considered by Mrs. Rosenberry of Madison, Wisconsin, formerly Dean of Women at University of Wisconsin and a good judge, one of the strongest women in academic life in the country.

5. Mrs. Mary Ely Lyman, Ph.D., a graduate of Mount Holyoke; formerly Head of the Biblical Department at Vassar College; wife of Professor Eugene Lyman of Union Theological Seminary; distinguished scholar; very able speaker.

6. Miss Margaret Speer, A.M., graduate of Bryn Mawr College; daughter of Robert E. Speer, of New York City; Acting Dean of Women at Yenching University, Peiping [now Beijing], where she has had marked success as an administrator; the youngest of the group-- somewhere in her thirties.

All of these women I know well, ... and can say honestly that I should be proud of any one of them as my successor; ... no one of them is an "old lady!"

Three of the above are married; Mr. Brinton is also teaching at Mills College ... and it is conceivable that a post could be arranged for him at Mount Holyoke. Dr. Lyman ... is much older than his wife and retires either this year or next. Dr. McIntosh is a physician and the possibilities in that case I do not know.

I am so convinced that the failure to appoint a woman to the Presidency of Mount Holyoke would be a mistake ... that I can say the possibility of not appointing a woman is the greatest anxiety upon my "horizon." (MEW, letter to Mrs. Ralph [Maude Titus] White, 17 Feb. 1936, qtd. in Marks, LAL: 283-4).

²⁴ Investigation: 4.

²⁵ see Maguire: 2, see also Marks: 285, 187-8.

²⁶ MEW, "The President's Address," Journal of the American Association of University Women, 26 (1932-33): 219.

²⁷ See McHale, letter to MEW, 25 Apr. 1933, Reel 89, H-34, AAUWA. Beard had published similar views in 1932: Mary R. Beard "University Discipline for Women -- Asset or Handicap?" Journal of the American Association of University Women, 25 (1931-32): 130-1.

²⁸ McHale, letter to MEW, 27 March 1935, Reel 89, H-34, AAUWA.

²⁹ Elizabeth Dilling, published by the author, Chicago, 1934: 335.

³⁰ Pawtucket Daughters of the American Revolution, letter to MEW, 26 May 1937, MEW Papers, Series B, MHA.

³¹ see MHTC 11: 1.

³² Wells: 229.

³³ See Mount Holyoke College Centenary Records, Minutes of Central Centennial Committee, Minutes, May 1934 - June 1937, MHA.

³⁴ Helen Tufts Bailie, letter to JM, 25 Mar. 1936, JM Papers, Box 11, MHA. "College Heads Branded Reds at Oath Hearing," Boston Globe 25 Mar. 1936: 10.

³⁵ See Wells: 231.

³⁶ Perkins, memorandum: 1-2.

³⁷ For Woolley's statement, see Investigation. See also "Comment and Discussion," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly 2 (1936-37): 102. For differing perspectives on these events, see Morrison, Maguire, Investigation, Wells: 230-2, Marks, LAL: 176-180. It is interesting to note that on 12 June 1936, Morrison wrote to the President of Yale asking him to release Ham as of February 1, 1937 so that Ham might devote the semester to a study of the educational problems of women's colleges. Morrison, letter to Angell, RGH Papers, Series B, Box 4, Folder 1.

³⁸ MEW, letter to JM, 14 June 1936.

³⁹ MEW, letter to JM, 17 June 1936.

⁴⁰ MEW, letter to Esther Caukin Brunauer, 24 June 1936, Reel 89, H-34, AAUWA.

⁴¹ Brunauer, letter to JM, 27 June 1936, Reel 89, H-34, AAUWA.

⁴² Brunauer, letter to Edgar Furniss, 27 June 1936, Reel 89, H-34, AAUWA.

⁴³ Furniss, letter to RGH and enclosure from Viola Barnes, [n.d.] RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 9, MHA.

⁴⁴ See JM, letter to Brunauer, 13 Nov. 1936, Reel 89, H-34, AAUWA.

⁴⁵ MEW, letter to JM, 2 July 1936.

⁴⁶ Florence Clement, letter to Morrison, qtd. in Morrison, letter to RGH, 6 July 1936, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 13, MHA: 1-2.

⁴⁷ Morrison, letter to RGH, 6 July 1936, RGH Papers. Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 13, MHA: 2. The full text of Clement's introduction to Woolley's statement reads: "In order that the alumnae may understand the position which Miss Woolley holds on the question of the presidency of Mount Holyoke College, the Quarterly is printing at her request the following statement which she made to the Board of Trustees on June 6, 1936 and repeated at the Alumnae College on June 13." "Comment and Discussion": 102.

⁴⁸ Esther Price, letter to RGH, n.d. [1936], RGH Papers. Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 6, MHA: 1-2, 4.

⁴⁹ Price, letter to Mr. and Mrs. Ham, n.d. [1937], RGH Papers. Series A, Sub-Series 1. Folder 6, MHA: 2. See also, Esther Price, "Roswell G. Ham, Ph.D. LL.D," Mount Holyoke Alumnae Quarterly 22 (1936-37): 133. McAfee wrote an interesting letter to Ham acknowledged his appointment. It reveals both her professionalism and her clear-headed awareness of the significance of his appointment. "I am not sure whether to bemoan the fact that I will not have moral support as a woman president or to congratulate you that Mount Holyoke need not spend its days justifying its appointment of a woman.

I incline to think that the congratulations are more in order, and I send them with my very best good wishes for many years of cooperative effort between the two colleges which are so well acquainted with each other and so new to both of us." (McAfee, letter to RGH, 16 June 1936, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 11, MHA.) Glass was one of the women Woolley recommended for the presidency. See note 23 above.

⁵⁰ Perkins, memorandum: 2-3. Those who opposed appointing a woman to succeed Woolley, "...were greatly impressed by what they regarded as the lack of social facilities which they thought would be so well carried out if a man were President who had a nice wife who could entertain visiting dignitaries and trustees and would be the charming hostess. ... I remember being astounded by this reasoning for I had always been obliged to entertain and did it well, I hope, as well as run my professional life. While I know that Miss Woolley was of the older generation who did not have much experience in large-scale entertaining, nevertheless I know that any of the modern women who were proposed would have easily fitted their lives into a more social and public pattern. Mr. Kendall also had taken the position that women were not administrators and that the college at that time needed an administrator. He recommended an Associate Professor of English at Yale, who, while a very nice man, had never distinguished himself (nor did he later) as administrator or scholar." (Perkins, memorandum: 2-3).

⁵¹ Maguire: 3.

⁵² See "Report of Meeting of Alumnae Association, 6 Nov. 1936," in JM, "Chronological Outline of Events Bearing on the Succession to the Presidency of Mount Holyoke College." Sent to AAUW, 14 Jan. 1937, Reel 89, H-34, AAUWA.

⁵³ McHale, letter to MEW, 25 Jan. 1937, Reel 89, H-34, AAUWA.

⁵⁴ MEW, letter to McHale, 22 Dec. 1936, Reel 89, H-34, AAUWA.

⁵⁵ MEW, letter to JM, 20 July 1936.

⁵⁶ See New York Times 6 Sep. 1936, Margaret Ball Papers, Series 3, folder 13, "Newspaper Records of 1937 Rumpus, and Letters," MHA.

⁵⁷ MEW, letter to JM, 8 Oct 1936.

⁵⁸ MEW, letter to JM, 17 Nov 1936.

⁵⁹ McHale, letter to Bertha Putnam, 12 Dec. 1936, AAUWA, Putnam responded that the "business men were the worst of all." (Putnam, letter to McHale, 16 Dec. 1936, AAUWA.)

⁶⁰ MEW, letter to Sarah Downer, 22 Nov 1936, MEW Papers, Series A, folder 14.

⁶¹ "Editorials," Journal of the American Association of University Women 30 (1936-37): 39.

⁶² Dorothy Kenyon, "The Presidency of Mount Holyoke College," Journal of the American Association of University Women 30 (1936): 16.

⁶³ McHale, letter to MEW, 8 Dec 1936, Reel 89, H-34, AAUWA.

⁶⁴ MEW, letter to McHale, 12 Dec. 1936, Reel 89, H-34, AAUWA. Re Rowland and Smiley, see above, note 13.

⁶⁵ "Editorials," Journal of the American Association of University Women, 30 (1936-37): 176.

⁶⁶ McHale, letter to MEW, 11 Jan 1937, Reel 89, H-34, AAUWA.

⁶⁷ qtd. in "Dr. Ham Sees Critics More Interested in Feminism than Good of Mt. Holyoke," Holyoke Transcript-Telegram 8 Feb. 1937, Folio Scrapbook: n.p. [8].

⁶⁸ See Folio Scrapbook: n.p. [14], [16], [17], [18], [24], [28], [30].

⁶⁹ "Many Letters Support Him, Dr. Ham Says," Boston Transcript 5 Feb. 1937: n.p. [1]. Folio Scrapbook: n.p. [34]. The same quote appeared in an AP dispatch from New Haven in the New York Times, 6 Feb. 1937: n.p. Folio Scrapbook: n.p. [20]. It is difficult to understand why Ham would make such a statement since he had personally received several long, thoughtful arguments about why the controversy had a great deal to do with issues of education.

Dear Mr. Ham,

Please let me introduce myself ... as a Yale Ph.D. in English and a Mount Holyoke A.B. As the only Yale Ph. D. on the English faculty here, I feel in a peculiarly appropriate situation to write to you, now that you have become our president-elect.

I write this letter because of the repercussions following your appointment and because I wish to assure you with all the earnestness of which I am capable that our disapproval is not of you. We hear pleasant things of you, as I have always heard at Yale, and we like your public utterances. (I assume that you are misquoted when you call us a girls- school.) But there is, as you certainly know, disapproval of the appointment of a man -- any man -- to the post you have been selected to fill.

We have a tradition, you see, of the widening of opportunities for women. Our tradition goes back to Mary Lyon (of whom I am now writing another biography), who paced the floor in her mother's house, saying, "Women must be educated, they must be." We do not think for one instant that you are not wholeheartedly in favor of women's education. Surely every Mount Holyoke graduate who has

ever studied at Yale has been accorded absolute intellectual equality with her fellow men students. Concerning that fact I can speak with entire and grateful conviction.

We may, from what you hear, be giving you a strange idea of us and our educational policies. We don't preach or teach feminism; we have never thought of it as something to be taught. All we want at Mount Holyoke is the right to use what brains the lord gave us. Our graduate marry and/or have careers, just as men do. Many on the faculty are scholars, women and men; and the women could, if given the chance, teach with equal honor at Yale. But they have not that chance, and they must, if they are not to atrophy intellectually, continue to have that chance at Mount Holyoke and its sister colleges.

So long as the men's colleges maintain a closed door against women on their faculties, so long as opportunities for women are limited, our response to your appointment is natural. ... (Sydney R. McLean, letter to RGH, 13 June 1936, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, Folder 11. MHA.)

Dear Sir:

I am taking the liberty of sending you, for your reference if desired, the enclosed copy of a letter of protest against the break with Mt Holyoke tradition ...

As you are no doubt by this time aware, there is a very wide-spread and strong sense of indignation among fair-minded people, both men and women, at this unwarrantable break with Mt Holyoke tradition. A comparable affront to the traditions of Yale, namely the unheralded selection of a woman as its head, would quite understandable result in riots on the campus as soon as the alumni and student body became aware of what had been done to them. No Board would dare to do such a thing unless after careful canvass of opinion on that specific issue, they had learned that there was an overwhelming and positive opinion in favour. At Mt Holyoke, on the contrary, four-fifths of the faculty have expressed themselves unmistakably as against the change.

The matter is therefore not simply a feminist issue, but one of elementary justice to the students, faculty and alumnae of a great institution, who have a right to rest secure in the assumption that their traditions will be respected. ...

The enclosed letter to Morrison argued,

... There are only a few leading educational posts in America for which a woman would even be considered, however high her qualifications for leadership. By its decision the Board has lessened this small number by a very important one. Individuals, whether men

or women, need and should have in prospect the attainment of reward if they are to give their best work; men, no less than women, would be discouraged if they knew that the highest posts were closed to them on grounds of sex. ...

The argument of "the best person for the place, irrespective of sex," could only be valid if it worked both ways. It does not... (Maude Meagher, letter to RGH, 30 Oct 1936 enclosing Meagher, letter to Morrison, 29 Oct 1936, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, Folder 11. MHA.)

The Trustees received similar letters.

... Consider ... for a moment what you ask us to believe: that the only women fitted to fill Miss Woolley's position were the three who refused it; and that the qualifications of a man who has had no experience in such a position transcend those of all other women candidates. It is not credible ...

When once the precedent is established of placing a man at the head of a woman's college, it is rarely broken. Though the first man president may not succeed, it is a man, not a woman, who is chosen to replace him. This has been shown at Mount Holyoke's daughter college, the Western, which after half a century under the guidance of three women, has had three men presidents in less than twenty-five years.... (Josephine Belding, 1902, letter to the Trustees, 13 Oct 1936, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, Folder 1. MHA.)

⁷⁰ "What Would Mary Lyon Say?" Boston Sunday Globe 7 Feb. 1937: 1.

⁷¹ McHale, letter to Smiley, 10 Feb 1937, Reel 89, H-34, AAUWA.

⁷² Maude Titus White, telegram to United Press, Boston, 7 Feb 1937, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 7, MHA.

⁷³ Rowena Keyes, letter to RGH, 22 Sep 1936, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 12, MHA.

⁷⁴ Keyes, letter to RGH, 5 Feb 37, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 12, MHA.

⁷⁵ Alice D. Brooks, 1912, letter to RGH, 9 Feb 1937, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, Folder 1: 2-3. MHA.

⁷⁶ Bernice Maclean, letter to RGH, 11 Feb 37, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 11, MHA.

⁷⁷ Harriet Campbell Dukes, letter to RGH, 24 Feb 37, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 1, MHA: 2-3.

⁷⁸ Janet Wilder, letter to RGH, March 1, 1937, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 2, MHA. The reference is to the fact that Ham had taught at Albertus Magnus College, a Catholic women's college.

⁷⁹ Gertha Williams, 1910, letter to RGH, 2 Mar 1937, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 2, MHA.

⁸⁰ See Green, letter to RGH, 13 Mar 1937, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 1, MHA: 3. See also Marion Sayward, '09, letter to RGH, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 2, MHA: 1.

⁸¹ Margaret Ball, 1900, letter to RGH, 12 June 1936, Margaret Ball Papers, Series III, folder 12, "Newspaper Records of 1937 Rumpus, and Letters," MHA.

⁸² Helen B. Russell, 1906, letter to RGH, 2 July 36, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 6, MHA.

⁸³ Mary Atwell Moore, letter to RGH, [n.d.], RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 3, MHA: 1.

⁸⁴ Maureen F. Carpenter, letter to RGH, 17 Sep 1936, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 9, MHA.

⁸⁵ Fanny Reed Hammond, letter to RGH, 4 Feb 1937, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 10, MHA.

⁸⁶ Viola Barnes, letter to RGH, 5 Feb. 37, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 8, MHA.

⁸⁷ Mary Hume Barton, letter to RGH, 1 Feb 37, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 8, MHA. There is not the slightest evidence that Woolley gave anyone on the Board any indication of her "acceptance" of the situation, so one is tempted to brand the behavior of this trustee willfully dishonest.

⁸⁸ Elizabeth Bailey Willis, letter to RGH, 27 Feb 1937, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 3, MHA.

⁸⁹ Isabel Steele Blish, letter to RGH, 5 Feb 1937, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 6, MHA: 1.

⁹⁰ Florence Pok Holding, letter to RGH, 9 Feb 1937, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 6, MHA.

⁹¹ Helen Powell Schauflller, 1913, letter to RGH, 7 Feb 1937, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 6, MHA.

⁹² Mildred Auger, '21, letter to RGH, 29 March 1937, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 3, MHA.

⁹³ Miriam Best Blake, letter to RGH, 9 Feb 1937, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 3, MHA.

⁹⁴ Florence H. Jones to RGH, 7 Feb. 1937, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 4, MHA.

⁹⁵ Price, letter to Mr. and Mrs. Ham, n.d. [1937] RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 6, MHA: 3-4. The last reference was to Marks' third floor living quarters in the President's House.

⁹⁶ "Education Mount Holyoke: Dr. Woolley Openly Opposes Male Successor," Newsweek 13 Feb. 1937: 32-3.

⁹⁷ See Price, letter to Mr. and Mrs. Ham, n.d. [1937]: 3.

⁹⁸ Price, letter to RGH, 21 Oct 1936, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 6, MHA: 4. This letter includes a personal attack on Rowland, as well. Note that this reference to Woolley is indirect substantiation of the offer of the presidency to Perkins in 1931.

⁹⁹ Morriss had been a professor of history and administrator at Mount Holyoke. Woolley gave Morriss support and guidance in a professional life that closely paralleled her own. See "A.A.U.W. News and Notes," Journal of the American Association of University Women, 30 (1936-47): 229. Virginia Gildersleeve had been Dean at Barnard College since 1911. In 1919 she was involved in founding the International Federation of University Women and had worked with Woolley in the Seven College Conference of women's colleges. (See Gildersleeve, Virginia C. Notable American Women, the Modern Period 1980 ed.)

¹⁰⁰ Beard, Mary R. "University Discipline for Women -- Asset or Handicap?" Journal of the American Association of University Women 25 (1931-32): 130-1.

¹⁰¹ MEW, qtd. in "The Mary E. Woolley Fellowship--An Invitation," Journal of the American Association of University Women 30 (1936-37): 184.

¹⁰² Centennial Fund Raising Committee, meeting 15 Dec. 1934, Mount Holyoke College Centenary Records, Minutes of Central Centennial Committee, Minutes, May 1934 - June 1937, folder 23, MHA: 2.

¹⁰³ See Minutes of Meeting of Centennial Committee, 3 Dec. 1935, Mount Holyoke College Centenary Records, Minutes of Central Centennial Committee, Minutes, May 1934 - June 1937, folder 23, MHA: 7.

¹⁰⁴ Memorandum from Conference re Centennial Celebration, 20 June 1936, Mount Holyoke College Centenary Records, Central Centennial Committee, Centennial Plans, 1937, folder 24, MHA: 2

¹⁰⁵ Minutes of Meeting of Centennial Committee, 9 July 1936, MEW, letter to Furniss, 14 Nov. 1936, Mount Holyoke College Centenary Records, Minutes of Central Centennial Committee, Minutes, May 1934 - June 1937, folder 23, MHA: 4-5.

¹⁰⁶ Minutes of Meeting of Centennial Committee, 9 July 1936: 3.

¹⁰⁷ Minutes of Meeting of Centennial Committee, 30 Nov. 1936, Mount Holyoke College Centenary Records, Minutes of Central Centennial Committee, Minutes, May 1934 - June 1937, folder 23, MHA: 3. Woolley read a letter from Furniss with the Board's commitment contained therein.

¹⁰⁸ See Furniss, letter to Marion Barbour, 8 Mar. 1937, Barbour, letter to Furniss, 13 Mar. 1937, Mount Holyoke College Centenary Records, Central Centennial Office, Barbour, Marion H., Correspondence (official), folder 28, MHA.

¹⁰⁹ Mary A. Cheek, letter to Morrison, 15 Apr. 1937, copy enclosed with Morrison, letter to RGH, 16 Apr. 1937, RGH Papers, Series 1, Sub-Series A, folder 13, MHA.

¹¹⁰ see Morrison, letter to RGH, 16 Apr. 1937.

¹¹¹ Morrison to Cheek, 16 Apr. 1937, copy enclosed with Morrison, letter to RGH, 16 Apr. 1937, RGH Papers, Series 1, Sub-Series A, folder 13. MHA.

¹¹² see The Boston Sunday Globe, 9 May 1937: 1, 8, also available in Mount Holyoke College Centenary Records, clippings, folder 81, MHA.

¹¹³ Boston Sunday Globe, 9 May 1937.

¹¹⁴ See Springfield Union, 8 May 1937, available in Mount Holyoke College Centenary Records, clippings, folder 81, MHA.

¹¹⁵ Frances Perkins, "The Role of the College Woman in the Community," The Centenary of Mount Holyoke College, Friday and Saturday May Seventh and Eighth Nineteen Hundred and Thirty-Seven (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1937): 27-8 [hereinafter Centenary].

¹¹⁶ MEW, "Mount Holyoke in the International Field," Centenary: 34.

¹¹⁷ See MEW, "Mount Holyoke in the International Field," : 40. See also Springfield Union, 8 May 1937.

¹¹⁸ Minutes of the Centennial Committee, July 9, 1936, Mount Holyoke College Centenary Records, Minutes of Central Centennial Committee, Minutes, May 1934 - June 1937, folder 23, MHA: 3.

¹¹⁹ Mary R. Beard, "The Direction of Women's Education," Centenary: 54-5, 58-9, 61.

¹²⁰ Mary R. Beard, "Where one begins the thought of women affects conclusions about women," Journal of the American Association of University Women, 31 (1938): 213.

¹²¹ See Centenary: 63-71.

¹²² Boston Sunday Globe, 9 May 1937.

¹²³ Margery Corbett-Ashby, "Women in Public Affairs," Centenary: 80-2, 85.

¹²⁴ MEW, in Centenary: 86.

¹²⁵ Virginia Gildersleeve, "The Bright Countenance of Truth," Centenary: 91-92.

¹²⁶ See Centenary: 98-105.

¹²⁷ See Centenary: 113-120.

¹²⁸ MEW, in Centenary: 121.

¹²⁹ William A. Neilson, in Centenary: 126-7. In February, Neilson had refused to comment publicly on the controversy over Woolley's succession. See New Bedford, MA. Standard-Times in Folio Scrapbook: n.p. [8].

¹³⁰ MEW, in Centenary: 127.

¹³¹ Glass, letter to MEW, 13 May 1937, MHC Centenary, Records, MHA.

¹³² McHale, letter to MEW, 10 May 1937, MHC Centenary, Records, MHA.

¹³³ Ada Comstock, letter to MEW, 12 May 1937. MHC Centenary, Records, MHA. Comstock also wrote a friendly and complimentary letter of congratulations to Ham. See Comstock, letter to RGH, 11 June 1936, RGH Papers, Series A, Sub-Series 1, folder 9, MHA.

- ¹³⁴ Lydia S. Capen, letter to MEW, 9 May 1937, MHC Centenary, Records, MHA.
- ¹³⁵ Willystine Goodsell, letter to MEW, 18 May 1937, MHC Centenary, Records, MHA.
- ¹³⁶ MHTC 9 (Ellen Deborah Ellis): 3.
- ¹³⁷ MHTC 11: 10.
- ¹³⁸ MEW, letter to JM, 12 Oct 1937.
- ¹³⁹ "News of the Colleges," Journal of the American Association of University Women 31 (1937-38): 40. See Marks, LAL: 206-7.
- ¹⁴⁰ Wells: 253.
- ¹⁴¹ Cole: 335.
- ¹⁴² MEW, Report of Mary Emma Woolley President Emeritus of Mount Holyoke College (So. Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1937): 23.
- ¹⁴³ Rebecca H. Eastman, "Seven Presidents at Home," Ladies Home Journal Dec 1929: 60.
- ¹⁴⁴ See MEW, letter to JM, 15 Jan 1940.
- ¹⁴⁵ See MEW, letter to JM, 16 Dec 1940.
- ¹⁴⁶ MEW, letter to JM, 12 Jan 1938.
- ¹⁴⁷ MEW, letter to JM, 24 Feb 1938.
- ¹⁴⁸ MEW, letter to JM, 11 Mar 1938.
- ¹⁴⁹ MEW, letter to JM, 24 Feb 1938.
- ¹⁵⁰ MEW, letter to JM, 5 June 1938.
- ¹⁵¹ See Marks, LAL: 222.
- ¹⁵² MEW, letter to JM, 12 Nov 1938.
- ¹⁵³ MEW, letter to JM, 18 Nov 1938.
- ¹⁵⁴ MEW, letter to JM, 8 Jan 1940.
- ¹⁵⁵ MEW, letter to JM, 12 May 1940.

¹⁵⁶ MEW, telegram to President and Mme Roosevelt, 6 Nov 1940, MEW Papers, Series A, MHA.

¹⁵⁷ MEW, letter to JM, 12 Nov 1940.

¹⁵⁸ MEW, letter to JM, 9 Mar 1941.

¹⁵⁹ MEW, letter to JM, 17 Apr 1941.

¹⁶⁰ MEW, letter to JM, 3 May 1941.

¹⁶¹ MEW, letter to Board of Directors of AAUW, 1 May 1941, Reel 48, C-12, AAUWA.

¹⁶² MEW, letter to JM, 12 May 1941.

¹⁶³ See Marks, LAL: 237-278.

¹⁶⁴ Mrs. Wm. G. Dwight, letter to JM in "Confidential Last Bulletin" dedicated to MEW by JM, 1947, See JM Papers, Series 8, folder 55, MHA.

¹⁶⁵ Marion Parks, letter to JM, Sep 1947, JM Papers, Series 8, folder 32, MHA.

¹⁶⁶ Florence Purington, letter to JM, Sep 1947, JM Papers, Series 8, folder 63, MHA.

¹⁶⁷ Cheek, letter to JM, Sep 1947, JM Papers, Series 8, folder 54, MHA.

¹⁶⁸ Julia Abbe Garst Goodwin, letter to JM, Sep 1947, JM Papers, Series 8, folder 57, MHA.

¹⁶⁹ Mount Holyoke alumna, letter to JM, 15 Oct 1947, JM Papers, Series 8, folder 51, MHA.

¹⁷⁰ MEW, letter to Downer, 7 Nov 1945, MEW Papers, Series A, folder 14, MHA.

¹⁷¹ See above p. 199 and note 81 for chapter 6.

¹⁷² Cole: 342.

¹⁷³ Wells: 232. The obituary in the New York Times only noted that opposition to Ham's appointment was based on "a terrible break with tradition," though they did quote Woolley that her position "involved a principle, not a prejudice." ("Dr. Mary Woolley, Educator, 84, Dead" New York Times 6 Sep. 1947: 17).

¹⁷⁴ Publicity pamphlet enclosed in Marks: LAL [consisting

mainly of excerpts from Woolley's writings]. In possession of the author: n.p. [16]. The writer is indebted to the Reverend Robert M. Mitchell for giving me his copy of LAL with this pamphlet enclosed. The first three lines are in an interview Woolley granted in 1938 (R.E. Knowles, " 'Third Degree is Vicious' Says Miss Mary Woolley," Toronto Daily Star, 22 Feb. 1938: 12).

¹⁷⁵ See Alumnae Association of Mount Holyoke College, Biographical Dictionary: 14.

¹⁷⁶ Frances Perkins, letter to Helen High, 9 Sep. 1947, Frances Perkins Papers, Correspondence, folder 10, MHA: 1.

¹⁷⁷ Mary Gibson, letter to JM, 21 Feb. 1950, Jeannette Marks Collection, Box 112, Folder 6, WCSC.

¹⁷⁸ See Gordon: 26.

¹⁷⁹ See the episodes with Joseph Skinner: 287 above and the extreme attitudes of Esther Price: 346, 361-2.

¹⁸⁰ See for example, Wells: 66, 183-4.

¹⁸¹ Converse: 4-5.

¹⁸² See above: 6-8 and NONA. Marks attempted to write such a history but she failed to do what Converse called for because she focused exclusively and uncritically on Woolley's life, paying no attention to anything else about Mount Holyoke.

¹⁸³ MEW, handwritten notes enclosed in MEW, "The Life of George Eliot" Speech 52 (Coventry Women's Club) Spring, 1908.

¹⁸⁴ MEW, handwritten notes. Many of the identifications of Eliot's character are cross-referenced with page numbers from Cross' biography.

ENDNOTES FOR APPENDIX A

¹ See MEW, "Value of College Training for Women": 838.

² For example, in the Author's Note to Genius and Disaster, Marks refers to "the brilliant work of Jacobsen's Tuberculosis and the Creative Mind ..." (Marks, Genius and Disaster: v.) With the publication of that book, the Springfield Sunday Republican devoted an entire page to an article entitled "Jeannette Marks of Mount Holyoke Seen As Crusader For Diseased." (13 Dec. 1925: 2A.)

³ See Wells: 106-7, 111-114, 157.

⁴ Wells describes the relationship between the two women as initially "childlike." "[T]he relationship began in the childlike ignorance of sexual matters in which many young women of their generation were kept before marriage." Wells maintains that as Marks and Woolley matured and "became more sophisticated they voluntarily renounced all physical contact" (Wells: x-xi.) but she presents no evidence in support of that assumption. In fact, their letters suggest that they did not sublimate their feelings.

⁵ MEW, letter to JM, 4 June 1900. Woolley had just left Wellesley for home and wrote to Marks the following day after a sleepless and agitated night.

⁶ MEW, letter to JM, 7 July 1900 from Pawtucket.

⁷ MEW, letter to JM, 9 July 1900.

⁸ MEW, letter to JM, n.d [1900].

⁹ MEW, letter to JM, 1 Aug. 1900 from Wellesley.

¹⁰ MEW, letter to JM, 22 Sep. 1900 from London.

¹¹ MEW, letter to JM, 23 Sep. 1900 from Devonshire.

ENDNOTES FOR APPENDIX B

¹ Record.

² untitled ms. ["WOOLLEY, Mary Emma, Coll. pres.; b. South Norwalk, Conn., July 13, 1863;], Woolley, Mary E., Biographical Collections, Brown University Archives.

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