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Bringing the norm to the 'Burgs: Gender and design at two Virginia Normal Schools 1908-1928

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Bringing the Norm to the 'Burgs:
Gender and Design at Two Virginia Normal Schools 1908-1928

**An Honors College Project Presented to
the Faculty of the Undergraduate
College of Arts and Letters
James Madison University**

by Inga Holly Gudmundsson May 2019

Accepted by the faculty of the Department of History, James Madison University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Honors College.

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This work is accepted for presentation, in part or in full, at Virginia Collegiate Honors Council on 6 April 2019.

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Dedicated to all the women who attended the State Normal and Industrial School for Women at Harrisonburg and the State Normal and Industrial School for Women at Fredericksburg from 1908-1928. Without your scrapbooks, yearbooks, photographs, and memories, this research would not be possible.

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Two Schools for Women – Built by Men, With Men’s Ideas, Men’s Designs, and Men’s Future Goals

On July 4, 1911, the laying, of the cornerstone for the Administration Building at what is now the University of Mary Washington in Fredericksburg, Virginia, was a community event. The event brought Virginia Governor William Hodges Mann up from Richmond, where he and other community leaders gave speeches that were covered in the local newspaper, *The Free Lance Star*. The speeches praised the past of both the nation and the state of Virginia while also showing enthusiasm for the future of Virginia’s education systems by providing training for women at normal schools such as the one at Fredericksburg. While at first glance this praise may seem motivational, especially for a community that was ravaged by the Civil War only a few decades earlier, with a closer look and possibly our 21st century view of the past, invoking the great men in American history and using their ideas as justification for the new women’s normal school is not as progressive as it may seem.

For instance, Mr. Maphis, Secretary of the Commonwealth at the time, urged the crowd to, “not forget that we are going forward and not backward, and that however great the deeds of our forefathers, it is our own discredit if, in the light of their achievements, and possessing as we do the advantages of better opportunities than they, we do not accomplish even great things.” He went on to state that in order to “walk in the light of its experience” speaking to the past, one cannot live in it, citing the atmosphere as “more or less morbid.” Maphis focused on the future, which many Virginians were likely looking forward to, forty or so years after the Civil War had ended, with new technological advances and ways of life coming to advent. New educational pushes in, for instance, the public-school system created opportunities for women to live away from their hometowns and form a sense of independence by going to schools to become teachers,

furthering their education as well as learning a new trade. Maphis closed his speech by telling the crowd not to be “content with the achievements of the past, because greater opportunities lie before us. We should light the fire and watch the beams gild a new glory for the future. The establishment here of this institution is an evidence. I believe that this spirit of progress and optimism is dominating our educational and political leaders of today.”¹

The laying of the cornerstone at the Fredericksburg campus, like the laying of the cornerstone on Harrisonburg’s campus in 1909, was the laying of the foundation for an institution, both physically and symbolically. These events marked the start of a new era in Virginia educational history, a new chapter in the state’s book. Both campuses were going to be spaces for the future female teachers of the Commonwealth. And that is what they became, both schools successfully becoming the acclaimed institutions they are today. At a time when life in America was changing with Progressive ideals and women’s suffrage just a couple years in the future, the foundations of these institutions were rooted in the past. As Amy McCandless argues, the need for normal schools stemmed from the need for “wives and mothers of the future” to educate the next generation of men.² Charles Duncan McIver, a supporter of normal schools in North Carolina, argued, “If it were practicable, an educational qualification for matrimony would be worth more to our citizenship than an educational qualification for suffrage.”³ Maphis urged the crowd to look forward yet was unaware of the paradox he had helped create. Both campuses

¹ *Mr Maphis, “Cornerstone Speech,” Free Lance Star, July 7, 1911, 2.* The following items were placed in the inside the cornerstone: Fredericksburg Postal Card, Cent dated 1820, English penny dated 1865, \$20.00 Confederate money, Columbian half dollar, dated 1893, English penny dated 1860, American ½ cent dated 1809, Chinese coin, Dime dated 1898, A Copy of the Daily Star, June 26 1911, A Copy of the *Free Lance Star*, June 27, 1911, Souvenir program of the cornerstone laying, School prospectus 1911-12, Masonic journal, Evening Journal, July 3, 1911.

² Amy McCandless, *Past in the Present* (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1999), 22.

³ McCandless, *Past in the Present*, 22.

at Fredericksburg and Harrisonburg were campuses for women, but built by men, with men's ideas, men's designs, and men's future goals at the core.

This thesis is divided into three chapters. The first chapter explores how the physical foundations of these constructed campus buildings created a specifically designed space where these women lived, slept, ate, and learned in a distinct way. The institution's founders saw the women as teachers, but also as future housewives, with their place ultimately in the home. The layout of the buildings on each campus alludes to the idea of surveillance of the women from the outside and the inside. It argues that the physical foundations of these institutions are the establishment of these schools and its roots in the prevailing gender roles for Southern white women in the early 20th century.

The second chapter is the laying of the symbolic cornerstone for the lives of the women who were students at these two schools in their formative years. Emphasis is placed on how the women utilized the spaces that were given to them. The idea of outdoor vs. indoor spaces and how the women interacted with these spaces in their daily lives, specifically give way to the foundation being not only solely for their education but also for other skills and activities as well.

The third chapter is more of a keystone, how did the schools interact with the communities around them. This included relationship with boys, activities and shopping downtown, and friendships with city residents. What helped foster a bond between the students and the residents of both Harrisonburg and Fredericksburg, respectively? Exploring training schools, disciplinary acts, and other campus events that merged the school and city together is vital to understanding the overall function and success of the schools.

Introduction

Although the focus of this thesis is on the early 20th century, it is important to understand the context for the normal schools both in terms of women's schooling and normal institutions in Virginia. Before the Civil War, women usually earned degrees to become better "help-mates" to men.⁴ Women's schooling in the 19th century South was expensive, with only wealthy women able to afford higher education.⁵ McCandless argues in her book, *The Past in the Present*, that because European immigrants of the late 19th century migrated west and not south, the South missed the "educational innovations" of the Progressive era that enriched and advanced education in the West.⁶ After the Civil War, southern women faced the clashing of old Victorian ideals of women's place in the private sphere with the new opportunities for education and jobs in the "modern era".⁷

The National Bureau of Education, established following the end of the Civil War, mandated southern states to implement the use of public schools in their new constitutions.⁸ However, it was not until 1902, when Virginia enacted its new constitution, that this state got new educational stipulations such as certain requirements for the state superintendent, introduction of school division of the state and a superintendent for each division, school funds appropriated by the state for every person from seven to twenty, and the segregation of races in

⁴ Sally Schwager, "Educating Women in America," *Signs*, 12, no. 2, (1987): 362.

⁵ Amy McCandless, "Progressivism and the Higher Education of Southern Women," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 70, no. 3, 303.

⁶ McCandless, *The Past in the Present*, 8.

⁷ Susan L. Schramm-Pate and Katherine Chaddock, "From Obscurity to Distinction: (Re)positioning Women "Progressive" Educators in the New South" *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South*, (Spring/Summer) 2006: 31

⁸ Karen Leroux, "Veterans of the Schools: Women's Work in U.S. Public Education, 1865-1902." (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2005), 44.

schools.⁹ McCandless attributes this lag to three factors that hindered the establishments of schools in South after the Civil War: a sparse population, white opposition to the education of African Americans, and extensive poverty.¹⁰

In May 1905, a thirty day campaign, known aptly as the “May campaign”, saw the spread of 200,000 pages of educational literature along with 300 addresses made by 100 speakers in 94 counties to promote public education in Virginia. In his 1916 book, *History of Education in Virginia*, Cornelius Heatwole, at the time a professor of education at the State Normal School for Women at Harrisonburg, recalled this campaign:

Candidates of both political parties and for all offices turned aside from national questions to the earnest advocacy of an adequate school system for the state. Preachers found a fresh application of the principles of religion. Editors gave their editorial and news columns for the dissemination of knowledge and the inspiration of the people.¹¹

The May campaign along with other campaigns helped form the organization of the Cooperative Education Association in Virginia. The CEAV raised \$750,000 for improving rural schools in just five years after its founding.¹² This would be the start of state school improvements that led to the need for more professionally trained public school teachers.

The introduction of normal institutes for white women in the South came during the 1880s-1890s with the demands of populist movements for agricultural and industrial schools.¹³ Farmer’s alliances and populist parties became popular across the United States after the economic depression of the 1870s-1880s.¹⁴ Groups like the ones mentioned above requested

⁹ Cornelius Heatwole, *The History of Education in Virginia* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916): 310-312. Cornelius J. Heatwole was a faculty member at the State Normal School at Harrisonburg.

¹⁰ McCandless, “Progressivism and the Higher Education of Southern Women,” 303.

¹¹ Heatwole, *The History of Education in Virginia*, 314-316.

¹² Heatwole, *The History of Education in Virginia*, 317.

¹³ McCandless, *The Past in the Present*, 11.

¹⁴ McCandless, *The Past in the Present*, 28.

these education programs specifically in agriculture and industry to benefit the “forgotten women.”¹⁵ Southern Progressives saw education as the golden ticket to improving society and kickstarting economic progress in the South.¹⁶ Charles McIver, a major advocate for normal schools in North Carolina, was known to say, “Educate a man and you educate an individual; educate a woman and you educate a family.”¹⁷ A clear view of women’s traditional role as wife and mother is prevalent throughout the history of normal schools and women’s higher education.

Normal schools were for lower to middle class women, women who had to work for their own living or to supplement their family’s living, typically set in rural locations.¹⁸ While the prevailing ideal for women was to be good mothers and wives, normal schools did open up the chance for working class women to continue their educations past the traditional stopping point of their early teen years. It also gave women the chance to leave home and, once graduated, to have a type of independence and self-authority to decide either to go back home or seek teaching jobs far away from their family and hometown.¹⁹

Normal schools could be found in many states across America. The first normal school opened on July 3rd, 1839, in Lexington, Massachusetts with the purpose of teaching in schools of ungraded districts.²⁰ Only four states did not create their own state normal schools. According to Christine Ogren, Delaware sent its students out of state for training; Nevada and Wyoming held training at their already established colleges and universities; and Alaska did neither, evidently

¹⁵ McCandless, *The Past in the Present*, 28.

¹⁶ McCandless, “Progressivism and the Higher Education of Southern Women,” 303.

¹⁷ Pamela Dean, “Learning to Be New Women: Campus Culture at the North Carolina Normal and Industrial School,” *The North Carolina Historical Review* 68, no. 3 (1991): 293.

¹⁸ McCandless, *The Past in the Present*, 11.

¹⁹ Leroux, “Veterans of the Schools,” 36.

²⁰ Benjamin Burks, “What was Normal About Virginia’s Normal Schools: A History of Virginia’s State Normal Schools, 1882-1930” (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2002), 4.

holding a more apathetic view of training teachers.²¹ By 1907, there were six public normal schools in North Carolina, two in South Carolina, one in Tennessee, four in Kentucky, and four in Virginia.²²

The history of normal schools in Virginia starts over two decades before the passing of the bill that established the State Normal and Industrial School for Women at Harrisonburg and the State Normal and Industrial School for Women at Fredericksburg. The first state normal school in Virginia was established in 1882 in Petersburg for African American men and women. The school, the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute, which is now Virginia State University, was the first public, four year college for African Americans in the United States.²³ The other state normal schools for white women were established in 1884 at Farmville, 1908 in Harrisonburg and Fredericksburg, and in 1910 at Radford.²⁴ The normal schools at Harrisonburg and Fredericksburg were founded because of a need for more trained teachers in Virginia. Before their establishment by the State Legislature in 1908, Virginia education leaders estimated that only several hundred of the 1,500 teachers entering state schools had been students at the state normal school at Farmville.²⁵

Both institutions changed names over time. The Harrisonburg campus, or what is now known as James Madison University, was in 1908 originally called The State Normal and

²¹ Christine Ogren, "Education for Women in the United States: The State Normal School Experience 1870 - 1920," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1996), 46.

²² McCandless, *The Past in the Present*, 28. The other schools not mentioned above in the 1907 Report of the U.S. Commissioner for Education include four in Georgia, six in Alabama, two in Arkansas, two in Louisiana, four in Oklahoma, three in Texas, and two in Mississippi.

²³ Leigh Alexandra Soares, "A Bold Promise: Black Readjusters and the Founding of Virginia State University" (MA diss., College of William and Mary, 2012), 1. This thesis is a great source for more information on the normal school in Petersburg.

²⁴ Burks, "What was Normal about Virginia," 16.

²⁵ Heatwole, *The History of Education in Virginia*, 333.

Industrial School for Women at Harrisonburg. It was later changed in March 1914 to The State Normal School for Women at Harrisonburg and in 1924, it became the State Teachers College at Harrisonburg. This was the institution's third name since its founding in 1908. According to "An Annotated, Historical Timeline" the school was most often referred to as the Harrisonburg Teachers College (H.T.C.).²⁶ In 1938, the school became known as Madison College.²⁷ The normal school at Fredericksburg, presently named University of Mary Washington, went through a similar transition from the Fredericksburg Normal and Industrial School to the Fredericksburg State Teachers College in 1924 and Mary Washington College in 1938.²⁸ For efficiency's sake, they will hereto be referred to as HC (Harrisonburg Campus) and FC (Fredericksburg Campus).

²⁷ L. Sean Crowley, "James Madison University: 1908-1909 to 1958-1959 An Annotated, Historical Timeline," James Madison Special Collections, 47, 89, 117.

https://cdn1.lib.jmu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/28111541/JMUtimeline_Crowley.pdf

²⁸ Michael G. Spencer, "University of Mary Washington Preservation Plan 80% Draft," 57.

Chapter I. Designing the Campus

Understanding the Normal

The main entrance of what is now the University of Mary Washington is a straight road which leads to a newly added bell tower and recently renovated freshman dorm, while the old entrance curves up from Sunken Road, past the open air theatre, circling around one of the oldest buildings on campus, Monroe Hall. Although a main campus quad is absent on this campus, the similarities between most of the academic and residential building's facades, big brick buildings with columns in front, emits a cohesiveness and sense of uniformity along with the smaller green lawns that join the buildings into smaller units. A smaller campus than the one in Harrisonburg, it feels almost frozen in time. When one walks around the main campus, unaware of its 100 year history is pronounced, if you do not focus on the few recently built buildings and neighborhoods that have grown around the school.

The campus that is now James Madison University has a different feel than the campus at Fredericksburg. Unlike the close inspection that is needed to see which buildings are newer than others at University of Mary Washington, there are four distinct additions to the campus in Harrisonburg, which spreads from the historic limestone quad to two 1970s brick multi-purpose building areas, Hillside and the Village, up to the newest portion of the school, East Campus, with its tan stucco buildings. But as with the University of Mary Washington, the original quad still holds the same features, give or take a few buildings, that would have been present in the first years of the school. The large formation of bluestone known as the kissing rock still marks its location on the quad and the mysterious tunnels that connect two buildings on campus are a physical reminder of the school's past.

Somewhat forgotten to many through time, normal schools are an important part of Virginia's educational history. A 1904 *Times Dispatch* article written by a faculty member at the State Female Normal School in Farmville, Virginia, gives an idea of what kind of training was expected at a normal school. The author compared the importance of specialized training at a law school or trade school to the training of a normal school in that, "a professional spirit is aroused by continued contact with the ideals and aspirations of a teacher." Training in courses such as the history of psychology, philosophy of education, health in education, and school management gave the students more than they might get at a high school or through a regular college course, thus creating more highly trained teachers to supplement the growing public education system in the state.

The *Times Dispatch* article's argument is key to understanding the state's view of teacher training at the turn of the century. This author was evidently upset over the lack of structure and low standards that Virginia teachers were held to during the early 20th century. He attributes these low standards by comparing teachers to "The minister who preaches but does not minister to true living by example has no power in the community."²⁹ In this comparison, it is clear that just like a minister, teachers have to be educated in a way to effectively strengthen the community around them through education. The importance of modern facilities to train the next generation of professional teachers in Virginia is what ultimately leads to the establishment of FC and HC, spaces that would allow teachers to teach and serve their communities to the best of their abilities.

The establishment of the normal schools is integral to understanding what the campuses became for the students in the early years. A catalogue published in 1912 by the FC stresses the

²⁹ "Great Value of Normals," *The Richmond Times Dispatch*, June 30, 1904, 7.

fact that there are two aspects of the principal function of a normal school. “First, to provide that type of instruction which will best prepare young women to become successful teachers in the public schools of the State; secondly, to give a healthy stimulus to all right impulses and to prepare young women for the responsible duties of home-makers.”³⁰ To accomplish preparing the best public school teachers of Virginia, the FC curriculum included classical and cultural studies, science and methods of teaching, and observation and practice teaching.³¹ The Catalogue cites the ability of the women to foster the development of the state’s “future citizenship” and to have the training needed to give the women the best fit “for her sphere of influence in the home, in which she should shine resplendent.”³²

A closer look at the application process for the normal schools gives an insight into the educational system in Virginia at the time. In order to be admitted to the FC in 1912, the applicant had to have completed at least four high school units and be at least 15 years old.³³ Heatwole argues that this requirement of “exhausting all the public school facilities offered” in the applicant’s hometown is due to the lack of actual high schools in the area surrounding Fredericksburg, great evidence that shows how the renaissance of Virginian education was needed.³⁴ HC required two years of high school training, with the education including “domestic economy, manual arts, school gardening, poultry raising, and agriculture.”³⁵ While the normal

³⁰ *First Annual Catalogue*, Special Collections, Simpson Library, University of Mary Washington, 11.

³¹ *First Annual Catalogue*, 11.

³² *First Annual Catalogue*, 11.

³³ *First Annual Catalogue*, 13.

³⁴ Heatwole, *The History of Education in Virginia*, 337. The State Normal at Radford opened in 1912 and had a similar entrance requirement to that of Fredericksburg.

³⁵ Heatwole, *The History of Education in Virginia*, 334. According to Crowley’s JMU Timeline, the first student who was admitted to HC was Eleanor Beatrice Marable, of Prince George County. She was sixteen years old. She is often referred to as “Bluestone Hill’s First Daughter.”

school at Harrisonburg opened in September 1909, difficulties determining a location meant the Fredericksburg campus opened two years later.³⁶

Women came to both schools from far and wide. While most students were from the area or surrounding counties of the normal schools respectively, HC in 1911, had seven out-of-state students showing the geographical scope of its range. Table 1.1 includes data found in the First Annual Catalogue of the State Normal and Industrial School at Fredericksburg. “Spottsylvania”, a bordering county just south of Fredericksburg, had the most students attending with 25.³⁷ The majority of these counties in the catalog are east of the Blue Ridge Mountains, a physical mountain range border separating HC and FC. Interestingly, only 36% of students came to FC from a 25-mile radius of Fredericksburg. The location at Fredericksburg as halfway between the United States capital in Washington D.C. and the Virginia state capital in Richmond could have meant that the roads leading to and around Fredericksburg were reliable enough to give reasoning behind almost sixty percent of students coming from farther than 25 miles. Both schools had a train depot that also aided in the women’s ability to attain transportation to and from school.

³⁶ Heatwole, *The History of Education in Virginia*, 334-337.

³⁷ Spottsylvania with the double t is how it is spelled in the catalogue. The double t has been replaced and is now Spotsylvania.

Table 1.1. FC Register of Students - 1912

Number of Students Attending FC, 1912	City/County
City/County with 1 Student Attending	Augusta, Amelia, Bath, Bedford, Elizabeth City, King William, Mathews, Nansemond, New Kent, Sussex, Warwick, York
City/County with 2 Student Attending	Fauquier, Hanover, King George, Mecklenberg, Northampton, Northumberland, Rappahannock, Southampton, Washington, Westmoreland
City/County with 3 Student Attending	Orange, Albermarle
City/County with 4 Student Attending	Richmond, Lancaster, Culpeper, Stafford, Middlesex
City/County with 5 Student Attending	King and Queen
City/County with 6 Student Attending	Louisa, Henrico
City/County with 11 Student Attending	Essex
City/County with 14 Student Attending	Caroline
City/County with 25 Student Attending	Spottsylvania

Table 1.2 uses data from the first HC yearbook, the *Schoolma'am* (1911). Sixty-eight students from Rockingham county, the county surrounding the city of Harrisonburg, attended HC in 1911. Like FC, only a few women came from a 25-mile radius of HC. Out of the 31% or seventy students that came from a 25-mile radius, sixty-eight of them were the women from Rockingham county mentioned above, while the other two came from Shenandoah and Greene, Virginia. Again, Harrisonburg, at the intersection of two major roads, U.S. 33 and U.S. 11, coupled with transportation by train made traveling to school easier for the majority of women.

Table 1.2. HC School ma'am 1911 (Yearbook) (153-159)

Number of Students Attending HC, 1911	City/County (Some cases state)
City/County with 1 Student Attending	West Virginia, Washington, Warren, Tennessee, Sussex, South Carolina, Shenandoah, Scott, Russell, Princess Anne, Prince George, Powhatan, Page, Ohio, Nottoway, Northampton, New Kent, Henry, Greene, Grayson, Georgia, Floyd, Fairfax, Essex, Clarke, Charlotte, Carroll, Botetourt, Amherst
City/County with 2 Student Attending	Wise, Warwick, Roanoke, Orange, Norfolk, Nelson, Maryland, Madison, Loudoun, Franklin, Chesterfield, Campbell, Bland, Bedford, Bath, Accomac
City/County with 3 Student Attending	Wythe, Tazewell, Southampton, Pulaski, Prince Edward, Lee, King William, Henrico, Mecklenburg, Fluvanna,
City/County with 4 Student Attending	Rappahannock, Prince William,
City/County with 5 Student Attending	Pittsylvania, Frederick, Fauquier, Culpeper,
City/County with 6 Student Attending	Smyth, Highland,
City/County with 7 Student Attending	Rockbridge
City/County with 9 Student Attending	Albemarle
City/County with 68 Student Attending	Rockingham

Choosing the Site



Photograph 1.

This map of Virginia has Harrisonburg and Fredericksburg circled for a better understanding of the locations mentioned in this thesis. Notice the darkened strip directly to the right of Harrisonburg is the Blue Ridge Mountains, the physical border between both schools. Women came from throughout Virginia and surrounding states in the first years. Google Maps with circle additions, from January 2, 2019.

Both Fredericksburg and Harrisonburg were commercial hubs in their areas respectively.

Harrisonburg is situated in the Shenandoah Valley in western Virginia, its location marking where two historic trails intersect.³⁸ Fredericksburg's location on the Rappahannock River made it a prosperous port during the 18th century. Fredericksburg by the 1830s, had a population of 3,308 compared to that of Harrisonburg's northern neighbor and mid 19th century Shenandoah Valley dominant trading location, Winchester with 3,620.³⁹

³⁸ David Ehrenpreis, *Picturing Harrisonburg*, (Staunton: George F. Thompson Publishing, 2017), 17.

³⁹ Keith Edward Littlefield, "Economic Challenge and Mercantile Enterprise in a Southern Urban System: A Case Study of Fredericksburg, Virginia, 1835-1880," (PhD diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 1999), 37. Harrisonburg specific numbers could not be found.

The Civil War affected Harrisonburg and Fredericksburg in different ways. Fredericksburg's location between the Confederate Capital in Richmond and the Union Capital in Washington D.C. made it arguably a more contested site during the Civil War. The Battle of Fredericksburg of 1862 saw 12,653 Union and 4,201 Confederate casualties in the matter of days in December.⁴⁰ While Harrisonburg did not have as much action during the Civil War, the Shenandoah Valley did with Stonewall Jackson's 1862 campaign followed by Union officer Phillip Sheridan's 1864 campaign, which ultimately led to the surrender of the Confederate Army after "total war" was inflicted in the valley.⁴¹

The years following the Civil War were marked with slow progress in both Fredericksburg and Harrisonburg. In Fredericksburg, improvements in industry and advancements to the city's economy did not come until 1872 when the railroad was introduced.⁴² In Harrisonburg, an addition of over 1,000 acres in 1892 grew the city's population by 2,000 more residents through annexation.⁴³

Due to limited sources on normal school specific architecture, a broader approach will be used, focusing more on the research of gendered designs in private female colleges, as well as coeducational colleges, and normal schools. In the early years, there were conscious decisions made to put many of these women's colleges in rural locations.⁴⁴ This was true at HC, where the

⁴⁰ "Civil War 1861-1865," City of Fredericksburg, accessed April 7, 2019, <https://www.fredericksburgva.gov/index.aspx?NID=781>.

⁴¹ "The Campaigns," Shenandoah Valley Battlefields, accessed April 7, 2019, <http://www.shenandoahatwar.org/the-campaigns/>.

⁴² "Reconstruction and Growth," City of Fredericksburg, accessed April 7, 2019, <https://www.fredericksburgva.gov/782/Reconstruction-and-Growth>.

⁴³ "City of Harrisonburg History," City of Harrisonburg, last modified February 26, 2018, <https://www.harrisonburgva.gov/history>.

⁴⁴ Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, London: The MIT Press, 1984), 133.

ultimate location was chosen, the Newman land at “the extremity of South Main Street”.⁴⁵

Purchased for \$18,500 from Henry M. Newman and his wife Lorena Mallie, the site was a little over 42 acres and sat just on the southern edge of town. The campus would be close enough to not be considered too “remote or uncivilized” but far enough away to keep the girls out of trouble.⁴⁶

HC used its location in the Shenandoah Valley to entice girls to come and study at the school. The founders of HC boasted a “healthful climate” and “excellent sanitation” along with both “town and country advantages”.⁴⁷ FC also promotes its location on top of Marye’s Heights “overlooking the city” of Fredericksburg as “beautiful, high, healthful.”⁴⁸

The FC campus comprised 60 acres of land on the Marye’s Heights, a ridge that “gives a commanding view of the city of Fredericksburg and the beautiful Rappahannock valley.”⁴⁹ The catalogue markets the school as a campus with clean air, mature tree groves, and only a short walk to the residential areas of the city, a driveway connecting the neighborhood with campus so women of the city can conveniently attend the school.⁵⁰ Before FC, Marye’s Heights played host to the 1862 Battle of Fredericksburg but quickly was brought back into agricultural use before being purchased in 1891 by the Fredericksburg Development Company.⁵¹

While the procurement of land for FC started in March 1908, it was not until a year later that the final site was approved and purchased after approval came from the State Board of

⁴⁵ “Normal School Board Holds First Meeting,” *Harrisonburg Daily News*, April 29, 1908, 4.

⁴⁶ Turner, *Campus*, 133.

⁴⁷ “State Normal School Harrisonburg,” *Richmond Times Dispatch*, August 6, 1910, 5.

⁴⁸ “State Normal School Fredericksburg, VA,” *Big Stone Gap Post*, June 1, 1920, 3.

⁴⁹ *First Annual Catalogue*, Special Collections, Simpson Library, University of Mary Washington, 13.

⁵⁰ *First Annual Catalogue*, Special Collections, Simpson Library, University of Mary Washington, 13.

⁵¹ Spencer, “UMW Preservation Plan,” 26.

Education on June 22, 1909.⁵² The site on Marye's Heights was slated against seven other proposals over the year of decisions on the proposed site, with one promising site known as Cedar Lane being turned down early in the process surprisingly by the State Board of Education.⁵³ After active participation from community members in the site of the normal school, the 45 acres site at Marye's Heights, known locally as Rowe's Woods, was purchased for \$8,516.70.⁵⁴ After "the initial purchase of roughly 45 acres from M.B. Rowe on August 9, 1909, the Fredericksburg Normal School would enter into six more property transactions before the end of 1911 creating a campus of roughly 58 acres along Mayre's Heights."⁵⁵

Planning the Campus

Both FC and HC share a common denominator in the beginning designs of their campuses: Charles Robinson. After having a short architectural stint in Pittsburgh from 1889-1906, Robinson moved to Richmond and started designing different educationally linked buildings, including FC and HC. As a budding architect eager to learn the trade, Charles Robinson worked with two other architects: D.S. Hopkins, who practiced in the Queen Anne style and John K. Peebles who practiced in the Jeffersonian and Colonial Revival styles. Peebles seems to have made the greatest impact on Robinson's stylistic choices in his later career. Robinson would become a prolific architect in Virginia, with commissions including Radford

⁵² Spencer, "UMW Preservation Plan," 34.

⁵³ Spencer, "UMW Preservation Plan," 30. They turned the Cedar Lane site down due to "better sites available."

⁵⁴ Spencer, "UMW Preservation Plan," 31. One article in the *Free Lance Star* July, 4th 1908, 1, read, "Wherever we roam, where'er varying fortune drives our frail bark, strangers plead that we tell again the story of Fredericksburg, where the Confederate Army stood and punished the foe, who depopulated and sacked the town, driving the people away with nothing to sustain them but their undaunted spirit; that spirit glows now, and brightens apace as time wears. We will build the Normal School on the famed heights of Fredericksburg – a chaste monument to the honor of its home people."

⁵⁵ Spencer, "UMW Preservation Plan," 46.

University, multiple public schools, a chapel on University of Richmond's campus, and an entire neighborhood of homes in Richmond, Virginia.⁵⁶

While HC only used Charles Robinson as the architect in the early years of their campus design, an unusual decision to have three architects at FC brought Charles M. Robinson, Philip N. Stern, and Charles K. Bryant onto the FC design process. Perhaps a decision on one architect could not be made, but with that being said, Bryant and Robinson seemed to have had more influence, with them both designing the first three buildings on campus, following a formal memorandum of agreement that stated what was needed from the architects.⁵⁷

With the locations and architects set, the next decision involved determining the layout of both campuses. Both FC and HC not only needed buildings to house students, faculty, and staff, but also spaces for classroom instruction, exercise, and entertainment. Both Boards knew the importance of a well-planned and thought out space. According to a 1908 newspaper article, in an early Board meeting for planning the HC, the newly appointed Superintendent Eggleston stated in regard to the future of the school that:

He was utterly opposed to planning a small school. Provision should be made say for from 800 to 1000 pupils, and the board should build, from the first brick laid, with the maximum in view. Every building and every section of a building should be designed as a part of the whole, as projected from the outset. This is not to be merely a normal school, but as required by law and in all good faith it should be an industrial institution as well.⁵⁸

Eggleston's urgency in creating a space that would fit not only the school in the beginning but would match whatever the school needed to be in the future did not go unnoticed. The Board and

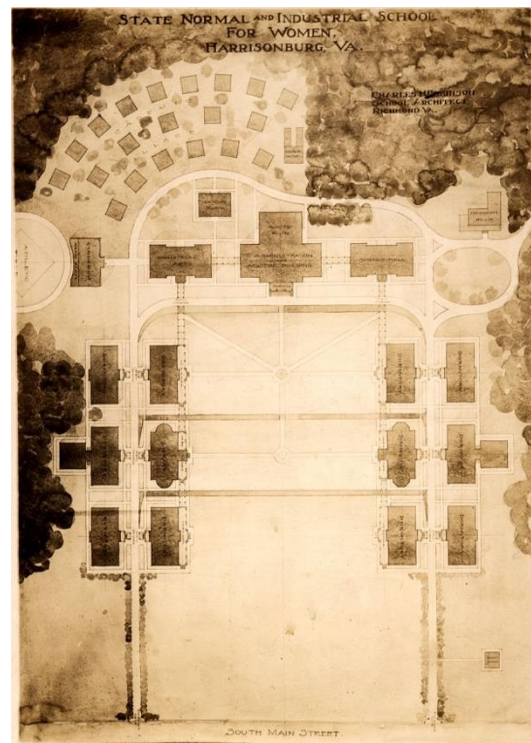
⁵⁶ "Architects of Richmond: Charles M. Robinson," Architecture Richmond, last modified January 27, 2015, <https://architecturerichmond.com/2015/01/27/architects-of-richmond-charles-m-robinson/>.

⁵⁷ Spencer, "UMW Preservation Plan," 37.

⁵⁸ "Normal School Board Holds First Meeting," *Harrisonburg Daily News*, April 30, 1908.

later, the newly elected president, Julian Burruss, sought to create a plan for HC that would stand the test of time and the ultimate expansion of the school.

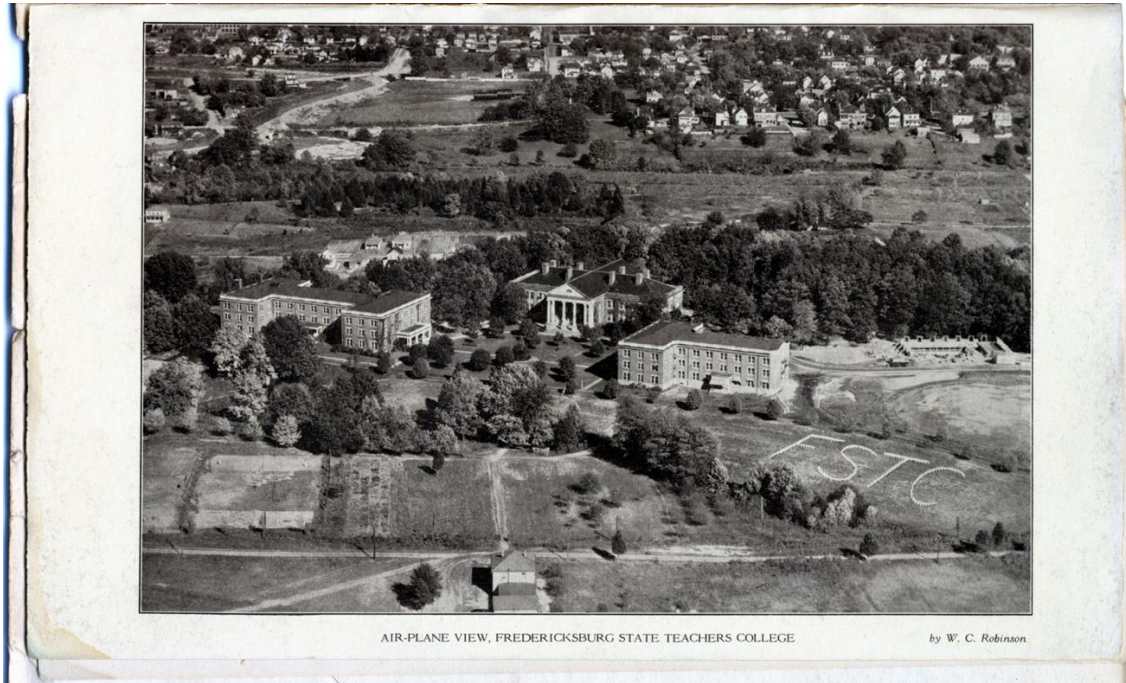
The original plan for HC was drawn by Charles Robinson and was included in Julian Burruss's 1908 report for recommendations regarding the school. The buildings would be set up in a modified quadrangle form, creating a u-shape that looked onto South Main Street. These buildings would house the students, feed the students, teach the students, and create other necessary functions for the students.⁵⁹



Photograph 2 and 3.

Circa 1908. These two drawings depict how Charles Robinson and the Normal School Board saw the future of Harrisonburg Campus. The campus today holds a very similar layout on the quad to these drawings give or take a few buildings. Special Collections Photo Collection, JMU. RobinsonFramed (left) and RobinsonFramed2 (right).

⁵⁹ Raymond C. Dingledine, Jr., *Madison College the First Fifty Years 1908-1958*, (Harrisonburg, Virginia: Madison College, 1959), 17. The plan also created a space for twenty cottages for students and faculty as well as the president's house.

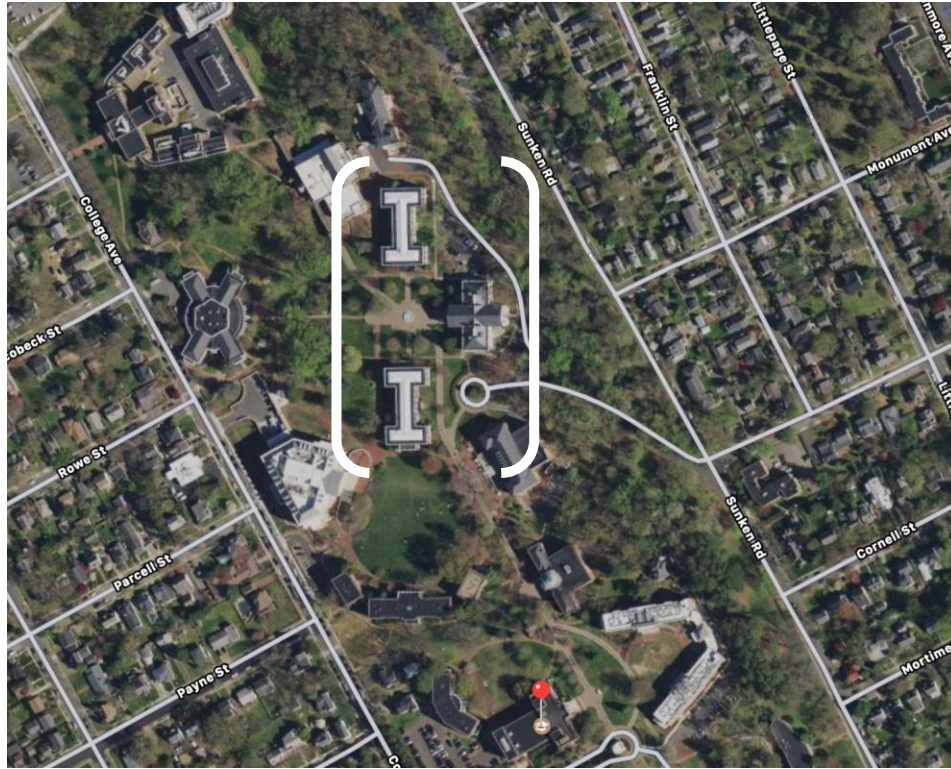


AIR-PLANE VIEW, FREDERICKSBURG STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE

by W. C. Robinson

Photograph 4.

Airplane view, Fredericksburg State Teachers College, 1928. Notice the north to south axial direction and its location overlooking the city of Fredericksburg. The trees behind the forward-facing building hide the decline from FC's elevated position to the land below. Centennial Image Collection, Special Collections, UMW.



Photograph 5.

Brackets show original buildings on campus on their north and south axis. Notice how the other campus buildings do not keep with the same cardinal directions. Also notice the use of smaller green spaces compared to HC's main quad. Screenshot from Apple Maps March 19, 2019.

The architecture at FC follows the Colonial Revival style, more specifically Jeffersonian Collegiate, following a trend for this architectural style in the South and in Virginia, specifically, during the early 20th century.⁶⁰ The location atop the raised elevation of Marye's Heights afforded the buildings to be laid out in a way to maximize a view of the city of Fredericksburg below. It also incorporated the same inward facing a U-shaped plan design that HC had, although this plan was made on a smaller U just incorporating three buildings. The FC campus is also laid out on a north to south axis, a direction that gave the buildings the most amount of sunlight

⁶⁰ Spencer, "UMW Preservation Plan," 37. Michael Spencer argues that "The proximity of the University of Virginia and its engineering school, established in the 19th century, also provided the state with a number of well trained designers ready to emulate Jefferson."

possible throughout the day. The original buildings at FC had an H shape that also aided in providing the most natural light as possible as well as maximizing the square footage available.⁶¹

Materials Used

The first buildings at HC were built with locally sourced bluestone, a type of limestone that is found abundantly in the Shenandoah Valley. While quarrying bluestone is a time-consuming process, it has been used as building material in the Harrisonburg area since the mid 18th century, making it no surprise that it was used for the normal school at Harrisonburg.⁶²

Charles Robinson designed the buildings to be made of bluestone with red Spanish tiles for the roof. At FC, the architects decided on Indiana limestone and pressed brick. Indiana limestone is easy to work with before it dries, and has no preferential direction of splitting when cut, making it known as a freestone.⁶³ Pressed bricks are bricks that have been “subjected to pressure to free them from imperfections of shape and texture before burning.”⁶⁴ The brick used at FC came from the local Fredericksburg Brick Company.⁶⁵

At both FC and HC, the first two buildings built were both named Dormitory No. 1 followed by the Science Hall at HC and the Science Building at FC.⁶⁶ At HC, the Science Hall

⁶¹ Spencer, “UMW Preservation Plan,” 43.

⁶² “JMU Centennial Celebration – The History of Bluestone,” James Madison University, accessed April 7, 2019, <http://www.jmu.edu/centennialcelebration/bluestone.shtml>.

⁶³ “Indiana Limestone,” CUNY, accessed April 7, 2019, <http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/geology/powell/613webpage/NYCbuilding/IndianaLimestone/IndianaLimestone.htm>.

⁶⁴ “Pressed Brick,” Merriam Webster, accessed April 7, 2019, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/pressed%20brick>.

⁶⁵ Spencer, “UMW Preservation Plan,” 181.

⁶⁶ Crowley, “James Madison University: 1908-1909 to 1958-1959,” 8. Dormitory No. 1 is now known as Jackson Hall and is currently home to the Department of History (which is scheduled to move to Wilson Hall in Fall of 2019). Science Hall is now known as Maury Hall, and houses classrooms as well as office space. Together, both buildings cost around \$51,000 when they were built. The buildings were built by the Harrisonburg local W.M. Bucher & Son.

included offices for the president, a library, a bookstore, two large rooms that could be utilized as either an auditorium or gymnasium, and multipurpose classrooms and laboratory spaces.

Buildings like this, which served multiple purposes and functions, were a mainstay in the majority of women's colleges. According to Dingledine's campus history, the Science Hall was laid out in a way where:

Upon entering the building, a student climbed a short flight of steps to the first floor. On the right was the office of the registrar and, behind that, the small office of President Burruss. A large room in the southwest corner served as the library. Across the hall from the library was a classroom which would be used for English. To the left, as one walked into the first floor hall, was a small book and supply room. A large room equipped with machines and tables for sewing classes was in one corner. In the other corner was a lecture room for classes in Education and History. Across the hall from the main entrance was a large double room with work benches and tables for the Manual Arts department. The second floor contained five large rooms and two small ones, one a music room and the other a ladies' restroom. Two large classrooms at the northern end of the building were divided by a removable partition. By rolling up the partition these could be thrown together into one room extending all the way across that end of the building. This would serve as the School's assembly room and temporary gymnasium.⁶⁷

Paul Turner argues in his book, *Campus*, that "the insistence on single all-inclusive buildings at women's colleges was motivated by a concern for the protection and safety of the students, as well as a desire to emphasize the family-like nature of the institution."⁶⁸ At HC, Dormitory No. 1 was both the residential hall for sixty-four students as well as the dining hall, with the kitchen and dining space in the basement. It also housed the matron of the dormitory's room and her parlor.⁶⁹ Charles Robinson's design was accepted by the board in October and the breaking of ground for the Science Hall on November 25, 1908, marked the start of construction at the State Normal School at Harrisonburg.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Dingledine, Jr., *Madison College the First Fifty Years*, 33.

⁶⁸ Turner, *Campus*, 133.

⁶⁹ Crowley, "James Madison University: 1908-1909 to 1958-1959," 9.

⁷⁰ Dingledine, Jr., *Madison College the First Fifty Years*, 18.



Photograph 6.

This ca. 1917 photo shows the locations of the first two buildings built on the Harrisonburg campus. Dormitory No. 1, later known as Jackson Hall to the right and Science Hall, later Maury Hall in the front. While the quad now has brick walkways, notice the wooden boardwalks that were used by the faculty and students in the early years to get from one building to another. Special Collection Photo Collection, JMU. Photo Bmh02.

Both campuses advertised “new” and “modern” buildings, with Harrisonburg even citing “careful supervision” under the buildings section of their newspaper advertisements.⁷¹ Although the comment might seem out of place in regard to the buildings, supervision was in fact part of the design of both campuses. Take HC’s first two buildings for example, Science Hall and Dormitory No. 1. The administrative offices of the Science Hall would have overlooked both Dormitory No. 1 and the area in front of it, which would become the quad. The matron of

⁷¹ “State Normal School Harrisonburg,” *The Richmond Times Dispatch*, August 6, 1910, 5.
“State Normal School Fredericksburg, VA,” *Big Stone Gap Post*, June 1, 1920, 3.

Dormitory No. 1 also had her room in the front of the building, with views overlooking the comings and goings of the women, a design that surely was intentional. The faculty would have been able to keep their eyes on the students when they were outdoors during the day.

Both campuses boasted modern buildings with indoor plumbing and electricity. The first students at HC were told to bring pictures and a dresser cover to help make their rooms more personalized and attractive.⁷² But not every student was housed in Dormitory No. 1 due to it reaching its capacity early on in receiving applications. Others lived in a farmhouse that was previously on the property when HC purchased the land or other private homes close to campus.⁷³ If you were one of the women that was housed in the dormitory, you most likely shared a room with two other women. The rooms had “at least two windows, two electric lights and two clothes closets” and were furnished with “enameled iron beds, oak dressers, tables, chairs, rugs and bed linen and towels.”⁷⁴ The dining hall in the basement sat eight people per table, with enough seats for double the number of women living above in the dormitory.⁷⁵

⁷² Dingedine, Jr., *Madison College the First Fifty Years*, 30.

⁷³ Dingedine, Jr., *Madison College the First Fifty Years*, 32.

⁷⁴ Dingedine, Jr., *Madison College the First Fifty Years*, 33-34.

⁷⁵ Dingedine, Jr., *Madison College the First Fifty Years*, 34.



Photograph 7.

This 1915 photograph is an example of what a dorm would look like in the early years at FC. The layout of this room looks similar to the descriptions of the dorm at HC. Notice the three beds, dresser, tables, and two windows. Also included is a dresser cover as well as pictures and ephemera on the walls. To the right of the table is a sink and a lamp and light fixture adds to the modern appliances that the school boasted of. Student Room in Willard Hall. umw:2930. Centennial Image Collection, Special Collections, UMW.



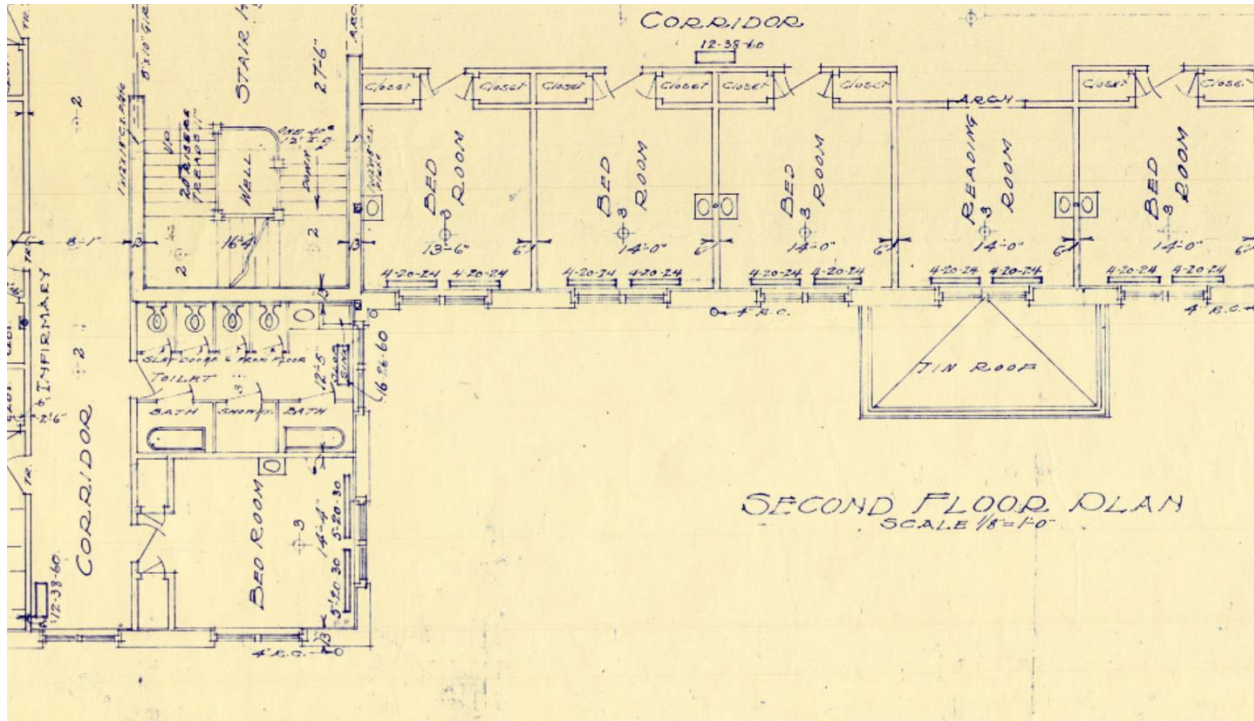
Photograph 8.

While this photograph does not have a date, using the materials shown it is most likely a photograph from the early years at HC. This photograph was used by Dingleline (20) in his book "Madison College". Notice the dresser cover, personalized decorations, pennant in the reflection of the mirror, and lamp which means they had electricity. Written on back: A dormitory room at the Normal. # Bidoh018, Special Collections, JMU.

At FC, the Dormitory Building provided residential space for 140 students as well as a kitchen and dining hall, similar to the design at HC. In the blueprint below, notice the layout of the bathrooms in Dormitory No. 1, later known as Willard Hall. Hall style bathrooms as well as showers and bathtubs were present on both campuses. The bedrooms also had two built-in clothes closets, a sink, and two windows, similar to that of Dormitory No. 1 or later Jackson Hall. The Administrative Building at FC provided, "10 classrooms, two manual training rooms, a 24 student library, assembly hall, gymnasium, an indoor pool and offices."⁷⁶ Another dormitory

⁷⁶ Spencer, "UMW Preservation Plan," 53.

building, now known as Virginia Hall, opened in 1915 to help combat that need for more residential space.



Photograph 9.

This is an architectural drawing of the revised second floor plan of Frances Willard Hall ca. 1910-1914 from Charles Robinson. Great visual for understanding how the dorms looked in Dormitory No. 1, later Willard Hall, on the Fredericksburg campus. Each bedroom has a sink, two windows, and two closets and there are four toilets, two tubs, and a shower at the end of the hall. #umw:2627, Centennial Image Collection, Special Collections, UMW.

FC Campus Buildings

While both campuses shared the same architect, each have a unique and decidedly separate aesthetic. For instance, an interesting aspect of the FC campus is the numerous single family homes that are on the campus. The second president of the school, Dr. Chandler, built a house in 1915 on the property, now known as the Fairfax House. The house is a white Dutch

Revival house with a side gambrel roof.⁷⁷ It served as his residence during his tenure as president until 1928 when he died suddenly. In 1930, FC bought the house from Chandler's wife, Blanch, and turned it into the school infirmary. The 1915 Hamlet house was constructed, for Mr. W.N. Hamlet who lived there until 1935. The house, a "modest, two story, double pile, two-bay, frame structure built with colonial revival aesthetics"⁷⁸ still stands on campus as with the others. The Tyler House was another 1915-1916 construction, originally owned by Edward Russel, was sold to the school in 1919, around the same time Russell resigned from his presidency. These houses cut up the monotony of bricked columned buildings on campus and are important to understanding the small but distinct features that made FC different than HC.

Dormitory No. 2, now known as Virginia Hall, resembles the first dormitory building closely. The dormitory's location and placement factored into the importance of both natural lighting as well as ventilation with a constant breeze coming from the north and west.⁷⁹ Its Roman Classical exterior can be found in Jefferson's University of Virginia, which Michael Spencer, current Historic Preservation professor at University of Mary Washington, describes as, "the use of brick walls with thin mortar joints situated on top of a ½ story, reinforced concrete, raised basement and crowned with a balustrade to obscure the low sloped hip roof."⁸⁰ Virginia Hall housed rooms for the women on the second and third floors as well as offices for the President, his secretary, and the business office as well three parlors that were used for formal socializing.⁸¹ This building was interestingly designed intentionally to be added onto through

⁷⁷ Spencer, "UMW Preservation Plan," 123.

⁷⁸ Spencer, "UMW Preservation Plan," 140. The house was not sold to the school until 1945.

⁷⁹ Spencer, "UMW Preservation Plan," 222.

⁸⁰ Spencer, "UMW Preservation Plan," 222.

⁸¹ Spencer, "UMW Preservation Plan," 223.

units as the school grew.⁸² An additional unit was added to the building in 1927 and a third later in 1934.⁸³

Seacobeck Hall marked the end of Charles Robinson's designs for FC. While its main function was a dining hall, it also held space for the Home Economics Department including the Tea Room, which students used as part of their studies in Home Economics.⁸⁴ According to Michael Spencer, Seacobeck Hall displays "a central entrance flanked by two angled wings and utilize brick as a dominant building material" with "a curved portico with columns in the Corinthian order" joining the two wings.⁸⁵ Each wing held a dining hall for 250 students each, respectively. This building played into the cohesiveness of the campus design, and with the other original buildings of the first two decades of FC, paved the way for the beautiful campus of what is now University of Mary Washington.

HC Campus Buildings

Charles Robinson designed all the buildings at HC from 1908-1928, creating the iconic quad design. Similar to FC, after the initial dormitory and science buildings were constructed, subsequent dormitories and academic buildings followed. Dormitory No. 2 (now Ashby Hall) completed in February 1911 provided rooms for 72 students and the first gymnasium on campus.⁸⁶ The next building built, completed in 1914, was the president's home later known as Hillcrest. This building got its eventual name from its location on top of a hill, overlooking the campus.⁸⁷ The Student's Building or Harrison Hall was next, providing a large auditorium,

⁸² Spencer, "UMW Preservation Plan," 229.

⁸³ Spencer, "UMW Preservation Plan," 224. The third unit was added by J. Binford Walford, following Charles Robinson's retirement.

⁸⁴ Spencer, "UMW Preservation Plan," 199.

⁸⁵ Spencer, "UMW Preservation Plan," 198.

⁸⁶ Crowley, "James Madison University: 1908-1909 to 1958-1959," 30-32.

⁸⁷ Crowley, "James Madison University: 1908-1909 to 1958-1959," 44.

bigger library, and office space.⁸⁸ After the initial buildings were constructed, more followed suit as HC kept growing throughout the years. While HC's campus today is not uniform, the original quad layout still holds its similar design with its surrounding buildings, many of which have held faculty, students, and staff alike for over a hundred years.

⁸⁸ Crowley, "James Madison University: 1908-1909 to 1958-1959," 47.

Chapter II. Life on Campus

Living the Normal Life

With the campus buildings in place, it was time for the students. Women came on train, in car, and for some local students, on foot. In order to understand the differences in the two schools, a look at dates and numbers of the first years of the schools is a must. FC opened on September 26, 1911 two years and two days after HC's opening day.⁸⁹ The first class at HC numbered 209 in 1909, compared to the 131 that started the first year at FC in 1911. In the same year of 1911 at HC, 308 students enrolled, over twice the size of FC's first class.⁹⁰ This is partly due to the decisions that were made at HC being largely streamlined, with little resistance to contractor bids or building delays. At FC, this was not the cause, unfortunately causing numerous and varying delays that kept the university unopened to students for much longer.

With eight classes a day and few breaks in between, the students led structured lives on campus. In the 1911, *School ma'am*, the annual yearbook at HC, a page dedicated to a dictionary for the normal says that time is "that elusive thing for which you are always wishing and which is gone before you know you have it."⁹¹ For the women at HC, the majority of time does seem to be taken by their schooling. In the 1912 Student Handbook, published for HC students by the Y.W.C.A. a sample schedule of the day is provided. The day started at 6:30, with breakfast at 7:45 followed by the first class at 8:30, second class at 9:20, and Chapel at 10:10. The third class of the day starts at 10:45, fourth class at 11:35, dinner at 12:25, fifth through eighth class from 1:30 to 4:00, supper at 6:00, study hour at 7:00, and lights out by 10:30.⁹² An interesting part of

⁸⁹ Dingleline, Jr., *Madison College the First Fifty Years*, 30.

⁹⁰ Spencer, "UMW Preservation Plan," 52.

⁹¹ *Schoolma'am* 1911, Special Collections, JMU, 126.

⁹² *Handbook* 1912, Special Collections, JMU, 20.

the broader schedule of HC is that the school was on a four quarter calendar system, meaning the school was open for eleven months out of the year.⁹³

At FC, a Schedule of Recitations found in the academic catalogue for the 1912 summer session shows classes starting at eight in the morning, followed by chapel exercises at 10:40, then back to classes till 12:20. That means after the students completed their seven classes from 8-12:20, “the afternoon may be used for rest, recreation, outdoor observation work, study, shopping or sight-seeing.”⁹⁴ While this schedule may vary from the regular session’s schedule, the rigorous academic schedule still shows a very regimented day-to-day structure for the women at FC. It also can be inferred from this rhyme found in the 1914 FC yearbook *The Battlefield*:

Scribble, Scribble, little pen;
Take down notes from eight till ten.
Arnold, Earhart, Thorndike, - three -,
Dozens more before we’re free.

If our notes be incomplete,
Threatening faces we shall meet;
So we’ll stay within our den, -
Scribble, scribble, little pen.⁹⁵

Outdoor vs Indoor Spaces Through Photo Collections

It is easy to forget that, with the passing of a hundred years since the two normals opened for the first time, many of the unique voices and personal histories of the students have been lost. What is left is for us through school archives is mainly school-published material, such as newspaper ads, bulletins, and yearbooks. It is important to remember that this material can be somewhat two dimensional, with many published materials being idyllic in terms of what they

⁹³ Heatwole, *The History of Education in Virginia*, 334-335.

⁹⁴ *State Summer School and School of Elementary Methods*, July 1912, Special Collections, UMW, 31.

⁹⁵ *The Battlefield* 1914, Special Collections, UMW, 122.

want to portray (this is somewhat untrue with the student run yearbooks). With this in mind, while material can leave out certain details or voices of the past, a look at other modes of research may provide a more well-rounded idea of what life was like at HC and FC for both the faculty and the students.

The saying, “a picture is worth a thousand words” seems fitting to describe the use of photos from both FC and HC to supplement that written material that survives to today. While one can argue that photos, like words, can be manipulated into a certain angle or frame, catching only part of the moment, a photo gives more contextual information from its background and content than many written materials can supply. By utilizing James Madison University Special Collections online photo collection as well as University of Mary Washington’s Centennial Photo Collections, along with both schools’ yearbooks and alumni scrapbooks, a better understanding of how the day to day life was like for the women at FC and HC can be found.

Looking at photos is important to understanding how the women utilized the spaces they were given on campus. While team photos from the yearbooks are posed and obviously hold their function solely as team photos, other photos of the women on field trips or in the chicken coop give a sense of more freedom, less rigidity as other photos give. Every photo in the yearbooks and photo collections was looked at and sorted as a static, candid, or posed photo. This sorting groups the photos so that photos of buildings or studio portraits are static, clearly posed photos such as team photos or group photos are posed, and less clearly to definitely not posed photos are candid.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ As a disclaimer, these photos were grouped based on the writer’s own interpretations of the photos. There are also 90 photos from JMU’s photo collection that do not have dates but could be dated by the writer with almost certainty that they are of the right time period. The UMW photo collection online was also much smaller than the JMU photo collection.

Table 3.1 Photo Collections from UMW and JMU Photo Collections 1908 - 1929

	JMU INDOOR	JMU OUTDOOR	UMW INDOOR	UMW OUTDOOR	JMU NO DATE INDOOR	JMU NO DATE OUTDOOR
CANDID	0	42	4	10	2	42
POSED	3	67	1	12	2	36
STATIC	7	20	6	4	2	4

The photos were also classified into outdoor or indoor categories. While camera technology at the time could be the reason for the majority of photos being taken outside, the use of indoor and outdoor spaces by the students could give insight to surveillance by faculty and staff on campus. By looking at the photos, did the women utilize the spaces on campus in different ways than the administration or even the architect, Charles Robinson thought they would? Does the difference in static, posed, candid, indoor, and outdoor photos give us an insight into the daily lives of the women who attended HC and FC?

Based on the number of pictures of the women posing outside on the athletic fields and walking down forested driveways, even though this institutionally published *Bulletin* makes outdoor activity seem to be the normal school's idea, the questions of surveillance and independence arise. For instance, being outside of the dormitory or academic building would most likely mean less authoritative eyes on the students. It was a way of escaping the watchful eye of the dormitory matron or various instructors in the hallway. At FC, 70% of the photos from

the Centennial Image Collection were taken outside. The photos, ranging from static photos of buildings, team photos for the yearbooks, and photos taken by the women themselves, show the changing function of the school over the years.

HC mirrors the use of outdoor spaces and photograph collections at FC. At HC, 92% of the dated photos were taken outside.⁹⁷ Only ten photos were taken indoors, 70% of those were static photos of the insides of the campus buildings. Like FC, it seems that the women utilized the outdoor spaces on campus and off in their free time. Out of the outdoor photos, 42% are posed and 50% are candid. While determining the purpose of many of the photos outside the club and group photos for the yearbooks, some are easy to tell if they were for personal use. Some of the captions provided for the photos give an insight to the women using their own time outside. One photo of two girls laying in the middle of the quad on campus on either side of a small evergreen sapling has “Gertrude & Anne “Up to something”” ca. 1918 written on the back.⁹⁸ Another shows two women sitting outside one of the buildings on campus on a railing with “Sunday morning (instead of going to church) ca. 1918” written on the back.⁹⁹ These captions most likely written by another student give a sense of carefreeness and ease that many of the yearbooks photos do not share. For example, the photo of the tennis players holding the trophy exude a different sense of seriousness that the student taken photo on right holds.

⁹⁷ 88% of non-dated photos were taken outside. Only 6 were taken indoors.

⁹⁸ #Stgi22, JMU Historic Photo Collection, Special Collections, JMU.

⁹⁹ #Stgi09, JMU Historic Photo Collection, Special Collections, JMU.



Photograph 10 and 11.

These photos give a nice contrast to both the formal and informal ways the women took photographs. While the photograph of the women holding the trophy is not a real formal picture taken by the institution, it still mimics that way of posing and contrasts the photograph of the women laying down enough to show the distinction between the two. Photograph 10 shows Amelia Brooke and Willye White, winners of the first annual tennis tournament at HC on November 12, 1911. Special Collections, JMU. Photograph 11 shows two women laying on their stomachs posing with a sapling in the middle of the quad. It has written on back: Gertrude & Anne "Up to something" ca. 1918. # Stgi22, Special Collections, JMU.

The FC 1915 *Bulletin* states that, "a commodious athletic field has been constructed on that part of the property adjoining the school garden and only 200 yards from the buildings."¹⁰⁰ While they are using the proximity of the athletic field to the buildings and garden, in contrast, think of what this means for the women who are playing tennis or other games on the field. 200 yards might seem convenient in saving time walking to and from on campus, but it is also convenient for the faculty and staff to easily watch the girls from their office windows. The

¹⁰⁰ *Bulletin of the State Normal and Industrial School for Women at Fredericksburg*, June 1915, Special Collections, UMW, 26.

photo below is a 1912 photo that, while it is not the same athletic field as mentioned in the Bulletin, it does depict tennis courts only yards away from Monroe Hall, the Administrative Building on campus, and gives a sense of the proximity that some of these spaces had to each other.



Photograph 12.

This 1912 photograph shows the proximity of the tennis courts to Monroe Hall aiding in the visualization of spaces at FC. From the windows, faculty and staff would have been able to keep an eye on the women. There is now a fountain in front of Monroe Hall. "Students play tennis with nets raised on the field outside of Monroe Hall." # Umw:460, Centennial Image Collection, Special Collections, UMW.

While Progressive Era ideals urged physical exercise and time spent being active, perhaps the architecture of the normals also pushed the women, purposely or unknowingly, outside. For instance, the architecture at FC made sure that the women had classroom space, dining space, and dormitory space, but it only left a few indoor spaces for the women to find themselves in if not eating, sleeping, or learning. According to the school's 1915 *Bulletin*, the land on which the school stood provided ample space for women to escape in their free time. "Walking and other forms of outdoor exercise are also popular with many students. Strong

efforts are made to interest every student in some form of out-of-door exercise, and every incentive is provided to insure systematic and sufficient exercise on the part of every student.”¹⁰¹ This is clear in the amount of athletic clubs featured in the yearbooks with basketball, croquet, tennis, rifle club, and even a hikers club mentioned in the 1914 *Battlefield*.¹⁰² The 1911 *School Ma'am* athletic pages cover over fourteen pages of the yearbook, showing a strong presence of sports on the HC campus.¹⁰³

When describing the FC campus, the *Bulletin* notes, “a beautiful grove with a great variety of native trees” with the “rolling nature of the grounds and the rural surroundings” as essential for not only the women’s free time but also for “school gardening, home gardening, plants, trees, and insects; with ample apparatus for testing milk, seeds, and soils. Superior laboratory facilities are provided.”¹⁰⁴ In effect, they spin the school’s outdoors spaces as an extension of the indoor classrooms, even stating that they provide all the necessary equipment for the activities mentioned above.

In addition to the regular required gymnastic work, students are encouraged to stay out of doors as much as possible, and to take part in all athletic exercises which are of interest and will prove physically beneficial. Such sports as tennis, basket-ball, baseball, target shooting, swimming, relay races, and other track events are entered into with enthusiasm. It is desired that the girls may be not only strong and vigorous, but that they may acquire a graceful control of the body—know how to stand and walk and carry themselves correctly.¹⁰⁵

While exercise was integral for the women and even mandated by the schools, sports and time outdoors was time for the women to get away from their ever-present academic coursework.

¹⁰¹ *Bulletin* 1915, 28.

¹⁰² *The Battlefield* 1914, Special Collections, Simpson Library, University of Mary Washington, 57-61, 64, 96.

¹⁰³ *School Ma'am* 1911, Special Collections, JMU, 95-106.

¹⁰⁴ *Bulletin* 1915, 25.

¹⁰⁵ *Bulletin* 1915, 27.

They took the spaces they were given and made it work for them, evident in the importance of the athletics section in each of the yearbooks for both HC and FC. Perhaps the normals thought they were creating steadfast exercising habits that the women would take with them, and they would be right. But they also were creating bonds between the woman and strengthening their ties to both the school and to each other through competitions and sporting events. The women made lemonade out of the lemons they were given through making the spaces their own as much as they could under the rules and disciplinary actions that were enforced.

At HC, a perfect example of the ways the women got around the rules would be the “Kissing Rock”. Sometime in the early 1920’s, a large formation of limestone was unearthed during excavation for Alumnae Hall, on the quad right across from Dormitory No. 1. The rock quickly became known as the “Kissing Rock” due to the size of the rock formation being able to conceal couples’ kisses from the dormitory matrons watching from their windows behind.¹⁰⁶ The “Kissing Rock” explains two things. First, that surveillance was in fact a part of daily life for the women at HC. Second, that the women found ways to circumnavigate the institution’s preconceived notions of how they should behave. They found ways to express their freedom and gain independence where they could, even if it meant hiding behind a rock formation to steal a kiss from a boy.¹⁰⁷

The 1920’s also saw a new fad: bobbed hair. By 1923, the flapper hairstyle caught on at HC, with seven or eight students committing the “bob” hairstyle in just week.¹⁰⁸ The HC administration tried curb the hairstyle with questions of how the bob “might adversely impact their future job prospects” but ultimately they were not able to keep their control over the women

¹⁰⁶ Crowley, “James Madison University: 1908-1909 to 1958-1959,” 88.

¹⁰⁷ Crowley, “James Madison University: 1908-1909 to 1958-1959,” 88.

¹⁰⁸ Crowley, “James Madison University: 1908-1909 to 1958-1959,” 86.

and their hair.¹⁰⁹ At FC, by 1925 even the faculty was bobbing their hair, when Mrs. Bushnell, Dean of Women, cut her hair, an event that prompted being placed under the “Records Were Broken When-“ section of the yearbook.¹¹⁰

While the bob may seem like an aside from the overall focus on the use of space and design at FC and HC, the idea of using the spaces given to the women in ways that the architects and faculty could not prophesize is no truer in this example. The women went against the school’s administration and cut their hair into the trendy bob length in their dorms. In fact, during the 1923 school year at HC, “Each morning girls watch the dining room door to see who will come in next with most of their ‘crowning glory’ left in some trash basket in some room in some dormitory... This past week ended with seven or eight new bobbed heads.”¹¹¹ They were cutting their hair in their dorm rooms, going against the institutions that most likely did not design the dormitories to be spaces for rebellions, even if only cutting one’s hair.

“The Educational Awakening” Modern Campus Modern Women?

While the women came to the normal schools to become teachers, their place in the domestic sphere did not change once they left the normal. In a 1914 catalogue from FC, the section “The Place of a Normal School in a Scheme of Education” discusses the importance of the teacher in advancing education citing, “however comfortable the school-house may be, however complete its equipment, the school itself will be a failure unless the teacher in charge is interested, able, enthusiastic and professionally equipped for her duties of instruction and

¹⁰⁹ Crowley, “James Madison University: 1908-1909 to 1958-1959,” 90.

¹¹⁰ *The Battlefield 1925*, Special Collections, Simpson Library, University of Mary Washington, 189.

¹¹¹ Pamela Scheulke Johnson and Sabrina Claire Chapman, “Dressing for Education the First Fifty Years: Highlights of the JMU Historic Clothing Collection 1908-1959,” (Harrisonburg, VA: Burruss Historical Research Grant, 2005): 51.

leadership.”¹¹² At both schools, the new buildings with their *technological advances* such as modern plumbing and electricity along with modern equipment and lab space to educate the women on educating their future students meant that the bettering of the Commonwealth of Virginia through advancements in teaching certifications was happening. Yet, in the same section of the catalogue, the prevalent idea of women’s place in the private sphere is apparent, contrasting this view of women by encouraging old ideals into their educational “renaissance”:

So that, whether a young woman wishes to become a teacher or not, the kind of training which a normal school should provide for her should be such as to produce culture, refinement and a practical acquaintance with those domestic utilities which will best fit her for her sphere of influence in the home. ¹¹³

This is what the schools call its “double mission”. The mission of the school was to teach and prepare the young women for a life of service whether that be “in the schoolroom or in the home or in society.”¹¹⁴

Whether this is with a 21st century hindsight approach or not, I find it contradictory that they say they need these women to teach but then say it is okay if they don’t all teach because they need to serve the home as well. While some women during the 19th century advocated the right for women to choose to marry or not in an effort to give women more freedom, by the 1910’s, this idea had shifted, predicated on the fact that women were not getting paid well outside of the home due to “women’s work at home for the family was unpaid.”¹¹⁵ The idea that women have the choice to combine their career with their marriage if they want, while not widely supported, gives an understanding of some of the opposing views of the time. That

¹¹² *Third Annual Catalogue of the State Normal and Industrial School for Women* 1914, 16.

¹¹³ *Third Annual Catalogue of the State Normal and Industrial School for Women* 1914, 16.

¹¹⁴ *Third Annual Catalogue of the State Normal and Industrial School for Women* 1914, 17.

¹¹⁵ Nancy F. Cott, “The Grounding of Modern Feminism,” (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987) 180.

schools' views of the apparent need for women to serve in all forms of capacity shows the overall idea of what women should do with their lives; perhaps teach for a couple years to satisfy the school, marry and have kids to satisfy the home, and in all aspects including society, serve men to their best ability. By stating that a student should be "more than a mere school marm" by being able to solve the "many troublesome but practical problems of industrial life that will arise in the home, in the community and in the State" the school is making it clear that they are not providing just better teachers but better moms and housewives for the state as well. As Amy Thompson McCandless says, the women did benefit from their educations and their future jobs as teachers "but the recipients of that educational largess were in turn expected to conform to chivalric images of womanhood promulgated by their benefactors."¹¹⁶

The FC women echoed this claim to make better teachers and housewives in the 1921 *Battlefield* yearbook. A poem under a photo of a group of Juniors reads:

We are learning how to knead the bread
And just how we should all be fed,
We are learning how to cook and sew,
And just how far our money should go,
Teachers we are learning to be
Or good housekeepers you soon will see.¹¹⁷

The women knew their purpose at their schools, but they got more out of the normals than just teacher and housewife training. While the women were there to learn and go to school to become teachers, the memories they made while at school seem to follow them into their lives post-graduation. Besides the occasional end of semester report card, many of the scrapbooks were filled with photographs of friends, playbills, dance cards, calling cards, and other material from

¹¹⁶ McCandless, *Past in the Present*, 18.

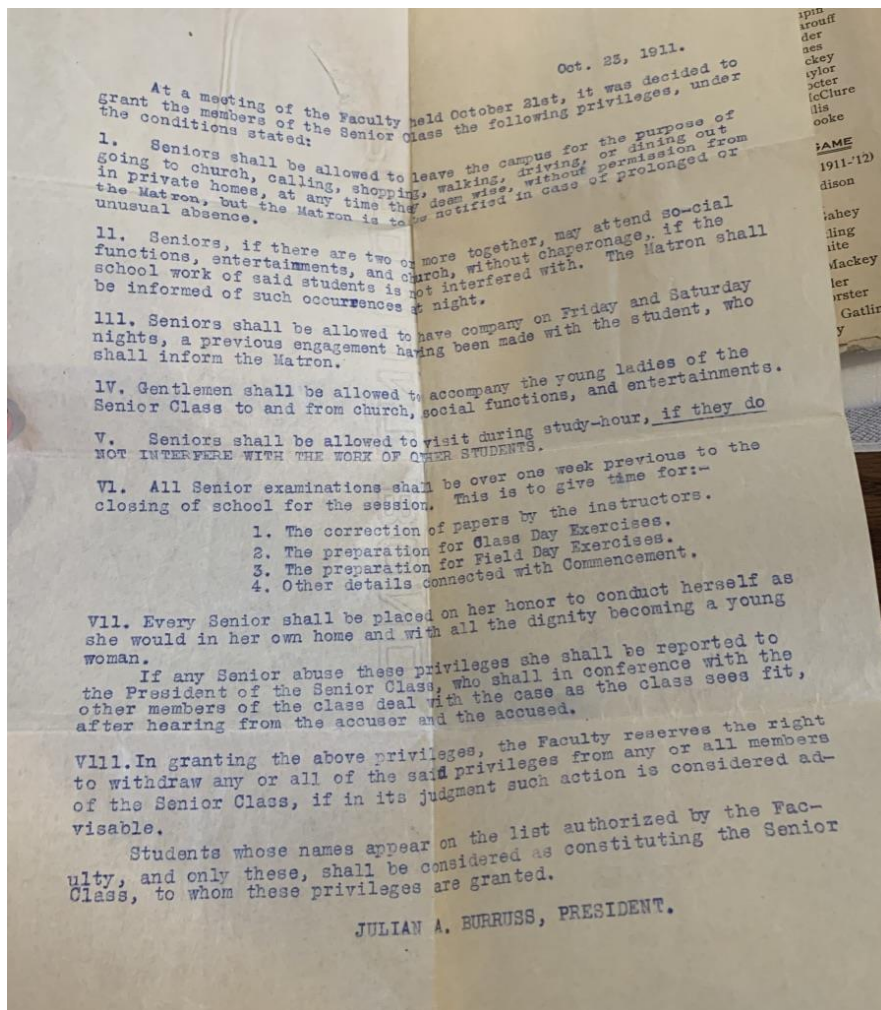
¹¹⁷ *The Battlefield* 1921, Special Collections, Simpson Library, University of Mary Washington, 78.

extracurricular activities.¹¹⁸ The normal institutions may have been successful in training the women to “occupy the best positions as teachers” but did the women agree that the biggest reason they were there was to have “grace, dignity and intelligence” in “their natural positions in the home circle”?¹¹⁹

Life at HC and FC meant more to the women just becoming better mothers, wives, and teachers. The schools’ functioned as more than just educational spaces. While the campus was designed for the women to live, eat, and go to school, the women used these spaces to play sports, hold club meeting and events, and enjoy free time spent together. One can imagine that items in a scrapbook hold some sort of weight in the owner’s life events. A letter found in alumnae Carrie Bishop’s scrapbook showcases the importance of rules in the girls’ lives and how exceptions made an impact on her senior year enough to keep the letter as a memento. The October 1911 letter from then president Julian Burrus contained the list of senior class privileges. It also gives an insight into the standards that the women were held to while on campus and off.

¹¹⁸ Katherine Winfrey (SC 0041), Kathleen Harless (SC 0266), and Carrie Bishop (SC 033), Special Collections, JMU.

¹¹⁹ *Third Annual Catalogue of the State Normal and Industrial School for Women* 1914, Special Collections, Simpson Library, University of Mary Washington, 18.



Photograph 13.

Letter to the senior class from Julian A. Burruss, then president of HC, laying out the rules for the senior class privileges. The relationships between students and president seem to be much closer than the relationships we have now on college campuses. Carrie Bishop Scrapbook, Special Collections, JMU.

By looking at the privileges given, a better understanding of the rules the women had to follow are found. For instance, seniors did not have to tell the dorm matron if they were leaving campus for the purpose of “going to church, calling, shopping, walking, driving, or dining out in private homes.”¹²⁰ This gives us an understanding of just how involved the dorm matron was in the students’ everyday lives. They had to check in with her in order to do menial tasks. Seniors

¹²⁰ Katherine Winfrey Scrapbook (SC 0041), Special Collections, JMU.

also were able to attend “social functions, entertainments, and church” without chaperonage, as long as there were two or more of them together.¹²¹



Photographs 14 and 15

These two photos from HC (left) and FC (right) show the informal pictures the women took on their free time. With the invention of Henry Ford's Model T in 1908, the following years the influx of automobiles in America. These cars quickly became just another way for the women to escape campus and get to other locations faster. Photograph 12, Special Collections, JMU (not accessioned as of 3/19). Photograph 13. 1918 # umw:357 Special Collections, Centennial Image Collection, UMW.

¹²¹ Katherine Winfrey Scrapbook (SC 0041), Special Collection, JMU.

Chapter III. Community Involvement

As a student at James Madison University and a resident of Fredericksburg, just down the street from the University of Mary Washington, this author clearly sees how both communities and schools interact on a daily basis. This is not only purely out of location and close proximity of the campuses to the downtown areas in both cities but also the events that tie the two together. At Mary Washington, the *Great Lives* series that brings authors to speak on campus is as popular with the community as the Forbes Theater events are at James Madison University. But the events that really tie the schools with their surrounding areas are athletic events. From the beginning of both schools, sports have played a major role in the women's experiences at the normals and the residents of both Harrisonburg and Fredericksburg.

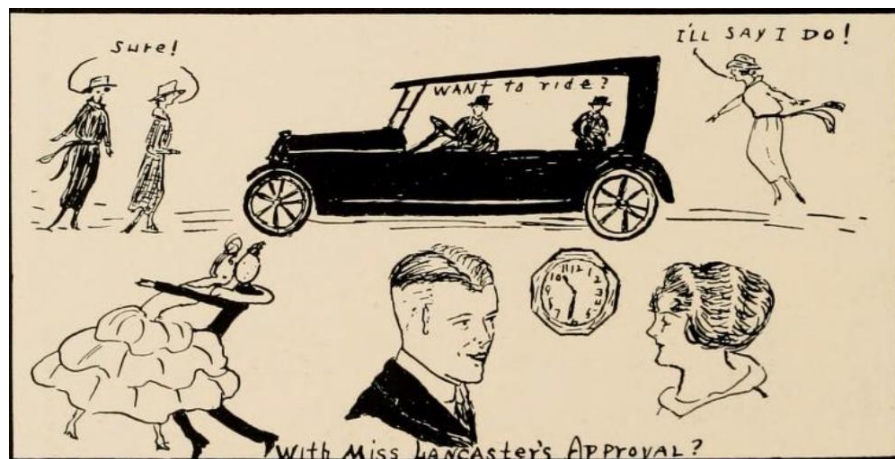
This chapter will focus on how both FC and HC interacted with Harrisonburg and Fredericksburg. This includes through training schools, athletic events, and theatrical performances. Emphasis will be made on the women going off campus, both with permission and without. The foundation was laid for the physical campus, it was laid in the ideals the institutions had for the women, it was laid in the women's memories and experiences on campus, and it was also laid in the continuing interaction between normal school and community.

Boys

While the normals made sure the women had busy schedules full of class, chapel, and study hour, they were not always able to control the women outside of these times, no matter how hard they tried. In fact, even with all the rules and surveillance, the women did things that surprised not only the faculty but also other students and even the community from time to time. For instance, in February of 1914, a HC student Lillian Campbell, with the help of two other students, used a makeshift bed-sheet-rope to getaway through her dormitory window on campus

to elope with her fiancé Thomas Berry. While this escape plot ended with Campbell’s expulsion as well as a withdrawal and a one-year suspension for her conspirators, it is a perfect example of how the buildings and campus *bubble* coupled with faculty surveillance was not always successful.¹²²

In the 1919 *School Ma’am*, on the *Wanted* page it shows how hard it was to keep the women away from boys. “By Miss Lancaster – A shot-gun and tomahawk to keep boys off the campus on Sunday afternoons.”¹²³ A cartoon in the 1921 *School Ma’am*, also included Miss Lancaster’s name, with the caption “With Miss Lancaster’s Approval?” on the bottom. The repetition of her name being mentioned along with the mention of boys gives a sense that she dealt with boy and girls relationships a good amount over the years.



Photograph 16.

Cartoon drawing found in 1921 School Ma’am depicts men asking women if they want a ride, a dancing couple, and a woman and a man with a clock reading 10:30 in between them with the caption, “With Miss Lancaster’s Approval” on the bottom. This cartoon shows how their interactions with men, while put in a comedic depiction for this cartoon, was shaped by faculty discipline and surveillance and how women interacted with men in a variety of ways. 1921 School Ma’am, Special Collections, JMU.

¹²² “Crowley, “James Madison University: 1908-1909 to 1958-1959,” 42.

¹²³ *School Ma’am* 1919, Special Collections, JMU, 202.

Community

The communities surrounding the normals were involved with the activities of the school from the very beginning. At HC, on April 15, 1909, the day the cornerstone was laid for the Science Hall, the stores in Harrisonburg were closed from 10-1 for the event, according to Dingledine. The community formed a parade “at the Court Square and marched to the Normal School grounds. Over half a mile in length, it was led by mounted police followed by the school children of Harrisonburg.”¹²⁴ Similar community involvement happened at FC, as mentioned earlier with their fourth of July celebration.

Training Schools

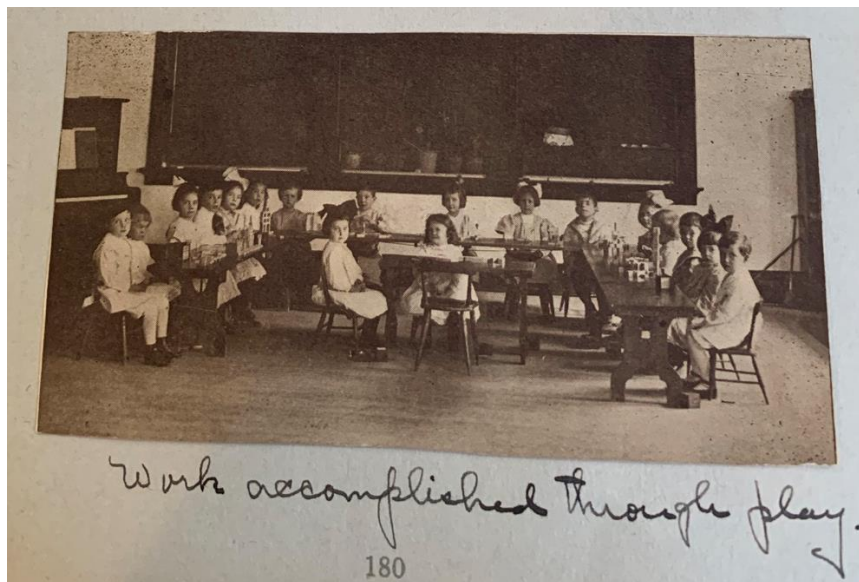
In Katherine Winfrey’s scrapbook, she included photos from her time at HC working with children, most likely through the training schools that both HC and FC set up in their neighboring cities. The one photo shows children working in a garden with the student teachers looking over them and the other show the children sitting in a classroom setting. These training schools would have provided the women with ‘on the job’ experience that would have been critical to shaping them into professional teachers.

¹²⁴ Dingledine, Jr., *Madison College the First Fifty Years*, 18-19.



Photograph 17.

Children use hoes in garden behind a house(?) with women student teachers overlooking. Caption reads "Even the kindergartners have a garden." Katherine Winfrey Scrapbook (SC 0041), Special Collections, JMU.



Photograph 18.

Photograph of children sitting in a classroom setting indoors. Caption reads "Work accomplished through play." Katherine Winfrey Scrapbook (SC 0041), Special Collections, JMU.

Like many education programs have today, student teaching at actual schools is vital to a teacher's understanding of what a real classroom is like and both HC and FC knew that they had to incorporate training schools into their curriculum. At HC, the training school was in Downtown Harrisonburg, in the same building as the current city hall. At FC, the Fredericksburg Public School became the training school for the FC women. In the June 1915 *Bulletin of the State Normal School, Fredericksburg, Virginia*, the importance of the training school was noted as the opportunity for the women to “study child nature”, “observe correct methods in teaching” and “to have practice work in actual teaching.” The bulletin states that “in no other way can practice teaching lead to independent progressive teaching ability that will give the student teacher the power to adapt herself to the needs of any public school.”¹²⁵



Photograph 19.

The Fredericksburg Public School served as the training school for HC in its early years. It is approximately eight blocks away from the FC campus, making it an easily accessible location for the women close to the heart of downtown. This building now serves as the Central Rappahannock Regional Library Fredericksburg Branch. June 1915 Bulletin, Fredericksburg Normal School, 13, Special Collections, UMW.

¹²⁵ *Bulletin* 1915, 31.

Theatre

The Shakespearean Pageant played a vital role in creating bonds between the residents of Rockingham County and HC. A 1916 newspaper article praised the pageant as an event that “to the children of the public schools, to the students of the State Normal School, and to the people of Harrisonburg, who participated in the programs, the Pageant will be a lifetime memory.”

Although this event has been mostly forgotten with time, the “effect it had on the thousands, who witnessed the features... on the streets of Harrisonburg Thursday afternoon.”¹²⁶

While the details of this event that celebrated the 300th anniversary of William Shakespeare’s death are few and far between, pictures of the 1916 event remain. Photos of students, faculty, and Harrisonburg area children alike all are dressed in medieval inspired clothing, posing in groups before a parade through town and an eventual theatrical performance outside in the Open-Air Auditorium on campus. The parade had more than 700 costumed participants with the residents being urged to come out to the parade and the Shakespearean productions that happened over the span of two days.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ “The Shakespearean Pageant,” *Harrisonburg Daily News Record*, May 27, 1916, 4.

¹²⁷ “Join in Honoring WM. Shakespeare,” *Harrisonburg Daily News Record*, May 25, 1916, 1.



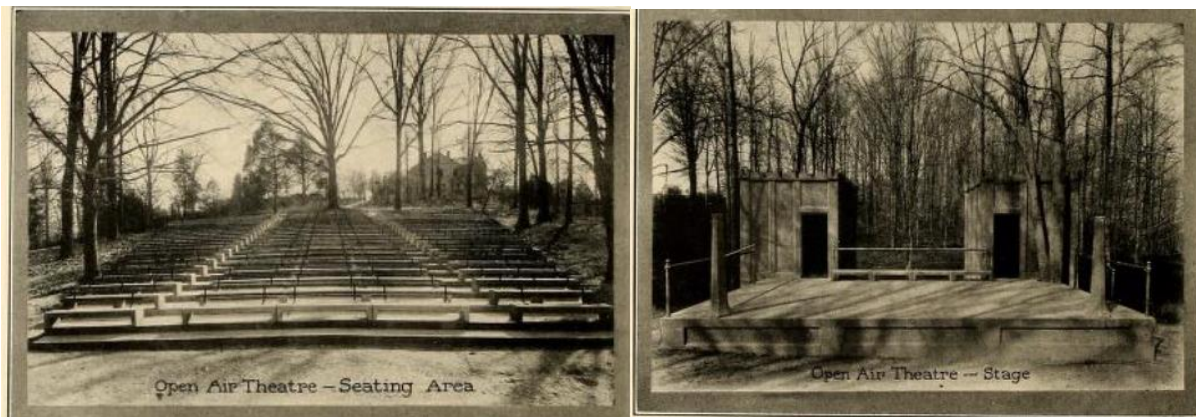
Photograph 20.

1916. Pageant participators walking through downtown Harrisonburg in costume. This photo depicts them walking around Court Square. This event is one of many examples of how the community was affected by HC. # Stsk09, Special Collections, JMU.

The pageant saw both normal school students and community talent in scenes from “A Midsummers Night Dream”, “Much Ado About Nothing”, and “Julius Caesar” among others. A rather successful two-day celebration, it was events like this that helped foster the bonds of HC and the community around them. The Shakespeare pageant showcases how the surrounding county, specifically the city of Harrisonburg, was able to find success in its relationship with HC and visa versa. For instance, while the Shakespeare pageant provided a supplementary service of providing entertainment for the community, many more practical services were also provided for the students including shopping for clothes and supplies in downtown Harrisonburg and even housing in the early years when the school quickly was at capacity on the on campus dormitories.

At FC, the amphitheater, their own open-air theater, became a vital location for campus life, holding commencement there from 1923-1958. After the 1923 renovation of the wooden

amphitheater that had served FC for eight years before in the same location, the dedication of the theater by then governor, E. Lee Trinkle, saw around 1,000 people in attendance, alluding to not only the students and faculty being present but also the support of the Fredericksburg residents on May 11, 1923. A performance by the FC dramatic club of “Hansel and Gretel” followed the dedication. In the 1923 yearbook, three clubs, two literary societies and the glee club, all used the newly renovated amphitheater as their backdrop for their group photos, aiding to the importance the space played for the women in different mediums.¹²⁸



Photographs 21 & 22.

Photos of the newly renovated amphitheater in the 1923 FC yearbook. “Built into a nook in the woods off Sunken Road, the Amphitheatre has long been a student favorite, at varying times throughout history, home to commencement exercises, May Day ceremonies, impromptu outdoor study sessions, plays, concerts, even weddings. It’s been expanded, neglected and revived through the decades, but it’s always been cherished.”¹²⁹ 1923 Battlefield, Fredericksburg Normal School, 24, Special Collections, UMW.

It is important not to forget that these theatrical performances were usually outside if the weather permitted. This leads to the presumption that they were spaces where the women were

¹²⁸ Spencer, “UMW Preservation Plan,” 84-85.

¹²⁹ Lisa Chinn Marvashti, “UMW Dedicates Renovated Heslep Amphitheatre,” June 4, 2018, accessed April 7, 2019, <https://www.umw.edu/news/2018/06/04/umw-dedicates-renovated-heslep-amphitheatre/>.

able to somewhat escape the confines of the faculty controlled indoor halls and classrooms to immerse themselves in whatever characters they were portraying. They were places where the women were able to engage with the community, the outdoor theater and amphitheater functioning almost as an informal space compared to the perhaps foreboding demeanors of the buildings on campus. Theater was something that a majority of the school and the community could appreciate, and it still is a major proponent of creating relationships between the campus and the surrounding areas.

Athletics

Athletics played a big role both on the campus and off. Roughly a decade after both schools opened, most students were active in at least one of the many sports team on both campuses. Basketball, baseball, and tennis were major sports at FC, with different grade-level teams for each sport, according to the 1921 yearbook.¹³⁰ At Harrisonburg that same year, pinquet tennis, racket tennis, hockey, and basketball all were played by the students.¹³¹ Participating in these sports would not only be part of the Progressive era ideal of exercise and health for the women, but it would also be an important event that brought the schools and their surrounding communities together. The competitions against other schools with various games and matches would have kept both the women playing and the community busy spectating, creating an almost year-round continual relationship between the institution and the surrounding area.

¹³⁰ *The Battlefield* 1921, Special Collections, UMW, 106-115.

¹³¹ *School Ma'am* 1921, Special Collections, JMU, 156-168.



Photograph 23.

Four FC women stand on top of their opponents, triumphantly holding a F.S.N.S. pennant as well as a Victory pennant. Their opposers lay with their school names to their sides, Ingram, George Washington, W & M, and Harrisonburg, while a game of tennis is played in the background. The cartoon is similar to that of the Virginia state flag. 1921 Battlefield, 107, Special Collections, JMU.

A major role in schools still today, athletic events were events that both the faculty, student body, and community could support and find pride in. They quickly become a major part of campus life, with both schools participating in Field Day exercises. While the Field Day events were internal with students playing against their fellow pupils, it gives an idea of just how important athletics were at both schools. At HC on June 7, 1915, the field day events included a

tennis tournament, hockey game, basketball game, and a volley ball game with different teams playing each sport including Juniors vs. Seniors, Reds vs Blues, and Apache vs. Shenandoah.¹³²

The women did not only support their own athletics though. While most of the history of the bond between the community and the schools are the community coming to the campuses for entertainment, there was the reverse of the students spectating town events. In March of 1916, Carrie Bishop received a letter from a member of the community, a young Wayne Johnson, commending her energy and enthusiasm at what can be presumed as a high school basketball game. It reads, “I have heard from many of the town people, and also the Normal ladies, that you have been very enthusiastic over our basket-ball games... I am sure all the boys appreciate you interest and well-wishing, even though we could not win all the time...”¹³³

The importance of athletics at FC is clear in student Margaret Irvine White’s poem “Battlefield”, included at the beginning of the 1917 yearbook, where a whole stanza, after academics and field trips, is dedicated to athletics.

Of our doings in athletics
Upon the great “Field Day,”
Of tennis matches thrilling,
And the basket-ball we play.¹³⁴

This stanza shows just how important sports were for the FC women and their “normal school life”. Sports gave the women an outlet for energy, an activity to do in their sparse free time, and a way to interact with other schools through tournaments and games as well as with the community.

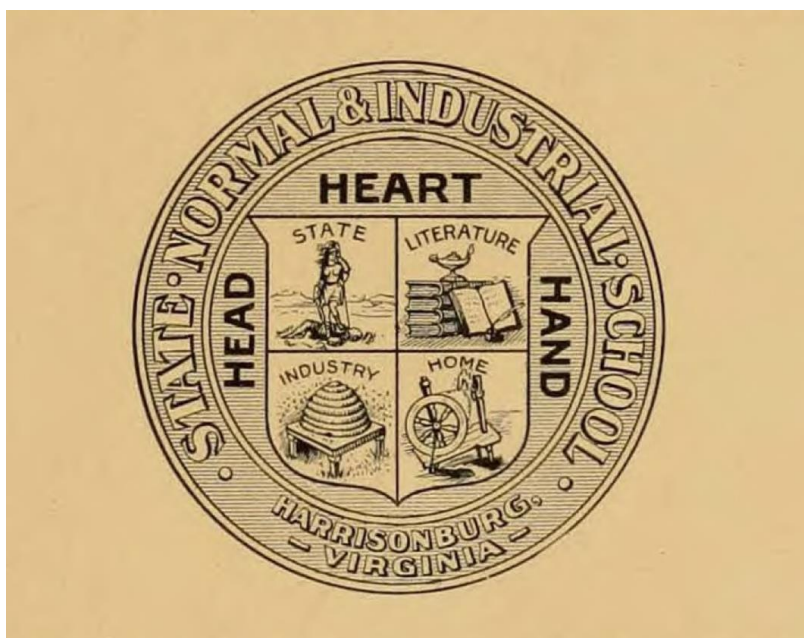
¹³² Carrie Bishop Scrapbook (SC 033), Special Collections, Carrier Library, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, VA.

¹³³ Carrie Bishop Scrapbook (SC 033), Special Collections, JMU.

¹³⁴ *The Battlefield* 1917, Special Collections, Simpson Library, University of Mary Washington, 10.

Conclusion

In 1909, HC decided on a school seal. This school seal would incorporate “the words “Head, Heart, Hand” surrounding a shield. Within the shield, above images of the state seal, a stack of books, a beehive, and a spinning wheel, were the words “State, Literature, Industry, Home.”¹³⁵ This seal shows both the influence of the state, the importance of education, the stimulation of industry with better education, and women’s ultimate place in the home. From the very beginning, all the aspects of the laying of the cornerstone for HC were visual in this seal.



Photograph 24.

The State Normal and Industrial School at Harrisonburg, Virginia official first school seal found in the 1910 School Ma'am, Special Collections, JMU.

HC’s first motto was: “That our daughters may be as corner-stones, polished after the similitude of a palace.”¹³⁶ The physical laying of the cornerstone at each campus symbolized the future of Virginia even if held back by the ideals of the past. While the women became the

¹³⁵ Crowley, “James Madison University: 1908-1909 to 1958-1959,” 14.

¹³⁶ Crowley, “James Madison University: 1908-1909 to 1958-1959,” 14.

cornerstones for themselves on campus, creating clubs, participating in sports, acting, dancing, music, they first had to navigate what the physical cornerstone of the campus design symbolized for their purpose at the school. And like the motto at HC prophesizes, the women that came to the normal schools did become the cornerstone for public education in Virginia. In 1912, just three years after the first session started at HC, over 800 students had enrolled in the school at some point, with these former students teaching in over eighty Virginia counties.¹³⁷

Walking around both campuses today, the hundreds of women and faculty that ate, slept, taught, and learned are gone, but many of their memories remain. These memories along with the buildings that still stand are, together, the cornerstones for what both HC and FC have become, a century after they became the State Normal and Industrial School for Women at Harrisonburg and Fredericksburg. Through the yearbooks, photos, scrapbooks, and catalogues only a snapshot remains of the daily lives of these women. Many of them would go on to become teachers and ultimately the wives and mothers that their institutions educated them on becoming.

While the foundation was set on the principles of women and their place in society at the time, the male leaders of both the state and the schools could not see into the future. The women took what was given for them and made more for themselves during their times at the normals than just classes and training. They played sports, acted, cut their hair against the school authorities, earned the right to vote, contributed to the World War I war effort, tried to dodge the Spanish Flu epidemic on campus, created student governments, and held leadership positions throughout their numerous clubs. They gained skills that yes, would help them be good mothers and teachers, but also gained a sense of independence, moving away from home to attend a

¹³⁷ *Harrisonburg Daily News*, January 4, 1912, 3.

school with women their own age, creating bonds with their school community and the community of residents that surrounded the campuses.

In 1920, one HC alumnus wrote “I feel as though I just must write – now when old H.N.S is passing through its gala season, commencement; and how I wish I might be there... Anyhow I shall be there in spirit, for I love the old school, and the influence of dear Alma Mater has never lost its significance for me, even in the most trying moments.”¹³⁸ The lasting impacts of the alumni of HC and FC showcase the understanding that these institutions became more than just schools for women made by men with men’s ideal of women at its core. They were the cornerstones in Harrisonburg and Fredericksburg, for the women to look back on in the future with a smile and the community to appreciate with each year.

Each building on campus holds a history of faculty, students, courses, events, and memories. Just like the women changed the function of many of the spaces they were given on campus during the early days, the buildings themselves don’t always hold their original function. The cornerstones were laid over a century ago, but the foundations of both FC and HC should not be forgotten with time. Understanding the male authority, the female experience, and the campuses that bring the two together is key to understanding the institutions that they have become today.

¹³⁸ *The Virginia Teacher* 1, no. 6 (July 1920): 171.

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