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Normal Schools of the Pacific Northwest: The Lifelong Impact of Extracurricular Club Activities on Women Students at Teacher-Training Institutions, 1890-1917

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Normal Schools of the Pacific Northwest

The Lifelong Impact of Extracurricular Club Activities on Women Students at Teacher-Training Institutions, 1890-1917

KAREN J. BLAIR

Though Washington women were undoubtedly dispirited by their failure to recapture territorial-era suffrage when statehood was achieved in 1889, they may have been heartened by the career opportunities that arose at the same time. The state's promise to provide children with an eighth-grade education made teaching—the only profession in which women had a prospect of career advancement in the late 19th century—a high-demand occupation. In 1890, a legislative mandate called for the immediate creation of two normal schools, secular teacher-training institutions modeled on the French *écoles normales*. The first opened in Cheney, on the eastern border of the state, in 1890, and the second in Ellensburg, in central Washington, in 1891. Soon after, in 1894, a third normal school was authorized on the Pacific Coast at New Whatcom, a town renamed Bellingham in 1904. The campus did not open until 1899.

Historical scholarship on the normal schools in the late 19th and early 20th centuries has emphasized the curricular goals of these state-funded institutions.¹ Yet the afterschool clubs at these institutions also held great importance in the lives of budding educators, both immediately and in the course of their careers. An examination of the two major types of groups that students were involved in—literary societies and service associations, both of which Washington State's three normal schools expected and sometimes required their enrollees to join—reveals

several predictable and unpredictable immediate and long-term results.²

As school administrators hoped, the clubs provided normal school students with wholesome recreation, occasion to practice teaching skills, opportunities to get involved in the community, and cultural sophistication. A surprising and valuable bonus developed for those who joined extracurricular clubs while they prepared to teach during the initial phase of Washington statehood, 1889 through World War I. In addition to personal enrichment and professional enhancement, teachers gained social status, thanks to their new organizational skills. One retired teacher, Irene Hardy of Ohio, expressed an opinion shared by many Washington teachers: "I speak for others when I say for myself that the training I received in these literary societies throughout my college life was of more import in my education than any one part of the curriculum itself."³ Certainly graduates carried into adulthood the foundation in organizational skills that enabled them to build networks with their pupils' parents, friendships with other women in literary and civic societies, and a taste for lifelong learning, all of which brought them high regard from the communities that benefited from their activism in women's clubs.

It was a tall order to launch an army of instructors, and the state of Washington would not succeed overnight. Like many other recently settled regions, Washington Territory could claim only

a handful of high schools on the eve of statehood. It is likely that only three of these met the accreditation standards established later, in 1897. An accredited high school in Washington State had to have a minimum of three teachers, one librarian, and a science laboratory and offer a full four-year curriculum, with 40-minute classes and a nine-month school year.⁴ Washington State reported only 693 high-school students in 1891, 48 of whom graduated that year. As for grades one through eight, in 1885 Washington Territory recorded only 723 schools for 28,156 students. All but 24 were primitive one-room schoolhouses, and 32 were "one-rooms," with teaching conducted at kitchen tables in the homes of well-meaning adults—most likely, the parents of large broods—who also welcomed neighbors' children for instruction, which was fairly basic.⁵

The young state's children were generally guided for a school "year" of 4.3 months by teachers who had only a piecemeal background of self-directed study or a brush with formal instruction in distant private or public schools. In the decade before statehood, for example, Washingtonians were welcome at Oregon State Normal School in Monmouth (renamed Oregon Normal School in 1911). In 1882 the state had taken over the school, which was originally a religious institution founded by Christian missionaries in 1865, to focus on producing public school teachers. Most Washington instructors, however, were not credentialed.



To fulfill its commitment to provide an eighth-grade education to every child in the state, Washington established three normal schools for the training of teachers in the late 19th century. At this time, most schools were small and poorly equipped and teachers had little formal instruction. (Center for Pacific Northwest Studies [CPNS], Western Washington University [WWU], Bellingham, PRJ0832)

Gradually, Washington State shored up its public school system, including preparation for the young women who would assume the role of classroom teacher. In 1894, the state could count 622 new eighth-grade graduates; in 1904, 3,177. Poorly equipped rural schoolhouses remained the norm for some time, however: the state had 230 graded schools versus 2,148 one-room schoolhouses in 1902 and 478 versus 3,118 in 1910. In 1914, more than half (or 1,907) of the state's 3,482 schoolhouses were graded. By World War II, one-tenth of Washington's 6,000 elementary schools were still one-room rural schoolhouses with modest facilities and primitive plumbing, a world away from the urban schools of Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane.⁶

Under such circumstances, it was fantastical to presume that applicants for normal schools in the early decades would bring substantial preparation to their teaching training programs. The Pacific Northwest's new institutions could ask only that female applicants be at least 15 years old, and

males 16, with an eighth-grade diploma or the ability to pass an equivalency test. An admissions exam, offered the day before the school term began, tested such subjects as spelling ("judgment," "genuine," and "biscuit"), geography (draw a map of the United States), history (describe the battle of the *Monitor* and *Merrimac*), literature (name the works of five celebrated American writers), science (explain how the blood is oxygenated), and math (calculate the cost of a pile of wood 4 feet wide, 7 feet high, and 15 feet long at \$4.50 a cord).⁷ Many test takers did not succeed at proving their competence with eighth-grade material, and some were granted admission to the normal schools' preparatory division on the assumption that they could catch up quickly.

An elementary-school system that was still in development meant that Washington's normal schools could not require completion of high school for admission until 1920, on par with many states but 30 years after Albany Normal in New York. Initially, Wash-

ington's three normal schools provided two years of coursework at the high-school level plus classes on pedagogy and required classroom observation as well as a brief teaching practicum. Gradually, the schools went on to provide three, and then four, years of coursework at the high-school level. In 1917, only nine weeks of training at a normal school was necessary for obtaining a temporary teaching certificate. Yet at the time Washington's system ranked among the elite school systems in America, because only 12 states required a high-school diploma for elementary-school teachers.⁸ Not until 1927 was a one-year minimum attendance at normal school mandated. Yet by 1934, all three normal schools offered four years of education beyond high school, and by 1937, all were permitted by the state legislature to offer a bachelor's degree in education.

From the start, tuition and books were free to those who signed a pledge to teach for at least two years. However, candidates from impoverished backgrounds often enrolled in normal school for only one term before accepting a teaching position, in which they hoped to earn enough money to return to normal school for another term or two, after saving up for room, board, and school fees. It was common for teachers-in-training to attend normal school intermittently, taking leave to work and earn money for further education.

Each semester would bring returning teachers who were expecting to build on the subject matter they had mastered before their leaves of absence for temporary teaching posts. This reality necessitated a strict adherence to the syllabus. The educators who established normal schools imposed a daunting curriculum on enrollees. Faculty had to march students through a rigid program, leaving little opportunity for detours. No course, whether devoted to content (algebra, geometry,

zoology, chemistry, physics, botany, psychology, geography, civics, Latin, or history) or methodology (school management, school law, school economy, methods in nature study, history of education, observations at a model school, or practice teaching), could leave material unexplored at the end of the term.

Although a wide range of applicants entered Washington's three normal schools, typically those who seized the opportunity for a free education as schoolteachers were young, white, Protestant women from modest means, raised in Washington's rural areas by families from whom continued support would be a hardship. Frequently these young women would return to their hometowns for employment, boarding with parents to minimize expenses and to pocket some savings. There were few male students at normal schools, and once they graduated, most ascended quickly from teaching to posts as principals and elected or appointed county superintendents of school systems.⁹

Working conditions were difficult, and most women teachers married soon after they met their two-year obligation to the state. The average teaching career for women lasted 5.6 years. Marriage generally meant dismissal for women, because being single was a requirement for women, but not men, during this period. Women who weathered the rural schoolhouse experience eventually became eligible to move to more congenial urban schools, and teaching became a more attractive profession for them. For example, Minnie M. of Republic, Washington, attended normal school in Cheney and taught in a one-room schoolhouse before relocating to Marcus, Pasco, Spokane, and finally, in 1919, Seattle, where she remained until retirement. Seattle schools, enforcing a ban on married teachers with precious few exceptions until 1947, nevertheless offered better pay and working condi-

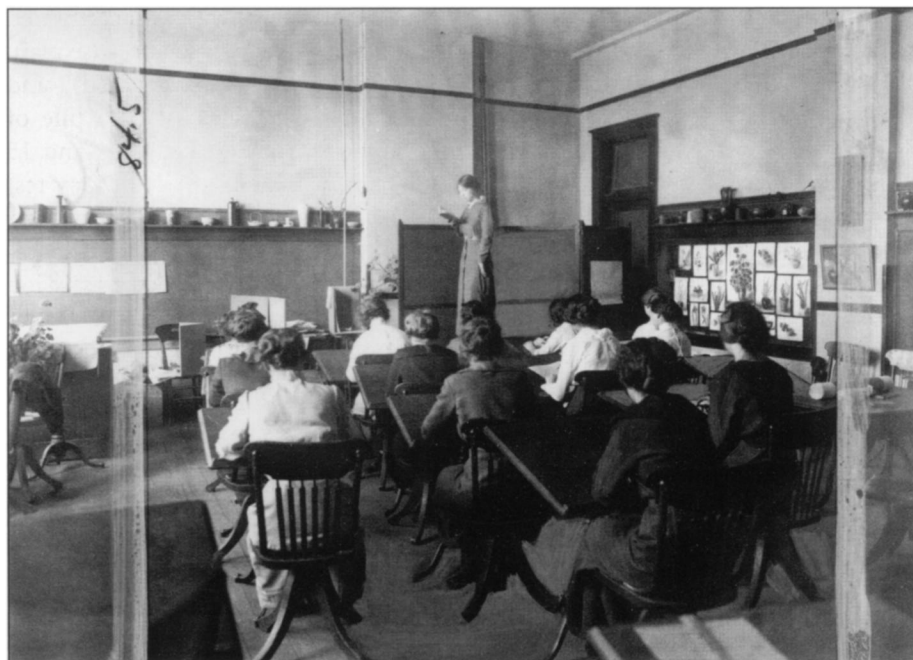
tions. Teacher organizations, colleagues with whom to share apartments or houses, vacations, and travels, and city attractions like evening amusements helped ensure that urban teachers had lifelong careers in the classroom. The historian Doris Pieroth has determined that Seattle schoolteachers employed between World War I and World War II were a stable force, working an average of 26 years. Only 1 percent stayed fewer than 10 years and 5 percent resigned to marry, while 37 percent taught from 26 to 35 years, 27 percent taught from 36 to 40 years, and in an era of meager pensions, 18 percent taught more than 40 years until retirement at age 70.¹⁰

The reasons women chose teaching over marriage had much to do with their participation in voluntary associations, which provided lifelong companionship. The roots of this club activity in their adult lives lay in their participation in clubs during normal school.

Club participation was valued by the adults who shaped normal schools for effective teacher preparation. The all-male trustees and school principals or presidents were active club members themselves, belonging to fraternal orders like the Masons, Odd Fellows, Elks, Moose, and Eagles.¹¹ Women faculty members at normal schools and the wives of their male counterparts echoed the nationwide trend at this time of forming women's clubs for literary discussions and charitable work. The communities from which normal-school students came offered vigorous church societies and temperance advocacy. Farm families supported the Grange. And afterschool clubs were a fixture at early academies, secondary schools, and colleges.¹² It is hardly surprising that in this context, club life would be championed in the training of Washington's future schoolteachers.

From their inception until about 1910, normal schools expected students to join literary societies, which generally

Tuition and books were free to those normal-school students who agreed to teach in Washington schools for at least two years. The students were predominantly young, white, Protestant women. (Archives and Special Collections, Eastern Washington University Libraries, acc. EWU 007-0582, item 1-10-1)





Though students like those photographed above at the Bellingham normal school invented their own fun, clubs offered them another venue to pursue their interests outside of the classroom. (Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries, WAS1218)

met on Friday afternoons or evenings, often under the supervision of a faculty adviser who would help the students maintain a formal structure. Members would write a constitution and bylaws, elect officers, keep minutes, establish committees, and follow parliamentary procedure as outlined in *Robert's Rules of Order*. Sometimes they invited a critic who was responsible for keeping track of participants' errors in grammar and punctuation.

However formal, extracurricular organizations gave students an opportunity to socialize and to pursue their interests in a way that the classroom never did. Students recruited worthy members at the beginning of each term and selected themes for recitations, orations, book reviews, debates, original compositions, declamations, and extempore speakers.¹³ It was club members who shaped the programming, assigned the responsibilities, and applauded the outcomes, without the pressure of grades. Future teachers could enjoy an ownership

over the proceedings not possible in their coursework.

Given that the school population was largely female, the meetings essentially replicated the adult women's club gatherings that were drawing hundreds of thousands of members during this era.¹⁴ The handful of men students in each club had little impact on the tone or activity of the groups. They rarely served as officers and did not cause programs to deviate from those of adult women's clubs in the larger society. When men exhibited a taste for formal debate, widely seen as an overly aggressive activity for young women, they formed debating leagues, competing with men from other campuses.

At the Washington State Normal School at Ellensburg, the students could choose between the Crescent (1891-1916) or Eclectic (1891-1915) literary societies. While each club's activities were similar, students would choose a club based on the people they wanted to befriend. At the Washington State Normal School at Bellingham,

the sole club, the Alcott Society, formed in 1899, evolved into Alkisiah in 1905, at the same time that two additional clubs were founded, the Sirius and Clonian. At the Washington State Normal School at Cheney, membership in the Washingtonian Literary Society was at first required of normal-school students. A decade later, the women added the Columbian Literary Society, while the few men on campus were permitted to split off into the Excelsior or Ciceronian, emulating their male neighbors across the state border in Idaho at Lewiston State Normal School. At the normal school in Monmouth, Oregon, where Washington students were welcome to study before statehood in 1889, students were required to join Vespertines after 1872. In 1905, the Delphian emerged as a competitor at the school. The similarities, campus to campus, were significantly greater than the differences.

The mandate for membership in these groups ensured that the literary clubs were taken seriously by faculty and students. Even when the requirement was lifted, membership was strong, for school officials pressured the students to stay involved because "the ability to express one's thoughts clearly and forcibly while standing before an audience can scarcely be over-estimated."¹⁵

Commonly, club programs developed around a potpourri of subject matter. The Alcott Society in 1900 spent one meeting on humor, and others on the topics of spring, the Philippines, and American Indians. The Crescent selected one theme for an entire term (classical Greece, Alaska, or Pacific northwest history, for example). In 1913, the Vespertines devoted an entire year to men and women of progress.

Frequently, club members explored works of literature. The writings of the literary figures Mark Twain, John Greenleaf Whittier, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Washington Irving, and Charles Dick-

ens were mainstays. In 1907, five actors in Eclectic performed *Les M*, a play they had adapted from Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*. Even the roll call at the beginning of each meeting might tap literary knowledge, requiring a response in the form of a quotation from Shakespeare or one's favorite author.¹⁶

In these clubs students often considered current events. In Bellingham, the tariff, Hawaiian annexation, Chinese exclusion, the Spanish-American War in the Philippines, the Boer War, American Indians, responsibilities of the press, and patriotism drew attention.¹⁷ The Eclectic in 1896 wondered whether the United States should help Cuba against Spain. In 1912, students argued about whether Ireland should have home rule and discussed "the virtues and drawbacks of the single tax." Capital punishment was the subject explored in June 1913.¹⁸

The normal-school clubs were also taking up some of the social reform topics that middle-class women were examining in their clubs. The "justice of instituting woman suffrage," "the injustice of child labor," and "the call for peace on the eve of U.S. entrance into World War I" were subjects earnestly discussed. Students considered Jane Addams and the settlement houses movement, Frances Willard and the temperance movement, the emerging development of juvenile courts, and the work of Maud Booth and the Salvation Army.¹⁹ Not surprisingly, Alkisiah expressed an interest in uniting with the larger world of civic reformers, the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC), a national network of adult women's literary and civic reform clubs.²⁰

Certainly, issues of concern to teachers arose for consideration at normal-school clubs: the value of good spelling, the appropriate circumstances in which to use corporal punishment, and such questions as "Should women retain their post upon marriage?" "Are

women better teachers than men?" and "Are newspapers and magazines justified in criticism of public schools?"²¹ A storytelling contest and a Mother Goose play likewise armed future teachers with material they might use as new educators. Songs and instrumental contributions entertained at club meetings, as they soon would in the classrooms of the normal-school graduates.²²

The various clubs on campus would also sometimes collaborate, helping the budding teachers to learn to work effectively with a wide variety of people. In 1911, for example, Eclectic and Crescent at the Ellensburg normal school cooperated six times on performances at the required daily assemblies of the student body. Exercises such as this had the added bonus of helping the teachers become comfortable with public speaking.²³

Those members who were still adolescents would have been less compliant about the required participation in lit-

erary clubs if amusements had not supplemented the studying and performing. In 1906, the Vespertines and Delphians cosponsored a candy pull in the gym.²⁴ Clubs also held receptions for incoming students to recruit members. They honored favorite teachers with gatherings as well. They spent their dues on cocoa and wafers for refreshments at meetings and decorated their meeting rooms for parties on Halloween, Valentine's Day, and Washington's Birthday. Such social events enabled the members to enjoy one another's company informally and round out the club schedule with activities that supplemented the academic work that had brought them to teacher-training institutions.

Despite the clubs' attractions, some students must have resisted the requirement that they participate in the literary clubs, for Ellensburg educators retreated from the original unbending membership requirement. It is likely that they faced challenges from enrollees with work, health, or travel excuses,

The majority of students at the normal schools were female, thus there were only a handful of male students participating in clubs such as the Rural Life Club in Bellingham. (CPNS, WWU, Bus1028)





At the beginning of the 20th century, students were increasingly drawn to clubs such as the YWCA that focused more on civic improvement and less on cultural education. This photo of Bellingham normal-school students was taken at the YWCA cottage on Lummi Island. (CPNS, WWU, YWCA cottage)

so the campus settled for pressuring the student body to volunteer for the good of their development. Still, as the 1890s progressed, many students found themselves attracted to a different type of club, though literary clubs remained in existence into the 1920s. By the turn of the century, civic reform activity eclipsed cultural programming at normal schools.

As the 20th century dawned, normal-school clubs, like adult women's clubs in the broader society, began to gravitate toward civic improvement projects and to focus less on cultural programming. It was often the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) that replaced the literary societies in preparing future teachers for the new adult commitment that middle-class women were wholeheartedly embracing in their churches and clubs, in the settlement houses, and through other benevolent work. This new emphasis on a sense of responsibility to the voiceless in American society, be they immigrant, impoverished, or young, rendered the study of humanities old-fashioned.

The YWCA, founded in the United

States in 1858, rushed to establish clubs among Washington's normal-school students, almost the moment the schools in the state were open for business. In the 1890s, the YWCA clubs at the normal schools immediately attracted sizable numbers from the female student body. At the Bellingham normal school, 70 students out of a total student body of 279 signed on immediately.²⁵

The Cheney normal school saw 30 YWCA members in 1904. The club's object, "to promote Christian fellowship and Christian work, especially by and for students; to train them in Christian service, and to lead them to devote their lives to Jesus Christ, whatever calling they may pursue," was lauded in school catalogs.²⁶ These goals suited a society that insisted that schoolteachers be models of morality and decorum for their pupils and neighbors to emulate. No doubt parents of normal-school enrollees, nervous about the temptations awaiting their daughters far from home at school, agreed with the authors of the Oregon State Normal School's student handbook that the YWCA was "without doubt the most important organization in the

school."²⁷

The administrators at the normal schools, as they did for the literary societies, supplied a space in which YWCA gatherings could be held. Events included Friday noon prayer meetings, Sunday afternoon devotionals to supplement Sunday morning church services in town, and weekly Bible study classes with a professor. Members hosted receptions for guest speakers from foreign missions, YWCA headquarters, or the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The rooms offered students a place to eat a sack lunch with congenial company. At business meetings, members collected dues, elected officers, organized hikes, prepared delegates to attend regional student YWCA conferences, or decided to take a turn at hosting conferences. Echoing some of the literary clubs' practices, they gave teas for new students and sponsored special events (such as prayer week in November for missions).

Bellingham's campus YWCA was particularly active, even before the town's chapter of the YWCA boosted general vigor by erecting a splendid residence for working girls in 1915. Normal students taught an English language class for foreigners during the academic year. They supervised girl groups, a counterpart to the Girl Scouts, at the downtown facility. In summer, a hundred normal girls enjoyed the use of Glen Cove, a cabin on Lummi Island, for vacation getaways. One crowd held a 10-day house party over Christmas break.²⁸

On every campus, the social events proved more popular than the devotional ones. The leadership was often discouraged by attendance at vespers, even during summer, when great numbers of returning educators came to town to enroll in classes that bolstered their teaching credentials. After efforts to involve members in the planning, music, and refreshments failed, the

adult monitors abandoned Sunday vespers altogether.²⁹

Adult leaders of normal schools wished for Christian activities to occupy men students too. Each campus created a Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) as well as a YWCA. The YMCA in Ellensburg was sponsored by no less than the normal school's first principal, Benjamin Barge, and W. R. Abrams, head of the school's board of trustees.³⁰ But the young men showed little interest, except when they cooperated with the YWCA to hold a joint event. However, the YMCA, a wealthier organization than the YWCA, was also quicker to build athletic facilities, and this rapidly brought loyal men into the fold. When the Ellensburg and Bellingham YMCA chapters permitted YWCA members to use their swimming pools one day a week, the women's interest in joining the YWCA also grew.³¹

The YWCA believed that members should pursue social work because it was their Christian duty, while the literary clubs believed they should engage in social work simply because it was their personal responsibility to attempt to improve the world around them. Both types of groups tempered serious pursuits with recreational activity, but finally wished to help their members build knowledge, good character, and cooperation skills that would last into adulthood.

The YWCA-sponsored Travelers' Aid work is the clearest example of how normal-school club activity prepared future teachers to assume responsibility for social services. The national YWCA launched an ambitious Travelers' Aid program to solve a growing problem in American cities. Leaders saw the need to protect vulnerable young women, newcomers in town for work or schooling, from falling prey to men who might be waiting at railroad stations to coerce them into sex or steer them into prostitution. The Travelers' Aid statement of purpose read,

"Protection from Danger and Prevention of Crime for Travelers, especially Young Women, Girls and Boys Traveling Alone."³²

The YWCA members at all the Washington normal schools met new students when they arrived in town, with Bellingham most wholeheartedly taking up its charge in the second decade of the 20th century in a metropolitan area served by railroads and boats. Work began, logically, with YWCA members greeting new normal-school students who arrived in town for the fall term by train (or boat) and steering them to a respectable boarding house. Quickly, the need for assistance to the larger population became evident to volunteers. The dean of women at the Bellingham normal school, Esther Hopkins, soon reported that YWCA members were meeting the needs of a wide variety of newcomers, including women who arrived with such problems as poor health, no money, no address for the friends who would host them, no place to stay, "deaf and dumb children," or more children than a mother in transit could handle. Hopkins reported in March 1913 that representatives met 148 trains, "kept a lookout for two runaways," and were asked to prevent a young woman from leaving with a man of bad character.³³

When summer courses drew hordes of young teachers to the Bellingham normal school for credentialing, responsibilities quickened. Summer representatives met 307 trains and 35 boats, helping 120 people, taking 53 to the YWCA residence facility downtown and 24 to hotels. Volunteers helped frazzled mothers traveling with children by checking their baggage, holding their babies, buying tickets for them, and guiding them to the right boat for Seattle.³⁴ Exposure to Bellingham's visiting population attuned YWCA members to a range of social problems that multitudes of American women's clubs had made a commitment to addressing. Normal-school students' work at

transit stations launched an involvement in community service that they would not abandon when they "graduated" to membership in adult women's clubs. The foundation was laid for a lifetime commitment to good works through volunteerism in women's clubs.

In addition to turning the students into good citizens, another important reason that the normal schools cultivated club activity was to channel the energy of students into pastimes that would help prevent them from getting into trouble and, for the female majority, from chasing boys. Parents would certainly have declined to send their 15- and 16-year-old daughters to normal school if they had suspected that they would be allowed to engage in wild behavior. Therefore, school officials were conscientious about providing wholesome diversions.

The schools, however, would not be able to monitor the personal lives of students until they built dormitories for females, and this did not occur for decades.³⁵ As long as off-campus boarding house life was impossible to oversee thoroughly, clubs provided a stopgap. However strongly landladies might be encouraged to keep an eye on women students who boarded in their spare bedrooms, they were not uniformly vigilant. Ellensburg and Bellingham were railroad centers with a great mix of hotels, taverns, strangers, and potentially corrupting influences. The latter was also a seaport, attracting sailors on leave.

Promotional materials for the normal schools in the rural communities of Monmouth and Cheney assured parents that these towns had no taverns or rough behavior, and plenty of churches, but club activity clearly offered a safe supplement to the academic schedules of enrollees.³⁶ Probably the YWCA and YMCA activities, more than those in the secular literary clubs, promised moral uprightness of the kind young teachers

would be expected to exhibit for the emulation of their pupils, but both the literary clubs and Christian organizations distracted youth from questionable pastimes.

For students, the immediate attraction of the clubs was the chance that they provided to build new friendships while enjoying some relief from the coursework at which they had labored all week and on which they would be graded. Certainly students, whether from the countryside or more urban locations, craved companionship in their new academic setting. They invented their own fun, including picnics, birthday parties, swimming, skating, and skiing, outside of the clubs. Still, formal clubs provided the opportunity to relax on a Friday afternoon or evening with peers who shared the same career goals.

Another obvious benefit of club activity, loudly touted by academic leaders, was the preparation it provided for a career in teaching. The clubs offered skills that would complement the information and techniques the students learned through their coursework. Research by Ramirose Attebury has emphasized the supplement to curriculum that clubs provided.³⁷ Schools attempted to provide a wide range of courses that were taught by only a handful of professors, some of whom were not expertly trained themselves. If club meetings could reinforce in members the poetry of Shakespeare, the history of Latin America, and the philosophy of Rousseau, this information would likely leak into their future lesson plans. Similarly, students might gain familiarity with distant corners of the globe through presentations at YWCA meetings by missionaries serving abroad.

Literary societies occasioned weekly student performances that honed public speaking skills, such as poise and command of an audience. Students could overcome stage fright through

regular practice at public readings, recitations, and musical offerings. The elected officers and committee chairpersons learned to control meetings, shape arguments, recruit contributors to club programs, and deal with controversy diplomatically. These tasks could hardly be avoided by participants, and though they may have taxed the more timid students, they would also help prepare them for the future, which could well consist of controlling three dozen children, aged 7 through 21, a handful speaking only Finnish or Swedish, in a one-room schoolhouse in the countryside.

The clubs also contributed to the cultural sophistication of the future teachers. The limited experiences of frontier girls hardly qualified them to maintain authoritative positions as the educated elite of the remote communities in which many would teach. The 1907 Ellensburg normal-school yearbook *Kooltuo* (*outlook* spelled backward) asserted that “development of literary taste and ability” was key to a teacher’s success.³⁸ In the Midwest, the leading educator Charles A. Harper wrote that Illinois normal-school clubs were the “final emancipation from the crudeness, the uncouthness and the humiliating boorishness of backwards frontier life.” He added that these “farmer boys and girls” endeavored to make the clubs “as far removed as possible from the narrow, sordid, pinch-penny monotonous grind of their daily existence. They wanted them noble, inspiring, refined, brilliant, glamorous, luxurious, dignified, and powerful.”³⁹ Though no one expected erudition from the 18-year-old first-time schoolteachers, an acquaintance with and respect for the great ideas offered by the wider culture would surely build broader confidence in Washington’s public school system.

Society’s general respect for the cooperation skills emphasized in clubs also meant that parents would expect schoolteachers to launch their children

into club activity at an early age as well. Normal-school clubs would leave graduates with grounding in the establishment and maintenance of extra-curricular youth groups. Once employed, teachers fostered children’s groups as modest as the “Help Your School” club, designed to invest students in taking on the tasks of wiping down blackboards, sweeping the classroom, carrying water, or serving hot soup from the potbellied stove at lunchtime. In Seattle, all schoolgirls were required to join a teacher-supervised social service organization, designed to prepare them for community service in their adulthood.⁴⁰

Sometimes the student clubs formed by schoolteachers were part of a national organization. This is the era that saw the creation of such youth groups as Camp Fire Girls, Girl Scouts, and 4-H, founded in 1910, 1912, and 1914, respectively. It was the Camp Fire Girls organization that was most inventive at enlisting normal-school graduates to start clubs wherever they might be employed.

Washington normal schools began to encourage women students to form Camp Fires explicitly to prepare for the extracurricular work in their future assignments. Bellingham was quickest, in 1912. By 1914, five groups, with 12 members each, had formed in Bellingham. All the normal schools of the Pacific Northwest had signed on by the 1920s. The normal-school students in the clubs, many of them mere teenagers themselves, adopted the Camp Fire rituals, uniforms, songs, and handicrafts, plus hosted younger girls in organized hikes, photography expeditions known as Kodaks, tennis matches, swims, plays, and parties with holiday decorations, games, donuts, and apple cider.⁴¹ Normal schools hoped graduates, once trained in the mechanics of afterschool girls clubs and familiar with the pleasures of such activity, would perpetuate wholesome group work among

their own students. Oregon Normal School's newspaper, *Lamron* (*normal* spelled backward), labeled this an "essential part of outside work preparatory to teaching."⁴² The program was successful enough that 4-H likewise sought to place organizations at normal schools by the late 1920s. When parents asked teachers to serve as scout leaders to their children after hours, normal-school graduates were prepared to introduce their young charges to the all-American pastime of organizational activity.⁴³

Though teachers were willing to spend their free time leading afterschool clubs, they expected something from parents in return. Savvy teachers quickly realized the importance of initiating a parent-sponsored organization, to provide the school with essential equipment and supplies. Impoverished one-room schoolhouses were the norm in the early decades of statehood, and instructors depended on generous adults to raise standards.⁴⁴ One-room schoolhouses remained the norm in rural areas for a great part of the state's history. Most new teachers could expect employment in a remote community, at a modest frame structure on land donated by a resident, built by the fathers for their children, aged 7 to 21. Envious indeed was employment at schools in the city, whose population was large enough that 30 children, all the same age, could be gathered together in a graded classroom, making the teacher responsible for only one level of material.

The poorly funded one-room schoolhouse offered few amenities to ease the path toward learning. A typical building provided benches and slanted work surfaces for pupils, a desk and blackboard for the instructor, a stove for heat, a bucket of water carried from the well of a friendly farmer, an entry with hooks for coats, and a few raised windows that admitted light but denied scholars a view for daydreaming. A pair of outhouses stood in the



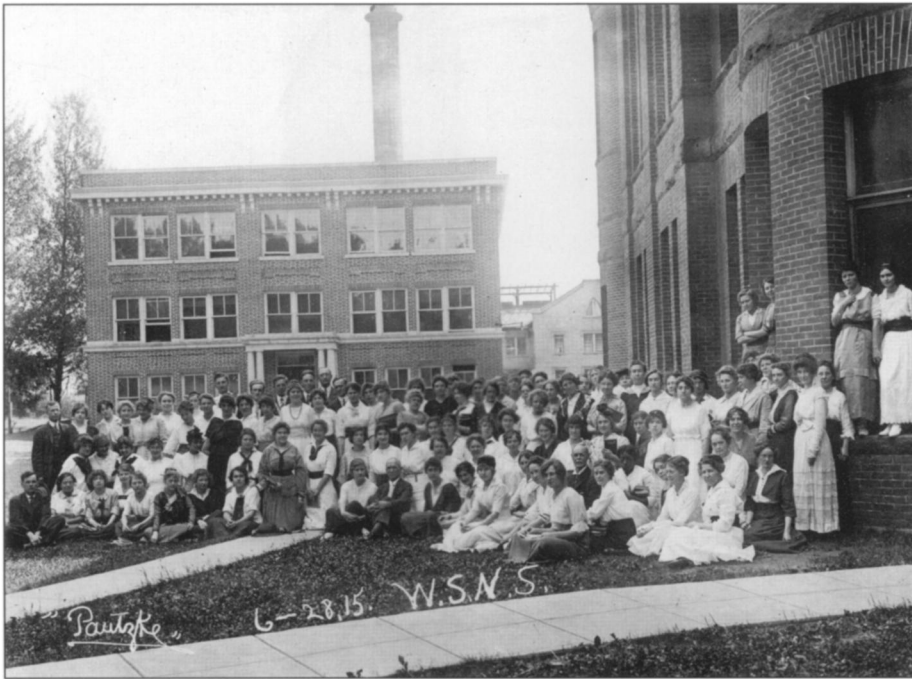
Most graduates of the normal schools began their careers in rural, one-room schoolhouses with few amenities. These teachers would rely on the skills they gained in normal-school clubs to raise funds for the classroom. (CPNS, WWU, PRJ0797)

schoolyard if parents grew intolerant of their sons' and daughters' visits to the nearby woods. A cleared area for games at recess was common, as was a shed for the horses that some students rode to class.⁴⁵ Additional supplies of any kind were considered luxuries by penny-pinching taxpayers. In 1885, only 96 out of 723 schools had a dictionary.⁴⁶ In 1908, only 479 schools out of 2,888 provided free textbooks, eliminating the need for children to bring reading matter from home.⁴⁷

If a teacher wished to secure such "amenities" as window shades, textbooks, globes, or maps, she would need to spend money from her own paltry salary or go door-to-door, begging the community for contributions. She might organize a basket social, seeking donations of picnic lunches that would be sold at a community auction to earn cash for school supplies. Very quickly, teachers grasped the value of founding and nurturing a Parent Teacher Association (PTA) or mothers club whose members would volunteer to support the needs of the

schoolhouse. Teachers would host parent groups at the schools, providing refreshments and finding other ways to facilitate fundraising. If successful at nurturing parent groups, teachers acquired a wide range of improvements, including a fenced yard for recess, costumes for the Christmas pageant, cookies for graduation ceremonies, milk or hot soup for winter lunches, and fresh paint and pictures for the walls. In cities, teachers, often hired because they had weathered a few years of rural teaching, could take for granted heat, light, plumbing, and basic supplies. Still they, too, cultivated the PTA for the acquisition of art supplies, playground equipment, and musical instruments.

Whether teachers welcomed the interaction with donors or resented the extra work, they found it expedient to try. Those teachers with experience in club organization from their normal-school days were in a good position to guide parents to furnish the supplies that educators sought for a superior classroom experience. In numerous



The ties that teachers formed at the normal schools through club and other activity often lasted a lifetime. Ellensburg Normal School, where the above photo was taken, fostered friendships among alumnae by organizing reunions during graduation weekend as early as the 1890s. (Yakima Valley Museum, Yakima, acc. 2004-800-782)

ways, then, normal-school clubs succeeded at preparing graduates to meet the needs of their impending employment. Less calculated was the result of providing a lifelong blueprint for close friendships, career development, and community stature.

Until the mid-20th century, most communities fired any woman teacher the moment she married, by custom or law, under the assumption that her attention to her husband and household left her unfit to devote sufficient effort to her pupils.⁴⁸ Seventy-five percent of American women teachers were single. In Washington State, 85 percent were single, although exceptions were sometimes made for widows, divorcees, or wives of servicemen in World War I, or in times of teacher shortage, as in World War II.⁴⁹ One major consequence of this rule was that teacher turnover was great, and the constant demand for single teachers could not be met by normal-school graduates. In the 1890s, only 10

percent of the Seattle school system's teachers were graduates of Washington State normal schools. By the 1920s, the figure was one-third, with the others recruited from distant locales.⁵⁰

Another result of the "spinster rule" was that women who wanted to make a career in teaching embraced the vigorous women's club movement of the era because membership offered a lifeline against marginality. Women's clubs provided teachers a social life that substituted for family companionship, a "university" for lifelong learning, and an entree to public service that gave them the status that married women achieved through partnership with successful men in their communities.

The memoirs of schoolteachers feature their classroom careers rather than their afterhours club activity. Nevertheless, it is clear from women's club enrollments that when the workday was done, Washington educators' actions spoke louder than words. Partici-

pation in women's voluntary associations provided teachers with a network of single and married women who wanted to maintain an intellectual life into adulthood. They found peers who wished to read books, discuss ideas, and expand their world. They could make women friends at meetings with whom they would share outings to public lectures, concerts, and plays, eliminating the need for a male escort. And they could find like-minded companions who wished to travel during summer vacations or attend classes to enhance teaching credentials.

Teachers used clubs to build friendships that substituted for family. They met peers with whom they could rent vacation houses, enjoy sightseeing, share hobbies, and split household expenses. Pieroth's study of Seattle schoolteachers documents that in small groups they toured Europe during summer vacation, hiked Mount Rainier and Mount Olympus, and purchased lots for rustic cabins at the remote Stillaguamish Country Club. They shared residences because of low salaries, carpoled to work, and skied, skated, golfed, cycled, and bowled together.⁵¹

Alongside married members of women's clubs, single teachers could use their skills to launch social service projects that reformed and improved their communities. They could enjoy status as officers, committee members, and project organizers, even if they could not share the status and income enjoyed by members married to the local judge, physician, mayor, professor, businessman, or clergyman, the very women who gravitated toward serving in clubs as a responsibility of local elites. Teachers were not intimidated by the formality of clubs, having made acquaintance with it in normal schools. They already enjoyed familiarity with such features of conducting club business as parliamentary procedure, *Robert's Rules of Order*, the necessity for a quorum, and keeping minutes.

Their many skills made them welcome in the leading women's clubs, populated mostly by middle-class married women who had not enjoyed such advantages of "higher" education.

Once again, the opportunities for rural teachers were markedly more limited than those of their urban sisters. Married country women in general came relatively late to finding the time and energy to form clubs. Electricity and plumbing did not reach farmhouses until the 1930s and 1940s, thereby delaying housewives' freedom from household drudgery for participation in voluntary organizations. However, eastern Washington farmwomen did manage to make time to form rural clubs, such as the Euclid Homemakers Club (1913), Orchard Ridges Club (1907), Riverside Woman's Club (1903), and Home Interest Club (1912). Other groups included the Union Flats Women's Club, Don't Worry Club, Stitch and Chatter Club, Get-Together Club, Community Cheer Club, Jolly Ranchers, Get-Acquainted Club, Sagebrush Sisters, and Handy Hands.⁵² Many of these groups convened statewide conventions to share strategies for club programming.

Beginning rural teachers likely did not have the time, energy, dues money, or interest to join women's clubs (which usually consisted of the mothers of their pupils), even if they were teaching in a county in which they had grown up. Commonly, however, rural schoolteachers were invited to join women's clubs and the women's auxiliaries of fraternal orders. For country teachers who built strong community ties during long careers in one-room schoolhouses, a rural woman's club would be one of the few vehicles at her disposal to build a surrogate family that appreciated her personal qualities and organizational skills. Clubs provided an acceptable place for a teacher to fulfill her need to belong. Not incidentally, she would also lobby there for enhancements for

her program.

In the cities, however, women's club opportunities were multitudinous. Even though the most elite women's clubs did not welcome the participation of a mere schoolteacher, other options were plentiful, for most groups welcomed women educators, teachers as well as principals and city and county superintendents.⁵³ Pieroth has noted, for example, that the Girls Club, supported by Plymouth Congregational Church and University Congregational Church, was invaded by the city's schoolteachers, who met for Monday night dinner, vespers, and networking. They shared classes in foreign languages, music, and drama and enjoyed skiing, swimming, and mountain-climbing outings.⁵⁴

City life made it easier for graduates of the state normal schools to maintain or refresh the friendships built during schooldays and formalized as alumnae associations. Ellensburg Normal, for example, fostered friendships among alumnae, courting former students in an attempt to get them to attend reunions during graduation weekend as early as the 1890s. The school enjoyed donations from loyal graduates and tapped the gossip to steer the newest graduates to job openings. The alumnae welcomed the renewal of old ties, which they strengthened back on the job in Spokane, Tacoma, or Seattle.⁵⁵ No doubt the companionship in clubs enhanced the likelihood that city teachers would remain at their workplace, unmarried, for a lifetime.

The population of women educators in Seattle was sufficient to support several clubs organized around a particular professional interest: the Fortnightly and Monday Evening clubs for women principals, the High School Teachers Club, the Kindergarten Club, and the Seattle Grade Teachers' Club. The last was formed in 1912, charging annual dues of four dollars, which did not deter nearly all of Seattle's grade-

school teachers from joining. Members formed a chorus, put on dramatic productions, hosted banquets and lectures, maintained an office, and issued a magazine that publicized achievements of members and educational opportunities for summertime. Articles surveyed the numbers of foreign-born in Seattle classrooms and the types of recreation enjoyed by the membership. The group allied with the Seattle Federation of Women's Clubs, the PTA, and King County Women's Legislative Council, maintained a reading room at the Seattle Public Library, and offered a reception for new teachers at the YWCA every September.⁵⁶

In Spokane, the Inland Empire Teachers Association formed with similar goals. A statewide group, the Washington Grade Teachers' League, was established "to promote the growth, improve the service, raise the professional status and develop the spirit of cooperation among classroom teachers of the state."⁵⁷ Discussions of poor salary, pensions, and conditions led many women to grow active in the American Federation of Teachers, the National Education Association, and other organizations focused on enhancements for the professional educator, such as improved salaries, expanded pensions, and sex equity.

Many of the schoolteachers who left their profession to marry successful men became leading citizens in the community, enjoying new status in the clubs they joined. Given the great numbers of American women who taught, at least briefly, it is not surprising that the nation's large women's club movement was universally supportive of school improvements. While the historical scholarship on national and northwest regional women's club activity recognizes club efforts on behalf of conservation, suffrage, temperance, sanitation, and social services for immigrants and working people, it is also clear that educational issues never

disappeared from the platforms of women's clubs between 1890 and World War I.

Education in its broadest sense was supported by club efforts on behalf of public libraries and concerts, but the prior teaching experience of club members likely ignited club activism for an agenda specifically useful to teachers and pupils, grades K-12.⁵⁸ The historian W. J. Reese has observed, "The prominence of former teachers or wives of current male teachers in these women's clubs helped cement stronger bonds between home and school."⁵⁹ The Washington State Woman's Christian Temperance Union endorsed higher salaries for teachers. Washington's Soroptimist, a network of business women's clubs, supported Seattle's Ruth School for "limited" girls and gave scholarships to Spokane high-school girls who "made the greatest overall progress."⁶⁰

A Tacoma math teacher, Amy Stacy, became an early president of the Washington State Federation of Women's Clubs (wsfwc), an alliance of statewide literary and civic reform groups that formed in 1896 and cooperated with the national network, the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Formed in 1890, the GFWC promised to exert "influence to secure needed legislation, good school boards, good superintendents, skilled teachers, improved sanitary conditions of schoolhouses," and cooperation with school authorities.⁶¹ The wsfwc advocated for kindergartens, playgrounds with equipment and adult supervisors, medical inspections of children, vocational classes such as home economics and manual training, juvenile courts and reformatories, schools for blind and deaf children, scholarships, and collections of warm coats for schoolchildren.⁶² By 1908, with 90 clubs and 2,800 members, the wsfwc reported significant improvements in playgrounds, sex education, and trade schools for girls. It success-

fully lobbied for a grade-school teacher on the state committee that selected textbooks and for two women on the school board of every large city in the state.⁶³

Club leaders brought their personal histories as educators to their organizational goals. Long before Carrie Chapman Catt (national president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and founder of the League of Women Voters) launched Seattle's Woman's Century Club, she was an educator in Iowa. Her Woman's Century Club cofounder, Julia Kennedy, was the first superintendent of Seattle schools. No wonder their club urged improved salaries for schoolteachers. The Woman's Century Club joined the Washington State Federation of Women's Clubs in funding the Woman's Building at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in 1909 and ensured its continued use as a meeting place for YWCA girls at the University of Washington. There, young volunteers were recruited for club work.⁶⁴ When Eva Anderson left teaching to become a legislator in Olympia, she was welcomed at countless women's club meetings to rally support for the needs of schoolgirls. Bertha Landes, Seattle mayor from 1926 to 1928, taught school during her girlhood in New England and grew up to lead Soroptimist's northwest branch to "Move Forward in Education."⁶⁵

The early club experience of schoolteachers, paired with their ability to instigate reforms through women's clubs, created an impressive force for educational improvements in the Pacific Northwest. The historian Bryce E. Nelson asserts that the Seattle school superintendent Frank Cooper formed an advisory board of club women to communicate about such topics as kindergartens, home economics facilities, school savings banks, and a home for wayward girls because they had "more influence than teachers, the

Municipal League, organized labor, the Socialists, political parties, city government, the churches or the chamber of commerce."⁶⁶

From normal school to retirement and beyond, then, clubs served teachers well in their personal and work lives. Club participation in normal schools, whether in secular literary societies or Christian-based YWCA social service projects, immediately enriched the social lives and occupational preparation of teachers-in-training. Once the teachers joined the work force, their club experience spurred them to guide pupils and parents in establishing organizations designed to enhance the quality of education. After hours, teachers sought out women's clubs to enrich their minds, build new friendships, improve their working conditions, reform their communities, and create a sense of belonging that was denied them by the regulations against marriage. If teachers left the profession, they continued to find women's organizational activity attractive and through it remained loyal to the commitment to improve education in the Pacific Northwest. Club membership was of value not only to women educators but also to the students they nurtured and the communities in which they lived.

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1. One important exception is Christine A. Ogren's masterful survey, *The American State Normal School: "An Instrument of Great Good"* (New York, 2005). For the published literature on the normal schools, see Arthur C. Hicks, *Western at 75* (Bellingham, Wash., 1974); Samuel R. Mohler, *The First Seventy-five Years: A History of Central Washington State College, 1891-1966* (Ellensburg, Wash., 1967); Larry Lowther, Earl Glauert, and Dan Ramsdell, *Education, Censorship, and Teachers: Essays on the Centennial of Central Washington University, 1891-1991* (Ellensburg, Wash., 1993); Cecil Dryden, *Light for an Empire: The Story of Eastern Washington State College* (Spokane, Wash., 1965); and J. Orin Oliphant, *History of the State Normal School at Cheney, Washington* (Spokane, Wash., 1924).
2. Aside from a limited athletics program, there were no other formal organizations, for genuine student government was not permitted until the dawn of World War I and sororities were never permitted at Washington normal schools. Special interest clubs, devoted to such areas as French culture, history, or geology, did not develop until the 1920s.
3. Hardy quoted in Louis Filler, ed., *An Ohio Schoolmistress: The Memoirs of Irene Hardy* (Kent, Ohio, 1980), 201.
4. Robert E. Ficken, *Washington State: The Inaugural Decade, 1889-1899* (Pullman, Wash., 2007), 110; Washington State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Twentieth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1910* (Olympia, Wash., n.d.), 108-10.
5. Washington State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Eleventh Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Washington* (Olympia, Wash., 1892); "General Statistics for 1885," in Washington Territory Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Washington Territory to the Legislative Assembly, Session of 1885-6* (Olympia, Wash., 1885), n.p.
6. Washington State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Twenty-eighth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Biennium Ending June 30, 1926* (Olympia, Wash., 1927), 221-25; idem, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Period June 30, 1928, to June 30, 1936* (Olympia, Wash., 1937), 134, 240; idem, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Period June 30, 1937, to June 30, 1940* (Olympia, Wash., n.d.), 42; idem, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Period June 30, 1940, to June 30, 1942* (Olympia, Wash., 1943), 161.
7. Idem, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Washington for 1890* (Olympia, Wash., 1890), 115-19.
8. Donald R. Warren, ed., *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work* (New York, 1989), 273.
9. U.S. Bureau of Education, *A Survey of Educational Institutions of the State of Washington*, U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin no. 26 (Washington, D.C., 1916); Washington State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Period June 30, 1928, to June 30, 1936*, pp. 148-49, 209; idem, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Period June 30, 1940, to June 30, 1942*, pp. 12-21, 124-25, 127; Harold W. Foght, *Efficiency and Preparation of Rural School Teachers*, U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin no. 49 (Washington, D.C., 1915), 17.
10. Michelle Māhealani Klein Morgan, "'A Model of Womanhood or Manhood': City Teachers in the Far West, 1890-1930," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2007), 329-39; Doris Hinson Pieroth, *Seattle's Women Teachers of the Interwar Years: Shapers of a Livable City* (Seattle, 2004), 16.
11. Obituaries of Benjamin Franklin Barge and W. R. Abrams, Biography Files, Local History Room, Ellensburg Public Library, Ellensburg, Wash.
12. John L. Rury, *Education and Women's Work: Female Schooling and the Division of Labor in Urban America, 1870-1930* (Albany, N.Y., 1991), 78-79; Nicholas L. Syrett, *The Company He Keeps: A History of White College Fraternities* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2009), 16-17, 135-36, 149.
13. See club minutes and yearbooks at Special Collections, James E. Brooks Library, Central Washington University (CWU), Ellensburg; Special Collections, Western Libraries, Western Washington University (WWU), Bellingham; and Archives and Special Collections, Eastern Washington University (EWU) Libraries, Cheney.
14. Vivian E. Dreves, "'Head, Heart, and Hand': A Study of Bellingham State Normal School, 1899-1909," M.A. thesis (Western Washington University, 1982), 84; Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York, 1980), chap. 6.
15. Washington State Normal School at Cheney, Catalog, 1894-95, p. 43, Archives and Spec. Colls., EWU Libraries.
16. Eclectic Literary Society minutes, Nov. 11, 1895, Spec. Colls., Brooks Library, CWU.
17. Dreves, 63, 70.
18. Eclectic Literary Society minutes, 1896, Spec. Colls, Brooks Library, CWU; Delphian Literary Society minutes, Oct. 25, 1912, Western Oregon University (WOU) Archives, Monmouth (qtn.); Ramirose Ilene Attebury, "From Academics to Social Training: Student Organizations at Washington State Normal School, 1891-1932," M.A. thesis (Central Washington University, 2007), 58.
19. Crescent Literary Society minutes, March 12, 1897, Spec. Colls., Brooks Library, CWU; Alkisiah minutes, 1907-1909, Spec. Colls., Western Libraries, WWU.
20. Alkisiah minutes, 1907-1909, Spec. Colls., Western Libraries, WWU, cited in Dreves, 112; Membership List, 1907, General Federation of Women's Clubs Archives, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Washington, D.C.
21. Alcott Society minutes, Sept. 14, 1900, Spec. Colls., Western Libraries, WWU.
22. Eclectic Literary Society minutes, March 13, 1896, Spec. Colls., Brooks Library, CWU; Alcott Society minutes, June 14, 1900, Spec. Colls., Western Libraries, WWU; Delphian minutes, December 1915, and Vespertine minutes, June 1916, WOU Archives.
23. Eclectic Literary Society minutes, 1911, Spec. Colls., Brooks Library, CWU.
24. Vespertine minutes, Dec. 7, 1906, WOU Archives.
25. *Bellingham Normal Messenger*, December 1900, Spec. Colls., Western Libraries, WWU.
26. Washington State Normal School at Cheney, *Rhododendron*, 1904, Archives and Spec. Colls., EWU Libraries (qtn.).
27. Oregon State Normal School, Official Student Handbook, 1894-95, p. 3, WOU Archives.
28. Ann B. Weiner, "Report of Acting General Secretary from April 28 to May 21, 1914," box 1, Series 1: Administrative Records, 1912-2007, Young Women's Christian Association of Bellingham Records (hereafter cited as ywca of Bellingham Records), Center for Pacific Northwest Studies, WWU.
29. Ibid.
30. Mohler, 110-11.
31. Yearbooks in Spec. Colls., Brooks Library, CWU, and Spec. Colls., Western Libraries, WWU.
32. Esther Hopkins, "Report of March 1913," box 12, Series 3: Committee Records, 1912-81, ywca of Bellingham Records.
33. Ibid.
34. Mary A. Stewart, "Traveler's Aid Report," July 15-August 21, 1913, box 12, Series 3, ywca of Bellingham Records.
35. Kamola Hall, the women's dormitory in Ellensburg, was erected in 1911; Bellingham provided 10 rooms for 20 girls in 1908 and built Edens Hall to house 125 women in 1921. The Cheney normal school built Monroe Hall for women in 1916. Before dormitories were funded by the state legislature, schools attempted to meet the needs of unhappy student boarders in the community by renting rooms in a downtown building. From 1896 to 1910, 20 Ellensburg students lived at a building on Fifth Avenue and Main Street, a few blocks from campus, that also housed the local funeral parlor. The students were supervised by Professor Ella Harris and later a hired matron. Mohler, 55.
36. Oregon State Normal School, Catalog, 1888-89, p. 15, WOU Archives; Washington State Normal School at Cheney, Circular, 1890-91, p. 7, Archives and Spec. Colls., EWU Libraries.
37. Attebury.
38. Washington State Normal School at

- Ellensburg, *Kooltuo*, Vol. 2 (1907), p. 63, Spec. Colls., Brooks Library, CWU.
39. Charles A. Harper, *Development of the Teachers College in the United States, with Special Reference to the Illinois State Normal University* (Bloomington, Ill., 1935), 112.
 40. Pieroth, 177.
 41. Mrs. George R. Trafton, "Report of the Camp Fire Groups of the City of Bellingham for the Year 1914," Jan. 12, 1915, box 10, Series 3, YWCA of Bellingham Records.
 42. *Monmouth Lamron*, March 26, 1926, WOU Archives.
 43. Kitsap County Retired Teachers Bicentennial Committee, *The Way It Was in Kitsap Schools: Memoirs of School Days in Kitsap County* (n.p., 1978), 446.
 44. Kathleen Weiler, "Women and Rural School Reform: California, 1900-1940," *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 34 (Spring 1994), 43.
 45. Barb Owen, *Making the Grade: Plucky Schoolmarm of Kittitas County* (Pullman, Wash., 2009); *The Way It Was*.
 46. "General Statistics for 1885."
 47. Washington State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Nineteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the School Years Ending June 30, 1907, and June 30, 1908* (Olympia, Wash., 1908).
 48. Kathleen Weiler, *Country Schoolwomen: Teaching in Rural California, 1850-1950* (Stanford, Calif., 1998), 182.
 49. Seattle's insistence on single women teachers until 1947, long after Portland, Oregon, and California dropped their rules in 1912, skewed Washington's statistics. Morgan, 329-39.
 50. Pieroth, 116.
 51. *Ibid.*, 74-75, 77, 182, 189, 195-97.
 52. Sandra Haarsager, *Organized Womanhood: Cultural Politics in the Pacific Northwest, 1840-1920* (Norman, Okla., 1997), 180.
 53. Frances R. Donovan, *Schoolma'am* (New York, 1938), 21.
 54. Pieroth, 180.
 55. Mohler, 179; Washington State Normal School at Cheney, *Rhododendron*, 1905, Archives and Spec. Colls., EWU Libraries; Hicks, 30; Washington State Normal School at Bellingham Alumni Association minutes, 1910-27, Spec. Colls., Western Libraries, WWU.
 56. *Seattle Grade Club Magazine*, April 1920, p. 16, December 1920, p. 19, June 1922, n.p., March 1925, p. 21, copies available at University of Washington Libraries, Seattle.
 57. *Ibid.*, April 1920, p. 39, April 1925, n.p.; Pieroth, 104. For the evolution of teacher unions through clubs, see Morgan, chap. 6.
 58. Jane Cunningham Croly, *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America* (New York, 1898); Haarsager; Karen J. Blair, "The Seattle Ladies Musical Club, 1890-1930," in *Women in Pacific Northwest History*, ed. Karen J. Blair, rev. ed. (Seattle, 2001), 267-83; Karen J. Blair, "The Women's Club Movement Creates and Defines the Women's College," in *The Search for Equity: Women at Brown University, 1891-1991*, ed. Polly Welts Kaufman (Providence, R.I., 1991), 27-54.
 59. William J. Reese, *Power and the Promise of School Reform: Grassroots Movements during the Progressive Era* (Boston, 1986), 46.
 60. Seattle Soroptimist Lunch Program, Oct. 5, 1927 (1st qtn.), and "Fifty Years of Spokane Soroptomist," n.d. (last qtn.), both in Washington File, Soroptimist International of the Americas Archives, Philadelphia, Pa.
 61. Ellen Henrotin quoted in Christine Woyshner, *The National PTA, Race, and Civic Engagement, 1897-1970* (Columbus, Ohio, 2009), 39.
 62. Croly, 1,148.
 63. Karen J. Blair, "The Limits of Sisterhood: The Woman's Building in Seattle, 1908-21," in *Women in Pacific Northwest History: An Anthology*, ed. Karen J. Blair (Seattle, 1988), 67.
 64. *Ibid.*, 74.
 65. *Soroptigram*, Vol. 2 (September 1927), Washington File, Soroptimist International Archives.
 66. Bryce E. Nelson, *Good Schools: The Seattle Public School System, 1901-1930* (Seattle, 1988), 44.