DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 433 274 SO 031 023

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TITLE Parallel Lives: The Relationship between the Sexes at Millersville State Normal School, 1855-1927.
PUB DATE 1999-04-00
NOTE 24p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of The American Educational Research Association (Montreal, Quebec, Canada, April 19-23, 1999).
PUB TYPE Historical Materials (060) -- Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Coeducation; *Educational History; *Equal Education; Females; Higher Education; Males; *Schools of Education; Social Discrimination; *Social Isolation; *Social Life; Social Structure; Womens Education
IDENTIFIERS Pennsylvania (Millersville)

ABSTRACT

This historic overview of Millersville State Normal School in Pennsylvania looks at the separate but equal treatment of male and female students and faculty during the late 19th and early 20th century. Although early school administrators were progressive in acceptance of both male and female students and careful to treat men and women equal in all intellectual situations and most social activities, coeducation meant separate spheres. Male and female students and faculty lived strictly enforced, sexually parallel lives where even the most casual interactions between members of the opposite sex were closely monitored and regulated aspects of daily life. Contains 33 notes. (MM)

Parallel Lives:

The Relationship Between the Sexes

at

Millersville State Normal School, 1855 - 1927

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Prepared for the annual meeting of
The American Educational Research Association
April 23, 1999, Montreal

Pennsylvania's first normal school, established as the Lancaster County Normal School in 1855, became the First Pennsylvania State Normal School in 1859. Throughout its history as a normal school and its transition to a state teachers college in 1927, a state college in 1959, and a university in 1983, Millersville State Normal School, as it came to be known, has enrolled "sons and daughters staunch and bold."[1] In this paper, we examine briefly the history of the education of teachers in Pennsylvania and then focus on the history of the First Pennsylvania Normal School to determine what influenced the school's trustees to admit both men and women and to what degree was gender a salient issue in the "relationship between the sexes" as "coeducation" was called at Millersville?[2]

Educational historians with the exception of a few such as Willard Elsbree have for the most part neglected the history of normal schools or have disparaged the quality of education teachers received at normal schools and state teachers colleges within the United States.[3] Prior to World War II, historians such as Elsbree wrote positively of the "great process of professionalization . . . [when] public-school teaching was recognized as an occupation which demanded specific training in addition to native talent."[4] But Smith's And Madly Teach[5] in 1949 and Koerner's The Miseducation of Teachers[6] in 1963 ushered in a period in which scholars lambasted the education of teachers received at normal schools and their offspring, the state teachers colleges, during a time when all of public education was

under fire.

Beginning in the 1980s, however, Herbst and other educational historians revisited the history of normal schools in light of their importance as "true people's colleges, offering basic instruction as well as professional training" to families who were unable financially or geographically unable to educate their children beyond the public school.[7] But, at the same time, historians investigating the history of women and higher education in nineteenth and twentieth century America scarcely mentioned normal schools and rarely, state teachers' colleges. They focussed their attention entirely on women educated at elite private colleges and large, state universities.[8] Together, they portrayed the woman student who attended coeducational institutions as the "coed" and as an "outsider" who operated in a world of separate gender spheres and organized with her sisters oases of "solidarity" in male dominated institutions.

Recently, Ogren in her research on Wisconsin's normal schools challenged these histories for their exclusion of women of lesser social status, the women who attended and graduated from normal schools, and for their conclusions regarding separate gender spheres. Ogren found a "legacy of relative gender equality---in intellectual life, in social activities, and in settings that promoted leadership and teamwork among men and women . . . . Each . . . related to a single official purpose, teacher training." She concluded that Wisconsin's coeds enjoyed social familiarity with each other and did not live in "separate spheres," the more common practice at elite and larger state institutions.[9] Considering the neglect of normal school history and the omission of normal school women in the history of women and higher education, Ogren questioned "whether Wisconsin's normal schools were characteristic

of normal schools across the nation." In response to Ogren's findings, we have investigated the education of men and women at Pennsylvania's first normal school and the model for the state's subsequent normal schools to see whether the interactive gender associations of Wisconsin were the pattern in Pennsylvania's normal schools.

For our research, we have relied on the extensive archival holdings at Millersville University. These holdings include catalogs, student handbooks, yearbooks, literary society publications and minutes, personal recollections, normal school theses, newspapers, personal papers, obituaries, Trustee minutes, alumni magazines, directories, photographs, student diaries, disciplinary records, and faculty journals.

Pennsylvania's history of higher education began with a commitment to the training of teachers. The origins of the University of Pennsylvania (1791) go back to 1749 when Benjamin Franklin and others founded the Academy and Charitable School of the Province of PA. In his address to the Common Council of Philadelphia for aid to the academy, Franklin stated that the country was suffering greatly for want of competent schoolmasters and that the Academy would be able to "furnish a supply of such as are of good morals and known character," and can "teach children reading, writing, arithmetic and the grammar of their mother-tongue."[10] Other academies and colleges established during the latter half of the eighteenth century through the first half of the nineteenth century also included the training of teachers as part of their purpose. These included Dickinson (1783), Franklin College (1787), Jefferson College (1802), Washington College (1806), Allegheny College (1817), Western University of PA (1819), Lafayette College(1826), Madison College (1827), and

Haverford College, (1832) and Swarthmore College (1869). With the exception of a few academies and Swarthmore College where teachers of both sexes were trained[11], these private institutions of higher education enrolled only men.

Although the private colleges and seminaries prepared primarily male teachers for Pennsylvania's private and rapidly increasing number of common elementary and grammar schools, the demand for teachers far outstripped the supply, particularly in the rural areas that dominated the geography of the state. Those who were teaching were often found poorly qualified. County superintendents candidly criticized the existing supply of teachers in their annual reports.[12] Pennsylvania State Superintendent of Schools, Andrew Curtin, summarized the following results of school inspections in forty-three counties in 1856:

Full satisfaction	2,370
Medium teachers who "may be employed until better can be found"	3,660
Those whose service had better be dispensed with	2,005[13]

These reports and the continuing clamor of individual teachers, principals, citizens and the Pennsylvania State Teachers Association for better teachers for Pennsylvania's common schools ultimately led to the passage of the Normal School Act of 1857.

Educational leaders and many of the county superintendents had for years advocated state normal schools, chartered and supported by the State, as in Massachusetts, where state normal schools were established in 1839. But the Pennsylvania Legislature just as steadily ignored the suggestions, resolutions, and petitions that came to it. Their objections were based on the cost these normal schools would place on the State Treasury. After several years of discussion throughout the state, a proposal surfaced that the normal schools be private institutions with public funds. This plan appealed to the thrifty Pennsylvanian

legislators who viewed the proposal as a "visionary project that could never be carried in effect; but as it asked no money from the State Treasury, it was allowed to pass."[14]

Such pecuniary stinginess meant Pennsylvania was slow to accept responsibility for state financed teacher training and resulted in a legacy of financial uncertainty for the state normal schools and teachers colleges, one that continues today. Many of the normal schools remained in private or local hands until 1913. The law, nonetheless, provided for the division of the state into twelve normal school districts and did not take effect until four schools had been approved. One of these districts including the counties of Lancaster, York, and Lebanon already had a Normal School, in the small village of Millersville with its 1200 residents, about 4 miles from the Lancaster City. Since the State did not specify the location of the schools, many like Millersville were established in very small towns, distant from the larger urban centers where facilities for model schools and the number of prospective students as well as contacts may have been more plentiful.

Pennsylvania's first Normal School was originally proposed as the site of a private Academy in the summer of 1854. However, a rousing speech by Pennsylvania Governor Pollock on the pressing demand for teachers and the necessity of training on their behalf led investors to extend an invitation to Lancaster County Superintendent James Wickersham for a teachers' institute to be held in the new Academy building until the academy officially opened in the Fall.[15] The Lancaster County Normal Institute under Wickersham's leadership opened on April 17, 1855 and continued in session for three months. The success of the school and its proof of the demand for teacher training led the trustees, aided by other interested citizens, to change their original intention, to enlarge the original building, and to

open a permanent Normal School with one thousand dollars towards its support.[16]

In November 1855, the Lancaster County Normal School opened with 100 students. By Spring 1856, when Wickersham's duties as County Superintendent ended and he assumed the principalship, 652 male and female students were enrolled in its Normal School, and 155 male and female children were in its Model School for Practice.

In 1859, the Pennsylvania Legislature recognized the Lancaster County Normal School as the first normal school in Pennsylvania. As noted above, state recognition initially brought no money, only cache to a student's diploma. Lack of state support to its private normal schools gradually changed, beginning in 1861 with sporadic and then yearly appropriations to the Pennsylvania State Normal School at Millersville[17] and to the several other normal schools built in the state over the succeeding decades. Nonetheless, state appropriations to Millersville's Normal School as the oldest and the best organized of PA's normal schools, were minimal throughout its normal school history. Careful management by its Pennsylvania German Trustees and their unwillingness to carry debt for long periods of time kept Millersville financially sound. But this frugality also meant that Millersville's did not receive the emergency handouts from the State that went to other normal schools for the mounting debts of their more extravagant building projects and to keep the "sheriff off their doorsteps."[18]

American normal schools were created to turn the temporary occupation of schoolkeeping into a life-time career of schoolteaching. Leaders in the normal school movement envisioned these schools as instruments of professionalization whereby citizen-teachers would be replaced with classroom professionals. Although intended as training

schools for teachers, normal schools often functioned as public high schools for all interested students and later, community colleges, at the insistence of people in rural areas. According to Herbst, the significance of these varied functions is that the normal schools, rather than the land-grant colleges, really brought higher education to the people. The land grant colleges permitted the working people of this country - the farmers and the mechanics as they were called - to send their sons and daughters to their centrally located state university or college, but the former, the normal schools took public higher education out to where they were most needed - into the hinterlands and small towns where people lived and worked. With normal schools, Herbst insisted, "true democracy began in higher education." in the United States.[19] They served as "people's colleges, offering basic instruction as well as professional training."

Pennsylvania's land grant institution, now Pennsylvania State University, posed little competition to the state's normal schools for students as it barely survived for much of the nineteenth century. Originating as a "Farmers' High School" in 1854, it became "Pennsylvania State College" in 1876 and stressed the occupations of "agriculture, navigation, arts, mechanical trades, and manufactures." Wickersham noted in 1886, "young women have the same privileges in all courses as young men," but concluded that "the State College has not as yet proven very successful. The number of students from the beginning has scarcely averaged sixty, including those in the Preparatory department, and the class graduating has seldom exceeded half a dozen."[20]

With few students choosing to attend the large state university in the nineteenth century, Pennsylvania's normal schools were its "peoples colleges." Millersville, like the

normal schools Herbst described, offered several courses of study: 1) The Model School Course included extended observation and instruction at the Model School of Practice, begun in 1859. 2) The Preparatory Course prepared students who had not attended high school in the basic instruction. 3) The Elementary Course provided a more extensive course in Pedagogy and practice for those who would teach the elementary grades. 4) The Scientific and Classical courses were designed to prepare teachers for the high schools. Many students who attended came to complete high school; many had already been teaching in nearby elementary schools, of these some had only a grammar school education. Since it often took students in the rural areas longer than eight years to finish grammar school and since many had already been employed, the average age of the students was consistently above 20 years throughout the nineteenth century.

Alumni news including occupations and residence in the yearly catalogues indicate that a great number of Normal students did not teach in the years beyond their attendance. In the occupations listed for alumni, a very high percentage of the men who attended Millersville left teaching after a few years, if they taught at all, as they are listed as physicians, lawyers, ministers, engineers, druggists, bank teller, farmers, merchants, government clerks, insurance agents, real estate agents, borough supervisors. Of those men still in education, many are listed as principals or professors and indicate the opportunity for advancement for men at the time within the growing educational bureaucracy. Women alumnae are listed almost entirely in two ways: as teacher or with a blank space following the name, possibly for those who were single without employment or who became wives or mothers. A very few women are listed as missionaries and one or two as a journalist or

postmistress. The alumni notes also indicate that many women either did not teach or continue to teach, and that there were fewer occupational choices available for the women educated at Millersville than the men, a reflection of the prevailing societal norms.

In terms of enrollment, the number of men students through 1880 was a ratio of at least 2 men for every woman. Men continued as the majority of students through the early 1890s; by 1895, women outnumbered the men with an enrollment of 543 to 527. This contrasts sharply with the Massachusetts normal schools; for example, at Fitchburg the ratio was 14 women to 1 man, the highest of all documented enrollments. Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin all reported a ratio of 2 women to every man in their normal schools.[21]

Although early enrollment figures at Millersville clearly favored men, there is no evidence that the Trustees ever considered making the Lancaster County Normal School an all male institution. Trustee minutes and early histories do not record any discussion surrounding the issue of educating men and women together. If any question on this issue existed, it was clearly settled by the time the school opened its doors. The Normal School's first catalog printed in 1856 clearly states, "The male and female departments are entirely separate, and will be judiciously controlled(sic). Both sexes, however, meet at lectures and in recitations; and we think the presence of each has a beneficial effect upon the other."[22] Although the record is silent on the decision to educate men and women together, underlying reasons may have been the demand for teachers, the cost of teacher training, and in the influence of the Normal School's founder.

Certainly, throughout the United States, there was a growing acceptance of the influx of women in teaching positions by the 1850s. Elsbree states that "prior to 1830 the teaching

profession was made up almost entirely of men." But by mid-century, early public school reformers such as Barnard and Mann and their disciples in the various state superintendencies advocated the appointment of females to teaching positions and gradually overcame the reluctance of local school committees to hire women. As a result, the numbers of female teachers increased dramatically throughout the Northeast; in 1850 Vermont reported that 70 per cent of its teachers were women.[23] The increasing number of women as teachers and the growing recognition of the need to improve the qualifications of all teachers contributed greatly to the enrollment of both men and women at normal schools throughout the nation.

Cost was an additional factor in educating men and women together at the normal schools as it had been in the common schools.[24] Separate education in separate normal schools for men and women was not as efficient as educating the two sexes together. An emphasis was placed on the affordability of the courses of study for those who attended. Millersville's students were the sons and daughters of county farmers, merchants, and working class people who ill afford expensive, sex segregated private higher education or the daughters of middle class families who reserved the bulk of their college money for the sons they sent to the state's private colleges. Graver assessed the financial status of normal students in this way:

> It seems quite clear that the majority of students in the normal schools were generally drawn from the lower social and economic groups of the population. According to recent studies, this is still true [in 1955]. About half of the students came from rural areas before 1910 and were trained in rural schools. The majority of the remainder came from small village schools.[25]

In 1866 as an aid to poorer students and as incentive to teach, the State of Pennsylvania began paying fifty cents a week towards the expenses of all students of Normal

Schools over 17 years of age, or a dollar a week if they had been disabled as soldiers in the service of the United States or their fathers had been killed in such service, who were preparing to become teachers, and fifty dollars to each graduate who should teach two full years in the public schools.[26] Since the State did not check on the students' fulfillment of their pledges, almost all students indicated that they intended to teach. This State incentive also encouraged normal school principals to keep their enrollments as high as possible as a means of balancing their books.

In addition to these factors, James P. Wickersham's support of education for women in higher education may also have exerted influence over the original Trustees for the enrollment of both men and women at the Lancaster County Normal School. This, in turn, influenced the direction of the subsequent Pennsylvania normal schools since they were modeled on the Normal School at Millersville. Wickersham served as Principal of Lancaster County Normal School and Pennsylvania State Normal School from 1856-1866, and later, Superintendent of Public Instruction for Pennsylvania. In his 1886 history, he declared,

> From all the State had done for higher education previously, [i.e. before 1838], it could hardly be learned that such beings as women or girls were to be found within the borders of the State. Certainly no recognition of their right to more than an elementary education can be found on the statute books.[27]

A few female seminaries had been in existence before 1838 including the Westtown Boarding School and Linden Hall founded by the Moravians in Lititz, but very few opportunities beyond elementary school existed for girls and women in Pennsylvania.

Claiming it a "great discovery," Wickersham credited the Legislature of 1838 with the legal provisions that girls should have an equal place with boys in a system of public instruction, higher as well as lower. In the next 15 years nearly 50 seminaries were

chartered for women with some appropriation from the State. One of these was the Marietta Academy, an institution for both sexes, opened by Wickersham in 1845 and conducted by him until 1854, when he became County Superintendent of Schools.[28] As a strong supporter of the education of women, Wickersham included men and women at his first teachers' institute and continued his advocacy for the new normal school.

It appears the education of men and women was a "silent" policy decision with little debate or fanfare. However, the exact nature of the "relationship between the sexes" of Millersville's students is revealed in the rules regarding student life and the religious fervor of those in charge of the Normal School.[29] From its beginning until World War I, the faculty, the principal, and the Board of Trustees were always inclined to take a strict, Calvinist view of morals and discipline, especially as it concerned the "relationship between the sexes." Much of this stemmed from the deeply religious nature of the faculty who did not hesitate to inculcate the students with the commonly accepted elements of the Protestant faith. Prayer meetings, chapel exercises, and Bible classes were a regular and often required feature of student life. The libraries were liberally supplied with religious and moral tracts. Graver recorded that

> The Board of Trustees thoroughly agreed with the strict moral codes established for the guidance of the students and was in some cases inclined to be even more strict than the faculty. Both the Board of Trustees and the faculty were quite alarmed by the reading of books by Thomas Paine and Robert Ingersoll[30] and asserted no infidel doctrines must invade the Normal School.[31]

The rules, regulations, and discipline were clearly stated in the annual catalogues. In addition to prohibitions against card-playing, tobacco, and water, dirt or other material being thrown from windows or porticos, the rules enumerated the Normal School's meaning of

"Relationship Between the Sexes:"

1. It is expected that the ladies and gentlemen of the Institution will treat each other with politeness, but no conversation between the sexes must take place in the Lecture Room, in the Recitation Rooms or in the Halls. At the close of the evening lectures or society meetings, all will repair immediately to their respective rooms. Neither sex will be expected to trespass upon that portion of the building assigned to the other.
2. No lady or gentlemen, attending the Institution will walk or ride with persons of the opposite sex, except in cases of necessity; and then only with the permission of the Principal. No permission will be given for parties or excursions composed of the two sexes.
3. Brothers, sisters, and relatives, members of the school, can meet in the parlor, upon permission being given by a teacher; and the Principal will extend the same privilege to friends and acquaintances of the two sexes, when in his judgment, the circumstances justify it.
4. Parents and other relatives, from a distance, can see ladies in the parlor and gentlemen in the reception room appropriated to them.

It is hoped that these regulations will recommend themselves to the good sense of every Student, and be obeyed because they are reasonable and right.

These rules remained essentially the same until 1900, except for the provision that students could have no "prolonged conversations in the buildings or upon the grounds, except in the performance of school duties or by permission; and no conversation between them will be permitted elsewhere." Not until 1913 did the catalogues reduce the list of regulations when all that remained in regard to the sexes was "ladies and gentlemen of the Institution will treat one another with politeness, and in accordance with the usages of good society."

The severe attitudes and actions of the faculty did not mellow through the first fifty years of the Normal School, and at times, seemed to increase. Correspondence between the sexes was also prohibited; this included notes as well as letters sent through the United States mail. Students of the both sexes were not allowed to meet in Lancaster nor at the home of a friend; in 1910 this prohibition for meeting was extended to convening in "confectioneries."

Different library hours were established for men and for women. Although the two literary societies at the Normal School included both men and women, program arrangements and other committees of the societies were to be one sex only.

The faculty served as a committee of the whole and deliberated on almost all serious cases of discipline. Until the 1880s, students who had disobeyed those rules deemed most serious, were dismissed without hesitation. To emphasize the School's position and possibly, to allay parental concerns about their young adults, the 1857-58 Catalog stated, " Parents and guardians are earnestly requested not to send us persons who have contracted bad habits, as the safety of others will demand their dismissal."

Students generally accepted the rules, but their resentment was always there and exhibited itself in several forms. The most flamboyant expression occurred in 1881 as the pronouncements of Principal Dr. Edward Brooks instituted ever harsher measures to ensure that the two sexes had no contact on or off campus. The weak protests of the students were ignored by the faculty. During the twenty-sixth Anniversary of the Page Literary Society, a Lancaster newspaper reported that on four occasions, members of the faculty had broken up family groups and forced the gentlemen off campus. A student who commented mildly, but publicly, on the incidents at a society meeting was heavily censured by the faculty. Another student raised the issue of forbidden conversation as an abrogation of "free speech" in a society oration a few days later. When word of the possible dismissal of the two students who had provocatively dared to challenge the strict rules circulated, nearly one hundred students signed petitions stating that if the offending students were expelled, they would leave the school. The Principal's angry reply was that the faculty would not be influenced in its

decision "if fifty or a hundred or even five hundred students left." He announced the next day that the faculty had decided to suspend any student who showed any contempt for the regulations and disrespect for the faculty. After hearing the faculty's decision, the signers of the petitions walked out of the chapel in a body and held meetings to decide their next course of action. The next morning they arranged a three-mile march from Millersville to Lancaster led by the Millersville Cornet Band. "The Revolt of 1881" was a front page story in newspapers throughout the East.[32] After extensive discussions among the faculty, the Principal, the Board of Trustees, and the Lancaster County Superintendent, the faculty prepared a circular that stated the students who had marched were suspended for a year but could be considered for readmission by admitting they did wrong and by making the request in writing. As a result of the "Revolt," the rules were relaxed for the next year, but after the faculty felt they had regained control of the situation, they gradually reestablished their strict control of student life. The incident, nonetheless, led to a demerit system adopted by the faculty in 1882.

The demerit system was employed for thirty years. All marks were carefully recorded in a permanent book named "The Book of Confessions." Students who violated the rules were all required to confess in writing to the faculty their violation with a promise to discontinue any such future behavior. Students also had to appear before the faculty discipline committee for the investigation of a transgression. Many of these misbehaviors were violations against the rules regarding the "relationship between the sexes." Graver noted that this "was the most important problem for more than fifty years."[33] The numerous letters found in the Book are certainly indications of the difficulty students had in

obeying these restrictive rules. One young lady acknowledged that she and two other ladies sneaked down a hall to meet two boys for about ten minutes. She also admitted to crawling in a window after the doors were locked. She received thirty demerits and lost all her social privileges. A young man received thirty-three demerits after he was caught sending a message via a string up to a young lady, for skipping classes, and for meeting girls at the Conestoga River.

Students also noted the inconsistency of the faculty in the enforcement of these rules. During the "Revolt of 1881," one student noted that the rules did not apply to faculty members. A number of faculty both male and female had married students, yet when two students became engaged, the young man was suspended. Evidently, the association of the sexes was considered even a more serious problem than the consumption of alcohol. For the first offense for alcohol use, a student signed a temperance pledge; suspension was usually the punishment for a second offense. Rarely did students get a second chance when they violated rules on the relationship between the sexes.

Students at the Normal School spent their days studying, attending classes, and practice teaching at the Model School, and one might say, avoiding the censure of the faculty. However, other opportunities did exist for their intellectual, social, and athletic interaction outside the classroom. Until the 1890s, the primary means of such association occurred through the two literary societies on campus. The literary societies were an important means of constructive entertainment for students, and developed both speaking and writing abilities and an interest in the problems of the day, and promoted an openminded approach to these issues. Both men and women participated equally in the literary societies

through written essays and debate on contemporary issues. The topics of their essays and debates varied from political questions of the time, literary topics, and of course, issues of classroom instruction, discipline, and school organization. Women's rights were debated at various times, the first occurring in December 1856. Outside speakers and the faculty often lectured at meetings among them Lucretia Mott in 1857. For more than fifty years, the societies were kept alert by the encouragement of the part of the faculty of a friendly rivalry between the societies. Since little else existed for students to do on campus, the meetings were well prepared and attended. At times, bad conduct occurred on the part of male students and during especially lively debates, constables were employed to monitor behavior. In 1891, the building of an electric trolley line to Lancaster City allowed students to get away from campus, to escape its repressive environment, and to seek other forms of entertainment for Friday and Saturday nights. Gradually, the importance of the literary societies declined in spite of faculty efforts to bolster their participation by making membership compulsory. The societies continued through the 1950s. Although attendance was no longer compulsory, all students were still required to support them through an activity fee.

After the Civil War, athletics slowly crept into student life at the Normal School. Voluntary associations of men organized several baseball teams for male students. By 1887, football on an informal basis was introduced as well as a few informal track activities. In 1889, women established a tennis association. Croquet was also a popular diversion. An Athletic Association was formed in the 1890s that promoted athletic contests and exhibitions. Basketball was introduced into the physical culture classes for both men and women by 1897.

Until 1900, organized sports were informal affairs with no paid coaches, no paid officials, no eligibility rules, and in many cases, no uniforms. Men organized and participated in most of the sports activities. With the onset of school-organized sports during the first two decades of the twentieth century, men's athletic teams began to dominate those that were financially supported by the Normal School. Women's basketball became a school-sponsored team in 1915 but men's football, basketball, baseball, and track events were the featured events during a period when male enrollment at the Normal School declined substantially. By 1915, women outnumbered men students by a ratio of two to one. By 1925, for every man on campus, there were five women.

Until 1885, the literary societies and musical organizations were the only permanent social organizations. In 1885, women on campus under the supervision of women faculty organized a Young Woman's Temperance Union that was especially active through the 1920s. The Union held both private and public meetings, organized socials on special occasions such as Thanksgiving, held student receptions, organized essay and oratorical contests, and distributed literature to advance their causes of "virtue and sobriety." During a time of increasing male participation in informally and formally organized sports, women dominated the temperance organization. In 1890, a Young Women's Christian Association was formed and in 1891, a Young Men's Christian Association was organized. These organizations held weekly religious meetings and conducted Bible studies and mission work and often held meetings cooperatively. Although the Normal School from its beginning was a strong religious environment, the Y Associations helped to perpetuate the religious spirit of the campus until World War I. After the War, the revival tones of the Associations

diminished and they became primarily service organizations.

Student government and school sponsored student publications began to take hold after 1900. In all activities, the students, both male and female, were under the constant supervision of the faculty. The 1914 Catalog reported, "The girls of the schools are under the careful oversight of the Preceptress, Miss Anna Lyle, and the other lady teachers. An honest effort is constantly being made to care for and protect them as they would be cared for in the best home." Nonetheless, the societies, organizations, and athletic contests respectively encouraged student leadership for both men and women.

In all aspects of student life, the faculty and Principal erected a glass wall between the "ladies and gentlemen" of Millersville State Normal School. Undoubtedly, the rural isolation of the campus aided the faculty in their supervision of the students. This tightly controlled, rigidly enforced separation between the sexes differs remarkedly with the casual and permissible social and academic interactions among male and female students reported by Ogren in her history of coeducation at Wisconsin normal schools. Ogren concluded that a state of "relative gender equality" existed in the normal schools and that separate spheres were not enforced in Wisconsin, not in any of the areas of student life. Solomon, Horowitz, or Gordon in their histories of women at the elite private colleges and the "coeds" of the large, state universities found that their lives inside and outside the classroom hinged on gender differences within separate spheres of Victorian morality. But, they do not write of students, male or female, whose lives were constantly monitored for **any** type of interaction between the two sexes.

Until the end of World War I, the faculty of Millersville Normal School did

everything possible to regulate the social life of men and women at Millersville Normal School. The Book of Confessions offers proof that they did not always succeed, but they were ever vigilant and did not hesitate to punish wayward students, suspend recalcitrant ones, and expel the incorrigible. Coeducation meant separate spheres at the Millersville State Normal School. However, intellectually and in most social activities and events, athletics being the most obvious exception, women and men were treated equally in and outside the classroom. A faculty determined to keep students from exploring their sexual differences in any form did all they could to neutralize gender. Men and women lived strictly enforced, sexually parallel lives at Millersville. Ironically, the men and women at Millersville could not escape their sexual differences for they were a constant aspect of the conduct of daily life in a "separate but equal" world. In spite of the equal treatment they received, we conclude that gender was a strong, albeit invisible, and salient issue in practice; the sexual differences were daily underscored in the lives of Millersville's coeds.

Notes

1. Esther Lenhardt, "Millersville State Normal School Alma Mater," 1910.

2. The term, "coeducation," was first used in 1874 as recorded in the Oxford Universal English Dictionary, nearly 20 years after Millersville normal school began. It is not used in any subsequent scholarship on Millersville normal school.

3. See Christine A. Ogren, " It wasn't much of a college': Making a Place for Normal Schools in the Historiography of Higher Education" (Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Diego, CA., 15 April 1998).

4. Willard S. Elsbree, The American Teacher: Evolution of a Profession in a Democracy, (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1939).

5. Mortimer Smith, And Madly Teach (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1949).

6. James D. Koerner, The Miseducation of Teachers (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963).

7. Jurgen Herbst, And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 150.

8. In a span of five years, three histories on women and higher education were published by Barbara Miller Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), and Lynn D. Gordon, Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990). Solomon and Gordon reference normal schools on three pages; Lefkowitz makes no mention of normal schools.

9. Christine A. Ogren, "Where Coeds Were Coeducated: Normal Schools in Wisconsin, 1870-1920," History of Education Quarterly 35, 1(Spring 1995): 1-26.

10. James Pyle Wickersham, A History of Education in Pennsylvania, Private and Public, Elementary and Higher, From the Time the Swedes Settled on the Delaware to the Present Day. (Lancaster, PA: Inquirer Publishing Co., 1886), 606.

11. Westtown Boarding School, established by the Society of Friends in 1799, was Pennsylvania's first academy to prepare students of both sexes as teachers.

12. Elsbree quotes several examples from the reports of Pennsylvania county superintendents, 168-70. James Pyle Wickersham, Lancaster County Superintendent from 1855 to 1856, notes the "deplorable" quality of many teachers visited in his "Notes in Visiting Schools, January 2 - March 15, 1855," Special Collections, Millersville University.

13. Lee Graver, A History of the First Pennsylvania Normal School: Now the State Teachers College at Millersville (Nazareth, PA: Nazareth Pub. Co., 1955), 42.

14. Ibid., 44.

15. James Pyle Wickersham, A History of Education in Pennsylvania, Private and Public, Elementary and Higher, from the Time the Swedes Settled on the Delaware to the Present Day, (Lancaster, PA: Inquirer Publishing Co., 1886), 522.

16. Ibid., 623.

17. In the 1860-61 catalogue, the name Lancaster County Normal School is dropped and the title is the Pennsylvania State Normal School is used. As the number of normal schools increased throughout the state, the Normal school became known as the Millersville State Normal School.

18. Graver, 78.

19. Herbst, 142-150.

20. Wickersham, 435-36.

21. Herbst in And Sadly Teach includes male and female enrollments for normal schools in Massachusetts, Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

22. James P. Wickersham, "Catalogue and Circular of the Lancaster County Normal School" (Lancaster: M.M. Rohrer, 1856).

23. Elsbree, 199-202.

24. David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, Learning Together: A History of Coeducation in American Schools (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

25. Graver, 169.

26. Wickersham, 568.

27. Wickersham, 389-90.

28. Ibid, 470-71.

29. The term "relationship between the sexes" is used consistently in the Normal School Catalogues to introduce the rules pertaining to this topic.

30. Ingersoll was an American politician and lecturer known for his adamant support of scientific and humanistic rationalism.

31. Graver, 161.

32. Ibid., 179.

33. Ibid., 182.

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