

2003

# The view from the garden

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THE VIEW FROM THE GARDEN

A Thesis

Presented to the

Faculty of the Department

of

Interdisciplinary Studies

Graduate Studies and Research

In Partial Fulfillment

of the

Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Elizabeth D. Berryman

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## ABSTRACT

### The View from the Garden

This thesis hypothesizes that a campus can enable a college to fulfill its mission. In 1926, the Scripps College trustees were motivated by two objectives. Developing a college for women that addressed the woman question was of secondary importance to the trustees who were men. Their objective was to prevent the problems enrolling too many women at Pomona College might produce.

Manipulating the form and character of the campus was a means to accomplish that objective. They adopted strategies utilized by men who developed the Northeastern women's colleges.

Students responded to manipulative strategies in unintended ways to achieve their own goals. The campus became a learning opportunity for students to develop the ability to think clearly and independently, developing confidence through practice. Ultimately, the design of the campus helped Scripps College fulfill the obligation to the students voiced by Ellen Browning Scripps.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

This thesis is about women and higher education, considering them as cultural elements within American society, elements that can clarify the image of that society and illuminate the changing nature of women's role in that society. The Industrial Revolution accompanied a major transformation of the social and economic structures of American society during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The composition of women's lives was heavily influenced by that transformation, especially their opportunities for higher education and the nature of their educational experiences.

The seven individual colleges that comprise the Seven College Conference (Seven Sisters) are (in the order of their founding): Vassar College, Wellesley College, Smith College, Bryn Mawr College, Mount Holyoke College, Barnard College, and Radcliffe College. This thesis reviews the circumstances surrounding the development of the campuses in the final decades of the nineteenth century when these colleges for women were founded. The societal forces that influenced these colleges also influenced the development of their campuses. Looking for evidences of the societal attitudes that influenced those colleges provides a background for examining the development of the campus plan for Scripps College that took place in California during the 1920s.

The development of the college campuses are examined in search of

evidences that show a relationship between attitudes about women and attitudes about higher education. The process of designing a campus plan is viewed from two different perspectives. The first vantage point is that of the founder and /or trustees of the college who believe that the campus environment can be either an asset or a liability to the college, an element that either enhances the college's ability to achieve the founder's objectives, or hinders the satisfaction of that goal.

The design process is also considered from the perspective of the individual selected to design the campus. Determining how the individual designer proceeded through the design process at Scripps College is the final segment in this study. The ultimate purpose was also the initial motivation for this thesis. The review of the design process that took place at Scripps College was intended to highlight the relationship between a woman's college education and the campus environment where that takes place. It considers the importance or insignificance of the college founder's reasons for wanting to influence that women's educational experience in a particular way. Finally it attempts to discover the particular design strategies that were employed by the professional designer to create an environment that could satisfy the objectives of the designer's two main groups of constituents: potential students and the founders who provided the opportunity for that particular educational experience.

This project is important because sixty percent of college-bound students

indicated to the Carnegie Foundation that visual environment was the most important factor in choosing a college (Gaines, 11). If this is true, do students visit a college or see pictures of the campus and unconsciously sense that it fits with what they are looking for in a college? Do visual images communicate that the college experience they want to have seems possible and likely to occur on that campus? In other words, does the appearance of the campus suggest something about the college's mission and its attitude about women's role in society that leads a potential student to believe that the college's mission corresponds with her goals and expectations?

Regardless of the quantity or quality of the literature a college sends out, a significant majority indicates that the college campus is the most important factor in their decision. Unfortunately, the Carnegie Report does not indicate what made the campus so influential to potential students. It does, however, highlight the importance of the fit between the college campus and the college's mission. If these two are inconsistent, then the decision a potential student makes because she does or does not sense a fit with the college is a decision based on erroneous information. The issue of fit between the college's mission and the student's intended goals, raises questions about the role of the campus that warrant serious consideration by the administration and the current trustees of the college. From this perspective, interest in the campus appearance rises above concerns about the condition of the lawns and flowerbeds, paint on the

buildings, or even access to state-of-the-art technology on campus.

Correspondence between the campus and the college mission highlights the relationship between means and ends. A student perceives the campus as a part of the educational experience which itself is one of the student's means to achieve her goals in life. The college and those responsible for the appearance of the campus also recognize that the campus is the means to an end, but what that end goal is depends greatly upon one's perspective and relationship to the campus. For the faculty and administration the campus is the means to achieve a desired educational outcome, or the means to attract potential students and potential donors. From all of these perspectives, the campus quite clearly is a means of achieving an objective.

The relationship between means and ends can be more visible from a distance--distance that time provides. This thesis reviews the development of historic campuses of colleges for women, colleges and campuses that are a part of the American cultural heritage--part of the American heritage that women can claim as their own--whether they are college educated or not is irrelevant. This thesis shows that the access to a college education has affected the lives of women in this country, whether they attended college or not.

Using an historic example may make it easier to recognize how and when attempts are being made to manipulate our experiences. The passage of time can work like a vacation trip away from daily responsibilities. The ability to stand

at a distance from a scene enables the viewer to ignore the details that are distracting at close range so that true priorities, purposes, and the meaning behind events becomes clearer--separating and standing back allows events to be recognized and understood in their true context.

This thesis is a means to show that the campus can be quite revealing. For those concerned about the impressions created by outward appearances, this thesis may be a sobering reminder that at a close range, true motives can at times be obscured, but in the long run, our values, our attitudes about ourselves and other people will be apparent--whether that is desirable or not. The information conveyed by a college campus and there are multiple lessons to be learned by studying a college campus. Some of those lessons are revealed in this thesis that explores the intentional act of designing a campus for the colleges for women in the United States.



## CHAPTER TWO

### Purpose, Design, and Values

Designing is a creative process, a series of intentional acts that involves shaping or manipulating a medium to produce something new or different.

Thomas Gaines, a writer whose focus is the appearance and character of the college campus, asserts that the campus is a work of art. Those who design campuses are by implication artists, or at least engaged in an artistic process. A well-designed campus that contains quality spaces for college women harmoniously blended can substantially increase the opportunities for student learning as it enriches all their learning experiences. Gaines argues that the appropriate goal of campus design is to create an environment for living and for learning that is recognizable for a unique quality that is representative of the college (Gaines, 1991). On those few successful campuses that have achieved a sense of *place*, the essence of this unique quality may be imparted to individual students, and on occasion to individual members of the faculty or staff--those who truly identify with the College and its campus.

#### RESEARCH PURPOSE AND METHODS

This thesis is exploratory in nature, rather than definitive. Narratives pertaining to the founding and early development of the colleges for women in the Northeast were explored to reveal truths hidden on their campuses. The target of the search has been to identify the design elements and understand the strategies professional designers employed on the individual campuses to

accomplish objectives desired by one group of stakeholders--the college founders and trustees--their clients. Whether implied, or specifically stated by these stakeholders, they wanted the designer they selected to create a campus that accomplished their specific goals.

The founders and trustees wanted campuses with a unique quality that would augment the curriculum to create an educational experience that was appropriate for their students, a campus experience that resolved the problems and dilemmas observed on other college campuses. The various design strategies devised to discourage homosexual behavior in student residences is a case in point where trustees of many of the women's colleges were motivated to accomplish a particular objective and the campus was the mechanism of choice. Attempts to regain control of students, whose carousing on and off campus alarmed the Amherst faculty members who also served as trustees of Smith College, is another instance in which the trustees of the women's college utilized the campus as a mechanism to accomplish their specific objectives.

Examples such as these illuminate hidden meanings in the remains of past events. Information that relates particular design strategies to stakeholders' purposes not readily visible also demonstrates that design strategies can generate outcomes whose value to the college exceeds campus beautification efforts. The information revealed about these historic campus developments informs campus preservation efforts. The insights gained may also enhance the resolution of college needs in the years ahead.

## DESIGN AND MANIPULATION, INFLUENCE AND CONTROL

Designing a campus is essentially the process of influencing individual experiences by manipulating the environment. The designer accomplishes the desired result through a process of combining the selected materials and manipulating the site. The designer devises ways to incorporate the borrowed landscape outside his or her control, while anticipating the sun, wind and other aspects of weather that are likely to influence the site.

The designer combines and manipulates these elements to control the way they are experienced is the essence of design. The use of rough textures and the strategic placement of plants, earth or landscape structures are mechanisms a designer employs to direct movement and control lines of sight. Designers produce environments that alter the experience of space and time. The designer's actions are influenced by the clients who contracted the design services, but ultimately the nature of the design's altered experience is determined by the designer.

Like knowledge, design is not inherently evil, nor are those who do it or those who commission it automatically suspect. Knowledge and design are both tools that can be used for good or the opposite. It is virtually impossible to separate art and design from value considerations. Intent and purpose are primary determinants of whether the outcomes of manipulation through design are creative or destructive; whether the application of control is just or unjust; whether influence exerted is benign or threatens. Ultimately, ethical

considerations enter into the design process; values are a critical aspect of designing. A designer's values determine whether the application of design strategies constitutes use or abuse of a designer's talent and abilities.

The designer's strategies can create or enhance an environment thereby enriching individual participant's experiences. Alternately, designers can intentionally create an environment or situation that controls the participant's experience to a degree that the designer effectively exercises power over individual participants. The designer may or may not retain control of this "over-powering" experience. In a situation where a designer intentionally creates environments that will accomplish outcomes desired by others, such as trustees, the designer has in essence created a "power-over" situation and put the trustee in the controller position.

Values are personal and subjective, they reflect an individual's philosophy of life. One of the first considerations when evaluating design strategies on a college campus, as this thesis has done, is to identify the individuals and groups who had an opportunity to influence the campus. Examining their personal attitudes and philosophies as well as the factors that motivated them to be involved with the college can reveal ways they might have attempted to influence the development of the campus.

Recognizing the conflicting forces that exerted pressure on the college's development is a first step to understanding the power dynamics that influenced the character of the College. Sensitivity to design strategies and the component

parts of a campus can illuminate built-in control mechanisms present on the campus.

In this thesis, the use of particular design strategies intended to restrict women and limit their opportunities was a signal. Thus alerted, the investigation searched for other contextual factors frequently linked with this exercise of control, knowing they were likely to be present, even when they are not as obvious as they had been several decades earlier. For example, formal symmetry in building architecture and rigidly patterned circulation systems are a red flag that other control mechanisms are likely to be present.

Control, as the term is used in this thesis, pertains to intentional influence or restriction of the campus element referenced, or the forceful attempt to limit or restrict the participant's experience. Participant refers to any individual who experienced the campus. This particular term is used in this discussion because it suggests that involvement with the environment is experiential in nature. This sensory experience can include any or all of the ways humans perceive and interact with their surroundings. An individual can experience the environment through other sensory processes that go beyond the ability to see, hear, smell, touch or feel. An experience can have a quality that is forceful yet not easily described or defined.

The perimeter wall surrounding a campus is an example of a *control mechanism* whose effects are more complex than one might expect. On the Scripps' campus the restrictive effects are minimal for Scripps' students. The

perimeter wall gives these students a measure of security that far outweighs the restriction of their movement. The wall influences access, egress, and circulation patterns on campus. The wall enabled those on campus to monitor who was on campus and know where they might be. Individuals entering the campus at other points or far from the paths are noticeable because such movements are clearly out of the ordinary. The design of the wall has implications that pertain to the College's relationship with the adjacent colleges in the Consortium that surround the Scripps campus.

#### DESIGN: A VALUE-LADEN PROCESS

Design can be used positively to ease painful circumstances or to enhance pleasurable experiences of places or events. This can be observed at Scripps College each May when Elm Tree Lawn becomes the site of a Scripps community ritual--graduation. The pleasurable aspects of this experience would be significantly less in another setting. Some may view a campus setting such as this as little more than decorative frosting on a cake. Nonetheless, if Scripps College held graduation in a college gymnasium under basketball hoops this event would be quite different, and less meaningful.

The design process can become a control mechanism that restricts experiences. The precise placement of campus buildings in a quadrangle, so traditional that it evokes images of the academy, can have this effect. When the pattern is embellished with walkways laid out in formal rectangular patterns that

correspond to the patterned buildings, the result is magnified. Examining this closer, it becomes apparent that tradition may have masked, but not negated, the powerful controls inherent in this example. The messages here are important both for their strength and for the fact that most of us are subject to them without being consciously aware of the fact.

The first message is so loud that it shouts at the visitor, "Keep off the grass! Walk here, not there, go single file, if you must, but do not stray off the designated path." The simple patterned layout out of walkways in a field of grass controls behavior as surely as if it were a real physical barrier. The messages go much deeper than the surface appearance.

A space designed in rigid patterns communicates that appropriate behavior has been pre-determined; that an individual's needs or wishes were and are of no consequence, the individual's needs do not matter and neither does the individual. Individual choice is strongly discouraged. There is an inherent hierarchy in such designed spaces, communicated by the relative position of buildings, that the occupants of certain buildings hold a more exalted position, are more important, than others. It may be the college president, the chapel or the library, but it is certainly not the women's studies department--even on the campus of a college for women. While the exalted ones command attention, the subordinate elements usually are visually quite similar to each other, and have similar status. Each of them is essentially a place-holder that is neither unique or important in its own right. The messages continue, communicating more than

the not-surprising fact that the administration is more important than students in the classrooms. Such campuses also communicate that the institution and its traditions and the body of knowledge it has to teach are more important than individuals, maybe more important than questioning and learning. Little wonder that this is the symbol of man's knowledge handed down through the centuries inviolate.

In this type of rigid design, quality spaces for human use occur rarely and only accidentally. The areas between buildings are what a photographer would refer to as negative space. These leftover spaces were not intentionally designed as if they were important or the students who occupy them matter. On such campuses the one ray of hope acknowledging the worth of an individual is witnessed when Mother Nature graces the campus with warm sunshine. Somehow, its presence permits students to step off the walkways to utilize the grassy areas for sunbathing, for Frisbee throwing, or even to gather in small groups.

Design techniques can be used in imaginative ways, either to inspire or to restrict experience. Learning to recognize and understanding how design strategies can manipulate experience, makes it possible to modify the manipulated experiences, i.e.: to mitigate unwanted restrictions or to increase or extend positive experiences. Being aware of control mechanisms enables individuals to prevent their damaging effects, particularly important when they might have gone unnoticed.



## MEXICAN MURALS: LIFE IN AN ART TABLEAU

Messages are communicated by what is included and also by what is omitted. In a campus setting where structural walls assume organic forms, and landscape features such as benches, planters and even columns assume the forms of creatures and other life forms found in nature, in a setting where there are no weapons or evidences of violence, a convincing message is communicated about those who occupy the space regularly. For example, within a walled garden at Scripps College, a Mexican wall mural depicts life-size young women whose arms are full to overflowing with long stemmed lilies. The garden surrounding the mural is such a serene pleasant space one can almost believe on a warm afternoon that it is the lilies these women carry whose fragrance fills the air. That mural conveys a feeling of peace in a lovely summer garden so convincingly that it creates a sense of oneness between the young women and nature that seems possible in the world. It is not difficult to imagine that a student might on some level identify with the women pictured and perceive herself to be in a place where women are honored, where the natural aspects of a woman's life are acknowledged and accepted, where life need not be segmented, where women do not have to make difficult either /or choices that fragment their lives.

The designed environment does not affect all individuals in the same way, nor do individuals react the same way every time. Some are affected strongly, while others are affected very little if at all. There will be other individuals who

are also affected strongly, but the effect on them is different in kind, not just degree. An example of this range of experiences to a particular environment is demonstrated by the Mexican mural titled Prometheus Unbound that graces the dining hall at Pomona College, adjacent to the Scripps campus. The mural at Pomona College depicts a powerful scene in which the central figure appears to be rising from the fires of hell. Covering an entire wall, this image dominates the large space producing an atmosphere charged with muscular masculine energy that vibrates like a heart pumping on adrenalin. While one individual finds the experience disturbing, another is invigorated by it, and a third is oblivious to the painting.

Do the admissions officers of Pomona and Scripps consider the impact of these murals on potential student visiting the two campuses? Do either or both of the colleges include the murals in the literature they send to prospective students? Little more needs to be said about nonverbal communication, imagery, symbolism, subtlety, and the power of art to move and to influence.

### SCALE

Frank Orr's book *Scale* presents a conception of scale he developed for his architectural design students, whose knowledge of architectural history omitted. As an instructor of architecture, he recognized that his students' personal experiences in late twentieth century America obscured the relevance of architectural history for present day designers. They could recognize

architectural styles from various periods, but had no insight about why different civilizations built in a particular way. His discussion of scale highlights the significance between purpose and design, and identifies critical aspects of design that are particularly relevant to campus design. This conception of scale goes beyond the notion of scale as a size factor; and stresses the connection between suitability or appropriateness of a design for its intended purpose. The "degree of fit" considers how fully the result of the design process satisfies the original purpose. Throughout this thesis when scale is referenced, it is to this larger concept of scale (Orr, 1985).

His conception of scale is concerned primarily with the appropriateness, or fitness, of a designed space or structure, relative to the problem or purpose it was intended to address. Using a linguistic metaphor, scale concerns the issue of whether or not the answer addresses the question that was asked.

The necessity for a campus designer to consider the constraints that weather presents magnifies the importance of suitability and the need for design adaptations. The need to design outdoor spaces that moderate the effects of weather conditions is possibly more important for the garden and campus designer than it is for a building architect who has the ability to incorporate modern heating and air-conditioning equipment to offset a weak design that did not adequately consider climatic effects. Not only must the campus designer consider the cultural requirements of plant materials, as well as their appearance,

the designer must consider the cultural requirements that benefit humans. If outdoor spaces are to function as more than passageways and landscape scenes to be viewed from air-conditioned interior spaces, designers must know what is suitable, and how to manipulate materials and spaces, so they are scaled for human use. The campus designer is also unfortunately called upon to rectify problems that result when a building is not optimally sited. Whether it is a vast expanse of glass that needs protection from the elements or a poor outdoor space that was essentially a leftover rather than a designed space. In addition, the campus designer needs to create spaces that are inviting at various times of the day, spaces that have an appeal during each season. This latter task can be particularly challenging in the Northeast because the student population is at its peak during the months when being outdoors is often not particularly enticing and reaches its lowest levels during the months when flowering plants put on a show and being outdoors is most pleasant.

The issue of scale is not only about suitability from a climate perspective. A significant proportion of the unplanned and planned community interactions occur in the outdoor spaces on campus because the exterior spaces of the campus are the crossroads. These spaces inevitably witness the greatest amount of foot-traffic, more even than the most frequented destination locations such as the student union and residence halls. This heavy use magnifies the lost opportunity that occurs when outdoor spaces are not well designed.

## UNSPOKEN MESSAGES

Philosophy, power, control, values, and meaning are all important considerations in evaluating a college campus or campus setting. This chapter has demonstrated that both positive and negative implications can result because design, like art can influence and alter perceptions and experiences. Subsequent chapters focus on specific design strategies targeted to achieve particular outcomes that are found on individual campuses of the women's colleges in the Seven College Conference, the Seven Sisters--scenarios one might prefer not to think about. Nonverbal messages written on the surface of the campus as though it were a piece of wet clay using strokes so subtle they can be difficult to detect.

The setting is sometimes so familiar that the message is absorbed at the unconscious level with little or no conscious awareness. Repeated over and over, such messages hit their target, and are absorbed. Unspoken messages that repeatedly inform women they are inferior to men are messages that are particularly dangerous to women. They are more dangerous in settings such as a school or college campus because their potentially harmful effects are hidden. Because nothing in this benign setting alerts women to the presence of danger, women relax, let down their guard, and become more vulnerable than when they were in an environment where potential dangers are obvious.

Where women's athletics program and the colleges of education occupy

the oldest buildings on campus while men are showcased in large modern stadiums and attend classes in fancy new business and law schools or in science laboratories equipped with state-of-the-art technology, women receive messages. The messages inform them that even when they do the same things men do, they are not as good, not worthy of attention. What they study does not need or deserve the expenditure for quality resources; adequate is sufficient for women's needs. This thesis will present evidence that similar deceptive situations existed on the campuses of women's colleges, situations that resulted from campus design that occurred in response to male attitudes that reflected the two-sphere philosophy that was evident in America well into the twentieth century. Because the danger in blatant billboard advertising is more apparent, women see them and are less susceptible to their messages. The hidden messages are the ones that women must be alert to and conscious of, so threatening thoughts don't catch them unaware. The histories and the evidence revealed on the campuses of the Seven Sisters and Scripps College are a warning that ought not be ignored.

### THE DESIGNER'S BALANCING ACT

A campus designer, whether architect, landscape architect, garden designer, or urban planner is an outside professional employed for the skills, knowledge, and talent he or she possesses. This individual makes design decisions, professional judgments based on the stated and implied instructions

given about what they have been commissioned to accomplish. They will not be the one making the value judgments; others have made them or will make them from the options the designer provides.

Responsible architects always seek to understand their clients' value systems and to respect the power and importance that symbols have in society; they always undertake to use and interpret value systems and symbols meaningfully in their designs. A common but avoidable trap for designers is to trivialize symbols and values . . . It is each generation's task to reinterpret the past, and this is as true in architecture as in any other field. Such reinterpretation offers the opportunity to restudy questions of scale\* and to reintegrate scale into building design.

\* [The term *scale*] . . . refers to the larger concept of appropriateness, suitability, i.e. the rightness or fitness between user and design (Orr, 107).

The role of the campus designer is that of a commissioned artist, one who asks revealing questions, and mirrors back an image others may not have been fully cognizant of without that reflection. How well those "others" understand what they are attempting to accomplish, how committed they are to particular values, how frequently the major players change and the purposes with them, can substantially influence the outcome. The consistency and cohesiveness of the campus are impacted by these factors. It is as possible for a campus to give mixed messages as it is for a person to do so speaking with words. It is this range of factors combined with the skill of the designer and the resources available that, in the end, determine the look and feel of the campus. The combination of these variables, and their degree of fit, largely determine whether

the campus achieves a sense of "place," and it is this unique combination of variables that ultimately contributes to the college's ability to fulfill its mission.

This thesis focuses on understanding various ways design processes shaped the campuses of colleges for women. These campus environments were intentionally created and manipulated to influence attitudes and events on campus. The use--and abuse--of artistic ability and design skills are so entwined that one cannot examine and understand the effects of the design process without considering the influence of power. A causal relationship exists between outcomes generated by the design process and the effects on a college and its students. As the quadrangle example demonstrated, the effects of campus design are powerful. When the motivation influencing campus design is consistent with the mission of the college, the campus can be a valuable asset that enhances a students' educational experience.

This thesis explores the design of environments for college women, topics that inevitably involve questions about women and knowledge, two elements historically linked to issues of power, control, dominance, access, restriction, and limitations, as well as enrichment, enlightenment and pleasure. The design of campuses for college women provided opportunities for use and misuse of artistic talents and design strategies. Campuses were designed to manipulate and control the lives of women in ways so subtle or commonplace that their purposes and the effects were not recognized. Failing to appreciate the ultimate outcome of such manipulative purposes, women have unknowingly been put in



situations they would have avoided had they recognized the implications or been alert to the inherent risks involved.

### LEST WE BE DOOMED TO REPEAT OUR MISTAKES

This thesis presents information that is important for designers and those interested in history. A contemporary designer needs to be aware of the underlying philosophy and how those who currently guide its development and its operations perceive its present-day mission in order to successfully accomplish the goals of a particular design project. This is applicable regardless of the scope of the current design project, a fact too often overlooked by those considering modifications to individual areas of the campus. As Gaines pointed out, the average college campus in America is an architectural mess. This situation is not the result of buildings constructed in a variety of styles over time. It results from failing to consider the campus as a whole. Improvements can enhance one area, yet be detrimental to the entire campus. The campus is not composed of a series of buildings; it is composed of a series of spaces, both internal and exterior. Building walls create spaces outside as well as inside. The success of a campus is determined by the quality of its spaces, not the quality of its architecture. The detrimental effects of second-rate architectural design in buildings can be overcome by the quality of the spaces; however, poor spaces cannot be redeemed by outstanding buildings (Gaines, 1991). Confirmation of this statement is the tradition of ivy-covered buildings that was the result of using

ivy to cover-up architectural mistakes and architectural styles no longer considered fashionable.

The idea of scale offers a means of approaching a basic and important feeling about the way a thing fits together--with itself, with its environment, and with those who view it.

If we recognize the scale of a building, even on an intuitive or subconscious level, our feelings of security and well-being are reinforced. We know where we fit in that scale; we have our moorings. This being so, we are comforted and made to feel at ease by our sense of the building's "fitness," which leads to pleasant associations with the [campus] . . . and to our liking and enjoying it.

"Fitness" conveys the idea of balance, of harmony, of dynamic symmetry, of honest expression of the size of structural elements and, in general, of a pleasing and satisfying wholeness, such as we are often able to recognize in the other arts. . . .

Good scale in architecture, then, may be said to describe a relationship of visual and textural elements to the whole, to each other, and to the human participant /observer that has been planned and arranged to contribute as fully as possible to the participant /observer's sense of visual satisfaction in the wholeness and fitness of the constructed design.

If the design of a [campus] . . . handles scale well, we will perceive the building as a gestalt--a structure whose totality is greater than the sum of its parts--because the functions of scale operate in simultaneously supportive ways (Orr, 9-11).

A complete plan need not be prepared every time a campus modification is considered. However, the ramifications of each modification must be considered in light of its effect on the entire campus, not on all the individual parts, but on the total composition. Ignoring this fact invites future problems, difficulties more easily avoided than remedied after the fact. Because the campus is a composition, changes in one area inevitably alter the balance and

change the dynamics. The changes that will be necessitated to maintain a harmonious balance must be considered along with the rationale, the intended goal and the purpose that motivate the potential change.

Balance and proportion are more than visual considerations; they must also be incorporated into the decision-making process. This visual consideration involves the analysis of balance and proportion of individual components, and balance and proportion of the campus as a unit, as well as of the campus and the college as a unit. Therefore, an in-depth review of the philosophical underpinnings of higher education for women is not only necessary, it provides a useful starting point for any analysis or evaluation of a women's college campus.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Nineteenth Century Roots of Colleges for Women

Higher education is a societal function and today's colleges for women are products of the society in which they were founded. This thesis examines the changing attitudes about women and their role in society from various perspectives. It shows that colleges for women influenced and were influenced by the higher educational opportunities available to women.

#### CULTURAL CONTEXT OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

After two centuries of the experiment in democracy, white men were still the only individuals in the United States who had full access to the benefits of a college education. During the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century, the young nation struggled with unresolved controversies about its democratic ideals and values. Evidence of that struggle can be observed on the campuses of the colleges for women. These campuses bear witness to the nature of the controversies surrounding issues that society struggled to resolve as it entered the Industrial Age.

Women's access to higher education varied from one region to another. Individual opportunities were influenced by prevailing regional attitudes about women's societal role and the economic structure of the region. An examination of the circumstances that surrounded the founding and early developments of the colleges for women in the Northeast reveals and clarifies those elements in the social and economic structures of the United States were controversial or were

changing. This examination highlights the philosophical attitudes that influenced the campuses of the individual colleges for women.

The two major philosophical influences that shaped the character of the educational opportunities for women were: (1) the societal attitude that the daily lives of men and women appropriately occupied two separate spheres, and (2) the *woman question*. This thesis shows that what Eschbach refers to as the *woman question* was a major dilemma for women, one whose origins could be traced directly to the attitudes of the two-sphere philosophy.

The thesis reveals a connection between class and access to higher education seldom mentioned by male historians of higher education. In contrast, the histories of higher education for women in the United States and England written by both Eschbach and Horowitz include examples showing that in the United States and England class influenced the development of colleges and universities for both men and women. It is the issue of class that makes the development of women's colleges in England pertinent to this review of colleges for women in the United States. The discussion in Chapter Four shows how the strategies at Cambridge, England were repeated in Cambridge, Massachusetts, near Harvard, with different results. The examples demonstrate that the relationship between class and a college education affected the development of educational opportunities for women in both countries, and that the developments in one country influenced those across the Atlantic as well.

## TWO-SPHERES

Until the twentieth century, a commonly held belief in the United States was grounded in the notion that the biological differences between male and female reproductive functions determined virtually all facets of the daily lives of men and women. Because they were the child-bearers, women were expected to have full responsibility for the care of all their children, not just infants. They were responsible for housekeeping, food preparation and other home-related activities as well as being their husband's companion and helpmate. Their activities were concerned almost exclusively with tasks performed within their homes. They did not have regular or significant interactions with other adults outside the immediate family circle. The responsibility of men was to support the family financially. For most men this involved activities that generally took place outside the home in the company of other men.

Functions not directly associated with earning a living or managing household operations were delegated on the basis of where they occurred or their importance to the community. Those in the public arena or with societal importance fell within the men's sphere, the remainder were in the women's sphere. Responsibility for issues concerning religion, education, and provision for the less fortunate in society were not clearly prescribed. The early education of children and the responsibility for maintaining society's moral values were usually considered a part of the women's sphere, while higher education and control of the religious infrastructure were elements in the public arena, and

therefore were generally considered a part of the men's sphere. Economic circumstances blurred the boundaries between the two spheres, and areas with controversial boundaries provided some opportunities for women to participate in society outside the confines of their homes.

In established regions, particularly those that were part of the original colonies, white women were in a position prior to the Civil War only marginally better than the one occupied by children, who were expected to be seen and not heard. What voice they had was limited to the confines of their home. Women were not granted the right to vote on a national basis until the 19th Amendment to the Constitution was ratified in 1920. Objections to women's suffrage epitomize the attitudes associated with the two-sphere philosophy; women were thought to be too emotional to vote wisely, or too ignorant or disinterested.

The culture of the community, not just an individual woman's husband, denied women access to the economic sector. Women were not legally considered individuals with any inherent rights, i.e., the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Women could not own property nor could they conduct official business transactions, even if they never married or their husband died. Women could not own property essentially because they were considered to *be property*. In households where men were involved in business that kept them away from home or where men were otherwise unable to provide financially for their families these attitudes proved troublesome for both men and women.

There were notable exceptions in which the wives or daughters of an artisan continued the business during his absence. Such exceptions were generally allowed as long as a male member of the family could be assumed to be in control. Such situations occurred generally in areas such as the frontier where economic circumstances minimized the influence of the two-sphere philosophy, and in places like Rhode Island where liberal thinking had been prevalent since the colonial period.

### WOMEN'S WORLD APART

In his history of higher education in America, Rudolph describes how two-sphere practices influenced attitudes about women's education, framing the situation as a reflection of attitudes about the nature of women that prompted men to put them on a pedestal:

To these barriers [the conviction that women were incapable of studying serious subjects] . . . must be added those various social and intellectual considerations which argued that woman's place was in the home and that the home required at the most nothing more than an academy or seminary training. Eastern society had arrived at a point . . . at which it could afford to regard woman as something both less than man and vastly superior. The eastern economy could underwrite a certain amount of chivalry, could afford to pamper women, provide them with Irish servant girls, indulge their not unusual fascination with clothes and jewelry, in other words provide them with a kind of women's world apart where they were certainly not equal to men but at whose feet men could come to worship a kind of luxury (Rudolph, 315-316).



The reference to Irish servant girls made by Rudolph introduces the fact that Rudolph did not mean to include all women in his use of the term *woman*. Clearly he excluded Irish servant girls, and it is fair to conclude that he meant to exclude any woman employed in a servant capacity, whether paid or those women whose work was unpaid due to slavery.

While this thesis intends to be less restrictive than Rudolph about who qualifies as a *woman*, historically the colleges for women that comprise the Seven College Conference (Seven Sisters) provided an education primarily for middle and upper class women without specifically defining which women they meant to include or exclude. Eschbach indicates that with very few exceptions, the women who attended the Seven Sisters were of white Anglo European ancestry who identified themselves as Christians. She recounts the events that took place on one of the rare occasions when a very light skinned woman of color from the North “passed” unnoticed. Unnoticed that is until she was assigned to be the roommate for the daughter of an upper class family from one of the southern states. This situation prompted Carey Thomas to write to the other six colleges requesting information about their relevant policies and practices as she attempted to develop a policy at Bryn Mawr that would help avoid such situations in the future (Eschbach, 1993).

Two-sphere perceptions about women glamorized dependency and developed an ideal of feminine perfection characterized by passivity, sweetness,

weakness, timidity, self-effacement, and extreme modesty. Eschbach indicates how the nuances of this issue influenced upper class women:

Rousseau cast a spell over the foremost thinkers of Europe, insisting that the birthright of women was inferiority of intellect and pettiness of soul (Eschbach, 6).

Women sought to uphold these traits of feminine perfection in order to maintain their identity and to preserve themselves from society's "disgust" (Eschbach, 8).

### HIGHER EDUCATION AND CLASS: THE MARK OF A GENTLEMAN

Class influenced the development of opportunities for women to acquire a college education because a college education was considered the mark of a gentleman, one that was not considered appropriate for a gentle lady. In the United States members of the elite upper class had no royal titles to indicate their status. As a result, possession of a college degree may have achieved greater significance than in the land of Oxford and Cambridge. It is questionable whether the nature and quality of the education was as important as the evidence it provided that the individual was a gentleman and therefore a member of the upper class.

Apparently, gentlemen were loath to admit women into the sanctity of their exclusive domain, but all women were not rejected equally, class affected their rejection. Some women were denied admittance to the hallowed halls on the basis of class as well as gender.

In nineteenth century America, well-educated women were neither extolled nor championed by society. Rather, intellectual women were considered odd, out-of-place, and suspect in all but the rarest of social circles (Eschbach, xi).

Other visible manifestations that distinguished members of the upper class were how rigidly a family adhered in actual practice to the two-sphere philosophy. Those who were sufficiently well off did not need the women of the family to contribute to its support or maintenance. Hence the lady of leisure who did nothing but eat bon-bons and do needlepoint was evidence of her family's upper class status. Regardless of whether this ideal was achievable or not, it served as a goal and an indicator of social status among the upper and middle classes.

### EDUCATION AND THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The family farm and the artisan shop were the basis of the economic system during the nineteenth century. Education was not an idle pursuit, it was the means to an end, and its ultimate purpose influenced the type and character of the education. Except for members of the upper class, a college education was neither required nor widely available in the United States until after the Civil War.

Education similarly was limited and informal . . . for the mass of the population, it involved gaining rudiments of literacy and numeracy [sic] in a few years of class work, while the socialization inherent to all education focused on reinforcing community values of self-reliance and the Protestant work ethic.

Apprenticeship—instruction within the individual production unit under a master—was the main mode of training . . . conditions were substantially more informal, open, and entrepreneurial. This is partly evidenced by the fact that apprenticeship also encompassed the then-limited professions, which were comparatively easy to enter; for example, Presidents Jackson and Lincoln both “read law” under tutorship for a few years, then began practice.

The two-sphere restrictions that prevented women from working outside their homes became less restrictive when the boundaries of a woman’s home were not easily distinguished from her husband’s shop. It was not uncommon for the wife or daughter of an artisan to learn a skilled trade at his side so that she could assist with the family business. In this time before life insurance and pension plans, many women found themselves in the position of needing to support themselves and possibly their children after the unfortunate and untimely death of their husbands. Continuing the family business was an option they were glad to have and willingly utilized.

Hanson's review of economic history indicates that the dominant societal attitudes about work, characterized by an entrepreneurial attitude and Protestant work ethic, continued well into the Industrial Age in the United States. The centralization of labor and the growth of factories that occurred on the opposite side of the Atlantic Ocean had so degraded the cities of the old world early in the nineteenth century that a similar approach to industrialization in the United States was resisted for several decades.

The general career expectation of the individual male was eventual self-employment in some form of small proprietorship. This

“producer” ethos—with its implied freedom from wage-based subordination to a manager or capitalist exerted a deep psychological, as well as ideological, hold on the society.

There must be no class of our fellow men doomed to toil through life as mere workmen at wages. If wages are tolerated it must be . . . only under such conditions that by the time [a worker] . . . is of a proper age to settle in life, he shall have accumulated enough to be an independent laborer on his own capital.

Given widespread proprietorship and decentralized, self-governing economic and cultural traditions, as a US factory system began to emerge in the early 1800's, it tended to be organized around so-called “inside contracting”, remaining so up through the Civil War and . . . for much of the nineteenth century (Laurie, 1986). . . . That is to say, a form of team-based organization was the conceptual and operating heart of early US industrialization (Hanson).

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, capitalism had taken hold and American social values changed so that the social structure correlated with the changed economic structure. The human values in democracy represented by the Bill of Rights ultimately were superseded by the protection of property rights as the basis of the nation's social structure.

### HIGHER EDUCATION FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS

Higher education was not immune to the forces exerted by changing societal values. Shifting values affected education at all levels, but were particularly noticeable in the national infrastructure of colleges and universities. The passage of the Land Grant Acts that provided for the establishment of land grant colleges and universities in every state greatly expanded the capacity of the educational system and made a college education more widely available to

the burgeoning middle class. The new land grant colleges and universities that dotted the national landscape made a college education a product available to the masses much like Henry Ford's factories rolled cars off the assembly lines. Henry Ford created a market for his product by convincing people that automobile travel would improve their lives and was a luxury they could afford. Those in the field of higher education found numerous ways to create a market for their product as well.

The passage of the Land Grant Acts made a college education both possible and necessary for many professions and skilled crafts previously learned through the apprentice system. Statistics that document the increase in the number of colleges and the corresponding rise in the number of individuals who obtained college degrees can lead to a deceptive conclusion that the population of the United States had suddenly become better educated. The reality was that the way people worked changed and the way they were educated changed. Neither fact confirms that they were able to do more, or that they knew more or had become more intelligent.

As capitalists centralized their operations in factories to gain more control over the manufacturing process, they no longer contracted work out to the artisan in his shop. Unskilled employees were hired to operate the assembly line. The need arose then for managers to supervise and train the unskilled workers. College-trained managers familiar with the latest theories about scientific

management swelled the ranks of the middle class. As the demand for a college education increased, a new industry arose to satisfy the demand.

### GERMAN UNIVERSITY VS. CLASSIC OXBRIDGE EDUCATION

The rapid expansion of the system of higher education in the United States that occurred in the latter half of the nineteenth century made a college education widely available to a population for whom such a thing was unthinkable a generation earlier. The rapid expansion of higher education generated some predictable but unanticipated outcomes. As college degrees became more plentiful their relative value decreased. To counteract the problems this created, elite colleges whose degrees were more highly sought after became more selective in the students they accepted. While the total number of college degrees awarded continued to increase, the elite colleges maintained the value of their degrees by limiting their number. As the system of higher education continued to expand, it developed a hierarchical structure in which the exclusive positions at the apex were occupied by the elite men's colleges.

The land grant colleges and universities were not the only newly established institutions that increased educational opportunities. This was the cultural medium from which the Seven Sisters arose. These developments viewed together suggest that the establishment of the colleges for women be considered from a different perspective, particularly the fact that the women's colleges and the land grant colleges were being established simultaneously.

These “coincidences” call into question the nature of the differences between the classic liberal arts education available to men of the upper classes at the elite men’s colleges and the college education rapidly becoming available to one and all in the burgeoning middle class.

The majority of these new colleges and universities and the numerous professional schools were organized like the German university whose focus was on research and scientific discoveries. The land grant colleges and universities incorporated the highly popular scientific method and offered degree programs in a wide range of subjects previously unknown. This educational approach contrasted sharply with the classic Oxbridge education, the education that was considered the mark of a gentleman. The updated classic college education was represented by liberal arts colleges focused on the individual student that were concerned with developing moral values and the ability to think independently. Once again, the significance of class in higher education is recognizable and questioning its effects on the colleges for women becomes very relevant.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### Seven Colleges for Women

#### EDUCATIONAL OPTIONS AT THE SEVEN SISTERS

In the first half of the twentieth century, other than coeducation, four distinct institutional approaches to a college education appropriate for women had developed. Eschbach and Horowitz, two historians who have studied the history of women's higher education, both note that the content and quality of the educational experience available for women was a critical element in a young woman's choice between coeducational institutions and women's colleges. Four different attitudes about what constituted the appropriate college education for a woman were identified on the basis of this criteria. The four attitudes were instrumental in developing the unique qualities of the individual colleges known as the Seven Sisters. Each was a unique combination of attitudes about women's role in society and the issue of educational equality.

Putting the individual colleges of the Seven Sisters into neatly defined categories clarifies the various options they represent. Yet there is more to understand about the desire to provide another educational option for women in California to be discovered by reviewing the development of the Seven Sisters and recognizing how the circumstances at a college's founding influenced its campus. Connections can be demonstrated between the motivation for their

establishment, the philosophy on which they were founded and the design features of their individual campuses.

### MOUNT HOLYOKE SEMINARY AND THE TWO-SPHERE PHILOSOPHY

The most traditional attitude about education for women arose from the two-sphere philosophy. Those who adhered to this belief contended that women play a unique role in society, and that a college education designed to prepare them for that unique role was appropriate. Neither the education men received at the elite colleges for men nor the education available at coeducational institutions was considered an appropriate education for women's role in life.

This attitude prompted Mary Lyon to establish Mount Holyoke Seminary in the 1830s which became Mount Holyoke College in 1893. While Mary Lyon agreed with the basic concept of the two-sphere philosophy, she disagreed with the idea that women had no role to play in society outside of her home. She contended that women had an important role to play in the public arena, one very similar to their care and nurturing functions in the home. Mary Lyon structured the educational environment to separate the students from their association with the home environment and their families. Mary Lyon utilized the prevailing attitude that it was appropriate to guide young women by controlling their options. Mount Holyoke Seminary was possibly the first example of manipulating an educational environment for women in order to challenge and change traditional attitudes about what was appropriate for women.

The campus of Mount Holyoke Seminary reflected its founder's purpose. An awareness of the campus clarifies Mary Lyon's goals and methods, and demonstrates the significance of the campus and knowledge of it. The construction of the building suggested neither a home or a primary school, the two environments familiar to the young women. Functionally, the rooms and their arrangement resembled a college for men, however its Spartan character was unlike a college for men. The inability to associate the environment with anything familiar subconsciously informed the students that this experience was different from other environments they were familiar with and could not be categorized with anything they knew. The architectural style of the building tied in well with Lyon's desire to remove and separate the students from their emotional attachments to home and family and their prior experiences in domestic settings. Reassigning roommates frequently discouraged the development of relationships between students, and negative attitudes about adding personal touches to their rooms were control mechanisms used to manipulate students' experiences. Objecting to such controls would have been unlikely because girls in that period were accustomed to being controlled by others.

The other three viewpoints held that educational equality for men and women was a desirable goal, but disagreed on how that could be achieved. Proponents of educational equality generally believed that applying the two-sphere philosophy to higher education was inappropriate. Whether they agreed

or disagreed that women's role in society was different from men's, they felt that it was not sufficiently different to warrant a college education focused on those differences. From that common point, however, they developed three different strategies to provide an appropriate college education for women: (1) an independent college for women, (2) a women's college and a men's college with a coordinate relationship, (3) an alternative strategy of actively waiting to be admitted to an elite men's college.

### VASSAR COLLEGE

Vassar College, the first of the Seven Sisters, was chartered in 1861 and the first students began their studies in the fall of 1865. Princeton, one of the elite men's colleges, was the prototype for both the campus and the curriculum. Matthew Vassar, the founder, believed that young women were capable of benefiting from the same type of college education available to young men at the elite men's colleges in the Northeast. Vassar was born in England and did not have a college education. The brewery he owned and operated in the state of New York generated the wealth he bestowed upon Vassar College. Though wealthy, and a prominent citizen in his own community, Matthew Vassar was not part of the elite social class.

Princeton was not the only model that influenced the development of Vassar College. In curriculum and appearance Vassar College was similar to a college for men. It operated in a significantly different way. Matthew Vassar's

belief that women were as capable intellectually as men had advanced from the more limited attitude about women's capabilities common to the two-sphere philosophy. Nonetheless, he had allowed aspects of these nineteenth century attitudes about women to influence the college in critical ways. Because he believed that young women needed to be protected and guided in ways that young men did not, Vassar chose not to use Princeton as a model for structuring activities. Instead, he adopted Mount Holyoke Seminary as a model to establish the routines of students' daily activities and to set the standards for appropriate behavior. Mount Holyoke Seminary had a reputation for excellence, but operated on the assumption that its students expected to be controlled by authority figures because that was consistent with prevailing attitudes about women.

To make matters worse, Vassar appointed a Lady Principal to oversee daily operations of the college. The colleges for men had no such position; principal or its alternative the lady superintendent were positions commonly found in schools and academic institutions such as academies which taught younger students. The credentials of the first woman appointed to this post were excellent—for an administrator of a women's seminary. She then assigned the faculty women, whom Vassar had carefully chosen to be role models, the task of monitoring students' behavior. To make this easier, faculty women were housed within the student residence complex. Such assignments were considered inappropriate for men on the faculty, most of whom were single and close in age to the women students.

The Vassar students used the campus, designed in accordance with the needs and expectations of Princeton men, to their advantage. Residences had been specifically designed to appeal to women students. To avoid the dark institutional character that were common in the large main building that housed many college functions, each room was designed with a window. Two students shared a room and the rooms were arranged in suites with a shared parlor that provided the primary access to the main hallway. This arrangement enabled students to ignore the restrictive schedule imposed by the college and do as they pleased at all hours completely unseen by monitors. The windows and roof became alternate circulation routes that allowed students to move about without being seen.

At Vassar College, the failure of the men who served as the college trustees, along with the founder, to correctly anticipate women's behavior in a traditional college setting resulted in a college campus that provided the opportunity for college women to determine for themselves what constituted an appropriate life style for college women. All attempts to bring students under the control of college administrators failed. The similarity between these developments on campus and those occurring in society off campus is neither a coincidence nor insignificant.

The administration cancelled controversial speakers on campus arranged by students and specifically forbade students to participate in activities connected

with the women's movement. Vassar students, with the active support of both women and men on the faculty, defied this edict and met secretly, sometimes in faculty residences on campus. They marched openly, as a group, in the national parade for women's suffrage, proudly carrying the banner of their alma mater (Horowitz, 1984).

### EDUCATION UNRELATED TO GENDER

Educational equality was the ultimate goal. However, until women gained access to the men's colleges or the educational experience available to women in coeducational institutions was the same as men's, on an interim basis an independent college for women could be a viable option. Carey Thomas arrived at this conclusion through her own undergraduate experiences as a coed, an experience she felt no woman should be subjected to. Bryn Mawr College resulted from Thomas' firm conviction that true educational equality could only be achieved through coeducation, that separate could not be equal, a belief tempered by her coeducational experience at Cornell University. She believed that no woman should have to undergo such experiences to gain a college education. However, Thomas did not consider the education available at existing women's colleges a viable alternative. Even as an alternative on an interim basis, a different and better college for women was needed.

Bryn Mawr was the fourth of the Seven Sisters, and the first whose development had been influenced by a woman. During her tenure which began

in the nineteenth century and continued well into the twentieth century, she demonstrated that a college for women could not only be the equal of a men's college, but that women could outperform men academically—in any and all fields. Thomas' attitude that coeducation was the preferable form of a college education was based on her belief that education at all levels and knowledge in all areas were unrelated to gender. The evidence of these attitudes was visible in the comparison of the Bryn Mawr campus with the campuses of the previously designed colleges for women: Vassar, Wellesley, and Smith.

On the Bryn Mawr campus, Thomas eschewed the architectural conventions that had developed on the campuses of Vassar, Wellesley and Smith during the two decades since they were founded. The first three colleges for women were the exclusive product of the minds of men. Their campuses were consistent with men's ideas about what constituted the appropriate college education for women.

Thomas had long dreamed of attending Vassar, but when the decision time arrived, she concluded that the education at Vassar, Wellesley and Smith was inferior to the education available at coeducational Cornell University. After graduating from Cornell, Thomas wanted to continue her education and obtain a graduate degree. Her upper class family rejected her because of her unseemly desire to continue her education. Because she was a woman, Thomas was



denied admission to graduate schools in the United States. Undaunted, Thomas crossed the Atlantic where she was permitted to pursue her academic goals.

When Thomas graduated from the University of Zurich, she was the first woman ever awarded a Ph.D. by that university, and she earned her degree with honors. Her return to the United States coincided with the decision made by the Quakers in Pennsylvania to open a college for women. Thomas' application for the presidency of the new college was rejected, but she was appointed Dean of the Faculty. In this position she was given nearly free rein by the man designated as president to develop her concept of a women's college. Ultimately she was appointed as president, a position she held for many years. During her tenure, Thomas established a standard of excellence at Bryn Mawr that substantially altered the reputation of the Seven Sisters.

At Bryn Mawr College, Thomas' goal was to develop the best alternative college education possible for women until true educational equality could be achieved in a coeducational setting. Thomas adopted the architectural styles long associated with academia. Her first hand knowledge of the ancient universities of Europe and the quadrangles of Cambridge and Oxford and her appreciation of the inherent academic symbolism guided her decisions. The architectural styles incorporated on the campus of Bryn Mawr created a new and different image of a college for women. Thomas's belief that knowledge and

education were unrelated to gender, was evident on the campus she developed, a campus that gave no hint as to the gender of its students.

Only one element of the campus was drawn from the existing women's colleges—the size of the student residences. In contrast to the existing independent women's colleges, no attempt was made at Bryn Mawr to create student residences that resembled family residences or cottages.

The concept of cottages that appeared first at Smith College was the trustees' attempt to prevent student behavior from getting out of the college's control as it had done at Amherst and Vassar, a pattern repeated at Wellesley which was designed following the same architectural philosophy as Vassar. The Smith cottage concept was clearly grounded in the beliefs of the two-sphere philosophy. The cottages were a visible statement that a college education for women was grounded more in the home than in the traditions of academia.

The element of size, preferably between fifty and a hundred women, was the only similarity between the Bryn Mawr student residences and the cottage concept that had evolved on the campuses of Smith, Wellesley, and Vassar. There was no attempt at Bryn Mawr to impose control over women students that was not also found on the men's college campuses. In all respects, the Bryn Mawr campus accomplished the same goal as the academic program—it was like the colleges for men—only better. At Bryn Mawr, Carey Thomas set a new standard and created new patterns for women's education. By 1900, Thomas'

ideas were being replicated at Vassar, Smith, and Wellesley. Through her efforts, the opinions that an education at one of the Seven Sisters was inferior were reversed.

### GIRTON WAS THE FIRST

The same year that Vassar opened its doors to the first generation of students at a college for women in the United States, Anne Davies received permission for women to sit for the entrance exams to Cambridge in England, with the clear understanding that admission to Cambridge would not be an outcome. Davies then set up a residence for women and made arrangements with members of the Cambridge faculty to provide the women with the same instruction they gave men at Cambridge. This was not a formal arrangement sanctioned by Cambridge. It was similar to the private tutoring arrangements faculty members occasionally arranged to augment their meager salaries.

The accommodations for the women in England consisted of a large residence located approximately ten miles from Cambridge in a town called Hitchin. Before the first students had completed their four-year course, their success prompted a relocation from Hitchin to Girton so they would be closer to the colleges of Cambridge. The town gave its name to the fledgling college which after several years became one of the Cambridge colleges.

In her book *A Room of Her Own*, Virginia Woolf compares the accommodations provided for these women in Cambridge with those enjoyed by

the men enrolled in one of the colleges at Cambridge. Woolf made it clear that the women's accommodations were Spartan at best, and by contrast, far less desirable. However what they lacked in sophistication or decoration was superseded by what the attitude they conveyed to the women students. It was a very different attitude than the cottages at Smith College developed about the same time.

In England each student was provided with her own suite that included a bedroom and a small sitting room. For many this was a luxury heretofore unknown. Previously they had squeezed their study time between their domestic responsibilities in their family's home. Frequently the only place available for them to work on assignments was the family dinner table after the evening meal was cleared away. These accommodations communicated an important message to the students in England. It was one of respect for them as students and as individuals involved in the pursuit of a worthwhile goal.

The entrance exams had shown that the women had academic promise but needed a great deal of remedial work. However, when they took the major exam given mid-way through the course of studies the women's scores were among the highest of all Cambridge students taking the exam. Girton students achieved comparable results on the exam taken at the end of the four year program. Eschbach discusses the significance of the women's performance on these examinations and their relevance for colleges in the United States:

Degrees in England were not bestowed lightly; only a chartered university could grant them. A small private college such as Queen's might issue a certificate to its graduates, but a Bachelor's, Master's, and Doctor's degree could be obtained only from one of England's universities.

For this reason educated people in England regarded American degrees as inferior. "The simple possession of a degree does not imply so much in America as in England" stated suffragist Millicent Garrett Fawcett. "We suspect that the comparative ease with which a small and unimportant society can change itself into a college and obtain a charter with the power of granting degrees, has deteriorated the value of all degrees."

Degrees from English universities were won only after a series of major examinations had been successfully completed, examinations issued, not by individual professors, but by the university at large at selected intervals. Examinations were one of the striking features of English undergraduate studies and represented the major unrelenting obstacle in a system designed to impose a barrier, through which only intellectual elites might pass. Whereas the newfound mission of the American undergraduate system of the late nineteenth century was to more and more provide exposure to general culture "for the average person," the English system, exemplified by Oxford and Cambridge, excluded the average person (Eschbach, 120-121).

Girton, the fledgling college for women in England was the dream of women, men provided some financial support. Men on the university faculties were actively involved with the effort, but there were no men in decision-making positions as there were at Smith, Wellesley and Vassar. Girton was the product of women's ideas about what constituted an appropriate college education for women, and women created the setting which helped bring it to fruition.

Cambridge waited nearly fifty years before it granted these women the Cambridge degrees they had earned, but women have been accepted as

students at the four individual colleges for women within Cambridge and Oxford since the middle of the twentieth century. Though it took many years, Girton was finally accepted into Cambridge University, and its graduates were afforded full membership privileges. It is notable that graduates of Girton and the other three women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge are well represented among the very small number of women who have been accepted to the Harvard faculty.

### ADMITTANCE THE GOAL, COORDINATE STATUS THE COMPROMISE

Among members of the elite classes the college education acquired at Oxford or Cambridge in England or Harvard in the United States was the only college education considered worthy of the name. Imitations were inherently inferior and unacceptable. The women in Boston who adhered to these attitudes attempted unsuccessfully to gain access to these standard bearers of academia. However, their efforts were responsible for the creation of a new type of women's college--the coordinate college.

From the beginning, the coordinate colleges differed in significant ways from the independent colleges for women: Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, Mount Holyoke and Bryn Mawr. The reason for their existence was the belief of elite upper class women in Boston that Harvard was the epitome of an appropriate college education for women as well as men in the United States. This attitude was a distinguishing characteristic that set these colleges apart from the independent women's colleges. Essentially, a Harvard education was the only

education acceptable to these women. They wanted it with no other name attached that would diminish its value.

The strategy employed at the Annex in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was attempted by Anne Davies outside of Cambridge England. Davies' attitudes about Oxford and Cambridge in England were comparable to the Boston Brahmin attitude about Harvard. The approach in both countries was to quietly arrange for members of the faculty of the elite colleges to give women the exact same lectures given to Harvard, Oxford, or Cambridge students. In addition to the lectures, the faculty members also tutored the women students and helped them prepare for the standard exams. These lectures and tutoring activities took place in an off-campus location located in a residential neighborhood near the college campus. While the students were occupied with their studies, Davies and the proponents of the Annex in Cambridge, Massachusetts, continued lobbying and negotiating for women to be admitted fully as students.

This strategy was pursued with varying degrees of success in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and at Oxford and Cambridge in England. The activities took place late in the nineteenth century during the same period that the independent women's colleges were being established. Ten years after the Annex in Cambridge opened its doors, women in New York City proposed that a relationship with Columbia University be established that was similar to the one between Harvard and the Annex in Cambridge. The women were surprised

when their proposal to Columbia University was readily accepted. Columbia was well aware of the events in Massachusetts and England, and was waiting for such a proposal to which it had no objections. The women at Barnard were ultimately more successful than those in Boston. Barnard is a separate college for women whose students are taught by both Columbia and Barnard faculty members and their degrees clearly show that Columbia and Barnard both recognize the graduates.

The campuses for the Annex and Barnard served a different function than the accommodations Davies obtained for the women in England. The women in Boston and New York City were residents of their respective cities which eliminated the need to provide room and board. The earliest college facilities for both colleges consisted of large residences located in the proximity of Harvard and Columbia, which functioned as the site for instruction. The circumstances had changed by 1900. The campuses of all Seven Sisters had incorporated the character of Bryn Mawr, demonstrating that women had claimed the traditions of academe as their own.

Other colleges for women were established that had coordinate relationships with other established men's colleges. Though the colleges for women with coordinate relationships with colleges for men were initially the outcome of failed attempts by upper class women to gain admittance to the elite men's colleges, they have each developed a unique identity as a college for



women. Though the outcome was not the one they had desired, Radcliffe and Barnard along with Mount Holyoke and Bryn Mawr are the four colleges among the Seven Sisters whose beginnings can be traced directly to women. Women's purposes and women's actions were the major influences in these four colleges from the outset and the influence of women has always been evident on those four campuses.

CHAPTER FIVE  
The Life of Ellen Browning Scripps

THE IMPRINT OF A REMARKABLE WOMAN

As the Industrial Age drew to a close, America changed its attitudes about education, about women, and about their role in society. This chapter provides evidence showing how nineteenth century values and attitudes shaped the life of Ellen Browning Scripps and influenced her perceptions about what the college bearing her name needed to accomplish. Ms. Scripps' life was typical of the nineteenth century in many ways, and yet her values have proven timeless. The imprint this remarkable woman left on the college that bears her name has left its mark on the lives of generations of Scripps women.

I believe the paramount obligation of a college to its students is to train them to develop the ability to think clearly and independently, which ability will enable them to live confidently, courageously and hopefully (Ellen Browning Scripps quoted in *Campaign for Scripps*).

The life of Ellen Browning Scripps is an important part of the background for any study of Scripps College. Ms. Scripps understood the complexities of women's lives, particularly during the formative period when the social and economic structure of America underwent radical transformation. Her knowledge of the educational opportunities available for women went beyond the public rhetoric and exaggerated claims of college promoters. Though she was not a mother, Ms. Scripps understood the challenges women faced when they attempted to combine motherhood and a satisfying career experience. Her

personal experiences enabled Ms. Scripps to recognize particular features of a college education that could address the difficulties women struggled to overcome.

This chapter finishes setting the stage for the founding of Scripps College. It begins by developing answers to the following questions relative to Scripps College: What objectives did the founder expect this new college to achieve? Were those objectives interconnected and were they equally important? How did the particular educational experience the College offered women relate to circumstances in the future that Ms. Scripps attempted to influence? What actions did she take that affected Scripps College so as to fulfill her primary objective?

### THE WORLD OF BOOKS

Ellen Browning Scripps' family life and education influenced her personal development in critical ways that remained visible throughout her life. Ellen was born in London in 1836. Her mother died when she was four years old. Her father remarried, however her stepmother also died before she had reached her eighth birthday. Not long after that, her father shut down his bookbindery and with his six motherless children he sailed to America to join his father in the Illinois territory. Ellen's grandfather had closed his newspaper in London and immigrated to America. There he established the first Scripps newspaper in America, the *Prairie Telegraph*. For nearly two years, because they had no

mother to take care of them, the children were left in the care of relatives living in the region. When Ellen's father married his third wife the family was reunited.

Ellen's stepmother gave birth to five more children. Ellen's responsibilities in the household grew along with the family size. She helped care for all her younger siblings, but developed a particularly close attachment to Edward Wyllis, her youngest brother. Despite their difference in age (she was old enough to be his mother), she and Ed were always best friends.

These events left a lasting impression on this young girl. Over sixty years later Ellen's youngest brother Ed and her close friend Mary Ritter attributed her shyness and her extreme selflessness to those early experiences. Dr. Ritter called it her "self immolation," and suggested that her attitude seemed that of a motherless child of a large, impoverished family who prefers not to be noticed. Ed commented that she had been so poor in her youth that she was unable to feel rich.

As a child, Ellen was fascinated by the world. The books that her father had brought from England fed her insatiable curiosity; they were one of the special features of her childhood. Ellen had an opportunity to read a wide variety of books that was unusual in a number of respects. There were many books. They were of good quality and covered a broad range of subjects. Access to such a library was unusual enough. The effects of this resource become more meaningful in view of the attitudes that prevailed within her family. Several generations of Ellen's family were engaged in trades that promoted the broad

dissemination of information, encouraged individual reading and supported the development of knowledge. One account reports that family members often lingered around the table after the evening meal while Ellen read to them.

Ellen was fortunate that these books came from a source where they were untainted by any institutional doctrine. In most regions of the country both girls and boys were taught to read, so that they could read the *Bible*. The emphasis on literacy was a carryover from the protestant beliefs of the Puritans. They considered their ability to read the *Bible* for themselves a characteristic that distinguished their faith from that of Roman Catholics who had to rely on the church's representatives.

#### EDUCATION ON THE FRONTIER

As a result of her personal experiences Ms. Scripps' understanding of the educational opportunities available for women went beyond public rhetoric and exaggerated claims of college promoters. Ellen's formal schooling began in a one-room schoolhouse on the frontier and continued at the academies, both public and private, located near her home. With this preparation Ellen became a schoolteacher, one of the few types of work outside the home considered appropriate for women. She taught school and saved her meager earnings until she could afford the cost of attending college. Ellen was twenty years old when she entered Knox College. She was the first member of her family to attend college, and one of the first women in America allowed to do so.

In the 1850s Knox College was the epitome of an old time college. It was one of the colleges founded by missionary-type pioneers who traveled west from the Northeast intending to recreate towns and colleges on the frontier that had the appearance and values of a New England village. The colleges established in this way, including Oberlin College and Pomona College, were founded on educational principles centered on the development of the individual student. Their focus was on developing moral values and critical thinking. The importance of contributing to the community was emphasized; such contributions were considered both a civic and a moral obligation.

Members of two protestant Christian denominations were involved in establishing Knox College: Presbyterians and Congregationalists. The competitive rivalry between the two factions continued for decades, and most of the time kept either one from taking control of the college. One consequence of this rivalry was that Knox did not promote one denomination only, yet it still took its charge to provide a moral education seriously. Ellen's years spent at Knox College and the attitudes of civic responsibility fostered there influenced her attitudes and the contributions she made to society throughout her life.

Ellen attended Knox College when it was ostensibly a coeducational college, one of the few that also admitted people of color. The reality of coeducation at Knox College was that white men attended classes separately from the women and other minorities. Ellen's college education was a practical lesson for young women about making the most of the disparity between the

rhetoric of a college education touted as coeducation and the reality of the college education such institutions offered women students midway through the nineteenth century.

Ellen majored in mathematics, one of the subjects considered part of a classical education yet a subject few women were expected or allowed to study at most coeducational institutions. These personal experiences gave Ellen an insider's awareness of what passed as coeducation, and because there were no men in her classes she experienced some aspects of attending a women's college.

Ellen's attitudes about individual equality and access to knowledge regardless of gender, race, or socio-economic status that came from her family was enhanced through her education at Knox College. Ellen attended Knox College in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the War Between the States. Abolitionist sentiment was strong among the college's founders. Due to the passionate beliefs of the college president, Knox College was a station on the Underground Railroad. On campus it harbored the run-a-way slaves who were fleeing to the North. Like the abolitionists who founded Knox College, Ellen opposed the practice of slavery and was a strong believer in women's suffrage.

After graduating from Knox College in 1859, Ellen returned to teaching school. As a teacher, she was well-liked and within five years she was the highest paid teacher in the county. This result may have come about in part because she took a business-like approach to teaching and actually requested

increases in her salary. However, Ellen had more in mind for herself than teaching school.

In response to her brother George's entreaties, Ellen was about to make a career change—to journalism, when her father became seriously ill. For the next three years, Ellen's family responsibilities precluded both school teaching and journalism. George was anxious to have Ellen join him in Detroit where he was starting up what was referred to as a penny paper (a low-priced newspaper intended for consumption by the general public). Unfortunately, at the time, Ellen was needed more in her capacity as the family's tender of the sick. She returned home and tended her father until his death, at which point she joined George in Detroit and her career as a journalist finally was under way.

#### MS. ELLEN--JOURNALIST

Ellen lived frugally and saved enough from her meager earnings as a schoolteacher to contribute financially to her brothers' ventures. It quickly became apparent that her special talent for understanding financial statements could be put to good use by having her manage the financial affairs.

She started out as a copywriter, and for most of her career she wrote a regular weekly column. Whether it was called "Ellen's Miscellany" or "Ellen's Budget," the various headlines suggest the contents were general interest topics that could be held, squeezed or expanded to fill space as needed. The headline varied from one paper to another, but her name was generally part of the heading. Her brother Ed has indicated that her columns saved the paper during



less eventful periods when there was little to write about. She wrote her columns regardless of whether she was working in the office or not. On one occasion she spent a year nursing her brother Ed back to health. The two of them traveled abroad for much of the time, yet regardless of where they were, she continued to send in her weekly columns.

The time Ellen spent nursing her father and Ed during their extended illnesses were not the only occasions that a family emergency interfered with her work responsibilities or interrupted her career. When she was approached about the possibility of creating a college for women, Ms. Scripps was quite familiar with the difficulties that only women encountered as they struggled to combine parenting responsibilities and managing a home with the time commitment that a satisfying career entails. The *woman question* might have been a recently coined term, but the essence of the dilemma referred to was one Ms. Scripps knew intimately. The following excerpt from the Scripps *Bulletin* described the various family responsibilities Ms. Scripps managed to integrate with her career in journalism.

Miss Scripps cared for her family members. Her life and work were entwined with those of her brothers, sisters, nieces and nephews, and numerous relatives. She was the peacemaker in the family, the calm voice, the one who could be relied on always to give money or care for a family member in need. Though she never married, it's clear she experienced fully the duties of motherhood, through the careful nurturing of her siblings, especially brother Ed. She adored children, and viewed herself and others similarly minded as protectors of all children.

Ms. Scripps understood the problem women faced as they struggled to combine the demands and responsibilities of motherhood with a career that gave them a different kind of satisfaction. Ms. Scripps was fortunate that most of her work experience was in Scripps' family businesses. As a result, she did not encounter the same resistance or reluctance to cooperate that was frequently a problem for career women with family responsibilities. The extent of control she had over work schedules was rare. Because her family appreciated her contributions in both home and work realms, they were willing to cooperate with her and helped coordinate work requirements and the time needed for the family. Ms. Scripps contributed to their lives and expected them to do the same for her. Her accomplishments in life indicate that they did.

While researching potential investments for the papers, Ms. Scripps became aware of the investment potential in the news industry. She began investing personally, and when she was ready to retire at the age of sixty she had amassed a sizeable fortune--she was a wealthy woman. Her holdings included fourteen newspapers in as many cities as well as the Associated Press.

### THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND PERSONAL VALUES

Chapter Three reviewed the circumstances in society that altered the values and attitudes that characterized nineteenth century America. It revealed that higher education influenced and was influenced by those larger movements in society that precipitated changes in the twentieth century as the social and

economic structures of the nation took new forms. The values that brought the young nation into existence and carried it through two centuries faded into insignificance as the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth century.

The first half of Ellen's life was spent within a society largely dominated by the philosophy that the lives of men and women took place in two separate spheres. However, she was part of a family whose livelihood was produced through the work of the entire family. This situation mitigated the most divisive aspects of the two-sphere attitudes and alleviated some of the restrictions that restricted many women's activities to their homes. Ellen developed attitudes about the American economic system while growing up that shaped her own career and influenced her opinions about ways women could combine their professional careers and family responsibilities.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the set of circumstances that led Ellen to pursue a career in journalism were not uncommon among the wives and daughters of self-employed artisans. Like many women before her, Ellen worked alongside the men in her family in their place of business. Her father's bookbinding business and her grandfather's newspapers were representative of many trades and crafts that provided a livelihood for families in England and America. The manner in which her father and grandfather supported their families, as well as the careers of Ellen, her brothers, and their cousins were consistent with the economic pattern of life in America prior to the Civil War.

This economic structure was connected with the forms of education and other elements in the social structure that were prevalent in America during the first decades of the Industrial Age. During Ellen's childhood, except for members of the upper classes, formal schooling in an institutional setting was generally limited to the time required to learn the basic 3 Rs. After they learned to read and write, boys acquired the specialized knowledge needed for their craft during an apprenticeship with a master craftsman or artisan. Her brothers and cousins, her father and his father before him were educated in this manner.

The size of the earliest Scripps family newspapers was typical during the pre-factory era. What began as a small family business in which several family members worked together changed during one generation's working career. Each time one of her brothers or cousins moved to another city to start another paper, the size of the Scripps family conglomerate increased. The Scripps family chain of newspapers continued to grow as did other businesses, the scale of operations changed, mirroring the changes that altered the economic fabric of the nation.

Ms. Scripps' was still working as a journalist as women's opportunity to develop such family and work arrangements diminished in number. As the dominant way of working in the U.S. changed from self employment to employment for wages her personal contacts with other women kept her aware of the dilemma professional women were facing and knew that different methods of combining parenting and work would need to develop.

## ELLEN BROWNING SCRIPPS--PHILANTHROPIST

Ms. Scripps' philanthropic activities in her later years were a continuation of her earlier efforts to help improve the lives of those in need. For many years she had supported and participated in organizations and projects that focused on giving a hand-up not a hand-out to those in need. The following passages that appeared in an early publication of the Scripps College *Bulletin* demonstrate the wide range of causes she supported.

Miss Scripps was a strong believer in freedom of thought, civic life. She supported both Republican and Democratic national political campaigns and was supportive of efforts to begin new political parties, such as the Progressives.

She worked . . . [for] women's suffrage . . . behind the scenes, contributing money to national and statewide women's suffrage organizations, writing and meeting with elected officials.

She was an advocate of the League of Nations and efforts to secure peace. Highly supportive of the International Congress of Working Women at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1922, she viewed women as the natural peacemakers, logical advocates for disarmament and the alleviation of hunger and poverty . . . Acting against her own financial interests, she pressed for taxation on land values, viewing the system then in place as oppressive to the "mass of toilers" and "responsible for much poverty and crime" (Scripps *Bulletin*, smr 2001).

Ms. Scripps carefully researched potential investments. She examined situations carefully and considered the opportunities a particular investment might create, the hand-up vs. hand-out approach. She supported ventures that she thought were worthwhile—both financially and for the benefits that would accrue to the community.

Ms. Scripps generally supported projects proposed by others. There were distinct advantages to this approach. Rather than personally initiating projects and then searching for individuals willing to implement them, she supported the efforts of individuals whose high level of commitment to the project's objectives helped ensure a successful outcome. The first projects she sponsored covered a broad spectrum of human needs and interests. During her final years she concentrated her resources on larger projects whose primary emphasis were in education, medical discoveries, and women's self development.

#### INCIPIT VITA NOVA--NEW LIFE BEGINS

Pomona College was one of the organizations she invested in during the 1920s. Rev. James Blaisdell, founder of Pomona College, approached her about a potential problem that was developing at Pomona College. This small coeducational liberal arts college founded in the latter years of the nineteenth century. A potentially difficult situation experienced by other coeducational colleges and universities across the country was approaching a crisis level at Pomona College. Since the turn of the century the number of women enrolling in colleges had increased at a much higher rate than men. A significant number of men did not want to attend college alongside women. When the proportion of women in the student body exceeded twenty-five percent men reacted by dropping out or gravitating to academic disciplines and professional fields where there were few women. While the student body of a university might appear to

be composed evenly of men and women, the reality was that a skewed distribution existed along disciplinary and departmental lines. Very few women enrolled in departments such as mathematics while others such as education or the new field of social work were predominantly comprised of women.

This trend made the founder and current president of this small liberal arts college very nervous. Blaisdell was concerned that the percentage of women was at or near the level that prompted men to withdraw or stop enrolling. The coeducational universities had attempted various strategies to address this problem, most of which were unworkable in a small liberal arts college.

Blaisdell had conceived of an idea that he thought might offer a viable solution for the problematic situation that seemed imminent at Pomona College. He presented the idea to Ms. Scripps who agreed to underwrite a trip to England for Blaisdell to look more closely at the organization of Oxford and Cambridge. Upon his return Ms. Scripps made a donation for the purchase of land for future colleges to be built adjacent to Pomona College. The next year the consortium known as the Claremont Colleges was founded with Pomona College and the recently announced Claremont Graduate School as the initial members. The following year the establishment of the third member of the consortium--a college for women--was announced. It would be named Scripps College in honor of the woman whose generous endowment made it possible. While Scripps College was still in its infancy, one of the founding trustees, a confidante and close friend

of Ms. Scripps made this observation:

If prophecies are worth anything, Scripps College, her last important gift to posterity, bids fair to become Miss Scripps' greatest monument—the beginning of a new era in the education of women (Mary Routt quoted in *Campaign for Scripps College 2000*).

Did Mary Routt's prophecy prove true? Does Scripps College stand out as the greatest monument to the life work of this extraordinary woman? The implications of Ms. Scripps' endowment of Scripps College and her comments about the obligation of a college to its students suggest that she envisioned a college for women that was more than a replica of the Seven Sisters. The following chapters suggest that at ninety years of age Ms. Scripps envisioned what Scripps College would be like in 1927—and in 2003.

The opportunities that existed for women in higher education had grown substantially by 1900, but by 1925, the most accurate characterization was that higher education for women was in a dynamic state of flux with a degree of uncertainty about the outcome. Ms. Scripps recognized that establishing a college for women in the West could shape a different outcome regionally and nationally, something that suited the particular environment in California, that women there could make work for themselves, and would contain elements that could be utilized elsewhere. She was correct. Ellen Browning Scripps provided the vision that has been important for Scripps women for over seventy-five years. In 1926 Scripps College offered women an uncommon educational experience that was more than a replica of the Seven Sisters.



This chapter has illuminated Ms. Scripps' involvement with this unusual college for women that bears her name. The discussion of the particular individuals Ms. Scripps selected to give substance to her vision of Scripps College continues in Chapter Six. It addresses how apparently divergent points-of-view came together to create a women's college that offered an education not available elsewhere, one whose special characteristics reflected the wisdom of its founder. One evidence of that wisdom was evident in the following excerpt from a talk she gave to the Woman's Club of La Jolla on October 5, 1914, more than ten years before Scripps College was founded:

Women easily visualize the truth, the world's work is home work, the self-centered protected home life is symbolic of the universal world life. She knows of a truth that she cannot be a good wife or mother or daughter without reaching out and taking into her heart and life every neglected child every untaught man, and every unblessed woman (Scripps *Bulletin*, smr 2001).

## CHAPTER SIX

### Planning for Scripps College

Chapters six and seven focus on the design of the Scripps College campus. Chapter six explores the issues and attitudes that influenced the development of the campus that occurred before construction began. Once again, the reports of circumstances and events that surrounded the founding of the College were examined to reveal the relevant factors that influenced the campus during the design process.

The events and circumstances that influenced the campus prior to the start of construction are examined to discover the objectives of the principal individuals involved during the pre-construction planning phase. This approach highlights the connection between the designer's strategies and the outcomes expected by other individuals, and indicates the relative significance of personal values and underlying attitudes about women.

Chapter seven focuses on the strategies of campus design the designer utilizes to achieve his clients' objectives, while anticipating the needs and interests of various constituencies who would be affected by the campus, particularly the students who would make the campus their home for four years during a formative period of their lives.

Chapter six deviates from the perspective assumed in previous chapters, where the purpose of the search was gathering general background information

about various influences that were present which affected the character of the campus when a new college for women was founded. Those chapters generated a sampling of campus models and features that were considered typical by the mid-1920s.

The purpose of examining the Scripps campus in chapter six, in contrast, is to learn about the influences that prompted Gordon Kaufmann to select particular design strategies. The perspective here is that of a designer familiar with the development of those campuses in the Northeast and familiar, as well, with the typical design process.

The approach employed in this chapter is to review aspects of the information-gathering phase that precedes the conceptual design phase which were important considerations in the Scripps project. The review includes details about the establishment of Scripps College discovered among the Scripps' trustees records stored in the Scripps College archives (Polyzoides, 1992). The details suggest potential design choices possibly considered by the trustees or the designer, and highlights the significance of such decisions and the resulting implications of those choices.

### THE TYPICAL DESIGN PROCESS

Design is purposeful activity; its outcomes are not the result of random events. The design process begins by carefully considering the various stakeholders' objectives and identifying the scope of the project, the parameters,

and the design constraints involved. The constraints include aesthetic factors such as overall character and ambience; the “givens” of the site, its geography, climate, and potential views, as well as client preferences that influence the design. Consideration must be given to the power dynamics. This involves identifying the stakeholders and various constituencies concerned with or affected by the outcomes of the project.

### PROJECT OBJECTIVES AND PARAMETERS

The initial task in the design process is gathering relevant information necessary in the subsequent phases of design. The information-gathering process begins by determining the objectives of the project, identifying what the client anticipates the implemented design will accomplish and what additional outcomes the client would like it to accomplish if possible without compromising the primary objectives. In campus design this might begin by identifying the overall purposes of the college and gaining a sense about how the client perceives the relationship between the college’s purpose and the campus. In this phase, even when or if the designer knows that the designed campus can accomplish other desirable objectives that have not been identified by the client, it is often preferable to avoid mentioning such possibilities until later in the process, so that the client’s intentions and priorities are more clearly revealed.

- Mind’s eye of the client: inevitably, the clients have a mental image of

what they want or expect the campus to look like. This may be expressed simply or it may be much more detailed and specific. This image may attempt to verbally describe an ambiance or a particular character intended for the college that the campus may help achieve. The clients may provide pictures or be able to reference other environments to help communicate the intended character. Whether or not such visual examples are presented, clients may suggest or request a specific architectural building style or construction technique, the use of particular materials, or specify that particular features be specifically avoided or excluded from the campus design. Clients' preferences relative to a specific aspect or component of the campus may also be indicated. If they are not, or for the sake of clarity, the designer can ask questions to elicit such information.

- Design discretion: the sessions between the clients and designer should clarify which, if any, design decisions will be left completely to the designer's discretion and which the clients reserve for themselves. It is important, at least initially while the client-designer relationship is still developing, that the designer and the clients are operating with the same expectations. Clients may give the designer the opportunity to suggest different possible designs from which the clients or the clients and designer together will subsequently make a choice.

- Conflicting agendas: at this initial stage, the clients may not have the same perception about what is expected of the designer. These differences may concern the most fundamental aspects of the project's objectives, and they may not be uniformly aware of these differences of opinion. Such differences are likely to have major impacts on the design process and outcomes; therefore it behooves the designer to be very specific about objectives, expectations, assumptions, methods, budgets, timelines and designated communication channels. These organizational details will ultimately be at least of equal importance with style and construction related details that may seem to be more design related.
- Conflict Resolution: during the information-gathering phase, the designer attempts to elicit opinions and feelings of individual members of the client group in order to ascertain the relative importance of multiple objectives, particularly those that might conflict with each other or compete for resources. It is particularly important to bring these differences into the discussion so that the controversies relative to these conflicts are identified, and resolved early if at all possible.
- Power: design can be one means of resolving seemingly conflicting objectives. It is important that both client and designer recognize where differences of opinion remain and that the designer is able to gain a sense

about the relative importance of conflicting objectives as well as the overall importance of individual objectives within the entire project. The designer needs to be sensitive to the power dynamics among the members of the client group, particularly in those situations where competing attitudes or conflicting objectives cannot be resolved without compromising one objective to achieve another. When there is a significant power imbalance, some decisions may not be discussed openly with the full client group. In such situations it is imperative that the designer has an understanding with the more powerful clients about what is negotiable in the design process. When there are multiple design options, the designer and the more powerful clients must have a clear, if unspoken, understanding about how the design choices will be made.

- Expectations: the designer who proceeds without a clear consensus about what the design process is expected to accomplish may later regret the eagerness to proceed with the project too quickly. The importance of effective communications during all phases cannot be overstated, but it is especially critical in the beginning. Oversight or ineffective communications in the beginning may mean that the designer is asked to redo work or risk losing the client and project permanently.
- Clarifying designer-client relationship: in the Scripps design scenario, because the client is actually a group of individuals, defining channels of communication and acknowledging the nature of power within the group

are important outcomes at this preliminary stage of the design process. The way in which power influences the group's decisions and actions becomes more complex and hence a more critical factor as the number of players increases. In addition to identifying the power dynamics within the client group, the designer must understand who the stakeholders are and determine which constituents' potential needs and interests the designer will be expected to consider and recognize which constituents, present and long-term future, an ethical designer should consider.

## OBJECTIVES

It is not uncommon for a designer to discover that the individuals who are part of the client group are not in complete agreement about the basic objectives and expected outcomes of the project. Kaufmann might very well have realized during the architect selection process that the Scripps project involved such a situation. There is nothing that indicates exactly what Kaufmann understood about the main concerns of the different factions. Yet these concerns were the basis of the trustees' expectations, and were the problematic issues that the College and the campus were intended to address. This review identified two distinct and different primary objectives and several less important outcomes that were desirable as long as they could be achieved without compromising these main objectives.



1. Pomona College concern:

- To reduce the critically high proportion of women to men by offering women a college education comparable in quality and scope to that offered by Pomona College.
- Secondary objective: attract women whose close proximity will induce men to attend Pomona College.

2. Address the dilemma referred to as the *woman question*:

- Devise a college education for women that helps women develop strategies to address the mommy track dilemma they encounter in the workplace after college.
- Help eliminate the necessity that forces professional women to choose between motherhood and a satisfying professional career.
- Establish a college for women that offers its students an education that gives them the tools needed to compete successfully in their chosen career field as it currently exists in the workplace.
- Secondary objectives: advocate (with government, educational system, professional organizations, other forums within the workplace) on behalf of career women and working mothers wherever possible for (1) removal of unnecessary employment

practices that restrict an individual's control of daily life, practices that continually pit job performance against one's personal life and (2) expanded career opportunities.

Ellen Browning Scripps believed in women being clear-thinking and high minded, but beyond these broad guidelines, she left decisions of educational policy up to the board. The women of the Scripps board brought to their service the concerns of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae in the twentieth century. They were all married women with strong interests outside the home. Scripps became their experiment. . . . Women's education in the past "precisely" copied "the education given her brother in the effort to prove her emancipation and equality." Scripps College would be a departure. They intended it to offer to women an education designed to "train her for the fullest and richest life that she herself may have, as well as the chance to give to society her greatest contribution."<sup>74</sup> In other words, women might combine work ("contribution") with marriage and children ("fullest and richest life") (Horowitz, 1964).

The following statement made by Ms. Scripps was informally adopted very early as the mission statement for Scripps College.

The paramount obligation of a college to its students is to train them to develop the ability to think clearly and independently, which ability will enable them to live confidently, courageously and hopefully (Campaign for Scripps).

The statement above clearly indicates Ms. Scripps' belief that a college's primary obligation to its students is to train them to think clearly and independently, a responsibility that must be included in any complete list of the College's objectives. This objective need not conflict with efforts to accomplish the first two

objectives. The statement made by Ms. Scripps suggests that she did not perceive that these objectives were mutually exclusive, but that all three objectives were possible and appropriate. Her participation in the establishment of Scripps College focused on bringing the proponents of the first two objectives together on the board of trustees where they could work together to address the concerns of both factions.

### OBJECTIVES INFLUENCE DECISIONS RELATED TO CAMPUS DESIGN

The first incidents that clearly demonstrated the influence of clients' objectives on the campus were the appointment of Gordon Kaufmann to design Scripps College and Ernest Jaqua to serve as the first president of the College. The selection of men, rather than women, to fill the positions of architect, landscape architect, college president, and leading faculty members are prime examples of objectives influencing the decisions that shaped the Scripps campus.

A special committee of the Scripps College board of trustees. . . was appointed to solicit names, screen candidates, and choose the most qualified and promising architect for the task of building Scripps College and realizing the educational vision of the new women's college in aesthetic terms.

. . . Gordon Kaufmann was supported by President Jaqua and Bernard Hoffman, the chairman of the building committee.

The list of [five] . . . finalists included Kaufmann, Allison . . . and Julia Morgan. The elimination of Morgan from consideration was the most dramatic event of the proceedings. The women on the trustees' subcommittee, many veterans of the YWCA movement,

actively promoted her consideration. But two men on the architectural commission [of the Claremont College Consortium], Ernest Jaqua and David Allison (who was also one of the architect candidates) vetoed them.<sup>13</sup> The matter was rapidly hushed up, but its implications seem troubling even today despite the passage of time. In two different letters President Jaqua described the Morgan affair thus: "I spent yesterday afternoon [22 June 1926] in Los Angeles with Mrs. Moses interviewing Mr. Kaufmann, Mr. Witmer and Mr. Allison. We had a very fortunate series of interviews. Mrs. Moses is quite resigned to drop Miss Morgan from the list of candidates." And, "Mrs. Moses asked for more deliberate consideration and after a discussion with Mr. Allison and others is inclined to think it would be unwise to select Miss Morgan (Polyzoides, 1992, p. 87).

The following professional women, who were both qualified and available, were actively promoted by women on the board of trustees for the posts of architect, landscape architect, and member of the faculty (strong academics who could have been leading faculty members), but were eliminated from consideration or never given serious consideration--apparently because they were women.

Julia Morgan had experience designing for a women's college, her professional credentials were stronger, and she was better established than Kaufmann (Polyzoides, 1992).

A special committee of the Scripps College board of trustees Scripps trustees knew at first hand the importance of the college campus. . . . [the trustees] agreed unanimously that the architect of Scripps should be selected to "give to the dormitories the appearance and atmosphere of a beautiful home."<sup>83</sup> The trustees ruled out Julia Morgan for unknown reasons (Horowitz, p. 341).

Beatrix Farrand was not mentioned though she worked regularly with Myron Hunt, one of the architects seriously considered. Farrand designed award-winning segments of the Princeton College campus, and her portfolio included a number of other projects on prestige campuses throughout the country, but there is not indication that she was ever considered for the landscape architect position, ultimately filled by Huntsman-Trout, who was in the earliest years of his career (Balmori, 1985).

Laura Wylie, Vassar's brilliant teacher and literary critic was promoted strongly for a post on the faculty by the trustee Susan Dorsey.

As part of their concern about female education, the women trustees insisted that one-half of the faculty be female and argued for a woman president, much to the discomfort of Blaisdell, who supported Jaqua as one "intimately interwoven with Pomona," experience that Blaisdell felt necessary for the success of the Claremont group system.<sup>76</sup> Jaqua became president and recruited an initial faculty dominated by men. While he reported to the board that he was making every effort to locate women, in fact he relied on male faculty ties and inquired in his letters about "the best men" available.<sup>77</sup> He later explained that he wanted to get distinguished men in place at the outset, fearing that they would be harder to draw, once surrounded by women. Susan Dorsey fought him, saying that she wanted to bring to Scripps Laura Wylie, Vassar's brilliant teacher and literary critic; but silence met her words.

Jaqua promised to equalize the ratio in future appointments.<sup>78</sup> He did, but with younger women brought in at lower levels and smaller salaries--as assistant professor of biology, instructor in physical education, and director of residence (Horowitz, p. 341).

An important opportunity to provide students with successful role models was lost. These professional women had careers in fields that were not

associated primarily with women. These particular women demonstrated three distinct career paths that were demonstrably amenable to combining with parenting responsibilities and the demands of a career: architecture, landscape architecture, and leadership within academia.

Intentionally selecting only men, when suitable qualified professional women were available for the positions of architect, landscape architect, college president, and faculty leadership positions involved a substantial opportunity cost that was ultimately borne by Scripps women. The four missed opportunities to provide Scripps students with unique role models and mentors involved a substantial opportunity cost that cannot be ignored or minimized. The value added to the College by the campus Kaufmann designed is inaccurate unless the opportunity cost is included in the assessments.

Intentionally missing these opportunities that would have been advantageous for students in multiple ways is a prime example of the type of influence that personal objectives exerted on the development of the Scripps campus.

As indicated in chapter five, Ms. Scripps knew of and supported the establishment of Scripps College as a way of reducing the proportion of women attending Pomona College. The men serving as Scripps trustees as well as Blaisdell, Jaqua and the men involved with the Claremont College Consortium (the Consortium) were motivated to make Scripps College successful for the

benefit of Pomona College.

In contrast, the issue that had acquired the label of *woman question* as more and more women found they had a useless college education, or more specifically, a college education they were not allowed to utilize was the real issue that this new college for women should focus on. A college education for women that avoided or eliminated the *woman question* was the primary objective that guided the thinking of the majority of women involved with Scripps either as trustees or as honorary alumnae.

Women's special weaknesses called for methods to counter their lack of "objectivity and the capacity for critical judgment and independent thinking." . . . Caught in the marriage-career dilemma of their own time, the women trustees, hoping to enable women to enjoy families and make contributions to society, sought a curricular solution that accepted the reality of discrimination--women's work--rather than one that gave women the intellectual ammunition to fight it (Horowitz 1964).

Men gave the appearance of listening to the details of the problem. The trustees, who were men, either lacked the desire, willingness, or ability to consider the real dilemma that many women encountered. However, college educated women experienced the dilemma to a greater degree because college had heightened their career expectations. Women indicated that their career options were unnecessarily limited by current practices in the workplace. The men's educational solution was to (1) direct women into career fields that accepted them and accommodated their needs as mothers and wives, (2)

strengthen the existing programs in fields already dominated by women, (3) expand the career opportunities within the existing women's fields wherever possible to satisfy the increasing number of women wanting professional careers. Such approaches would prepare women for existing positions that accepted them, rather than those where they were at a competitive disadvantage. It preserved the majority of career fields for those individuals whose primary activity and focus in life was their professional career.

The women who were trustees and the more than fifty honorary Scripps' alumnae thought that a college for women needed to prepare women for the working world they would encounter after college. Many of these women were graduates of women's colleges who had discovered the hard way that the work place made no effort to accommodate the lifestyle of a career woman, with children. In fact, it seemed to do everything possible to make life difficult, if not impossible, for career women who chose to be mothers as well.

The majority of these women involved with Scripps had experienced the women's dilemma, being forced to choose between having a career, and all that went with it, or motherhood. As the number of college-educated women increased, developing effective solutions to the *woman question* became a more critical issue--for women and for colleges for women. It would seem that colleges for women were in the best position to focus on this problem as they were concerned only with educating women.



The attitude of the men on the board of trustees was essentially the same as the thinking that controlled the workplace. Rather than finding alternate ways to coordinate the needs of employer and employee in career fields, women needed to adapt to the workplace. The workplace should not be expected to adapt to the needs of talented women. Career fields should be avoided and no programs offered at colleges for women in areas where family-related time demands interrupted the workday and /or prevented over-time work or out-of-town work. Working mothers should accept the reality and avoid the career fields where they were at a competitive disadvantage against men and childless women in the job market.

Within a few years, nine members of the faculty collaborated on a sequence of courses entitled "The Humanities: History of Occidental Culture," a required double course for freshmen and sophomores and an elective offered for juniors (later to become required).<sup>81</sup> This intensive survey of the cultural contributions of Western Civilization provided a reassuring antidote to American commercial culture, right at its Southern California source. Scripps' Humanities program became the symbolic center of the college's curriculum. Its **male professors set the tone of serious high-mindedness that influenced generations of undergraduates** [emphasis added] (Horowitz, 1964).

The educational approach that followed such thinking was to direct women to the programs that educate women for careers in the fields already dominated by women and to expand or strengthen those programs, while eliminating or reducing all other career fields as options for working mothers. The problem for many college women was that these were not the career fields

in which they were interested.

What [about] . . . the program of the women trustees to offer Scripps students an education suited to feminine needs? It survived in the elective work of the third and fourth years, grouped according to the "predominant interest of the student." . . . The women trustees' selection of courses--based on women's reputed strengths and weaknesses and designed for careers compatible with family life--led to an emphasis on art, psychology, literature, and the social sciences and an initial disregard of mathematics, the theoretical sciences, and political science (Horowitz, 1964).

They had pursued subjects and career fields that they were interested in, assuming that if they were able to do the work of a professional woman and mother, that opportunity would be available. Limiting and directing women's educational options were a step backward for a women's college. It simply reduced educational options to fit with the unnecessarily restrictive options of the workplace.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Kaufmann Huntsman-Trout Epoch

Gordon Kaufmann submitted his first conceptual plan for the Scripps campus six weeks after returning from his tour of colleges in the Northeast. Included with the plan were floor plans for Eleanor Toll Hall and elevation sketches illustrating the residence hall's exterior appearance. Toll Hall was to be the first building constructed on the Scripps campus. The following excerpt from the twenty-fifth anniversary edition of the Scripps College *Bulletin* included descriptive accounts written following the College's opening.

Gordon Kaufmann, recognized for his fine domestic work and for the desert resort La Quinta, won the commission . . . Kaufmann created an elegant design for Scripps College.

Kaufmann's presentation watercolors of the initial dormitories created a vision of grand San Marino, California, houses, with all they promised of class and protection. The board had explicitly directed that the dormitories be only two stories in height.<sup>86</sup> Kaufmann artfully hid the third story. Courtyards, balconies, and setbacks give the dormitories the appearance of a generous house, disguising its scale.

The first dormitory, Eleanor Toll Hall, linked California design to the women's college dormitory plan. Just as at Smith or Mount Holyoke, the organization of the residence hall reflected the house plan. . . . As in Smith's Georgian Quadrangles, the individual student rooms provide a Spartan contrast with the carefully appointed, and supervisable [sic], public rooms. Departing from the precedents in the Eastern schools, student rooms stretch around courtyards on three stories, each room looks out on a court, and the second floor opens on to balconies (Scripps College *Bulletin*).

Kaufmann accomplished a feat at Scripps whose effects are still felt, though few are aware of how he accomplished it or the circumstances that made it possible. This thesis reviews the Scripps campus paying particular attention to its design. It clarifies what was unique about how Kaufmann practiced his craft that enabled him to maintain design control of this college campus for over twelve years, a rare situation on any campus. The foundation he constructed on the Scripps campus is strong. It has endured, in part, because of the length of his involvement, but also because the quality of his designs was excellent.

Kaufmann fulfilled his clients' expectations because he made certain he knew what those expectations were. He understood his clients' issues and the concerns that were relevant to the particular project. Kaufmann designed solutions that addressed or resolved those concerns. He did for his clients what they wanted done, in a way they might have done for themselves if they had known how. He respected his clients, understood their needs, and his design solutions conveyed that fact.

Kaufmann's clients came to him for a custom designed residence. His career was beginning when what came to be known as the California style was growing in popularity. It appealed to him and he ultimately was one of the architects associated with the California style. This architectural approach was a local variation of the vernacular architectural strategies that were most suited to the climatic characteristics of a Mediterranean region, which characterized the

coastal regions of Southern California.

Kaufmann did not begin a design project with preconceived ideas. The inspiration for his creative designs was the information he gathered about the project, the site, and his clients' expectations and objectives. His objective was to solve his clients' problems by manipulating the environment. The constraints and criteria that pertained to the project dictated the range of options that could be used. What was different about Kaufmann or how he designed that explains his successful outcomes?

Kaufmann's clients were similar, and they were more likely to solicit or give information to someone in their circle of acquaintances than from an unknown source. As a result his client base increased in size, but very likely became more homogenous over time. His initial success was influenced by his personal characteristics: he was a graduate of Harvard, a status symbol among the upper class in California that would have enhanced the perceived value of his knowledge.

His Harvard background indicated a personal familiarity or identification with members of the class who comprised the majority of his clientele. This gave him an additional advantage because he understood the values and attitudes common among that class of society. Both he and they would have considered him an individual who could be "one of them."

The characteristics that describe his residential clientele also describe the

trustees and students of Scripps College. He recognized, understood, and respected their attitudes, values, concerns, and goals. Being “one of them” made his information gathering task much less complex. He knew the answers to many questions. He also knew which issues were controversial and when more probing questions were needed to ascertain his clients’ attitudes and expectations. Kaufmann had an insider’s understanding and familiarity with the ways that members of this socio-economic class utilized power to achieve their objectives. He understood that they considered power a tool and noticed how various people used that tool to control or manipulate interactions with others to achieve their goals.

### STAKEHOLDERS AND CONSTITUENCIES

Kaufmann’s information-gathering began with the trustees, but he knew they were not the only stakeholders or constituents whose interests were significant. He understood the importance of considering how the Scripps campus would affect constituents he could neither see nor speak with.

Kaufmann had been a college student in the Northeast. He was familiar with the campuses of the selective colleges in the Northeast, and recognized that Scripps College wanted people to mentally associate the new college with those highly regarded institutions.

Kaufmann was anxious for the Scripps project to be successful. It would enhance his professional reputation and lead to similar projects in the future with

this clientele. Its potential benefits were much greater than a single residential project. Kaufmann wanted to make the Scripps campus a success, knowing it could become his calling card--a card that could open many doors.

The trustees were the most visible, but not the only important stakeholders whose interests warranted particular attention. Kaufmann himself was a stakeholder. The women who supported Scripps College financially as honorary alumnae were representative of another group of stakeholders: middle and upper class women throughout the West, who felt connected with women educated at the Seven Sisters and similar colleges in the Northeast and along the Eastern seaboard. These women identified with the alumnae of women's colleges in ways that influenced the project.

Both groups of women were concerned about the societal changes taking place throughout the country, particularly those changes that might effect their lives or their children's lives. The *woman question* troubled them. They were concerned with the questions that troubled many Americans following the close of World War I. The questions related to what college education was appropriate for women was central to the development of the College campus. Developing a campus that contributed to achieving such an educational experience was an important aspect of the Scripps project. Kaufmann's task was to help give substance to the college for women that Ms. Scripps envisioned.

Another significant group of stakeholders were the daughters and granddaughters and nieces of the women just described. They would receive much consideration from Kaufmann during the actual design phase. What their needs and interests would be and how they would respond to the environment he created were questions that needed to be addressed.

### CAMPUS DESIGN

Campus design was a relatively new field of professional practice in the 1920's. It was design on a scale that required a designer to approach the project from the typical vantage points of three different design professionals: the building architect, urban planner, and landscape architect.

Campus design differed in significant ways from architecture. It presented a much different task than designing buildings and almost as an afterthought doing something with the remaining space on the site. The challenge for building architects was to consider the site as a unit and to develop a coordinated series of spaces, where building walls constituted only one of the elements that could be used to define spaces.

The major differences between the concerns of the campus designer and the urban planner relate to the issue of scale as it pertains to the scope of the project and the types of issues raised. However, the primary difference between the two is that the campus designer focuses on a very specialized and unique



community while the urban planner is frequently concerned with a variety of communities, sometimes several in a single project. The importance of this difference is evident in the requirement that the campus be able to function as a self-contained community that does not need to go outside its borders to satisfy the requirements of daily life. All a students' needs and activities in a twenty-four hour period take place on campus--educational, social, eating, sleeping, and physical exercise.

The campus is the environment for virtually all activities of students, and must take into consideration more community functions and individual needs than the environments of most other types of communities. Its functions need to be self-contained in a limited space, and the community it served had unique but predictable needs to be met. The unique elements of the campus community distinguish it from other communities and frequently define the character of the spaces needed.

Designing a college campus is similar in scale to many projects typically considered within the purview of a landscape architect. The landscape architect and the campus designer both focus on designing spaces and coordinating them within the parameters of the project. Campus design is similar to the type of design work landscape architects generally perform, and might be considered a specialized area within landscape architecture, as are golf course designers and zoo designers. The level of knowledge and coordination with building architects,

however, is so substantial as to suggest that a team comprised of professional designers from two or more of these design fields is preferable to the competition that is not uncommon when each designer operates from a single perspective rather than combining the knowledge that comes from multiple perspectives.

Landscape architects' training focused on designing volumes of space defined by sky above and earth below. The volume of space might be delineated by elements such as a mountain view, an ancient grove of trees, or the structures associated with the adjacent urban functions. As always, functionality was important. Pedestrian and vehicular circulation paths needed to be considered, and lighting, drainage and irrigation systems had to be included. Trees and shrubs needed to be strategically planted for shade, privacy, and beauty.

Designing a campus was different than designing a city park or a commercial building. The need to create quality spaces for individuals and groups, both inside and outside of walls, mandated that the landscape architect or designer not focus on walls or walkways, but on designing space, space as a volume--for individuals. Yet the nature of the community required that the campus be thought of differently.

The fact that the campus was the round-the-clock environment for a community of students meant that it must address the needs of daily life for

individuals and groups of individuals, while simultaneously fulfilling the function of a work-day/learning environment. The single overriding focus involved in the design of a campus was to create quality spaces for individuals and groups of individuals. The focus was always about creating spaces to enhance student living--it was about creating experiences--for living and for learning.

### OBJECTIVES AND EXPECTATIONS

The Scripps College trustees appointed Gordon Kaufmann to be the architect for Scripps College on July 2, 1926. The Scripps commission was important to Kaufmann for several reasons. A successful outcome to this project would enhance his reputation and expertise substantially, an outcome he would work hard to achieve. This was a strong incentive for Kaufmann to make this project his business card--adding Kaufmann's personal objectives to the list of factors that influenced the design of the campus. He was a relatively young architect whose portfolio consisted primarily of single family residences along with a few institutional and commercial buildings. The Scripps College project gave Kaufmann an unusual opportunity to demonstrate that his abilities covered a much broader range than previous projects had demonstrated.

The Scripps project was not a common or typical design project in the 1920's. The scope of the project was unusual and the likelihood was high that it would lead to other college work in the future. The Scripps campus was expected to include the coordinated design and construction of several

buildings, a task that would extend over several years. It could provide a steady source of income for his firm for many months. If all went well it would help establish his reputation regionally--and nationally. However, the most significant aspect of the Scripps project for Kaufmann was that it could potentially place him among the small number of professional designers around the country (both architects and landscape architects) consulting with colleges and universities about campus-related issues.

A situation arose during the first year of construction that confirmed Kaufmann's authoritative role as the campus designer, a responsibility he maintained for twelve years. When generous donors offered to underwrite the cost to design and construct the major building on campus--on the condition that they be allowed to name the architect, Kaufmann's reaction was gracious but firm. Though he must have been disappointed when the commission for this choice project was awarded to another architect, one whose abilities and tastes he had personal doubts about, his approach focused on maintaining the unity of the campus plan. His actions initiated a period of negotiations between the trustees, the donors, and both architects. It also established a successful pattern of collectively resolving controversies about the campus.

The result was that Kaufmann retained control of the campus master plan. Regardless of who received the design commission for individual structures or segments of the campus, Kaufmann was allowed to define the design

constraints. He did this so successfully with Balch Hall that the building does not detract from the unity of the campus. Kaufmann succeeded by halting his work on the campus until his concerns about the design of Balch Hall were resolved to his satisfaction. His degree of success can be measured by the fact that these donors subsequently chose Kaufmann to design an important building they donated to the Cal Tech campus located nearby.

The trustees were satisfied with Kaufmann's designs. The campus he created fulfilled their expectations. Even though he had ignored some of their directives, he had done so to maintain the integrity of the design concept which was the reason the campus accomplished their objectives.

Not only did Kaufmann successfully assert his control of the campus design, he demonstrated that the essence of this campus, the connecting link was not rigid adherence to an architectural style or construction material. The glue that binds the various segments of the Scripps campus together is the relationship that exists between the individual parts. Each element actually does relate to the others and to the campus as a whole. Each building relates to all the other buildings, not only to the adjacent buildings. Each of these relationships is unique. The way they relate does not follow a predictable pattern or scheme, no two buildings are the same, and yet there is a quality in each of them that is also noticeable in the entire campus.

Kaufmann relied on the trustees' decidedly positive response to both of

the designs he had submitted to the trustees. The plans he designed for the first residence hall and the initial campus plan had met and surpassed their expectations. The trustees were more than pleased with Kaufmann's designs for the Scripps campus, but dollars spoke louder than words. Fortunately, Kaufmann understood the risk and recognized that the conflict regarding the design of Balch Hall represented more than a single commission. Kaufmann was excited about the entire Scripps project and looked forward to "making it his own", using it to show the world what he was capable of designing, yet it was more than a question of artistic or professional ego. The conflict was not primarily a territorial conflict; the issue was design integrity.

Kaufmann stood his ground firmly knowing that if he acceded to their wishes and allowed Sumner's plans for Balch Hall be constructed, that it would seriously damage the relationships between the buildings, the primary element that tied the campus together. The element that ties the buildings and campus spaces together is a defining characteristic that makes the Scripps campus special. Sumner's conceptual design for Balch Hall did not relate to the other campus buildings, as a result it denied their presence by ignoring them. The glue that held them together was that they acknowledged each other visually and functionally, and they related as different but equal entities, each important in its own right to the campus as a whole and to the College.

There have been very few instances in which an individual architect,

landscape architect, or firm of such professionals has had a significant professional involvement with the development of a college campus over an extended time period. The prospect that such a possibility existed at all was unusual. Even in the rare instances where a well-known designer such as Frederick Law Olmstead was asked to design an entire campus, as Olmstead had done at Stanford University, the political dynamics of educational institutions usually prevented the campus plans from being implemented as originally designed. The relationship between Kaufmann and the Scripps trustees who were his paying clients experienced a "honeymoon phase" which Kaufmann used to good advantage.

#### OBJECTIVES INFLUENCE THE DESIGN PROCESS

The possibilities that the Scripps commission represented excited Kaufmann. He expected the Scripps campus project would be an interesting and exciting project that would lead to similar commissions in the future. Though his winning the commission had not been a cut-and-dry issue, once the board made their choice they gave him their wholehearted support. They gave him the following instructions and then allowed him to determine the design approach.

1. Conduct a fact-finding tour of colleges in the Northeast, prior to any design work, to see what was considered the best college campuses in the country.
2. Develop a plan for the entire campus.
3. Design and prepare plans for the first residence hall.

Kaufmann's personal interactions and conversations with the trustees were the source of his understanding about what the trustees expected from him. He learned more about their expectations for the campus from the places and structures that they referred him to because these projects had a quality that appealed to them. The appeal of these projects was the result of a unique character or ambience that the trustees were conscious of which they sensed was consistent with this new college they envisioned. His interactions with the trustees had helped him "see" their vision of Scripps College so clearly that he was able to give substance to that vision.

The decision to appoint Kaufmann as the architect for Scripps College was not made easily. It had come at the end of a thorough search followed by a contentious battle of wills between the women on the board of trustees and men both on and off the board who opposed the selection of Julia Morgan--the only woman among the final candidates.

Ultimately, the women yielded to pressure from the men, which left Kaufmann as the only candidate they all accepted. The controversy surrounding the appointment may have affected their relationship with him. They were very open to him which helped build a willingness to trust him until proven otherwise. The trustees had discussed the suitability of various architectural styles among themselves, but ultimately decided not to dictate this aspect of the campus. They gave him the artistic freedom to create with bricks and mortar, trees and



fountains, a campus that corresponded to the college whose mental image they had envisioned in academic terms.

### THE INFLUENCE OF THE POMONA COLLEGE PROBLEM

Kaufmann understood that the Scripps' trustees envisioned a college for women that was a small liberal arts college, with the same values and educational approaches that influenced the development of Pomona College. The decision that Scripps College would be a small liberal arts college was not an arbitrary decision. On the contrary, the particular type of educational experience that the trustees envisioned was the primary reason for the establishing Scripps College.

Evidence discovered in the 1990's among the trustees' records in the Scripps' archives revealed that establishing a women's college within a consortium of colleges was a strategy promoted by the Scripps' trustees who had ties with Pomona College in addition to serving as trustees for Scripps. Polyzoides' accounts gave no indication whether or not Kaufmann was aware that helping Pomona College was a major reason for establishing Scripps College that motivated these Scripps trustees.

The trustees were confident that its size would remain under a thousand students permanently, and anticipated the facilities that a college of that size would require. The feeling among the trustees was that there was an optimal size for a liberal arts college. The concern was that to exceed this limit risked

diminishing the quality of the educational experience. If student demand increased beyond the optimal level, rather than increase its size, the consortium of Claremont Colleges was more likely to increase student capacity by adding another college. Bigger would not be better--it would prevent the College from achieving its mission.

### TRUSTEES EXPECTATIONS

The trustees were not unanimous in all their opinions. Kaufmann understood that his opinion about the purpose of Scripps College was immaterial, what mattered was his ability to create a college campus that accomplished what the trustees expected. As long as he successfully met their expectations, his own opinions were immaterial. Whether he catered to one faction more than another only mattered if one group did not see their vision being fulfilled.

The attitudes of the Scripps' trustees were an unusual mix of nineteenth century traditional thinking with some liberalizing effects from the women's movement. The nineteenth century orientation with overtones of the two-sphere philosophy was evident in the attitude of the Scripps trustees that favored a college environment for women that was different than one for men. Kaufmann understood the differences between the college environments for men and women.

The residence halls at Scripps reflected the attitude that women needed

to be protected from outside intruders, while men needed to be encouraged to socialize and develop supportive networks. The residence halls at Scripps have a single entrance which can be monitored and controlled, while the men's residences Kaufmann designed at Cal Tech have multiple entrances that make controlling access virtually impossible. In addition, the size and arrangement of individual rooms at the two colleges are designed to function differently. Women are assigned to single rooms that are small to discourage socializing between women because of fears that women would develop intimate relationships with other women. The fear that educational environments for women only might prove conducive to homosexual tendencies were a major determinant in designing the residence halls for women, yet there was no such concern at colleges for men.

The trustees' attitude about needing to protect students' and strengthen their morals demonstrated a parent-like concern for the students' well-being. Their perception was that the college needed to protect women from unwanted intruders, similar to the security provided by their family home. That type of protection was ensured by having a housemistress living in each residence hall. Her quarters were located near the main entrance where she could monitor individuals coming and going throughout the day. She was responsible as well for supervising meal preparation and the housekeeping staff, as the woman of the family did in the home. Protecting women students in this manner required

both residents and guests to enter and leave the residence hall at the single main entrance. A service access would be located out of sight near the kitchen.

Concern about moral behavior also influenced the public and private spaces within the residence hall. To avoid the possibility that intimate relationships might develop between students, each student had her own room, which was very small. The size of the rooms made them unsuitable or unworkable as locations where students might gather to socialize. The parlor and dining room were large enough for students to socialize in and were located on the first floor, where the women could be observed by the house mistress as well as other students. The women trustees had all attended college themselves and understood that the students needed a location within the residence hall where they could study late at night when going out to the library would be unwise. They suggested that a small browsing room be included in each residence hall, a book-lined room similar to a library or den that might be found in a private home.

Scripps' trustees favored the cottage concept that had been initiated at Smith College in the 1880s. The Smith cottages were instituted as a structural way of controlling student behavior, something that had become impossible at Vassar and Wellesley. The reaction of the Scripps women to controls of this sort in the 1920s were essentially the same as those witnessed at Vassar and Wellesley fifty years earlier. Experience has shown that the cottage concept did

encourage the development of community within the residence halls, however, as a mechanism to limit intimacies between students it failed--at Smith in the 1880s and at Scripps in the 1920s.

Experience quickly showed that college women could find or make opportunities to socialize in small or large groups without being under the watchful eye of the housemother. The balconies and courtyards that were found throughout the Scripps campus were also located in all the residence halls.

Residence halls that were more like a family environment than a boarding school dormitory had become the preferred model for residential living quarters for college women in the Northeast as Wellesley, Vassar, Mount Holyoke and even Bryn Mawr gradually adapted their quarters for students to correspond to the basic idea of the cottages. The Smith cottage concept had been modified in the fifty years since the first cottages were constructed. The original cottages had been family residences, which limited the capacity to no more than thirty women, frequently less. By the 1920s a capacity of fifty women was considered desirable. The Scripps' trustees expectation that residence halls of this type would allow women to develop a sense of community, has always been popular. The trustees believed that a family-type association would help relieve the impersonality of the institutional context. Each dormitory would have the amenities of a family home that were lacking in a men's dormitory: semi-private sleeping quarters, parlor, and formal dining room.

The attitude that the residence halls should reflect a family residence, and the expectation that a three story building would appear too tall and therefore not create the impression of a family home was the rationale which prompted the Scripps trustees to tell Kaufmann that the height of residence halls not exceed two stories. Kaufmann quickly demonstrated that it was the essence of the trustees' attitudes not the letter of the law that guided his design for the first residence hall.

#### GIVING SUBSTANCE TO THE COLLEGE OTHERS ENVISIONED

Kaufmann accomplished the trustees' objectives in ways they had not anticipated.

- Fulfilled obligation of college stated by Ms. Scripps: provided a campus environment that gave students an educational experience where they can learn to think clearly and independently, to live courageously with hope.
- Accomplished trustees objectives--both men and women trustees: unique environment for women's college education--unique, but not home, not domestic--connects to traditions of architecture and academia--uniquely--not a copy, but a new adaptation.
- He created a skeleton that gave shape, yet allowed structures and functions to be designed individually without sacrificing the sense of unity.

- The essence of the campus is relationships, an ideal setting for women's college education, rather than either /or conflicts or competition.
- Kaufmann continued to update original plan, adding more detail each time another building was designed. It was an ongoing model of adaptation that retained the essence which was the defining quality of the Scripps campus.
- He rejected the cottage model, the implied family home character, initiated at Smith and adapted to fit the local circumstances on virtually all of the campuses of the Seven Sisters.
- He rejected--or ignored--what the Smith cottages (and Scripps trustees-men) attempted to accomplish-- residence halls that adopted the family home as an appropriate setting for women's education ---that reinforced the connection between women and the home, rather than models for women in the public sector or in traditional academia.
- Family home represented protection, nurturance, but not challenge, not support for taking risks--tradition of control of women--subservience to authority.

Kaufman defined a new model for the style of a women's college. It is in some respects a model that is residential, but is not the home. It is the resort hotel or villa, a luxury residential setting where adults rather than children

establish the character of the environment. He adopted a residential form that had not been utilized previously in the women's colleges.

The trustees were enthusiastic even though he ignored some of their specific directives, i.e. height limit--three story areas to keep the footprint to the scale he wanted--taller sections are set well back so they do not create the appearance of a tall building--asserts the validity of his values and approaches.

The retreat concept also relates to the ancient tradition of monasteries and academia. It offers a retreat from the demands of daily life, a time to pause and reflect. It is a place to go and regain a sense of priorities in life. The model Kaufmann adopted for the campus was also part of a previous Kaufmann project: La Quinta, the desert resort in the Palm Springs area.

The features of such a retreat contrast with a woman's relationship to the family house. In a retreat the house keeping and meal preparation are generally performed for residents by a staff of servants out of sight, rather than being a focus of women's activities. This characteristic is a very significant difference in a women's college. The students' rejection of the practice house concept and preference for teas with the faculty confirms that they were sensitive to this distinction. This is one of the clearest instances that demonstrates the attention Kaufmann gave to what students wanted and needed in college.

Other descriptive words for a retreat environment demonstrate the distinction between designing a college for women like a resort rather than the



family home as model for the women's college: relaxed--traditional--classical model of life to be enjoyed. These descriptions apply as well to basic characteristics of the college experience. It is a time away to reflect, rejuvenate, and rethink the meaning of life, and adjust personal priorities accordingly.

It is immediately apparent that Kaufmann has adopted an architectural style that was different from the Gothic buildings typical for academia. The reference to the house plan may actually be a reference to the cottage style residences made popular late in the nineteenth century at Smith College. Spartan character contrasting with elaborate public rooms may be an indication that Kaufmann had complied with the trustees desire to implement structural control mechanisms that will address the concern expressed about making it difficult for intimate relationships to develop between students living in close quarters.

The courtyards were similar to, but different from, the Oxbridge quadrangles: They were spaces that were obviously created for people. The scale is human and might in some cases be considered an intimate scale, in sharp contrast to the quadrangles that characterize Oxford and Cambridge, the dominant model for men's colleges. These were spaces defined by buildings. They were not designed for the benefit of humans, but to control them. Students try to find a place within, but are unable to personalize the space or their experiences within it. Buildings define spaces and the character of the

experience within them.

Kaufmann utilized both balconies and courtyards, within buildings and tucked around the exterior walls, to create numerous small spaces where people can gather or use as a private space. These architectural features communicate that this space is oriented to individuals rather than forcing individuals to conform to buildings.

### KEEPER OF THE FLAME

The situation that presented itself during the first year forced Kaufmann to demonstrate that the symbolism in the Scripps campus was not a hollow or meaningless representation. Kaufmann became the keeper of the flame and showed how to hold the torch high and not compromise the values that are the foundation of an individual's life. The events connected with the design of Balch Hall make it clear that Kaufmann knew how to use power when it was appropriate. In this instance, Kaufmann recognized that controversy was critical because Sumner's original design compromised the unity of the entire campus.

Kaufmann ultimately worked out a compromise solution that permitted Sumner some creative license. Kaufmann had established parameters however that ensured that the Sumner's design for Balch Hall contained sufficient links with the quality of connectedness that defined the Scripps campus. Kaufmann's strategy was a lesson as well. His approach was non-confrontational and his willingness to work with Sumner to develop an acceptable compromise was an

example of the theme of connectedness being put in action. Kaufmann guided the events so that they were a demonstration to others of another way to conduct business. The essence of the Scripps campus was more than a physical symbol of what the College represented for women.

### STUDENTS ASSERT CONTROL

Students claim or reject the campus, and they choose the educational environments and educational approaches in the process. Balconies, browsing rooms, and inner courtyards were all features that added to Kaufmann's development of a courtyard character, while creating many pleasant spaces for small groups of students to gather away from the first floor.

Scripps tried to reinforce the domestic lesson of the dormitory's form by setting up a practice house. . . .Scripps students had little interest in directly preparing for their domestic futures. The faculty-student tea, held each day after Humanities lectures, provided a more lasting form of social training (Horowitz, 340-348).

The men who served as trustees created an academic program they felt was more appropriate for women than the classical men's college curriculum. They utilized the campus in various ways to implement and enhance the academic programs. In the final analysis, however, the students determined what information was acceptable, and how they would incorporate it into previously known facts. It is apparent that the students' interests were closer to those of the women trustees who had advocated for the development of an educational program that addressed the dilemma these women knew lay ahead.

Learning to be proper hostesses in a man's home was obviously not part of their perception of the appropriate college education for women. They cast their vote and the trustees were forced to listen and to realize that their ideas were off-base.

Trustees' attempts to focus students' educational experience within the home failed immediately. Students rejected the practice house, intended by trustees as a place where students would learn how to be proper hostesses, managers of their husband's home. The regular afternoon teas with faculty members was an alternative that students preferred over the practice house. The weekly teas preferred by students represented a more appropriate model for professional women than the practice house. They offered a different opportunity for students to learn the social graces. The teas represented an appropriate way for women to develop their own networks one that was equally suitable for career women and those who chose not to have a career outside the home, but who anticipated being involved in community activities.

Scripps' trustees quite consciously attempted to create a college experience that was consistent with their attitudes about women and society. The campus was one of the mechanisms they used to accomplish that objective.

Unlike Kaufmann's courtyard dormitories at the California Institute of Technology located a few miles away, planned for men, his Scripps dormitories followed the pattern of the women's colleges in adapting the house form to a residence hall for college women. . . . While the Institute intended the entry to promote fellowship among men perceived as needing male companionship, Scripps separated

each female into her modest private space, forcing her into the public rooms for socializing. Moreover, while Scripps chose its dormitories as the first buildings on the new campus, erected before classrooms and library, the Institute turned to housing for men only as an afterthought, once it had built the essential laboratories and classrooms.<sup>88</sup> (Horowitz, 1964).

It did not take students long to make their own choices about their educational opportunities and the Scripps campus. The practice house episode demonstrated clearly that students have the ability to choose how they respond to their environment and to the educational experiences being developed on their behalf. The college curriculum and the campus undoubtedly shape the students' experiences, but college women do not passively accept all efforts intended to shape their college experiences. Ultimately, when the architects and campus designers completed their work, and the last lesson of the day ended, college students determined what they would make of these resources at their disposal.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### Conclusions

This thesis set out to demonstrate that the objectives of a founder that motivated him or her to establish a college for women can be revealed by examining the design strategies employed to shape the college campus and influence the students' educational experience. The review of the cultural context of the college's founding provides clues about what the founder was attempting to accomplish.

Founders generally believe that the current circumstances at colleges for women: (1) are not consistent with the founder's attitudes about women, or (2) have created a situation in which women are behaving in a manner considered inappropriate, or (3) the academic performance or desires of the students are not appropriate or consistent with the founder's attitudes about women and higher education.

The founder usually desires to change students' educational experience or the campus environment to produce a different outcome than is currently being observed at other colleges for women--one that is consistent with the founder's attitudes and values.

Evidence revealed that the founder's motivation to establish new colleges for women was frequently the result of their individual desire to influence students in a particular way that differed from existing colleges.

The evidence showed that college women claim the college and the campus for themselves and utilize it to satisfy their own objectives, regardless, or in spite of, the founder's objectives or the methods employed to achieve the founder's objectives. Evidence of the students' claim of the campus was discovered:

- On the Smith College campus, in the environment that Mary Lyon utilized at Mount Holyoke Seminary.
- On the Bryn Mawr College campus and in the accounts of The Annex in Cambridge.
- In the description of the first building that housed Girton College in England.

The thesis also clarified that women have many reasons for wanting a college education, and those reasons influenced which college women chose to attend. The college they attended influenced their educational experience, their career path, and their accomplishments later in life. The nature of their college experience motivated some women to create colleges that offered women the educational experience they had wanted, but did not find available.

The desire to learn and the desire to gain knowledge are a powerful force that motivates some individuals and not others.

Events and the outcomes of events at one college for women affect other colleges--colleges for men and colleges for women and colleges for men and

women.

The options available for women to attend college changed over time because women wanted them to change. The opportunities available for women to attend college changed over time because men wanted women to act as the men felt they should--in college and after college.

A college and its campus can be affected by many things, and by the objectives of a variety of individuals.

A correlation was found between the founder's objectives and the college campus they attempt to influence. However, what appears initially to be a situation that controls students seldom achieves that effect for an extended time period because the mechanisms employed by the founder are subject to changes produced primarily by students.

The reality is that college women demonstrated repeatedly their ability to overcome virtually any control mechanisms designers can devise and founders can implement to restrict or control the behavior of students or to impose the founder's values on the students' educational experiences. It was reassuring to discover that college women repeatedly found or devised ways to accomplish their objectives regardless of the controls imposed upon them.. Because students outnumber faculty and administration, and are creative, resourceful, and intelligent they are able to apply these resources to overcome all barriers whether physical, mental, or emotional.



When students were unable to remove or disarm the control mechanism itself, they either: (1) reframed the context altering the restrictive effect it had on the students (divorced the family setting of the Smith College cottage system from its domestic task orientation) and (Scripps--accepted the intended residential character as resort living, villa, not family home), (2) ignored or circumvented the control mechanism (Vassar residence halls and the collegiate life, participation in the forbidden suffrage movement) and (Scripps dormitory balconies--a hidden setting for socializing), (3) changed the meaning or appearance of the campus to claim what they felt they deserved, but had been denied (Bryn Mawr, education with no reference to gender), (4) students find creative interpretations to prisons.

Men had a dominant influence in the establishment of the first three of the seven colleges for women founded late in the nineteenth century. (These seven colleges subsequently joined together in an association called the Seven College Conference, referred to throughout this thesis, with admiration, as the Seven Sisters: Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, Mount Holyoke, Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe, Barnard.) The ability that these men had to determine the character of those campuses was used on one campus to control and limit the educational experiences of the students to achieve the purposes of these men. These purposes were driven by a desire to benefit a college for men. They were founded on nineteenth century attitudes about women's capabilities, role, society, and the type of education that was consistent with those attitudes.

Ellen Browning Scripps was one of those rare people who truly deserved the title: a woman of purpose--and her purposes were always honorable. Throughout her life, the actions of Ellen Browning Scripps were guided by her philosophy of life and her attitudes about the worth of an individual, about the importance of contributing to society, about the importance of education and making oneself aware of events going on in the world.

Attempts to control or restrict women students inevitably create the educational experience that Ellen Browning Scripps believed satisfied a college's obligation to train students to think clearly and independently, an ability that would enable them to live confidently, courageously, and hopefully.

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